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Pennsylvania Dollhouse

Winter
1987-88



“THE JUNIOR REPUBLIC MOVEMENT”

Contributors

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COVER:

Although "the Junior Republic Movement began in the 1890's . . . as high society's attempt to improve on state-run homes for youthful offenders, delinquents, and runaways," it continues — much modified — to the present time. There are still junior republics, such as the one in Grove City, Pa., in operation today, and they continue to do a much needed work: the Grove City institution opened a drug and alcohol group home in 1986.

Layout and Special Photography
WILLIAM K. MUNRO

THE JUNIOR REPUBLIC MOVEMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA: Youth Care in Grove City and Redington

by Ned D. Heindel and Linda H. Heindel



William R. "Daddy" George, founder of the Junior Republic movement.



The William T. Carter Junior Republic, Redington, Pa. Main building. The building still stands as a private residence.

The Movement had powerful and wealthy friends: William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Charles Evans Hughes, Susan B. Anthony, William Lloyd Garrison, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and Charles Goodyear to name but a few. It had the enthusiastic backing of clergy and press. It attracted the support and personal participation of the young educated Progressives and a host of turn-of-the-century reformers. It was a product of its times. It was planned as a populist rehabilitation program for all times. Yet it was ultimately to serve its time merely as a transition between the barbaric children's penal institutions of the past and the enlightened child care programs of today.

The Junior Republic Movement began in the 1890's as an outgrowth of rural fresh-air summer camps for inner city slum children. It quickly evolved into a bold experiment in juvenile self-government whose objectives were a mix of youth reform for the wayward, child-helping for the disadvantaged, and progressive education for the orphan. The movement was high society's attempt to improve on state-run homes for youthful offenders, delinquents, and runaways. Each junior republic — there were about 15 at the height of the movement — was initially privately funded often with support from bluebloods of the *Social Register*. Large numbers of middle class adults also gave of time and money to the growth of the cause. Local Ladies Aid Societies, lodge auxiliaries, church groups, Federated Women's Clubs, and regional charities too supported their Junior Republic.

The first Republic began simply from the sweat and toil of a single believer who became the spearhead initiator for the movement, its national spokesman for more than three decades, and the name-giver for most of the spin-off institutions. William Reuben George (1866-1936) was born as the only child into a humble farm family, third generation inheritors struggling to earn a livelihood from their tract outside the small central New York town of West Dryden. He was educated in the one-room school of the district until, at the age of 14, his father gave up farming and moved the family to New York City.

Young William adjusted poorly to the big city and over the next several years alternated between brief stints as a student in the city schools, at-home education at the hands of his parents, and extended trips back home to West Dryden to live with his grandparents. Largely self-taught and widely read, William George worked initially as a delivery boy for a publishing house in the city and then entered business on his own, manufacturing firearms boxes and jewelry cases. Through his mid-20's George found increasing satisfaction as an unpaid social worker for several church and civic groups in the city. By 1895 he had surrendered his box manufactory to an assistant and was engaged in full-time work with tough street gangs.

The concept of placing inner city kids in rural fresh-air camps didn't begin with George and, in fact, predates the Civil War. George began his program in 1890, supervising small groups of city boys and girls in summer work on farms in the West Dryden/Freeville area.



After working hours; winter recreation at the CJR, 1904.



CJR citizens assembled on the steps of the main building; about 1912.

Court in session at the CJR; about 1915.





Mr. William T. Carter (1827-1892) founded the iron-making community of Redington—his wife's maiden name. His widow founded the William T. Carter Junior Republic to commemorate his accomplishments. Initially she used their Redington mansion, but within a year the group had outgrown its quarters and she moved the Republic to a farm on the north bank of the Lehigh River, across from the town of Redington.

In July 1895, with a nucleus of 144 girls and boys from the slums of New York, George converted his fresh-air camp into a year-round youth education and rehabilitation facility. It was modeled strictly on the structure of the national government and the free market economy and was called the George Junior Republic. His motto, "Nothing Without Labor," stressed that only by gainful employment within their Republic community could the "citizens" accumulate the capital to acquire creature comforts. For employment the Republic offered carpentry, printing, bakery, and furniture shops, several small stores, restaurants, a farm, an orchard, a laundry, a bank, and a hotel.¹

Citizens organized political parties, conducted campaigns, elected a president, justices, police, and both legislative and administrative officers. They wrote their own laws, set their own civil and criminal penalties, locked up the guilty in a Republic jail, and taught themselves (under guidance from adult leaders) the benefits of an elected democracy in a capitalistic society.

George's idea was to establish a citizenry which was a mix of juvenile offenders and law-abiding young people in need of a home and modest social guidance. The idea was that peer pressure from the good element and a government microcosm of the American democracy would effect an attitude adjustment in delinquents.



Mrs. Cornelia "Nellie" Carter (1847-1934) was founder and patron of the Carter Junior Republic. She closed the Republic in 1924 out of concern that it would not receive the necessary financial support after her death.

Many politicians and progressive leaders embraced the model. Here, at long last, was the cure for all the social ills from drunkenness and poverty to lawlessness and sloth. History was to prove that while it was a major advance for its time — a step in the right direction and a turn-around mechanism for many — the junior republics were not the cure for society's ills.²

However, in the dawn of the movement, junior republics were spawned from the mother facility at Freeville across the length and breadth of America and even in England. Pennsylvania hosted two such facilities. The first, known as the William T. Carter Junior Republic (CJR), was founded in 1899 in rural Northampton County four miles west of Easton in a small (presently non-existent) town on the Lehigh River known as Redington.³ The second, known as the George Junior Republic of Western Pennsylvania, was founded in 1909 on a farm in Mercer County about three miles from Grove City.⁴

Both were founded with the help and oversight of William R. "Daddy" George who temporarily reassigned several young citizens from the Freeville mother republic to the fledgling institutions. In structure and financing, however, the new republics differed radically. Pennsylvania's first unit was the private charity of Cornelia Redington (Mrs. William T.) Carter



Mrs. Carter and later her brother, Walter Redington, served as the first superintendents of the Republic, but within a year she hired James S. Heberling (1876-1932) for the full-time position. Heberling (A.B., Litt.M., Lafayette College) served until the Republic was closed in 1924, when he became a professor of child welfare at the University of Pennsylvania. Heberling held the first Carter Foundation Professorial Chair at Penn under an endowment given by Mrs. Carter.

(1847-1934), while the second republic resulted from a broad-based planning, funding, and management committee from the Pittsburgh area. The second survived changes in society and law and still exists today in a structure modified to conform to present requirements governing youth care.⁵ The former terminated in 1924 upon the illness of its founder and the withdrawal of her financial support.

Mrs. Carter, widow of William T. Carter (1827-1892), a wealthy Philadelphia coal, iron, and transportation entrepreneur, had a second home near Easton in the small company town of Redington. Redington was founded by William Carter in 1867 as an iron-making community using Northampton county limestone and iron ore, with coal supplied by canal barge or railroad from company mines located at Beaver Meadows near Hazelton. At Redington the Carter businesses consisted of mines, quarries, two furnace stacks, a hotel, a store, company homes, a machine shop, a foundry/crucible steel operation (added later),

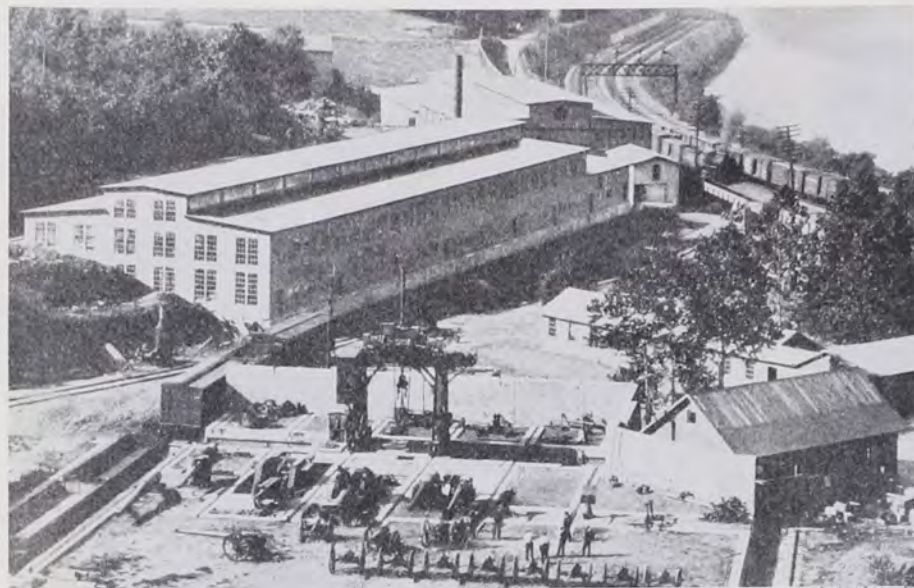


Before she founded her own Junior Republic, Mrs. Carter was a sponsor and supporter of the first such unit, the George Junior Republic of Freeville, N.Y. In 1897-98 she erected there a dormitory called the Carter Cottage.

and a bustling railhead adjoining the Lehigh Valley Railroad. It was a United States Post Office from 1870 to 1933 and at its height, about 1918, supported a population of about 400.

Carter had been a typical Victorian-era husband and had protected his wife from involvement in his businesses. His will contained a trust arrangement which gave her the interest from his estate to provide for her personal needs until death, but which excluded her from participation in the corpus of his estate.⁶ Hitherto, Mrs. Carter had busied herself with travel, charity, modest philanthropy, and a wide social circle of friends. She made the George Junior Republic (GJR) one of her personal charities and in early 1897, she and her daughter Alice visited the site in New York. Mrs. Carter had corresponded with William R. George and she was well familiar with his new social experiment. In September 1898 she funded the erection of a boys' dormitory at the GJR.

Her visit to the George Junior Republic had con-

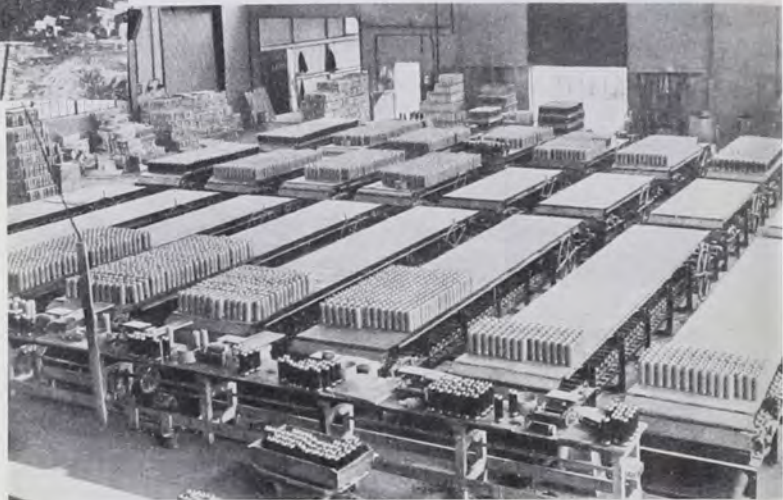


Bethlehem Steel Company's Proving Ground, Redington, Pa. In the foreground are two batteries of 75-millimeter field guns and carriages ready for proof.

Mrs. Carter derived part of her financial support for the Junior Republic from her rental of Redington to the Bethlehem Steel Co. for use in munitions manufacturing and testing during World War I. Bethlehem Steel erected a large shell manufacturing and filling plant on the site.

vinced Mrs. Carter that this self-governing community of youth was a model worth replicating, and she began to plan at once for the creation of her own junior republic. William George and several young Freeville citizens visited Mrs. Carter at her Redington home in August 1897. They confirmed her selection of a 114-acre fruit and stock farm on the north bank of the Lehigh River, equidistant between Bethlehem and Easton, as the site for what was to become the second junior republic. The farm lay directly across the river from the Carter home and businesses in Redington, but was nevertheless set apart from the daily commerce and economic life of the company town.

Because Mrs. Carter's attorney had not yet completed the legal work to gain her the control of her late husband's estate, she was unable immediately to complete the purchase of the farm. Instead, she decided to open the republic, named in honor of her late husband, in her own residence with her brother, Walter Redington, as its first superintendent. The first citizens, eight boys and four girls, most from the Philadelphia area, were en-



View showing a conveyor system installed in one of the ammunition assembling plants of the Bethlehem Steel Co.

rolled in spring 1899. Two of the boys, Frederick Volker and Edward Cuthbert, were sent from Freeville by William George to introduce republic principles into the Carter Republic. In September they and the others in the charter group helped Mrs. Carter move her little colony to the renovated farm which was to serve as the permanent home of the Republic.

While it did not bear the George name, this Republic nevertheless bore his stamp. Mrs. Carter repeatedly used George as a consultant. She too erected courtrooms and a jail and provided income-producing opportunities for her charges. Like George, Mrs. Carter had a large orchard and used it to train youngsters in commercial fruit growing. Farming, cooking, canning, dairying, milk-delivery, and sewing provided on-site employment which was rewarded in Carter dollars (five equal to one U.S. dollar). Mrs. Carter did, however, modify the motto of the George Junior Republic to "Nothing Good Without Labor."

Her citizenry was a blend of delinquents, runaways, orphans, and troubled youths similar to that which



Coinage paid to citizens for work on-site and for use in Republic stores, restaurants, and hotels. The money could be redeemed for U. S. government specie for spending in town. (Photographs provided by Gary Pipher, Johnson City, N. Y.)



Students and their teacher, Walter J. Bergey (left), took a class outing at the nearby munitions proving grounds of the Bethlehem Steel Co. (ca. 1915). The former citizen and later house mother at the Republic, Mollie Palin Mellon (1886-1986), is at the far right.



The dairy on the CJR farm produced products sold throughout the surrounding towns. Here, Charles H. Gilbert delivers milk to Freemansburg (ca. 1913). Mr. Gilbert, age 95, is the only surviving citizen of the CJR. He lives in New Brunswick, Canada.



Judge, president, vice-president, and other student officers of the CJR are pictured on the porch of the main building (ca. 1904).

Citizens and their teacher at the CJR prepare to bring in a wagonload of corn. Farming and carpenter skills were two of the major work-training options open for boys at the facility.



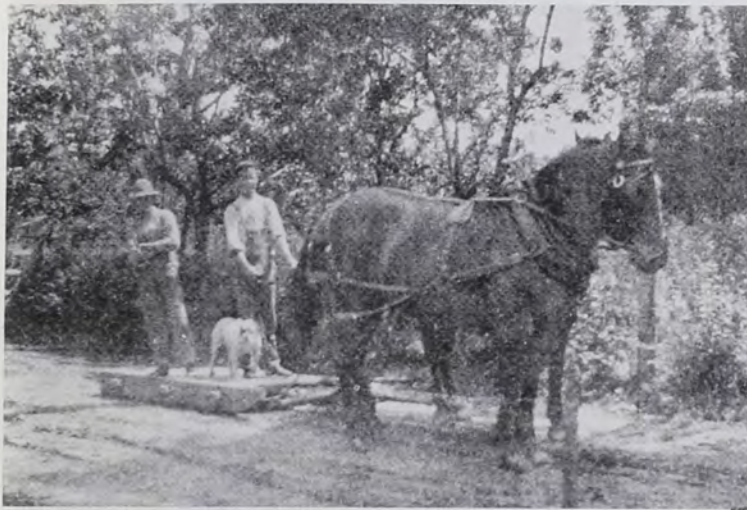
George enrolled at Freeville. The Carter Republic, with its smaller enrollment of 35-40, preferred to accept only a small number of boys guilty of truly violent crimes. On one occasion Mrs. Carter asked George to swap a serious-problem student in her republic for a GJR "boy who is somewhat trained in the Republic ways and is law abiding."⁷ A school on the grounds provided an elementary and junior high school education, but the students were usually sent to local high schools if further education was desired. In some cases Mrs. Carter also assisted with college costs.

While George personally ran the Freeville Republic, Mrs. Carter used a surrogate. After one year of management by her brother she engaged as superintendent James S. Heberling, who had studied theology at Princeton Seminary before completing a degree in Bible and Literature at Lafayette College (1900). Heberling was the Carter Republic's only regular superintendent. He guided nearly 400 young men and women, over a period of 24 years. Records maintained on the first 15

years of operation showed that 87% of the young men assigned for reform had no subsequent brushes with the law.⁸ No state-run institution then or now could approach that success rate.

The very nature and structure of the Republic encouraged such success. The combination of family love and firm discipline provided the foundation for life which most of the young men required. The citizens held elections each year in March for president, vice-president, judge, jailer, and police officer. Town meetings were held every two weeks to discuss and vote upon matters of concern. The court held sessions every Wednesday evening to pass judgment on citizens for such offenses as smoking, running away, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and other violations of Republic laws. While Mrs. Carter or Heberling could overrule the edict of a student judge, they did so on only one occasion. A student judge imposed a heavy fine on a young man who accidentally broke a window during a ball game. Superintendent Heberling reduced the levy.

The Republic school, known officially as Bethlehem Township Unit No. 26, had an active Boy Scout troop and a baseball team. The CJR team played many surrounding schools and had several winning seasons. Pictured is the 1913 team, top row (left to right) #1 Charles Gilbert (living), #4 Robert Gardner, #5 George Gardner; bottom row, #2 Oliver Thomas, #5 Charles Brett.



A young teamster.



Harvesting the rye.



The class in gardening.

*Photographs taken on
Founder's Day, 1904.*

Philad^a Jan^y 23rd 1878

E. P. Milburn Esq.

My dear Sir:

Please
express to the Judge and Mrs.
Packer my compliments and
regrets at not being able to be
present today to congratulate
them in person on this Golden
Occasion.

Yours Very Truly,
W. T. Carter.

Please drop the enclosed card
in the basket.

William T. Carter, whose fortune founded Redington and the Carter Republic, was a wealthy coal and iron tycoon with social and political connections in Philadelphia and the Lehigh Valley. He and Mrs. Carter were part of a group of friends invited to the 50th wedding anniversary of Judge Asa Packer. Packer, founder of Lehigh University and organizer of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, had helped Carter launch his own business career in the 1860's. The Carters sent this apology at not being able to attend. (Rare Book Collection, Lehigh University.)



The annual Founder's Day weekend (3rd weekend in October) brought friends, parents, financial sponsors, local dignitaries, clergy, and politicians to the CJR campus for sports, student presentations, and scholarly lectures. In good weather the lectures were held outside on the lawn adjacent to the main house.

William George personally provided the glue which knit together the republics. Informal communications kept the superintendents in touch until a National Association of Junior Republics was formed in 1908 in New York City. George was its first national director, but Lyman Beecher Stowe (grandson of the famed abolitionist, Harriet Beecher Stowe) really managed the organization in his post as national executive secretary. Heberling and/or Mrs. Carter attended many of the meetings and Heberling served for several years as an officer in the group. Both were aware, of course, of the Planning for Pennsylvania's second junior republic to open in Grove City in 1909. Both participated actively in the early growth of the movement. The first eight republics in order of founding were:

- (1895) George Junior Republic (Freeville, N.Y.)
- (1899) Carter Junior Republic (Redington, Pa.)
- (1899) National Junior Republic (Annapolis, Md.)
- (1905) George Junior Republic of Connecticut (Litchfield, Conn.)
- (1909) George Junior Republic of California (Chino, Ca.)

- (1909) George Junior Republic of Western Pa. (Grove City, Pa.)
- (1910) George Junior Republic of New Jersey (Flemington Junction, N.J.)
- (1912) Strawbridge-George Junior Republic (Moorestown, N.J.)

Unlikely as it may seem, the organization of Pennsylvania's second republic was intimately tied to that of the GJR of California through the chance meeting of a Grove City native, Morgan Barnes, and William R. George. In 1907, George was in California responding to a request from a group of interested planners in the Chino area to talk about establishing the first GJR west of the Mississippi. During a visit to the Thacher School in nearby Ojai he met Morgan Barnes, professor of classics, and the two discussed the republic movement.

Barnes held an A.B. in classics from Harvard (1891) and was later to be awarded an L.L.D. (1933) from Grove City College. A native of Mercer County, he was familiar with the increasing problem of juvenile troublemakers in the growing Pittsburgh area, and had excellent connections to the political and educational

Erected in 1985 and opened for full service in 1986, the GJR of Western Pa. boasts a drug and alcohol group home for pre-release counseling of drug abusers. Students from the home are transported twice weekly to local Alcoholics and Narcotics Anonymous meetings.



The Republic Inn, built shortly after the establishment of the GJR of Western Pa. (1909), was erected to house visitors to the site. William R. George, founder of the first Junior Republic in Freeville, N.Y., believed that only by bringing in social and political leaders to Republic sites could the public be persuaded to sponsor and support these experimental schools. George's own republic had such an inn-hotel on its campus. The Inn at the Grove City Republic was razed in 1983.

communities of the region. He had been a professor at Grove City College, and indeed would return there again later in his career, but at the time he met George he was teaching at a private academy in southern California.

Barnes convinced George of the need for a junior republic in a rural setting near the Pittsburgh metropolis. Ultimately, a group of prominent local citizens, attorneys, and civic leaders actually did the planning, raised the needed monies in a fund drive, purchased a farm in Mercer county, formed a board of directors, and incorporated the GJR of Western Pennsylvania in June 1909. Present for the dedication on December 3 were George himself, a transfer nucleus of junior citizens from Freeville, a number of local judges, attorneys, and members of the Grove City College staff.

At George's suggestion, Harris G. LeRoy, a young graduate of the Freeville Republic with some administrative experience gained at the 4th junior republic in Connecticut, was hired as the first superintendent. LeRoy and his wife were at the inaugural ceremonies,

and LeRoy spoke briefly of his hopes for the new institution. After about two years of management LeRoy resigned and recommended that an older leader be sought. The GJR of Western Pennsylvania has had five superintendents in the remaining 75 years. Earle D. Bruner, a teacher and graduate of Edinboro Normal School, served as head from 1911-1939. Arthur Prasse, a native of Carnegie, Pennsylvania with talents in youth reform, served as superintendent from 1940-1950 before moving on to the post of commissioner of corrections for the state. William D. Gladden (1950-1969), a former Allegheny County probation officer, and his son, William H. Gladden (1969-1974), served as superintendents and brought about major modernizations and expansions in the republic. Pat J. Farrone worked up through the ranks from previous employment as a teacher/counselor and became superintendent in 1974.

Not only did the directorship of the GJR of Western Pennsylvania change over the years, but its operations and programs have similarly evolved. The original



As at all Junior Republics, carpentry training was provided for the male citizens. Here the boys of the GJR of Western Pa. erect a new machinery house. Citizens cast the block, did the wood work, and erected the walls without adult supervision (ca. 1927).

The Carter Junior Republic ceased admitting female citizens within its first decade of operation. The GJR of Western Pa., however, continued to accept female students until 1938. Apple Blossom Cottage, shown here about 1923, was the girl's dormitory.



republic concepts of student-passed laws, student-elected officers, and student-imposed justice, proved increasingly inequitable as the composition of the citizenry changed over the years. With the evolution of improved placement for orphans and with outpatient treatment and counseling for the mildly disturbed or problem child, the GJR gradually lost the original mix of student types thought so essential by William George, and became primarily an institution for hard-core delinquent cases. Increasingly, assignments came directly from the courts or indirectly from the public assistance system. Such young men proved unable to handle the responsibilities of a student-run justice system. Superintendent Prasse changed the student court system to an advisory student council.

Similarly, under the superintendency of William D. Gladden the firm requirement of on-site work for payment was removed. Republic coinage, earned by labor, was replaced with a so-called store card which could be used for purchases at the republic store, and which was

credited regularly with a spending allowance. The shops, farm, and inter-institutional jobs were no longer viewed as work required to be performed for pay, but were integrated into a total vocational education program with the emphasis placed on learning a trade or a skill. Disciplinary actions might assess charges against the store card or result in its temporary impoundment, but no longer was work a requirement for income.

Living arrangements, too, evolved. Both the Carter Junior Republic and the GJR of Western Pennsylvania began with one or more large dormitories to house the students. Both began as co-ed and soon became all male entities. At its termination the CJR was still using one large dormitory housing about 40 students, but the GJR gradually shifted to a series of pleasant on- and off-campus homes housing 6-8 young men in a family setting overseen by trained counselor/parent teams. The off-campus homes (in Grove City, New Wilmington, Greensburg, and Guys Mills) place the student in the regular public schools and not in the complete high



Dr. Morgan Barnes, then living in California, conceived the idea of Grove City as a possible location for Pennsylvania's second Junior Republic. Barnes had the contacts with public-spirited residents of Pittsburgh and Mercer County that were instrumental in financing the Republic's construction. He served on the GJR's Board for more than twenty-five years, much of that time as its executive secretary.

school/vocational school program offered on the Grove City republic campus. About 260 citizens are part of the GJR program — more than six times the number the CJR ever held.

A financially-involved Board, loyal regional support groups such as the Exchange Clubs and the American Legion's 40 et 8, a continuous evolution of practice and structure, and a broad court-assignment base have kept the Grove City republic alive. William R. George would not recognize his child in its present form. The mother institution at Freeville, too, has had to evolve to survive. On the other hand, the CJR of Redington was unchanged by time during the quarter-century of its existence. A sole financial sponsor, a single superintendent, a tiny citizenry, and an isolated rural location allowed policy and practice to be frozen in the mold that George created. When, about 1909, Mrs. Carter decided that it was too risky to house boys and girls in the same



Mr. and Mrs. William R. George met Dr. Morgan Barnes in 1907 when the Georges were in California to inaugurate the GJR of California at Chino. Barnes, an educator from Grove City, Pa., was then headmaster at Thacher School in California. He persuaded George that a Republic was needed in the Grove City area. This picture of the Georges was taken at the planning session held at Thacher School on March 1, 1907.



The first citizens of the GJR of Western Pa. are shown at their installation as officers in December, 1909. Left to right are A. Kern, judge; D. S. Preston, president; and J. Kelly, district attorney and chief of police.

institution, she effected the only major change in the original George dictum. George had always maintained that a true republic must reflect society at large and must thus have boys and girls as co-citizens. The GJR of Western Pennsylvania ceased accepting female citizens in 1938.

The twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Carter Junior Republic was held on May 3, 1924. The assembled citizens, parents and friends heard a somber message from the patron herself. Mrs. Carter announced that she was closing the republic and redirecting her funds into a newly created William T. Carter Foundation. The foundation would be housed at a well-known university (later announced to be the University of Pennsylvania) and would support an endowed professorship in child welfare. The first Carter Professor would be the republic's long time superintendent, James S. Heberling.



Courtroom scene at the GJR on Nov. 5, 1926. Left to right: judge; associate judge; witness being sworn; jury of six; clerk of the court; and district attorney.



Printing is one of several trades taught at the GJR of Western Pa. This particular print shop was the gift of the Pennsylvania Exchange Clubs.



Like all the Junior Republics, the GJR has always worked to build patriotism and civic responsibility in its citizens. In the early 1950's the U. S. Air Force Ground Observation Corps established a station on the Republic campus. Staffed with 50 boy volunteers, it monitored and reported civil and military air traffic to the central command.

In the quarter century of her support the Republic had trained nearly 400 young people and had cost Mrs. Carter in excess of \$300,000. Although she expressed pride and satisfaction at the youthful lives redirected by Heberling's efforts and especially for the alumni who fought and died in World War I, she expressed concern at "the increasing cost of maintenance of the school during the last ten years, and the difficulties experienced in securing competent workers."⁹ She foresaw a future of retrenchment, lowered educational standards, and a most uncertain existence for her favored activity after her own demise.¹⁰ She was, moreover, 70 years of age and was starting to experience declining health. The Carter Professorship she established at the University of Pennsylvania continues to the present with oversight by her heirs. The current holder is Dr. Morton Botel of the Graduate School of Education whose professional interests involve improving the techniques for the teaching of reading.

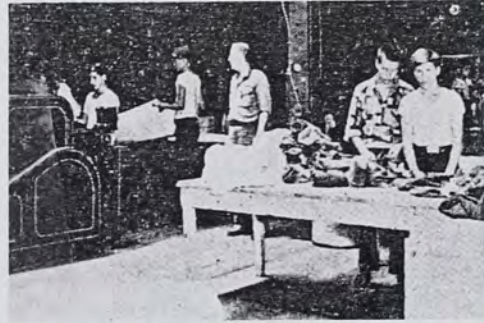
Daddy George's dream of involving public participation and private philanthropy in an improved approach to youth rehabilitation survives. There are still junior republics. Of the original set, those in Connecticut, California, New York (Freeville) and Pennsylvania (Grove City) continue in modified form. One or two others (such as the Boys Brotherhood Republic of New York City) have been created more recently. Although state and federal regulations for non-governmental child care facilities are becoming increasingly complex, there is still a role for privately-managed youth adjustment facilities however diminished it may be. In addition, William George's philosophies have resulted in a more humane treatment of delinquent youth in both the governmental and the state-private contract facilities of today. The Junior Republic Movement of the 1890's and 1900's definitely did leave its mark in American culture.



During a meeting of the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges on the campus of the GJR of Western Pa., several delegates and officers get a trim from student barbers in the Republic's barber-training shop, built with gifts from the Pennsylvania Exchange Clubs.



Tailor shop at GJR of Western Pennsylvania where boys are trained to repair, clean, and press all types of garments.



The laundry is both a vocational training site and a key part of keeping the GJR in running order; it operates every day.



Entrance to the George Junior Republic of Western Pa. as it looks today. Republic chapel is in the rear.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The assistance, support, and access to relevant files and photographs provided by the Carter descendants (Hurd and Dickerman), William George's daughter (Freeborn), and the long-time CJR house mother, Mary "Mollie" Mellon (1886-1986), were invaluable and are greatly appreciated.

ENDNOTES

¹General information about the original George Junior Republic in Freeville has been gained in interviews with Mrs. Edith George Freeborn, daughter of the founder, and with Thomas Speno, former director. The Cornell University Archives has an excellent repository of documents on the republic movement and the founding of the various units.

²An overview of the movement can be obtained from J. Holl, *Juvenile Reform in the Progressive Era*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1971.

³A documented history of the Carter Junior Republic has been prepared by this author, *Iron, Armor, and Adolescents*, published by the Northampton County Historical Society, Easton, Pa., 1982. Major sources of information have been former citizens of the republic Charles Gilbert, Moncton, Canada, Lawrence Roth, Lebanon, Pa.

and the late Mary Palin (Mrs. George) Mellon.

⁴Information about the George Junior Republic of Western Pennsylvania has been gained from the archives of that facility, especially from public relations brochures dated 1954, 1959, 1970, and 1984. Also, interviews on-site at the GJR of Western Pennsylvania with the present director, Pat J. Farrone, and staff members Mary Hormell and George L. Tucci were very useful.

⁵Two histories of the GJR of Western Pennsylvania have been published and have been used in this study. See A. H. Masterson, *A History of the George Junior Republic in Pennsylvania*, Knox Printing Co., Knox, Pa., 1970, and Earle D. Bruner, *A Laboratory Study in Democracy*, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N.Y., 1927.

⁶Information about the Carter family and the Carter Professorship has been obtained in interviews and correspondence with Joy Dickerman (Mrs. Christopher) Hurd, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and William Carter Dickerman, Jr., New York City, grandchildren of Mrs. William T. Carter.

⁷Mrs. W. T. Carter to W. R. George, letter dated March 11, 1899, Cornell Univ. Archives.

⁸Holl, p. 264.

⁹*Easton Express*, April 26, 1924. Newspaper file on microfilm, Easton Public Library.

¹⁰*Easton Daily Free Press*, April 26, 1924. Newspaper file on microfilm, Easton Public Library.

BRECHLOCH, OR RAPP'S HARMONY SOCIETY AND THE PRODUCTION OF FLAX, HEMP AND LINEN IN PENNSYLVANIA AND INDIANA

by Karl J. R. Arndt



*George Rapp (1757-1847), founder of the Harmony Society. (Frontispiece, Karl J. R. Arndt's **George Rapp's Harmony Society 1785-1847.**)*

Donald Graves and Michael Colby in their "An Overview of Flax and Linen Production in Pennsylvania" have stated "it was the Germans, under Pastorius, who became the first major flax producers in the colony. Those thirteen German families were primarily linen weavers, and Pastorius' three leaf clover design for his 'Germanopolis' symbolized the importance of linen:

Still on the town-seal his device is found
Grapes, flax and thread spool on a three foil ground
With Vinum, Linum and Textrinum wound."¹

When George Rapp and his Swabian disciples came to Pennsylvania years later, they were determined to occupy themselves with "Vinum, Linum et Textrinum," as so beautifully expressed by Pastorius in the seal of his Germanopolis. With this goal in mind, they settled on uncultivated land in Western Pennsylvania and there built the town of Harmonie in Butler County where they resided for ten years before they moved to Indiana to build another town and to continue their work on "Vinum, Linum et Textrinum."

Soon after they had purchased land in Western Pennsylvania they found that they needed more land to accommodate the great number of Swabians who wanted to join Rapp's Harmony Society, and who had already arrived in Philadelphia and Baltimore to join Rapp's

Society. So, they addressed a memorial to Thomas Jefferson requesting special terms for a grant of land in the Indiana Territory to provide place for more emigrants. This memorial was referred by Thomas Jefferson to the Congress of the United States for decision. Jefferson had previously received George Rapp to hear his petition. My *Harmony on the Connoquenessing* gives the entire text of the memorial as well as the text of the lengthy debate in Congress that followed,² but for the purposes of this article the following significant lines are cited from the memorial because they show that "Vinum, Linum, et Textrinum" were still the reason why Rapp and his Harmony Society were asking for a grant of land in the sparsely settled Indiana Territory. The memorial begins: "To his Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, President of the United States of America. The Memorial of George Rapp & Society of Harmony in Butler County Respectfully sheweth: First the Reason of their Emigration to America, Second, their Concerns in that place where they live presently, and Third, their purpose of purchasing a quantity of Land of the United States."

After this introduction the memorial explains the problems of the Society in Württemberg and states that the Society unanimously resolved to send their leader,



New Harmony, Indiana. (George Rapp's Harmony Society 1785-1847, p. 203.)

George Rapp, and some brethren to the United States to locate a place where they could settle, and that, as a result of Rapp's favorable report about conditions of life in the United States, there "are already in Philadelphia & Baltimore arrived about Fourteen hundred men, which body of People consists of Tradesmen, Farmers and chiefly cultivators [sic] of the Vine, which last occupation they contemplate as their primary Object, and wilst they know to plant and prepair [sic] Hemp & Flax, having good Weavers among them; so they are intended to erect too a Linen Manufactory."

George Rapp himself was a weaver, and he was so enthusiastic about the success of his memorial that he went to Washington to see it through Congress. My *Harmony on the Connoquenessing* reprints George Rapp's report from Washington to Frederick Rapp about the presentation of this memorial to the Senate on January 8, 1806.³ On January 29, 1806, the United States Senate approved a bill to empower George Rapp and his Associates of the Society of Harmony to purchase one entire township in the Vincennes District of Indiana Territory. The bill was then sent to the House with the request that it concur, but after longwinded debate, the vote in the House resulted in a tie, which was decided in the negative by Speaker of the House Nathaniel Macon. My *Hamony on the Connoquenessing* reprints the entire proceedings.⁴

George Rapp was not a man to be discouraged by this defeat of his great plan to bring the blessings of

"Vinum, Linum et Textrinum" to the Indiana Territory. His plan was merely delayed by a single stupid vote of an Anglo-American. Rapp, with the help of his brilliant adopted son, Frederick, and his industrious Harmonists, by hard work and business acumen, paid off the land on the Connoquenessing within a few years, and made enough additional money to buy the land they wanted in the Indiana Territory and to move their entire Society — with cattle, horses, hogs, vines, flax, and hemp seed, as well as fruit trees, plants and flowers — to the primitive lands on the Wabash River. Good planners that they always were, an advance guard of Harmonists was sent ahead to prepare for the rear guard's later arrival. To keep up the spirits of the divided group, George Rapp composed a song to the Wabash, his "Wabaschlied,"⁵ which by many years preceded the later so highly popular "Wabash Blues," a melody so dear to the hearts of many Americans to this day. What the Harmonists accomplished in Butler County is recorded in my *Harmony on the Connoquenessing*, but that they took their ideal of "Vinum, Linum et Textrinum" with them to the Wabash is documented in my two volume *The Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society*,⁶ specifically in the Weingärtner handdrawn picture map of their Harmony on the Wabash. This map marked especially the locations of the "Brechloch" and "Darre." Both of these were of central importance to the production of flax and hemp, but I discovered this too late to add it in my English explanations of the map

included in *The Indiana Decade*.

You pronounce the "ch" of "Brechloch" as the Scotch pronounce it in Loch Lomond, but this genuinely German compound survives today only in Weingärtner's map of New Harmony, Indiana. No German technical dictionary lists the word, not even Grimm's most extensive dictionary of the German language or Fischer's great dictionary of the Swabian variety of German, which certainly should have it, because the thoroughness of this work is shown by the fact that it lists "p" after "b" in the Swabian alphabet. The meaning of the two parts of the word is simple enough: "break hole." But why attach such importance to a "break hole" as to draw it and locate it on a town map? Let us keep in mind that in this carefully planned New Harmony map, where everything but the privies are located, there is only one "Brechloch." That makes this "break hole" something of unique importance. To find the explanation took a lot of research and correspondence, not only with such great centers of technical history as the Deutsches Museum of Munich, the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Stuttgart, and with Bibliotheksdirektor Dr. Göcke in Bonn, and Prof. Dr. Günther Franz of Stuttgart, but also in places less known internationally, such as Illerbeuren in West Germany. In a sense, all those named have contributed to this research, but it took Herrmann Zeller, Kreisheimatpfleger of Illerbeuren to find a man who really was familiar with the word inscribed and sketched on the map of New Harmony, Indiana. I translate the following pertinent section from Herr Zeller's letter to me:

I had your letter read several times at various "Stammtische" (tables where old friends meet regularly for a beer or more and discuss the state of the community and nation), and to my joy was able to determine that a farmer from Oberbinnwang named Gögler actually knew the expression "Brechloch." It was located between the hamlets Oberbinnwang and Rothmoos and belongs to the farmer Spieler. My father, however, always spoke of this pit as "Das Dörrloch." When referring to the "Dörrloch" of Illerbeuren, however, the owner of this farm used the expression "Brechloch," so "Brechloch," and "Dörrloch" mean the same thing.

Having established that "Brechloch" and "Dörrloch" mean the same, Herrmann Zeller's letter further states:

I only know the expression "Dörrloch" for drying flax. It is a pit about two meters deep, which is built in a square and also in a circle. The walls are dry walls with tiles. In the process of drying, a charcoal fire is laid on the floor. (Of course, without flame.) At a certain distance from the glowing charcoal there is an iron grate, above this the flax straw is laid crosswise until the "Dörrloch" is filled. The pit is covered with a few boards. The man servant, the son, or the farmer himself guards the pit because of fire danger. Drying in the oven at that time was strictly forbidden. Such "Dörrlöcher" (drying holes) were located at least forty meters or more from the farm buildings. I personally still know such a "Dörrloch" from the days of my youth, where we cheerfully played hide and seek. In Illerbeuren itself there was also a community "Dörrhütte" (drying hut), likewise with charcoal heating. The space to this day is called "In der Dörrhütte" (in the drying hut), and is located a few hundred meters distant from the village.

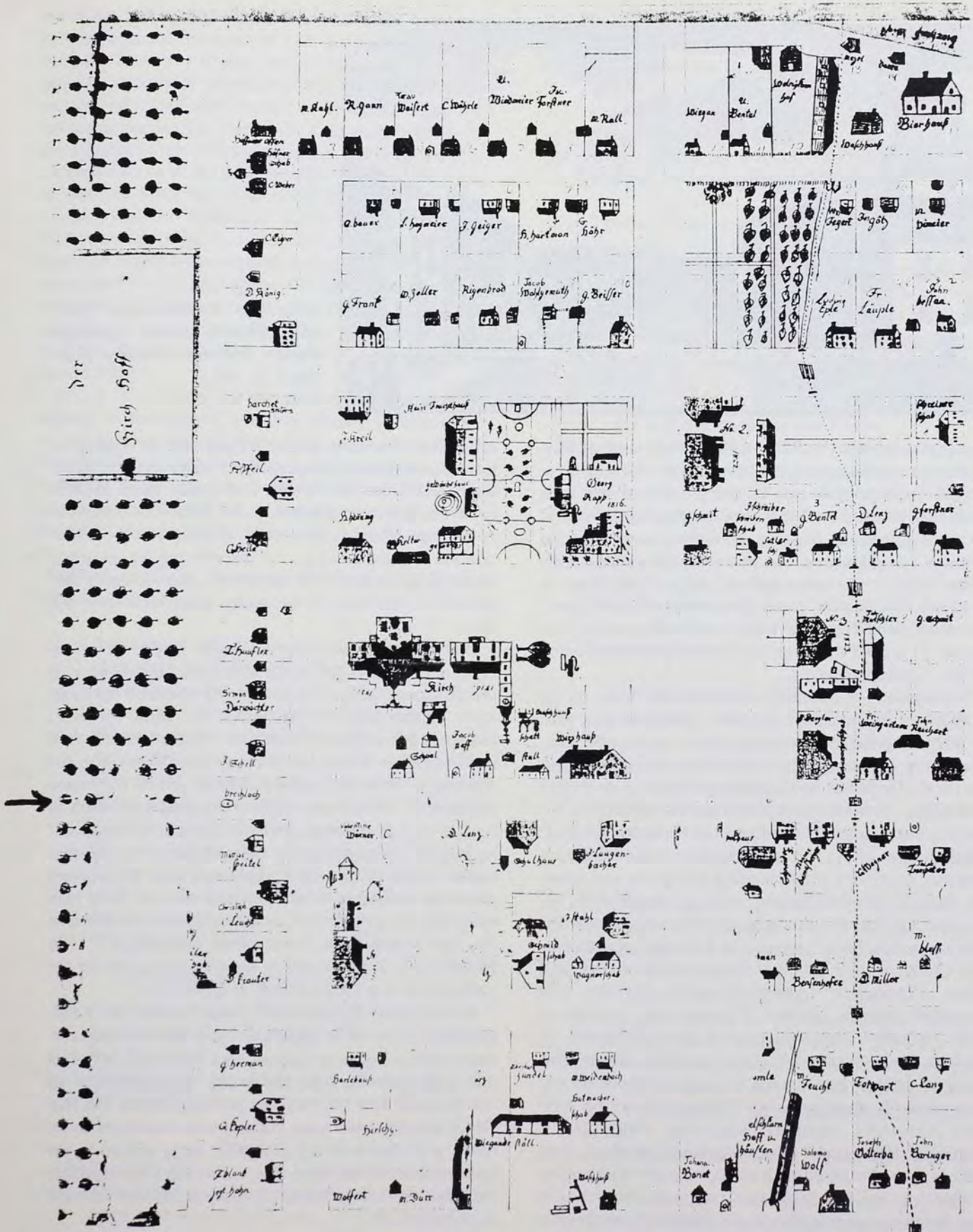
With the help of Professor Dr. Franz of the University Hohenheim, Department for Industrial and Agrarian History, we obtained the assistance of the Webschule at Sindelfingen in the area from which the Harmonists came. Dr. Franz and the Deutsches Museum provided photocopies from Dr. Johann Georg Krünitz's *Oeconomische Encyclopaedie*,⁷ which made it possible to reconstruct a model of a "Brechloch." This encyclopedia also provides contemporary illustrations of the flax and hemp breaking process that followed the treatment in the "Brechloch."

A "Brechloch," consequently, was a pit designed to make flax and hemp bone-dry prior to breaking it for weaving or rope making. As we have seen, "Brechloch" is synonymous with "Dörrloch," a drying pit, and if constructed above ground serves the purpose of the "Darre," a kind of kiln with less intense dry heat but also shown on the New Harmony map. The "Brechloch," as at New Harmony, was built at a safe distance from any building that might catch fire from flames or sparks. It was covered with boards or stones and earth when not in use.

The "Brechloch" was built like a cellar or in a cavern. It was six to seven feet high, five to six feet wide, nine to ten feet long. It had to be protected from the north and east winds and was to be open to the south. It had dry walls or of tile, designed oval or square. The one at New Harmony was oval at one end.

To operate a "Brechloch" a very hot fire was built and permitted to burn until the flames subsided and the hot coals remained at the bottom of the pit to produce the desired dry heat. An iron or wood grate was then placed at a safe distance from the glowing coals and the flax or hemp was arranged over it. This was turned to expose all sides to the heat. A bucket of water was kept on hand with a dipper to extinguish any fire that might start in the flax or hemp.⁸

We are now ready to explain why the "Brechloch" was of such importance to the town of New Harmony on the Wabash that Weingärtner carefully sketched it on his map. Weaving and rope making were two of the most important money-making industries of the Harmonists on the American frontier. Farming and raising cattle were very important for providing their own food and for supplying the New Orleans market, but while many persons on the frontier at that time were trying to make a living by farming, only a few were equipped or trained to prepare cloth and ropes for the Indiana market. These were items of scarcity which the Harmonists provided both for their own use and for sale to bring in much needed cash. When they decided in 1824 to leave Indiana to return to a splendid location below Pittsburgh, they obtained the help of the famous Captain Shreve in designing a steamboat which was then built by Graham and Phillips at a location now named Monaca. Much of the furnishings of the boat came from the Pittsburgh area, but the ropes for this proud



The "Brechloch" shown in the above section of the unique New Harmony, Indiana hand drawn German map marks an important lost flax production device discussed in this article.



Economy, Pennsylvania, 1843, old Church Street. (George Rapp's Harmony Society 1785-1847, p. 592.)

steamboat, named the *William Penn*, were made at New Harmony, Indiana, and the "Brechloch" located there played an important part in the process of this rope making. The chief rope maker of the Society was one of its most important business managers, a man by the name of Langenbacher. He, however, was called simply "Der Seiler," the rope maker, and it took time to discover that "Seiler" was not another family name, but simply the honorific of a capable Harmonist, the master of a craft that was important for the well-being of the Harmony Society.

In the period of transition from New Harmony on the Wabash to Economy on the Ohio, George Rapp, with an advance group of Harmonists, was on the new location below Pittsburgh preparing their third settlement for those Harmonist brethren remaining on their second settlement, New Harmony. During this period, the Indiana group was under the direction of the temporal affairs manager of the Harmony Society, Frederick Rapp, and they continued preparing flax and hemp and weaving linen to provide for the needs of the Society, including cash that was needed to meet the expenses of the new settlement being prepared in Pennsylvania. Graves and Colby in their article "An Overview of Flax and Linen Production" under footnote 58 cite *The American Farmer*, Volume VI, page 404, to support their statement that "George Rapp's Economy in western Pennsylvania was using a steam power flax break in 1824," but there is no such evidence on the page cited. It does quote an "Extract from the *New York Advertiser*, Saturday, September 18th, 1824," describing Roumage's "Flax Machine" in detail, and follows this description with an account of "Cultivation of Flax" in which it refers to its previous "notice of a Flax Machine, invented by Mr. Roumage," but there is no mention of a steam power flax break being used in 1824 at George Rapp's Economy. In 1824, George Rapp's brilliant manager of the Harmony Society was

still in New Harmony on the Wabash and his relation to Roumage did not come about until six years later, as we shall see below. The Graves and Colby claim in their footnote 58 is contradicted by the following statement of George Rapp in his letter of October 17, 1824: "Stoves are also lacking . . . flax or hemp for spinning, for we have no time to prepare ours, also too many flax breakers would have to be made, which time does not allow."¹⁰

On December 1, 1824, George Rapp writes to Frederick Rapp: "The power looms are holding up with the girls quite well, in time you will probably be using more of this kind."¹¹ By March 31, 1825, however, George Rapp writes to Frederick: "Also, I have before this long since written to you that you should stop the weaving of linen and otherwise send several craftsmen and people. What is the sense of weaving linen cloth as long as we have enough until we are able to produce it here again. It seems to me that whenever the thought comes to me to be very disagreeable that the weavers should sit in their caverns and weave yarn, as if the yarn could not be transported, and here there is so much to do that would earn much more percentage."¹² By November 1, 1825, Frederick Rapp had arranged for the completion of a steam engine at Economy.¹³

In the time of transition from Indiana to Pennsylvania, then, it is apparent from the existing correspondence between George and Frederick that flax and hemp growing and processing were continued on the Wabash with the facilities provided there, but that flax production and rope making were continued in Indiana with flax weaving gradually being shifted to the power looms on the Ohio in order to meet the impatient demands of George Rapp for more manpower to build Economy.

Frederick Rapp, however, was at that time known throughout America as a very progressive leader of the Harmony Society, and his name in the business world

was better known than that of Rapp's Society, so he not only approached inventors of new methods of production, but inventors of new patented discoveries of improved methods of production also approached him; they hoped to sell their patents to Frederick Rapp for further dissemination westward. One such example is documented in the following unpublished proposal of a German-American named Roumage, which I print from my German American archives with the caution that we consider that the building of a new settlement on the Ohio was a first priority, and after this priority came the desire for improved, or possibly improved, methods and machines for the production of flax, such as those described in the *American Farmer*. The new home and the factories for the business of this new home in the East was Frederick's first priority — just as it was George Rapp's.

Let us now follow the documents or documentary evidence of Roumage's invention referred to in note 58 of the Graves and Colby record as it surfaces in Frederick Rapp's records. Roumage's first proposal to Frederick Rapp is in his handwriting and bears his signature, but it lacks any introductory paragraph or letter. He refers to it under the date given in his later letters.

Roumage's First Proposal to Frederick Rapp, September 25, 1830

1. 2 machines will Break at least 9 tons Flax in sheaf (unrotted) Per Each Week.
2. Each Ton yields about 700 L Flax ready for Spinning in Bale ropes and other Cordages
3. When ready for Spinning for Linnen. Bleached, and without any vegetable matter 1 Ton will yield about the half of that quantum, *in pure Tiers*, and a proportion quantity of *Tow* for Common Work of Every description.
4. Flax dressed by that principle make Thread *Stronger*, and already *half bleached*, so that there is a Saving of 15 to 20 per Cent on the Bleaching only —
5. Said Flax may be dyed in Every Colours

Expenses for manufacturing

6. The Hand work for Breaking and Dressing flax for Rope-making is not more than 1^c to 1 1/8^c Per Pound
7. Bleaching and Hatchling for Linnen etc. about per pound — — — 1^c

Results

8. Excellent Bale-ropes, as Strong as best Russia hemp ropes and lighter by 1/6 — would cost in paying the Flax \$10-per ton . . . Less than 4^c a pound

The other articles in the same proportion

Farmers Interests

9. 1 acre good ground yields about 1 ton Flax in Sheaf and from 10 to 12 Bushels Seed. The Expenses for Cultivation are in the Jersey where the hands are paid \$1 a day.

Rent of the grounds \$3--

Plowing, Sowing, Weeding etc 2"

Pulling, Threshing etc 3"

. . . \$8 per acre

The Seed only at \$1 per Bushel; say 7 Shilling gives more than \$10 — and the Price received for the Flax is a clear profit without any further Troubles in the Back Countries the Expenses must be less by at least \$2.-- So that the average Clear Profits from 1 acre land must be about \$12- or \$13. That kind of Cultivation Improves the ground.

Price of the machines and Terms

10. it is not favorable to work with *one Single* machine: The *General Expenses* are pretty near the same for *one* as for *two* machines: *Building, foreman, Power* etc. etc. Better at any rate to work *only 6 months per year* in the Beginning, if there should not be at first a sufficient quantity of Flax for the whole year, than the *whole* year with *one machine*, my calculations are, In consequence, made on *2 machines* with *tools* belonging there to.

The material *Cost* of one machine Complete and ready for working, is from \$700 to \$800. Nota bene - I Bend myself to furnish the *Bills*, of all the persons who have worked at them to demonstrate the original costs —

Thus 2 machines would Cost about \$1500
The hatchels etc. etc. belonging to the

Same cost about \$200

Together \$1700

The Patent right for all Section of Pennsylvania *West of the Allegheny*, for 13 years from August last, will be, for any quantity whatever of machines \$1500.

The whole amount is then . . . \$3200.

But the delivery to be taken at New York: The freight etc. to be paid by the Purchaser—

I Bend myself to have said Articles forwarded from N/Orleans *without Commission* There

The delivery may take place within 2 months or less.

All Expenses of Packing these articles will be at my Charge—

If Requested I will Send a man with the machineries to put them up and govern them — he understands his business perfectly well and is able to Repair and Clean them himself except in Case of Breaking Some large pieces; But there

is not the least danger for that, and certainly \$50 a year are more than Sufficient for keeping them in a perfect state. This man expects to have \$1-2^c a day -and Travel Expenses paid — (it is cheap) — he may start immediately with the mesures of Every Thing. and have the Buildings Prepared—Before Hand— it would be very Difficult for the Best Machinist to have these machines *put up* when he does not know them before Hand . . . — though plain, Simple and Easy — one must also know how to govern them, and to dress the flax — That *man knows all-*

In order to give Every Possible garantees to the Purchaser my Terms will be, to receive *Cash* or in approved notes on New York at 3 or 4 months 1^o the Cost price of *one Single machine* and- Tools, Hatchels etc Belonging to

the same . . . Say . . . \$900--.
and on account for the Patent right . . .
only . . . \$300--.
together . . . \$1200

The *Second machine* Shall remained unpaid in the Hands of the Purchaser until the whole Establishment is in full operation, Say one Year from this date

The \$1200 for Patent right, to be paid ½ within one Year, ½ within 18 months,

These 2^d machine and Patent right money to be forfeited by me should the machineries not fulfill the Resultates afore said.--

Thus, I shall Receive at the delivery *But about 2/3 of my actual disbursement* for having the machines made, and will run the Risk for the Rest, or \$2000.

Power Less than 6 horses-

I work by steam power because with my Shives I Chaldron Coal *last 2 weeks*, and one is Independent of Droughts, freshets, Repairing of Dams etc etc and chosing the best Spot for the factory it suits better the farmers and Saves a great many Expenses for Carting.

I know by 5 years Experience that *one Year operations* will pay all the Expenses.

New York September 25th 1830
Roumage
57 Washington Street

I have no objection to take a share in the Establishment.

On November 25, 1830, Roumage followed up the above proposal with the following letter:

New York November 25th 1830.
Mr. Frederick Rapp, Economy

Sir

I Feel perfectly disposed to second you for the introduction of the machines in your neighbourhood, as a proper mean to make them known to the public in General, and Therefore, after having very carefully Looked over my account, I have concluded to make you the following proposal, viz.

1. Without any other alterations whatever to the Conditions and Terms given to you in Writing on the 25th of September, I reduce to Seven Hundred and fifty Dollars, say \$750. The sum to be paid to me Cash at the delivery of one complet mashine, including all and every Fixture and apparatus thereto *Belonging, Except the main Shaft and Drum* which give the power from the water or Steam (such pieces being a part of the mill and not of the machinery) -

2d. as regards The patent right for Pennsylvania, West of the Allegany, \$750. will be paid to me within one year from The day The machine will be first put in operation but not later than August 1831, say payable august 1832.

These \$750 Cash are not sufficient even to pay the expenses I will be at for the making of one complet machine: But never minded: I will give you a fair chance. Should you prefer to Let me share in the Profits in a reasonable proportion I would not object, not only to manners to the Payment of the \$750- for the Patent rights, but I would grant Patent rights for any quantity whatever without other compensation than this Share, which, I Think, i do not overrate by asking 1/4th -, all expenses previously deducted.

I need 3 months time for getting the machine in readiness; supposing such delivered to you, here, by the month of march, it would conveniently reach your Place in June; be put up in July, and Ready for operation by the first day of August next - which is the proper time for Beginning to Break and Dress, The farmers pulling from 1st to middle of July and Begining to deliver their Flax about End of July.

Do not be uneasy about the quantity of Flax to be got for Keeping at least one machine in Operation Throughout the whole year. The culture of Flax is nowadays very much neglected because of the Troublesome and ruinous process of Rotting and Dressing by hand, but so soon the farmers will have ready market for Their Flax in Sheaf without any other Trouble, and will be Convinced that the mere Seed covers more Than The whole Expenses (as it is a positive fact) you will have plenty of it, Even at \$10 - per Ton.- They may rely upon the Calculation I have given to you, for the nett pro-

ceed from one Acre & good Ground - It would be a good plan, i think to do with them as I have done in the Jersey in 1827 - to Enter into an agreement with Them (the farmers) in January and February, for Each of them to Sow, 1, 2, 3, 4 Acres more or less and to deliver you the Proceeds. The next year Subscriptions would be of no use. They must be very particular in the Choice of Good, Clean, Bright *Seeds* and change it Evry Year: it increases very much the Quantity and improves the Quality. But of that anon.

I forgot to tell you That it will be one Condition of our agreement That in Case of Further Sales to or by you The price of Each machine shall be \$900 and the Patent right \$1200- I cannot afford to do it for Less -

The Establishment will be in full operation at the Time of the Delivery, so That we shall be able to constitute the Results by winter Demonstrating if requested.

Let me hear soon of you, Dr Sir, for the Time will be soon at hand if you will not run The Risk to Lose one year-

Yours Respectfully
J Roumage
57 Washington Street

P.S. After mature Consideration I think it very Easy to save you The Expense of a man of \$1.25 per day For putting up and attending The machines . . . you would have to send me at the time of the delivery a young and intelligent man, who understands something of Black smiths or Carpenter's work, and in less than a fortnight I'll teach him every-Thing, and he'll be able in the Future to answer properly your purpose. Ein guter deutscher Bursche von 20. bie 25 Jahre alt ist grad was ich wünsche zu haben at any rate my man will be ready in due time if wanted.

Addressed: Frederick Rapp Esqr Economy Pennsylvania near Pittsburg
Postmark: New York Nov. 25. Postage: single 18 3/4.
Endorsed: flax breaking Nov. 15th 1830.

December 18, 1830. J. Roumage's third letter to Frederick Rapp regarding a flax machine and patent.

New York December 18th 1830
Frederick Rapp Esqr
Economy
Sir

I refer to my Letter 25 November I wish sincerely to contribute to render my System popular in your neighbourhood and therefore feel disposed

to enter into every Just and reasonable agreement with you: my last proposals are an evident proof of it. I will add to them another garantie, wiz: That, *should the nett profit of The first Year operations in dressing only 100 Tons of raw Flax, not Cover and even Exceed The amount of the Sum paid to me for The machinery*, I bend myself to Either to take back the same machine and apparatus and to reimburse to you The money paid, or to pay to you The difERENCE, at your Choice. Further, if it does not Suit you to Leave me one share in The Profits for The payment of the Patent right, as already said, I offer to you to Renounce to any payement whatever for said Patent right, should The profits of the first Year (as afore said) not Exceed The \$750- paid for The machinery.

Such Clause Shows how confident I am of the Infaillibility of my Process proved by 5 years of successful operations; and That I expect no advantage bot ? from The Future introduction of This System Throughout The Country under The influence of your own Experiment and The Patronage of your Society. as I Told you, I will at the Expense of at least \$900.- Cash for a Compleat machinery and tools Thereto belonging and should These machineries be return'd to me it would be a compleat Loss for me because I don't want any more of The Same for my own use.

Please to favor me with your answer so soon as Convenient for Fear it might be too Late for The good Construction of These difficult Articles. your Farmers must also dispose Their grounds in January & February; and *Time and tide* wait for nobody.

Respectfully, Sir, yours etc etc
J. Roumage

Addressed: Frederick Rapp Esqr Economy near Pittsburgh Pennsylvia.
Postmark: New York Dec 18 Postage: Single 18
No endorsement

J. Roumage's fourth proposal to Frederick Rapp about his flax breaking machine.
Frederick Rapp Esqr.

Economy
New York December 20th 1830
Sir,

I receive your Favor dated 13th-instant.

In order to take away every possible Cause of Further mistakes between us please to Consider my Letter of 18th Instant and any anterior Letters of mine as nul and Voide, as regard The prices and Terms.

Dec 29, 1830

Now, That every Rubbishes are out the way, I will try to be as Explicit and Clear as possible.....

1. The Price of one Compleet machine (as already sufficiently described) delivered at New York or Elisabethtown Encluded The Patent right Shall be one Thousand and fifty Dollars..... \$1050.-. Payable to wit \$ 750.- cash at The delivery. (That Sum being Less Than my actual Expenses for The Construction of one machine) and \$300.- one Year after delivery of the Same.

2. It could not answer to have Any Parts of Said machine made out of my Control and Superintendence. Because Every parcel of it must be perfectly accurate, and are, besides made, on Special Patterns which I possess, and which could not be made again without Large and useless Expenses to you. Even The Drums which regulate the Convenient motion must go along with The machine, it will not increase the Expences for the Freight, and you will, by That mean, Enjoy The Satisfaction of having no trouble at all to fix These pieces. So Soon the machine Shall be put up in its proper place a Single Strap will Communicate the power to The Drum and The machine will Start as regular as The Best time-piece.

3. My meaning was and is, as regard The price of \$900 for each machine and \$ 1200 for Patent right, That, should (as There is no Doubt) your own Experiment induce the Pennsylvanians to purchase Some, They Shall have to pay These prices, if not I Prefer to keep my System to myself-my reducing to \$ 1050.- to you, being for The mere purpose of making my machines known in your Country So highly Favoured by nature for the Cultivation of Flax — by the more inspection of Them you Shall be Convinced That \$1050.- cannot give me any Profit., it would, then be Convenient to my Interest you would please to keep This price secret.

Respectfully, Sir,
your most obt. servant

J. Roumage

Addressed: Frederick Rapp Esqr Economy near Pittsburg Pennsylv.

Postmark: New York Dec 20

Endorsed: flax Cleaning Machine Dec. 1830

December 29, 1830: Frederick Rapp's letter book copy of his communication of terms of acceptance of Roumage's proposals for one complete flax breaking machine and patent rights.

Mr. J. Roumage
#57 Washington Street
New York

Your favs. of the 18 and 20. Ins. both reached here the same day, I am pleased to find in the latter, your explisite answer to my Interogation and have now to communicate, that I accept your last Proposal set forth in your Letter of the 20. Ins. viz \$1050. for one Complete Flax machine, including the patent. Seven hundred and fifty Dollars to be paid on delivery of the machine, and \$300 one year after. Since you do not approve of having the heavist parts of the machine made here, you will please inform me, whether all the parts of it can be transported on a Common Wagon, or whether some are to large, so that they would have to come by Water. In the first case, I wd. have the Machine Shipped from Newyork to Baltimore and there put on a Wagon, in the second, it wd. have to be shipped to New Orleans, and from there in Steam Boats to this place, however since the Ohio often gets low late in the Spring, the machine in that Event, would have to be in New Orleans by the first of may next at farthest. Please inform me on this Subject, also please mention accurately as soon as convinient, how much power is required for the operation of the Machine that I may contract for a Steam Engine.

I would also ask the fav. of you to send me a dft or description of a house, as your experience may think best suited for the establishment, which I would also put up in the mean time to prevent delay after arrival of the machine. I rather think I will get your man to come out to put up the Machine, to prevent any difficulty which might otherwise arise, and as we shall have many visitors here at the time, when it will be first put in opperation, It is my desire it should make the best possible Impression on the Spectators in order to facilitate the further introduction of the Same-you may rely on my secrecy as regards price and terms.

January 8, 1831. J. Roumage to Frederick Rapp: Confirmation of Rapp's agreement for a flax-breaking machine and patent rights.

New York, Jan 8th 1831

Frederick Rapp Esqre
Economy

Dear Sir-

You agree by your Letter of the 29th of December to pay for one complete machine and the Patent right \$ 1050. to wit \$ 750.- Cash, at the delivery which will take place in the month of

March, at Elisabethtown or New York, and \$ 300.- one Year after, for which Sum I Shall have to receive your note payable at order, and if Possible, in Philadelphia. my orders are given and the whole Shall be Executed with the greatest Care. a Fortnight or 3 weeks before hand I shall give you notice of The very day when I will be ready to deliver.

The Weight will be about 2 Tons only, and there will be no Difficulty to Transport Every Part of it on a Common Wagon. The largest piece (one wheel) is only 6 Feet diameter and weighs about 400 lb. = two half Circle pieces of Cast Iron weighs Each about 350 lb. and are also 6 to 6½ feet wide. = These 3 parts are the only ones which are rather difficult to manage, and Though, easy to put on a Wagon—all The others will not offer The least difficulty being Small and Convenient to pack up. The wooden Frame, and Drums will be broken to pieces and marked so. Then Every Common Carpenter Shall be able to Fix Them a-new. Thus, Drsir, The Best way will be Through Baltimore.

The Steam Engine which Drives 2 machines at Elis-town, and leaves a Surplus Power for a Turning lath [& ?] is a 6 horse Engine. in your Stead I would Rather Contract for a Steam Engine of That Power, because additional work is always to be used with Profit. Should it be a Saw-mill, or better a Oilmill, a very valuable Speculation because of the Quantity of Flax Seed which will come on the market by the Increase of the Cultivation of the Flax. We have 2 Boilers 27 Inches Diameter by 18 Feet. = the Furnace bars must be pretty close by one another in order to burn The Shives with Facility - and the Chimney must have a good draft, if Possible The door of the Furnace exposed to The NW; N or SW. Permit me to tell you That you will have time plenty. I Think, to Contract at Pitsburgh for a Steam Engine, after having Seen That of Elistown, or at least, to have it put up afterwards.

As regard The Buildings I will be very happy to Send you a Complet Draft and Description of an Establishment on the most Economical and Convenient plan. But This requires Some time. I promise you to Send it in the Course of this month- Even with the Quantity of Timber necessary for The Same. with Such bulky article There is a very great Saving of hand labour by a proper Disposition of The Buildings from the Barn where The raw flax is Stored, to the Store where it is put after Being dress. *Every operation must go regularly forwards* without never a Single Step.. going Backwards. But of That anon—

I will be pleased you ask from me Every possible informations. I feel duty Bound to partake with you my long and often dearly paid Ex-

perience—Thus make yourself Perfectly *at home* with me.

Respectfully Dr. Sir
yours J Roumage

P.S. The time comes on when you will have to Contract with your neighbors The Farmers for sowing Flax. \$10 per Ton is a good price. I may send you, if you wish it, a Copy of our agreement with Them.—You cannot to much recommend the use of good, clean Seed and to renew it this year, it improves very much The Products and Consequently Encourages the farmers.- good mellow Ground, well Cross Ploughed this winter.

Addressed: Frederick Rapp Esqr. Economy near Pittsburgh Pennsylvania
Postmark: New York Jan 8 Postage: illegible
Endorsed: flax breaking Machine Jan 8th 1831

Feburary 11, 1831. Frederick Rapp to J. Roumage: Proposes to bring a Harmony Society mechanic with him in March or April to see a demonstration of Roumage's flax-breaking machine at Elisabethtown. Asks that raw flax be on hand for the demonstration.

Feb. 11th 1831

Mr. J. Roumage, New York

Your esteemed favors of the 8th ult. and 2d inst. came both to hand, and contents noted. I am very much obliged for your plain & explicite drafts, discriptions, etc. of the buildings requisite for the whole Establishment of the flax breaking machinery.

We shall endeavour to come up to them as much as possible, however finding it much more complicated then expected, I rather suppose, I will come down with one of our mechanix & see your machinery in operation in march or april next. I wd. previous to my departure write and name the day on which we wd. meet you at the Establishment in Elisabethtown. If you could have some more raw flax on hand at that time, to enable you to show us the whole proceedings, I should like it extremely well I am glad to hear that the whole weight will not overrun two ton, and that it can be carried in a waggon from Baltimore.

[F.R.]

July 25, 1831. Frederick Rapp to M.J. Roumage: Frederick, Wronged and Taken Advantage of, Threatens to Sue.

July 25th 1831

M.J. Roumage, New York

I delayed writing until now, and even at this time I feel reluctance to address you on the subject

of which the very thought produces serious vexation, because you have wronged me, you have taken a dishonorable advantage of me, which judging from your letters I had no reason to expect.

You had promised to make me a good flax-breaking machine similar to the one in operation in Elisabethtown etc. Instead of that you have send me an old worn-out machine, which had been thrown aside & its place supplied with a better one. The wooden frame is old and much to short, to admit of the receiving cloths to be fastened to it, as they ought to be, the machine has seven pair of rollers less than the one you showed me, which is a capital objection, & the rollers so fixed that not a single one can be taken out, unless all is taken apart. The small wheels which work in the large are very much worn, as well as the large one, which has already 10 cogs broken out & others packed in.

The machine you showed me had no deviding boards between the rollers which is certainly much better. I have within the last ten years, purchased a great many machines, but I have never been taken in before, I was for some time scarcely able to reconcile your Letters, with your Conduct untill I was fully convinced that I was deceived most audaciously under the dark mask of Politeness & pretended honesty, I have to inform you in short, that unless you make full and sufficient satisfaction to me without delay I shall have to use the Laws of the land against you & will most certainly do it, in a manner not advantageous to your character.

[F.R.]

Since no record of a lawsuit against Roumage has been found, this trouble was probably adjusted to Frederick's satisfaction, although the flax breaking machine never seems to have been as satisfactory as the "Brechloch" apparently was. About October 4, 1831, Sandor Farkas visited Economy and in his Hungarian description of Economy, *Utazas Eszak Amerikaban*, twice mentions their steam flax breaker¹⁴ while the following letter of Frederick Rapp to Jeremiah Warder of December 19, 1832, seems to consider the flax and hemp problems settled, but they continue to produce flax and flaxseed oil for the market as the records of the Society show.

Dec. 19th

Jeremiah Warder, Esqr. Springfield, Clark Cy., Ohio

Your favor dated 6th inst. came to hand in due course and contents noted. I procured at Elisabeth Town near Newyork last year a flax breaking Machine and brought it to this place; it cost upwards of one thousand Dolls, and answered the purpose tolerably well for flax, but I am satisfied (in my mind) it would not suit to break hemp We are not cultivating that article, and therefore we have no hemp machine in operation, neither is there any in this country.—I understood some time since that a very good hemp machine was in operation in Kentucky (I think near Maysville) but I have never seen it.

F.R.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research is indebted to a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission of the United States National Archives.

ENDNOTES

¹Donald Graves and Michael Colby, "An Overview of Flax and Linen Production in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXXV:3 (1986), p. 109.

²Karl J. R. Arndt, *Harmony on the Connoquenessing, 1803-1815* (Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1980), pp. 137-139.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 143-146.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 160-169.

⁵Karl J. R. Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society, 1814-1824*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975, 1978), I, pp. 14-16.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oeconomische Encyclopaedie, oder allgemeines System der Land- Haus- and Statts-Wirthschaft, in alphabetischer Ordnung* (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1773-1858). Johann George Krünitz (1728-1796) is known as Germany's most important Encyclopaedist. After Diderot and d'Alembert, the fathers of the great French *Encyclopedie*, he is the most significant representative of the movement endeavoring to record all knowledge of all times and peoples and to make it available to scholars and scientists, politicians and statesmen, as well as businessmen. A reproduction on 2028

microfiches is now available from the Olms Microform System, Hildesheim, Germany.

⁸This weed was marihuana. The second part of Dr. Faust's *Histories*, published in 1593, describes the following practices of the American Indian, using the word "dörren," to dry. "The leaves of this weed they dry in air; and when one of them wants some pleasure or wishes for wondrous dreams . . . they take the leaves of this weed and place them on glowing coals and inhale the steam or smoke through a reed or funnel made for this purpose . . ."

⁹*American Farmer*, March 11, 1825, VI, p. 404, columns 1 & 2.

¹⁰Karl J. R. Arndt, *Harmony on the Wabash in Transition, 1824-1826* (Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1982) pp. 223 and 227.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 297 and 301.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 498 and 502.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 556. The contract date was May 24, 1825, calling for completion of the engine by November 1, 1825.

¹⁴Sandor Farkas, *Utazas Eszak-Amerikaban* (Kolozsvar, 1834) as quoted on pages 618 to 626 in Karl J. R. Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834* (Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1984).

SOME NEGLECTED SWISS LITERATURE ON THE FOREBAY BANK BARN

by Terry G. Jordan

In the past decade, the Swiss origin of the Pennsylvania forebay bank barn was demonstrated by two American field researchers working independently, one of whom was the present author.¹ Both investigators found the most compelling log double-crib prototypes on the slopes of the Prätigau (also spelled Prättigau), a high valley of Canton Graubünden (Figures 1-3). Their work was complemented by fellow geographer Joseph Glass, who, by placing the forebay bank barn in cultural-ecological context, explained why it was able to spread from the small group of Swiss highlanders who introduced it to a much wider segment of the Pennsylvania farm population.² According to Glass, the

ecological advantages of the two-level, forebay plan, with stables below and threshing floor/feed storage above, included gravity feeding, displacement of snowslides from the roof and splash erosion away from the stable entrance, shading of the stalls at high sun in the summer, and preventing the stack produced by throwing straw from the threshing level from accumulating against the lower wall of the barn. Most of these advantages involved minimization of labor. In this manner, an originally regional Swiss barn type diffused widely through the parts of Midland America practicing a mixed agrarian system that involved grain, hay, and stall-fed livestock.



Fig. 1: Side view of double-crib log forebay barn in the village of Saas, in the Prätigau, Canton Graubünden, Switzerland. Stalls are below, feed storage on the upper level, accessible from ground level on the uphill eave side. Note the stair beneath the forebay, the log wall closing off the Talina on the forebay level, and the open chinks in the gable to ventilate the hayloft. (Photo by the author, 1978.)



Fig. 2: Double-crib log forebay barn in Saas, Prätigau. Note the wooden forebay support posts; the window in the forebay, to illuminate the threshing floor and to

facilitate ejection of straw; and the enclosure of the barnyard on the forebay side. (Photo by the author, 1978.)



Fig. 3: The upslope eave side, or rear, of a double-crib forebay barn in Saas, Prätigau. Chink construction allows ventilation of this upper level, which contains the feed bins and a central wagon runway/threshing floor. A small artificial bank facilitates entry to the runway.

The round logs are saddle notched, and hay-drying stakes for use in the meadows hang beneath the eave. A shed on the gable side is for farm equipment. The dwelling is adjacent but not attached to the barn. (Photo by the author, 1978.)

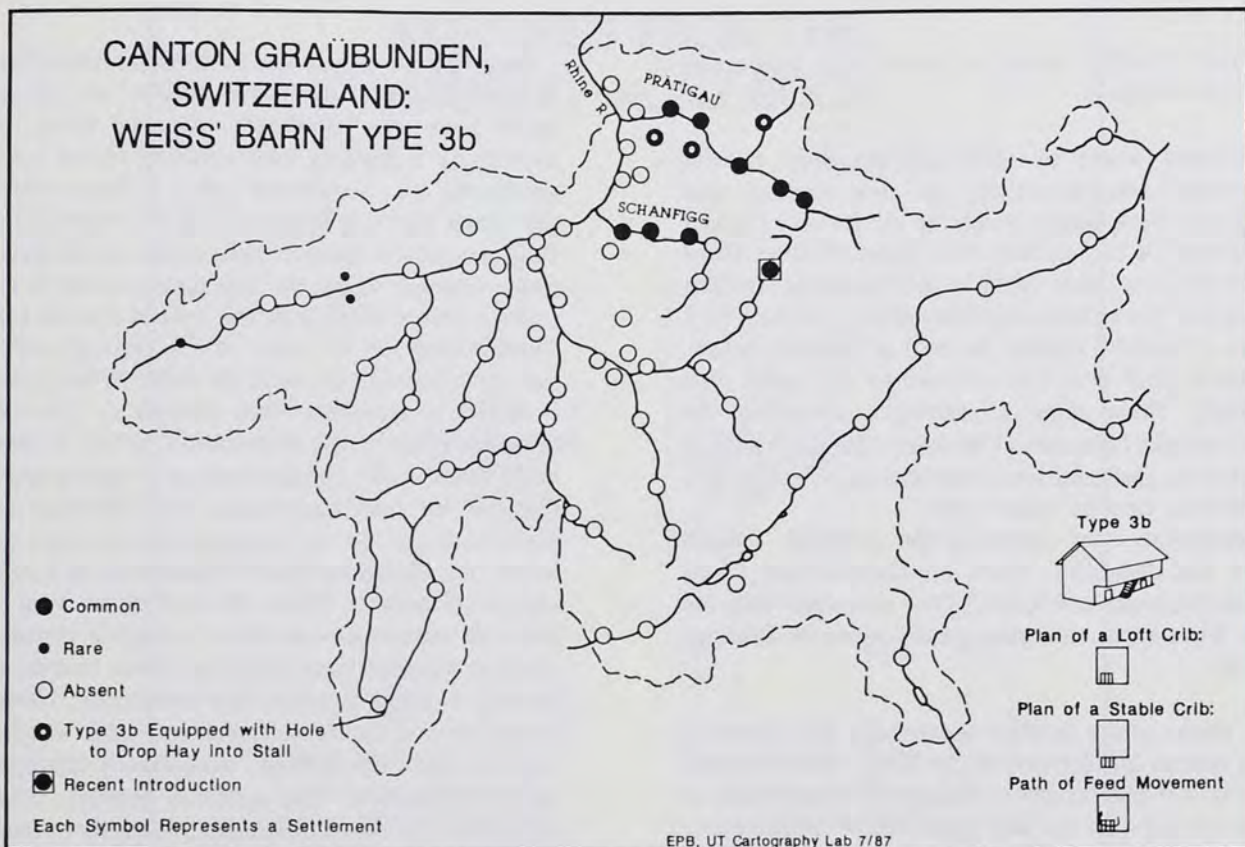


Fig. 4: The map and sketches are all redrawn from Map I of the Weiss article.

It is now evident that, had we American folklife scholars adequately surveyed the relevant Swiss literature, the Graubünden forebay bank barn would not have had to be “discovered” through field research, nor would we have needed to ponder its ecological superiority in a mixed farming economy. Excellent descriptions of the architectural style, geographical distribution in the Alps, and ecological advantages of the barn have long reposed in German-language books and articles published in Switzerland.

Perhaps the most significant of the neglected Swiss sources, now almost a half-century old, is a fugitive article by the famous folklife scholar, Richard Weiss.³ The article presents a classification of barns in Graubünden, including a “type 3b” which corresponds closely to the Pennsylvania barn (Figure 4). Below I present a translation of the relevant passage from the article, allowing Weiss to speak for himself:

Barn type 3b is distinguished externally by the very noticeable forebay (*Vorschub*), about 1.5 m. [5 ft.] wide, projecting from the hayloft, creating a snug covered space, called the *Hof* [yard], in front of the stable below. Protected from the weather, the water trough is usually found there. . . . The interior of the forebay has developed into

a walkway, called a *Talina* in the Prätigau, that runs the entire length of the hayloft. In the middle of the walkway is a trap door that provides access to stairs leading down to a spot directly in front of the stall entrance. Barn type 3b, with its cosy overhang and . . . protected fodder stairs, is without doubt one of the most picturesque and practical Alpine barns. Its area of distribution is mainly confined to the Prätigau and Schanfigg districts. Because of its incontestable functional advantages, it has diffused, recently in increasing numbers, into the higher-lying neighboring districts peopled by the *Walser* [a German group originally from Canton Wallis known for their ability to settle the higher Alpine valleys] . . . , especially by way of Klosters [in the upper Prätigau] toward Davos [beyond the Wolfgang Pass in the Landwasser Valley] and through Peist by way of Langwies in the direction of Arosa [in the upper Schanfigg]. In the *Walser* enclaves of the Prätigau, the barn type . . . is frequently equipped with a hole for dropping hay [to the stall below]. The valley neighboring the Prätigau [on the north], the Montafon, in [Austrian] Vorarlberg province, also has a barn in which the fodder stair leads from the forebay into the “little

yard" (*Höfle*), clearly a type 3b with little structural deviation.⁴

Subsequent works by other authors drew heavily upon Weiss' seminal article, but new findings and observations were made concerning the forebay barn of Graubünden. A half-decade after Weiss, Werner Hans Nigg wrote about such barns in the Schanfigg district: "The hayloft projects on the valley side of the barn by 1 to 1.5 m. [3 to 5 ft.] beyond the wall of the stalls below, providing a roof over the entrance to the stalls. One customarily finds there a stairway connecting the hayloft with the forecourt (*Vorplatz*). The outer wall of the stall level, sheltered from rain and snow, serves as a place to hang various farm tools."⁵

A generation later appeared the splendid, though perhaps not definitive, work on Graubünden farmsteads by Simonett and Könz.⁶ They also dealt with the forebay bank barn, enlarging greatly upon the findings of Weiss:

Barns with a forebay (Vorschub): It is common in central Bünden and in the Rhine Valley around Chur for the hayloft to project by 40 or 50 cm. [1 to 1½ ft.] over the stall doors below. In the barns of the permanently-occupied settlements, farmers store as much hay and straw as possible, which explains the widening of the loft area, an enlargement that also provides a protective overhang for the stall entrances.

In contrast to this unobtrusive, narrow enlargement is the very broad, 1 to 2 m. [3 to 6½ ft.] wide forebay characteristic of barns in the Prätigau, the outer Schanfigg, and the larger part of the main valley of the upper Rhine. It also occurs sporadically in Sais [near Chur in the Rhine Valley], Untermuten [on the slopes above the Albula, a tributary of the Hinter-Rhine], and even in Donath [on the upper reaches of the Hinter-Rhine] and Sur [far up the Oberhalbstein Valley, a southern tributary of the Albula]. In general, though, the broad "forebay" is absent from valleys where deep hay bins, the so-called *Fanilla*, occur. It is not true that the broad forebay is specifically designed for grain and straw storage, as has often been claimed, even though such usage is suggested by the oldest surviving specimens in Conters [in the Prätigau] and Valendas [in the main valley of the Hinter-Rhine], which date from 1564 and 1572. The widest forebay known to us, measuring 3 m. [10 ft.] dates from 1617 and is found way up in St. Antonien [in the upper Prätigau⁷], where no grain grows. Whether on the smallest cribs or double-crib structures [Figure 5a], the broad "forebay" is, in the main, simply an enlargement of the barn.

Only in the Prätigau and in the outer Schanfigg, as well as certain derivative outliers, do typical barns have the "forebay" separated from the hayloft by a dividing wall reaching to the roof, producing . . . a walkway called a *Talina* which contains a stairway [Figure 1]. In the barns of the Prätigau, which stand at right angles to the direction of the hill slope, the trap door leading to the stairs is placed directly on the central runway (the *Munteschiel*) [on the upper level], through which the hay is brought down to the stalls. Where grain is raised, a threshing floor entirely or partially takes the place of the *Munteschiel*, which in these cases occasionally appears only as a narrow space reserved for field equipment. This floorplan arrangement can also be detected from the barn exterior. The threshing floor is illuminated by a large window [Figure 2]. Below the forebay, in front of the stall entrances, one finds a slightly elevated wooden walkway made of rough hewn boards, at the end of which is located the manure pit. Newer barns have a continuous walkway and wooden support under the forebay, occasionally equipped with a balustrade. The collected manure, often deposited in a board container, is directly in front of the walkway. Old stairways [to the forebay] exhibit steps made of triangular blocks of wood [Figure 5c]. In the double-crib barns of the Prätigau, the animal stalls either abut one another [Figure 5b] or, as in some examples from Davos, have a narrow stall for small animals between them. In Grüşch, Valzeina, and Seewis [all in the Prätigau], one is surprised to find double-crib barns with round or square masonry "forebay supports" (*Vorschubstützen*), which strike the observer as unusually fine and are surely the work of Italian masons [Figure 5d].

In the outer Schanfigg, in contrast to the Prätigau, the roof ridge of the barns is parallel to the axis of hill slope. Their [forebay and] *Talina* occur on a gable end, and the threshing floor stands much higher than the floor of the *Talina*.

. . .
The barns of the Fore-Rhine Valley have no *Talina* in the "forebay" . . . [and] the old barns with "forebay" also have no stairway from the walkway to the hayloft. If such a stair does exist, it represents a modern alteration. The eave "forebay" here is, in any case, very often too narrow for a normal stair . . . ⁸

Nor should American scholars interested in the Pennsylvania barn overlook the magnificent *Atlas der Schweiz*, which contains both illustrations and commentary concerning folk architecture. In fact, two of the relative handful of representative Swiss farmsteads

SKETCHES FROM THE SIMONETT-KÖNZ BOOK

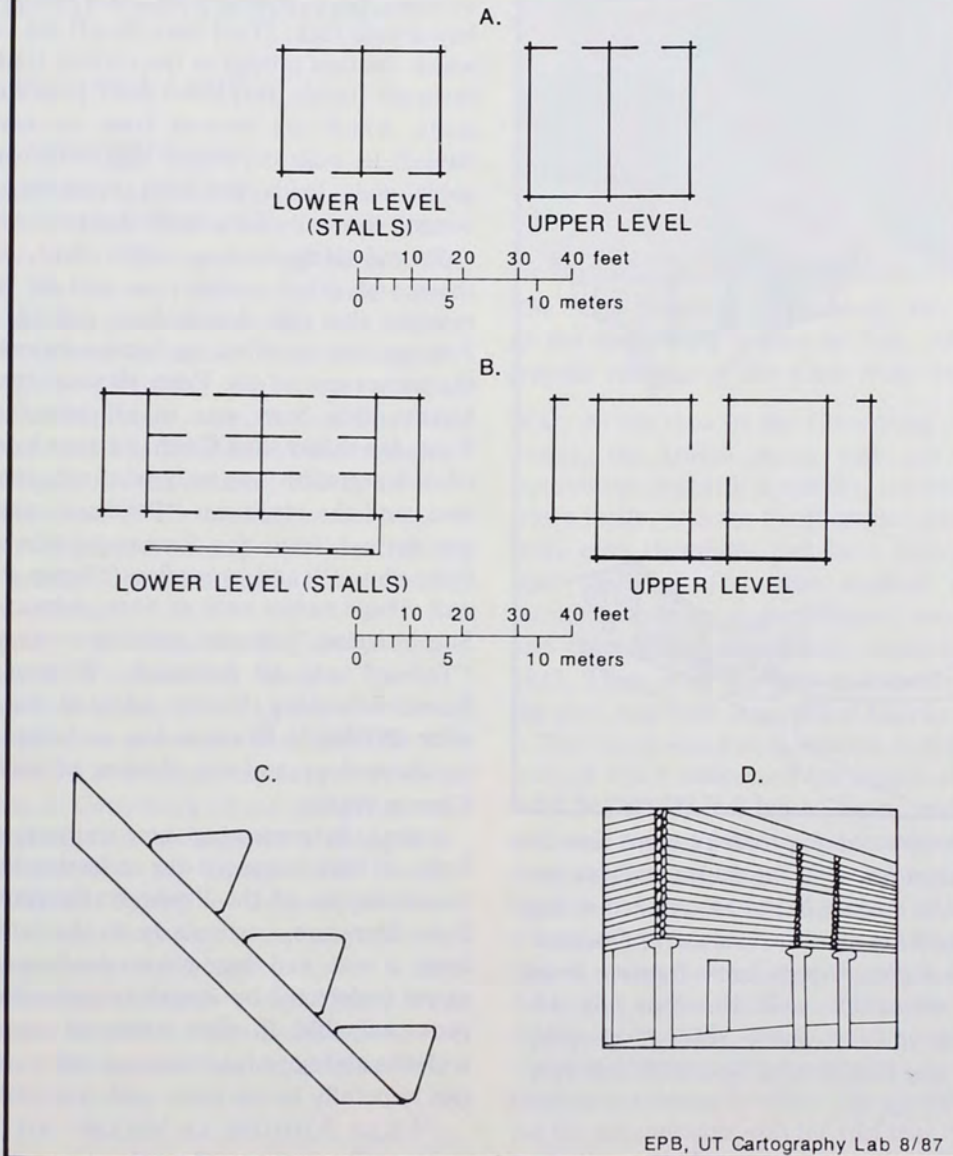


Fig. 5: Key: a = double-crib forebay barn in Sais, Graubünden; b = double-crib forebay barn from Jenaz in the Prätigau; c = detail of stair construction beneath a forebay in a barn at Klosters in the Prätigau (sketched

from photograph); and d = log forebay barn with masonry pillar supports, from Grüşch in the Prätigau (sketched from photograph). All four items are from the Simonett and Könz book, pp. 20-21.

sketched and described in the *Atlas* include eave forebay bank barns.⁹ The first of these, from Luzein in the Prätigau, dates from 1691 and is a farmstead consisting

of “. . . a front-gable house and a barn with an eave side to the front, separated by a narrow walkway. . . . [The] barn [is built of] hewn logs in chinkless construc-

SKETCHES FROM THE GSCHWEND AND JORDAN PUBLICATIONS

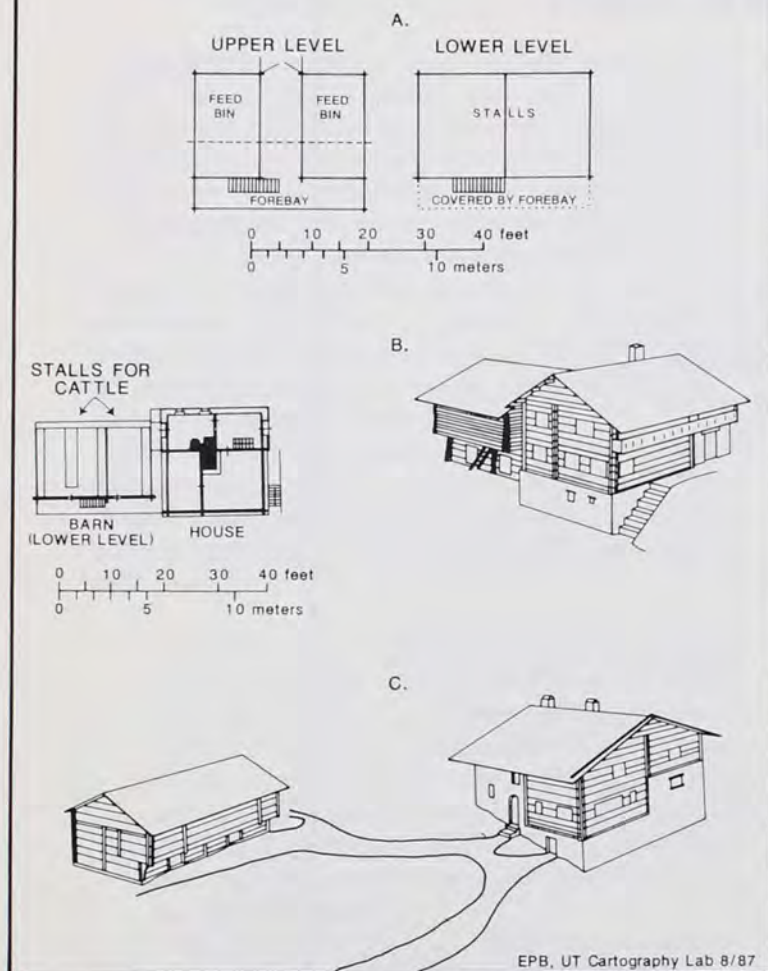


Fig. 6: Key: a = double-crib log forebay barn, Saas in the Prätigau, Graubünden; b = log house and double-crib log forebay barn, Luzein in the Prätigau; c = log house and double-crib log forebay bank barn, Obersaxen area, Fore-Rhine Valley, Graubünden. Item a is from Jordan, "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture," p. 173; items b and c from Gschwend, "Bäuerliche Haus- und Hofformen," plates 36 and 36a, items no. 16 and 17.

tion on the stall level, with round logs and open chinks for the hayloft" (Figure 6b). The second specimen, built in 1600, is from the Obersaxen area of the Fore-Rhine Valley, also in Graubünden, and is a typical "... multi-structure farmstead of the Alpine area, [including] dwelling, barn, storage shed, cook house, [and] covered hay-drying rack. [The] barn [is of] log construction in which the logs project at the corners [rather than being sawn off flush]; [the] lower story [contains] two double stalls, which are entered from an eave side. [The] hayloft [is built of] round logs, with entry through a gable end, [with the loft] projecting (*vorkragend*) beyond the wall of the stalls [below]" (Figure 6c).

Several things become rather clear, on the basis of these and other sources, as well as from the field research that has already been carried out. First, the Prätigau district offers log barns admirably qualified as the prototypes of the Pennsylvania type. Second, this Graubünden barn was in all probability a Raeto-Romansh rather than Germanic type by origin. Its area of concentration was only relatively recently Germanized, and the toponyms "Prätigau" and "Schanfigg" are derived from the Romansh-Latin words *protens* ("meadows") and *scanafica* ("hemp valley"). Town and village names such as Saas, Arosa, Says, Donath, Sur, Valzeina, Valendas, and Davos, as well as the word "Talina," are all Romansh. Without question, the German-speaking Walser adopted the forebay barn after arriving in Graubünden, as is demonstrated both by chronology and the absence of such structures in Canton Wallis.

I hope, by presenting these translations and illustrations, to have enhanced our understanding of the origin and evolution of the Pennsylvania forebay barn. The Swiss literature, particularly on the cantonal and local level, is vast, and there are no doubt many other items, as yet undetected by American researchers, that would prove valuable. If other interested students of folklife with the ability to read German will join the search, we can hopefully locate more such material.

ENDNOTES

¹Terry G. Jordan, "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70 (June 1980), pp. 165-174; Robert F. Ensminger, "A Search for the Origin of the Pennsylvania Barn," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 30 (Winter 1980-81), pp. 50-69; Terry G. Jordan, *American Log Buildings: An Old World Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 103-108. See also William T. Parsons, "Postscript," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 30 (Winter 1980-81), p. 71; and Joseph W. Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 9.

²Glass, *Pennsylvania Culture Region*, pp. 13-16.

³Richard Weiss, "Stallbauten und Heuträgergeräte Graubündens in sachgeographischer Betrachtung," in *Sache, Ort und Wort: Jakob Jud zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, 12. Januar 1942*, a special issue of *Romanica Helvetica*, 20 (1943) (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz and Zürich-Erlenbach: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1943), pp. 30-48 plus folded maps.

⁴Weiss, "Stallbauten und Heuträgergeräte," pp. 38-39.

⁵Werner Hans Nigg, *Das Schanfigg: Eine Landschaftskundliche Studie* (Zürich: H. Henkel, 1948), p. 51.

⁶Christoph Simonett and J.U. Könz, *Die Bauernhäuser des Kantons Graubünden*, 2 vols. (Basel: Verlag Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1965, 1968).

⁷For more on this Walser settlement, see Erwin Flüsch, *St. Antönien — kulturlandschaftliche Aspekte einer Walsergemeinde* (Zürich: aku-Fotodruck, 1976), a doctoral dissertation in geography at the University of Zürich.

⁸Simonett and Könz, *Die Bauernhäuser*, vol. 2 ("Wirtschaftsbauten, Verzierung, Brachtum, Siedlungen"), pp. 21-23.

⁹Max Gschwend, "Bäuerliche Haus- und Hofformen," sheets 36 and 36a, in Eduard Imhof (director), *Atlas der Schweiz; Atlas de la Suisse; Atlante della Svizzera* (Wabern-Bern: Verlag der Eidgenössischen Landestopographie, 1965), items no. 16, 17.

“HOPING FOR THE BEST, YET FEARING THE WORST”: An Overview of Civil War Medical Care Until the Battle of Gettysburg

by Lois J. Groff

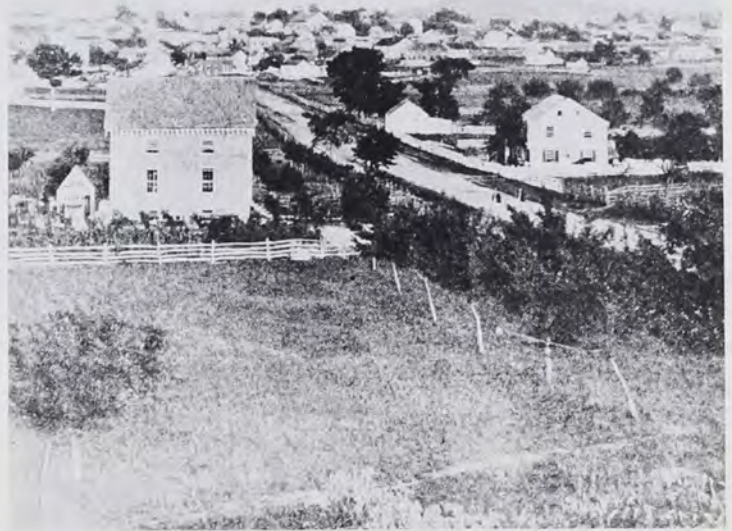
INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the Civil War was one of the greatest tragedies the United States has ever experienced: four years of bitter fighting resulted in 625,000 American deaths. The causes of the conflict were many and have been well documented, but once men began being killed and maimed the causes often became of secondary importance — for many, the effects were the primary concern. An important story, then (although it is usually overshadowed by the political and military aspects of the struggle), is the medical history of the Civil War. The successes of the medical personnel — both military and civilian, professional and volunteer — were sometimes great, oftentimes small, but their efforts were always valiant.

This was especially true at the battle of Gettysburg, where some of the most tremendous losses of the war challenged the medical personnel — Union and Confederate — as no previous encounter had done. By today's standards, Civil War medical care was primitive in the extreme; in fact, at Gettysburg where “the green sod was everywhere stained with the lifeblood of dying men [a typical scene was that of] parents and friends crowding to the hospital, hoping for the best, yet fearing the worst. . .”¹ These fears were too often justified, yet everyone involved in the battle agreed that the situation could have been worse; much worse. That it was not was due, at least in part, to the medical progress made by both sides since war had been declared in 1861.

THE END OF THE “MEDICAL MIDDLE AGES”

Although the American War Between the States is generally recognized as the first modern war, this dubious honor applies only to tactics and weaponry, not to medicine or medical techniques. In 1861, America was at what is best described as the end of the medical middle ages.² Europe had witnessed the birth of modern medicine early in the 19th century, primarily through the work of Pasteur and Koch in bacteriology, and Lister in antiseptics. These advances would have made medical treatment easier and more effective had American physicians known about them. Unfortunately, knowledge of European medical discoveries made its way across the Atlantic too slowly to affect the ideas and methods of the doctors and surgeons in the Civil

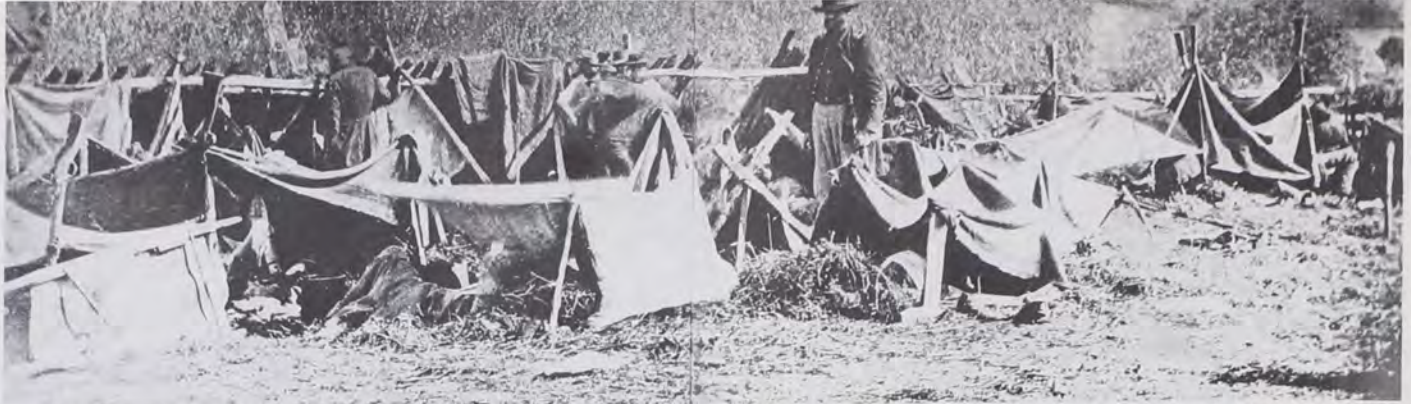


The little town of Gettysburg, Pa., as it appeared to the contending armies in July, 1863. (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. II, p. 231.)

War. At the time of the Gettysburg campaign, for example, the Union Army had one microscope, the stethoscope was still a novelty, the hypodermic syringe was a rarity, and the thermometer was almost nonexistent, even though it had been invented hundreds of years before.³ The only medical advance of any significance to cross the Atlantic was the use of ether and chloroform, discovered respectively in 1846 and 1847. These were the only anesthetics available during the war, and both sides relied heavily upon them.

The North was found wanting in many areas, not the least of which concerned the supply of surgeons. There were not nearly enough of them, and those who were available ranged from inexperienced to inept. The standard medical school of the day had a two year curriculum consisting of nine months of class, followed by a term of service as assistant to an active practitioner. Indeed, many learned *solely* from practicing physicians. After the outbreak of hostilities the governor of Indiana, for example, put through an appointee who had one year of service as a hospital steward and one year of reading in a doctor's office. The governor's justification for the appointment was the fact that “neither in civil or military medical practice . . . any more than in any other avocations of life, is scholarship the measure of practical ability.”⁴

Moreover, regardless of where one trained to become a doctor the equipment was likely to be poor and, more often than not, clinical and laboratory work would be ignored. Doctors were most likely to be found wanting in “operative surgery” and in the new area of “sanitation and hygiene.”⁵ In the army the surgical field also had a recruitment problem since no real possibility for advancement existed. The lowliest regimental “sawbones” and the medical director over hundreds of surgeons held the same rank and received the same pay. This frustrated the regulars and, combined with the fact



Battlefield medical care was crude and makeshift early in the war. Here, at Antietam in 1862, muskets and bayonets were thrust into the ground and covered with blankets and tent flaps to shelter feverish

patients from the blistering rays of the sun. Hay from a nearby farm cushions wounded bodies. (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, pp. 12-13.)

that it was often possible to have a very lucrative private practice with so many other surgeons serving in the army, kept away some of the more qualified volunteers. In addition, there were very real tensions which existed between the regulars and the volunteers: the volunteers thought the older regulars arrogant and old-fashioned, and resented taking orders from those they considered their professional inferiors. The regulars, on the other hand, saw the volunteers as poorly trained, hard-headed, know-it-all subordinates.

The problems of the Medical Department of the Union Army began at the top. The medical director, Colonel Thomas Lawson, was over eighty years old and his ideas were rooted in the the War of 1812. He refused to accept any new ideas in medicine, his budget was ridiculously low, and the little money he did have he chose to hoard. Although this lack of leadership in the Medical Department caused grave problems, it did have one positive result: from it came the impetus for the creation of private volunteer organizations, the greatest of which was the Sanitary Commission. The Sanitary Commission, along with other private groups (primarily women's relief aid societies and religious societies) proved invaluable to the war effort.

The idea for the United States Sanitary Commission grew out of the concern of two New Yorkers, the Reverend Henry A. Bellows, a prominent Unitarian minister, and Dr. Elisha Harris, a leading physician, that the horrors of the Crimean War would occur in America. They received a great deal of support from such newly formed groups as the Women's Central Association of Relief, the Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospitals of New York, and the Lint and Bandage Association.⁶ Pleas sent to Washington asking for information as to how these volunteers might best help the war effort were met with discouraging replies, for the Medical Department was not yet ready to admit that it needed help. Undaunted, a delegation was formed and sent to the capital. After uncovering the problems already mentioned, the delegation formally requested that the secretary of war appoint a Sanitary Commission. The government was finally persuaded to do so, on the condition that such a commission would be

"subordinate to army rules and regulations."⁷ President Lincoln, who initially thought such a commission was pointless and would prove to be only a "fifth wheel to the coach,"⁸ nevertheless approved Secretary of War Cameron's order creating the Commission on June 9, 1861. Frederick Olmstead, who would become the driving force behind the Commission's accomplishments, was appointed executive secretary.

The Sanitary Commission's program was ambitious. It wanted "an investigation into the organization and methods of recruiting forces by the states; inquiries into diet, cooks, clothing, tents, campgrounds, transport, camp police, and other matters of sanitary and hygienic interest; a study of military hospitals and of the possibility of using women as nurses; inspection of the quality and procurement methods of hospital supplies, and consideration of ambulance and relief services."⁹ Commission members asked for very little help in accomplishing these goals: they sought no legal powers or grant of money; they wanted only the right to "investigate and advise."¹⁰ Beyond that, they wanted to discover methods by which private and unofficial money and interest might supplement government appropriations, in keeping with their theory that "a people's war required popular participation."¹¹

CHAOS ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Just how necessary that participation was going to be was brought home forcibly on July 21, 1861, with the first battle of Bull Run. The Medical Department, which had been insisting it was prepared, was tested and found severely wanting. Chaos reigned on the battlefield. There was a serious shortage of army surgeons, and those volunteers who came intending to help, generally got in the way instead. Many of these were inexperienced physicians who were anxious to remedy that situation, which they did, "at bitter cost to many a man."¹² Others wandered the battlefield, refusing to help with anything that didn't interest them. There was no organization, no discipline, and no one willing to assume specific responsibilities. Moreover, the ambulance drivers and stretchermen were often untrained civilians or less-than-quality soldiers, many of whom



The murderous two-wheeled ("they shake what there is left a fellow to jelly") and merciful four-wheeled ambulance. (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 311.)

ran away in fear. There was also a shortage of vehicles, and those that were available ranged from milk trucks to the unsatisfactory two-wheeled ambulances that "shake what there is left a fellow to jelly."¹³ In a letter to the secretary of war (now Edwin Stanton), Surgeon General William Hammond noted that "the frightful state of disorder existing in the arrangement for removing the wounded from the field of battle [and] the scarcity of ambulances, the want of organization, the drunkenness and incompetency of the drivers, [and] the total absence of ambulance attendants are now working their legitimate results — results which I feel I have no right to keep from the knowledge of the department."¹⁴

One of the "legitimate results" referred to by Hammond was the presence of wounded men lying on the battlefield a week after the fighting ended.¹⁵ Nor were those wounded who were gotten safely off the battlefield and into the hospital guaranteed an easy time of it, for even there they might be made to do without sufficient food or medicine because a surgeon did not know how to draw supplies, nor how to ration them once he did. Moreover, there was no established system for admitting or discharging patients, and this further contributed to the confusion. Basic to all the problems was the lack of any clearly defined and divided authority. The medical directors, for example, had control of the medical officers, hospital stewards, and nurses, but no control over the ambulances and their crews; they belonged to the quartermaster corps.

REORGANIZATION AND REFORM

After Bull Run even the Medical Department was willing to admit that changes were necessary. With the lessons learned from this battle and the recognition that the war would be a long one, came commitment to reform. By July, 1863, the time of the battle of Gettysburg, these reforms were well along. One of the most important changes was a turnover in leadership: the

aforementioned Edwin Stanton and William Hammond were now secretary of war and surgeon general, respectively. Hammond was a younger, more innovative man than the previous surgeon general, and Stanton, too, was more receptive to change than Cameron had been; Stanton stressed the "urgent necessity of reorganizing and remodeling the Medical Bureau."¹⁶ He got his wish when Congress passed a reorganization bill in April, 1862. One final, crucial leadership change was the replacement of Tripler (after the battle of Bull Run) as the medical director of the Army of the Potomac, by Jonathan Letterman.

This new leadership proceeded to establish an effective administrative system in the Medical Department. The surgeon general worked through and with medical directors appointed to every army or department. These medical directors became directly responsible for the inspection of general hospitals, for the organization of field hospitals and surgical personnel during engagements, and for seeing that stretchermen were trained. Within this system Letterman, particularly, effected important improvements. He organized an ambulance system with drivers and stretchermen detailed from troops of the line and then trained. This was a particularly crucial reform for it significantly improved the fighting strength of the army: by evacuating the wounded quickly and getting them to treatment, it saved the lives of men who would later return to duty; and it eliminated the necessity for soldiers to leave the ranks to escort an injured comrade. By the middle of the war shortages of supplies and ambulances were a thing of the past.¹⁷



Drill of the Federal Ambulance Corps. "Less than a year before Gettysburg . . . there had been no Federal Ambulance Corps at all . . . But the Army of the Potomac swiftly developed a service to be proud of. The inspector-general was able to report that, early on the morning of July 4th, not one wounded soldier remained on the battlefield of Gettysburg—where thousands had fallen the day before." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. II, p. 268.)



Dr. Jonathan Letterman with his staff. "Dr. Letterman became medical director of the Army of the Potomac July 1, 1862 . . . [He] was a man of great ability; he organized the ambulance corps, improved the field-hospital service, and instituted a method

of furnishing medical supplies by brigades instead of by regiments. Many of his innovations continued throughout the war." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 219.)

Letterman also reorganized the supply system and the hospital system. Supplies were henceforth handled by the division, rather than by the regiment; this eliminated much waste and confusion. The regiment had also been the traditional unit of medical treatment and hospitalization,¹⁸ a system which promoted administrative disorder and disarray (anybody or nobody kept records), and bad surgery (operations were performed by anyone who cared to try). By replacing this system with a system of corps hospitals, Letterman promoted clear lines of authority, better supervision, specific divisions of labor, and more successful areas of specialization. Under the hospital system, surgeons were assigned either to dressing stations at the front, to record keeping, to the supervision of food, shelter, clothing and bedding, or to the surgical team that performed all operations.¹⁹

The overall competency of all army doctors also improved because they were now required to pass an examination given by the Army Medical Board. This examination consisted of a one-to-two hour oral interrogation on history, geography, zoology, literature, natural philosophy, and language; and a three-hour written test with eight questions from each branch of surgery, anatomy, practice of medicine, pathology, physiology, obstetrics, medical jurisprudence and toxicology, materia medica, chemistry, and hygiene.²⁰ By the time of the Gettysburg campaign, these examining boards worked so well that few incompetents remained in uniform. Although it was still not unusual to find soldiers accusing doctors of drunkenness, incompetence, inhumanity, and neglect, such charges were true now only in a minority of cases. On the whole,

by 1863, army surgeons were quite good compared to the general level of physicians practicing at the time, for nearly all these army surgeons had diplomas from medical school; many still-practicing civilian surgeons had only been office trained. For the most part, then, army surgeons now were dedicated, competent, and took great risks for their patients; indeed, the medical corps had the highest casualty rate of any staff corps in the war.²¹ Also, by the time of the Gettysburg campaign, cleanliness was finally being emphasized. General Order No. 52, issued in May, 1863, ordered that garbage be burned, and mandated bathing and human waste disposal requirements; this was to be the first summer with few complaints over hygiene.

Also by 1863, the new dual army hospital system came of age and, along with the army ambulance corps, became a model for the world. Such a system — encompassing field and general hospitals — required intricate organization, vast stores of goods, and a great many trained personnel. The field hospital, as the name implies, provided battlefield care; its crucial personnel unit was the regimental surgical staff, fixed by Congress as one surgeon and two assistant surgeons. These doctors would spend day after day barely working, only to be suddenly inundated with hundreds of operations after a major battle. Then days and nights would go by with hardly a respite; it was a situation that was physically, mentally, and emotionally draining. One surgeon found "hundreds of cases of amputations waiting for me. Poor fellows come and beg almost on their knees for the first chance to have an arm taken off. It is a scene of horror such as I have never seen."²²

As bad as the days were, some found the nights



Second Corps Field Hospital, Union center, near Meade's headquarters at Gettysburg. "To these rough tents . . . the wounded have been rushed during the second and third days" of the battle. Although worse. Then "the wards became like the dim caverns of the catacombs, where, instead of the dead in their final rest, there were extended wasted figures burning with fever and raving from the agony of splintered bones, tossing restlessly from side to side, with every ill, it seemed, which the human flesh was heir to . . . The sickening odor of medicine [and] the nephritic air shut in by the closed windows, rendered the atmosphere heavy and unwholesome,"²³ but these were the conditions under which the regimental surgeons were forced to work.

With a battle pending the regimental surgeon would select a site for his "depot" or field hospital at a safe distance (defined as beyond the range of enemy artillery fire, usually one-and-a-half to two miles from the battlefield) in the rear.²⁴ The field hospital could be a commandeered building, but more often it was made up of hundreds of white-wall hospital tents.²⁵ The surgeon would then delegate nurses for the field hospital and stretchermen for the battlefield out of a permanent regimental hospital detail of twenty-five men; supervise the preparation of food; and make sure that all surgical supplies were ready. These measures complete, the surgical staff could only wait. Once the battle began, the assistant surgeon and the stretcher-bearers would follow the fighting, just outside of musket range, and establish "primary stations." From here the stretchermen went in search of the wounded. Those able to walk, had to; the rest were brought in, usually with hand-litters which were collapsible and had legs so they could be turned into cots if necessary. At the primary station basic first aid was administered. As one doctor recalled of his work in the field, a "diagnosis was rapidly made, usually by intuition, and treatment was such drugs as we chanced to have in the knapsack and were handiest to come at."²⁶ The wound was bandaged or treated with a tourniquet; alcohol, "the sovereign remedy of the Civil War,"²⁷ was given to counteract shock; and opium or morphine might be administered as a painkiller. Then the regimen-

simple, these accommodations were a vast improvement over those at Antietam. (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, pp. 300-01.)

tal ambulance would transport the wounded to the field hospital.

These field hospitals were primarily "surgery factories." Here operations were performed, preferably within twenty-four to forty-eight hours; after the body had recovered from the initial shock, but before infection set in. (Those who were slightly wounded and those who were mortally wounded were passed over until the end.) Field hospitals were crude, and the operating table was often nothing more than a door torn off its hinges. The examination was usually swift and often painful, not because doctors were willfully cruel, but because time was of the essence and because the surgeon's work often "blunted his sensitivities and perhaps rendered him indifferent to the sight of pain."²⁸ On the other hand, painkillers and anesthetics were used generously; opium pills or morphine scattered on or rubbed into the wound were the most common ways of relieving pain, and chloroform was the most widely used anesthetic.²⁹

Civil war wounds tended to be ugly and painful. The typical wounded soldier was one who had been hit in the "arm or leg by a soft lead bullet of conoidal shape fired from a musket."³⁰ Small arms fire accounted for 94% of all wounds, and was much more deadly than its present-day equivalent. The old lead balls or lead Minie balls (the conoidal ones) traveled at low velocity and, because of the softness of lead, lost their shape on impact. This meant that wounds were violently lacerated, large, and usually infected since particles of clothing and skin — as well as the bullet — often lodged in the tissue.³¹ Also, they tended to bleed profusely and were often excruciatingly painful. For limb wounds (and 71% of all Civil War wounds were of the arms, legs, hands, or feet) the odds for recovery were favorable: seven-to-one.³² Conversely, wounds of the head, chest, or abdomen were almost always fatal, with a mortality rate of 87%.³³

Having noted the frequency of limb wounds, the destructive nature of the Minie ball, and the conditions



United States general hospital at Jeffersonville, Ind. "This type of hospital was highly recommended by the United States medical department . . . The wards radiate like the spokes of a wheel from a covered

passageway which extends completely around the hospitals. Inside this circle was a bakery, laundry, offices, and rooms for the surgeons." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 214.)

and time limitations under which surgeons labored, it is perhaps not surprising to find that there were an incredibly high number of amputations. In fact, 75% of the wounds classified were amputations.³⁴ One battle account after another describes rows of the injured waiting to be operated on; patients who could not escape the shrieks of the other wounded, the smell of blood, the sight of piles of severed limbs, and the mounds of black, swollen corpses. Anna Holstein, who followed her doctor husband to Gettysburg to volunteer her services as a nurse, summed up the general feeling toward the injured: "To bear wounds under these conditions was to exhibit heroism greater than the bravery of the battlefield."³⁵

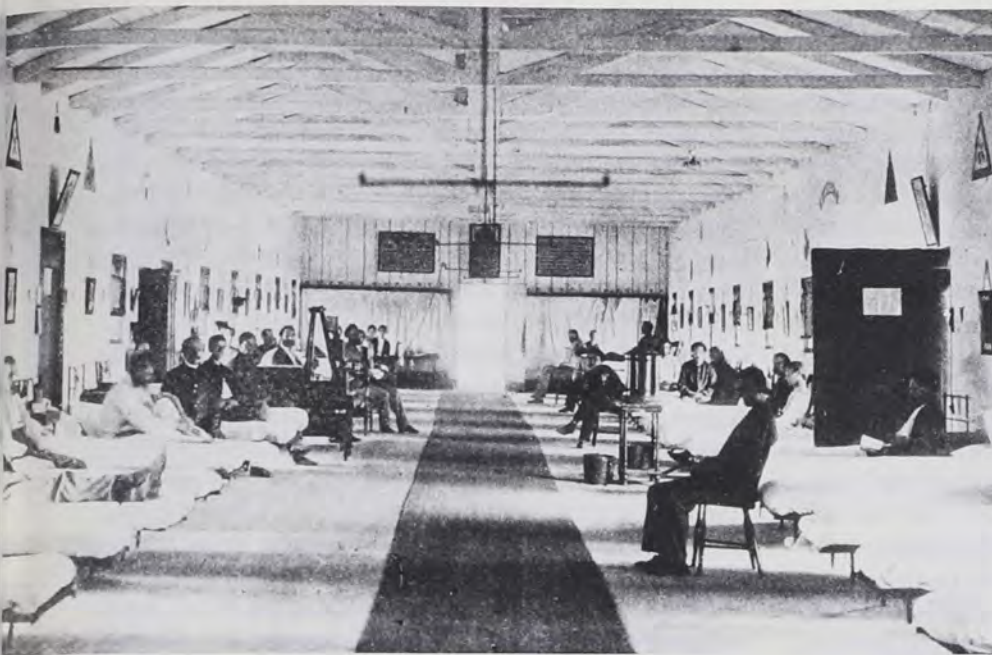
Such conditions took their toll on the medical personnel too. Another volunteer nurse, Sophronia Bucklin, tells of her experience in a field hospital and the way in which it affected her: "About the amputating tent lay large piles of human flesh — arms, legs, feet, and hands. They were strewn promiscuously about — often a single one lying under our very feet, white and bloody — the stiffening members seeming to be clutching oft-times at our clothing. Death met us at every hand. We grew callous at the sight of blood, and the great gashed lips opened under our untrembling hands . . ."³⁶ Incidentally, it might be well to note here that women like Holstein and Bucklin were the exception: nursing in field hospitals, especially during the engagement, was almost exclusively done by men.

After surgery, the usual procedure was to evacuate the wounded within a few days to a general hospital located at the army's base, or in a large city in the North. These general hospitals were large, established hospitals, so named because they were not limited to treating men of any particular unit or post. The first such institution was established early in 1862, and by the time of the Gettysburg campaign the general hospital system was made up of 182 hospitals with a capacity of 84,000.³⁷ By the end of the war, these hospitals had

become the wonder of the world. One million soldiers were cared for with a mortality rate of only eight percent — the lowest rate ever recorded for a military hospital to that date.³⁸ General DeChanal, an observer from the French Army, noted after his visit to the general hospital at Chestnut Hill, outside Philadelphia, that this American institution was cleaner and more efficient than any similar institutions in Europe.³⁹ These hospitals did indeed permit better administration, more efficient kitchens and laundries, the separation of the sick and wounded on the basis of their ailments, and a specialization of function on the part of the medical staff.

The medical staff of the general hospital consisted of doctors, nurses, and stewards. Some of the doctors were regular military doctors, but the great majority of general hospital surgeons were contract surgeons — civilians who had passed the Medical Board's examination. They received lower pay, had no rank or authority, and tended not to be as skillful as army regulars. The hospital steward was the warrant officer in charge of dispensing drugs. He was supposed to have a knowledge of practical pharmacy, but since no system of testing determined who was chosen, this position became a haven for druggists, medical students, and would-be students. The majority of nurses in general hospitals were convalescing soldiers; a minority (20%) were female volunteers.⁴⁰ The convalescing soldier was not a particularly effective nurse — he lacked training and was often weak and demoralized. Moreover, as soon as he learned enough to be of value he was shipped back to his regiment. In fact, "it was a source of constant trouble and confusion, these feeble, ignorant men trying to sweep, scrub, lift, and wait upon their sicker comrades."⁴¹ Such was the assessment of one famous female nursing volunteer, Louisa May Alcott.

These female volunteers did a much better job of nursing. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1861, thousands of women expressed an eagerness to help, and Dorothea



Inside a Federal general hospital, the Armory Square, Washington. These institutions “rivalled the best civil hospitals in completeness of equipment and professional service, and far surpassed the very largest of them in accommodations for patients.” (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 291.)

Dix (better known for her work with penal reform and insane asylums) took up their cause with the secretary of war. Because she knew the work of the British Sanitary Commission and had seen Florence Nightingale’s hospital reforms on the Black Sea, her services were immediately accepted and she became Superintendent of Female Nurses. Her ridgedly-screened volunteers supervised the light-diet kitchens, the laundry, and the liquor stock; they sang, wrote letters, and were tender, sympathetic, and cheerful companions. In this mother-substitute role, they proved to be very popular and very successful. The worries of a male-dominated society — that women were too weak, that they would faint or go into hysterics at the sight of blood, that they would have their delicate sensibilities shocked and insulted by coarse scenes and experiences, or that they would be merely “husband hunters” — all proved unfounded. Of course there were complaints, many from surgeons who often considered the female nurses troublesome and self-righteous: “fussy female notoriety seekers . . . quarrelsome, meddlesome, busy-bodies.”⁴²

The general hospitals were busy places for they treated the diseased as well as the wounded; and in the Civil War, disease was far and away the leading cause of death: the North lost 300,000 men to disease (two-thirds of its total casualties);⁴³ and the South 150,000 (three-quarters of its total casualties).⁴⁴ Thirty per cent of the Union Army was sick at any given time,⁴⁵ while every Confederate soldier would be ill an average of six times during the war.⁴⁶ Typhoid was the greatest killer, and diarrhea and dysentery were the most common illnesses — it is estimated that more than ninety per cent of the military suffered from them at one time or another. One doctor wrote: “No matter what else a patient had, he had diarrhea.”⁴⁷ Other common ailments included pneumonia, scarlet fever, smallpox, malaria, mumps,



Louisa M. Alcott as a nurse in 1862. “Her diary of 1862 contains this characteristic note: ‘November. Thirty years old. Decided to go to Washington as a nurse if I could find a place. Help needed, and I love nursing and must let out my pent-up energy in some new way.’” (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 285.)

tuberculosis, bronchitis, measles, scurvy, and rheumatism. And, in addition to these physical ailments, were mental disorders: anxiety reactions, conversion reactions (hysteria), depressive reactions (melancholy) and insanity.⁴⁸ Approximately five percent of the medical discharges from both armies were for psychiatric reasons.⁴⁹

The causes of disease were not hard to find. Inadequate sanitation and disposal methods, and almost nonexistent personal bathing habits in the camps bred sickness. As one soldier observed, “in more than one regimental camp there was hardly a square yard of earth that was not defiled [with feces]. This memorable stench added its fragrance to that of the slaughtered animals which were carelessly disposed of.”⁵⁰ The problems in both armies were much the same. J.J. Chisholm, a noted South Carolina surgeon, blamed the disease problem on “continued exposure and fatigue, bad and in-

sufficient food, salt meat, indifferent clothing, want of cleanliness, poor shelter . . . infected tents and camps.”⁵¹ In the North it was to “bad cooking, bad police, bad ventilation of tents, inattention to personal cleanliness, and unnecessarily irregular habits [to which] we are to attribute the greater proportion of the diseases that actually occurred in the army.”⁵²

Conditions in the hospitals were somewhat better. There, cleanliness and ventilation were increasingly emphasized through the work of the Sanitary Commission. Yet, because the nature of infection and its method of transmission was not understood, such efforts as were made were often inadequate and sometimes even counterproductive. This is seen most clearly in the case of infections which often complicated surgical procedures. Such infections were so common that surgeons believed the pus from ordinary staphylococcus infection to be a normal process of tissue repair, and worried if it was not present.⁵³ Tetanus, gangrene, and blood poisoning were the chief complications of surgery, and were responsible for the high mortality rate; better than 97% of those with pyemia (blood poisoning), for example, died.⁵⁴

“Through the irony of Fate and the ignorance of infection,”⁵⁵ nearly every measure taken for the relief of the wounded contributed in some way to the suffering it was meant to prevent. On the theory that it kept the wound “sweet and clean,”⁵⁶ patients were often subjected to repeated washings from a sponge and basin of pus-filled water; water that was used for the entire ward. Nor did surgeons disinfect their instruments or their hands, which they often used directly to explore a wound. The great surgeon W. W. Keen describes the typical methods and conditions: “We operated in old blood-stained and often pus-stained coats, the veterans of a hundred fights. We operated with clean hands in the social sense, but they were undisinfected hands . . . We used undisinfected instruments from undisinfected plush-lined cases, and still worse used marine sponges which had been used in prior pus cases and had only been washed in tap water. If a sponge or an instrument fell on the floor, it was washed and squeezed in a basin of tap water and used as if it were clean.”⁵⁷

MEDICAL CONDITIONS IN THE CONFEDERACY

The medical history of the South is slightly more obscure than that of the North because a great many medical records were destroyed in the burning of Richmond. But we do know that, like the North, the South had no training or experience in military medicine or surgery. The training they did have was similar to that of the Union personnel, because most Confederate surgeons had studied either in Northern medical schools, or in Southern schools with Northern faculties and methods. These Southern medical schools were generally established from the 1840's onward in

response to the rise of Southern nationalism. These institutions compared favorably with their northern counterparts for, as “the number of medical schools had increased steadily, some of the most competent medical men in the nation were to be found serving on the faculties of the southern schools, [and] standards were relatively high.”⁵⁹ While those who attended these schools compared favorably with their Northern counterparts, the South did have more practicing physicians who did not have a diploma than did the North. Because of the shortage of qualified doctors, licensing laws were relaxed and “everyone was allowed to practice medicine by 1850, and it was only a mild exaggeration to say that everyone did! Planters, housewives, overseers, pharmacists, sectarians, quacks — all had a hand in the game.”⁶⁰

As the war progressed the South had a difficult time maintaining a supply of trained doctors, for all her medical schools — with the exception of the Medical College of Virginia — were forced to close their doors early in the war. This led to situations such as that involving Dr. Simon Baruch (later an important Confederate participant at the battle of Gettysburg) who, when not yet twenty-two, passed the required Medical Board examination and became an assistant surgeon in charge of five hundred infantry; all without ever having “treat[ed] a sick person or even having lanced a boil.”⁶¹

As in the North, other medical personnel included male and female nurses, matrons, pharmacists, and attendants. The greatest difference between the opposing sides was in the number and acceptance of women nurses; the South recognized the advantages of employing them sooner than did the North, and accepted them more easily,⁶² perhaps because of their manpower shortage. (A general order issued sometime after the losses at Gettysburg decreed that “no able-bodied man between the ages of seventeen and forty-five or detailed soldiers fit for field duty, will be retained in any capacity in or about hospitals . . .”⁶³) The organization of the Confederate Medical Department was much like that of its Union model; a surgeon general, Samuel Preston Moore, presided over a chain of medical directors of armies, down through divisional chief surgeons to regimental surgeons and assistant surgeons. This Southern offspring functioned more efficiently early on than did its Northern parent, for it did not have the same rigid, pre-existing structures, officeholders, and ideas to overcome, and so could and did adapt more easily and rapidly to changing situations and circumstances.

The Confederate hospital system, both field and general, also basically paralleled the Northern system. An assistant surgeon and an infirmary corps (the equivalent of the Northern ambulance corps) followed the action of the battle and removed the wounded. The Confederate ambulance corps was well organized from

the first, and Lee had a supply of permanently detailed and trained ambulance men, chosen by qualifications, long before the North did. After administering what amounted to first aid — the application of plaster and bandages and the proffering of stimulants — the wounded were transported to field hospitals⁶⁴ where treatment methods and problems were similar to those described above for the North. One difference, though, concerned disease: the South suffered a slightly higher disease rate, and a higher mortality rate for those diseases. This is generally believed to be due to the fact that most Southern soldiers were from rural areas where individuals develop fewer immunities than do residents of urban environments. But, although Confederate surgeons had to contend with an overall lack of first class surgical instruments throughout the war, Confederate wounded were slightly less susceptible to post-operative infection than were their Union counterparts. This was because Southern surgeons (who had rediscovered an old secret of the Napoleonic Wars) tolerated the presence of maggots, which perform a scavenging function, eating only the diseased tissue in a wound, leaving it clean and healthy.⁶⁵ (Northern surgeons, on the other hand, considered maggots the worst kind of infection and insisted on eliminating them.)

Another difference in treatment concerns the general hospital; the Confederate Army isolated the ill and wounded into totally separate huts based on their disease; the Union Army separated them into different wards of the same hospital.⁶⁶ Confederate general hospitals were as clean and effective as Union general hospitals until supply shortages made it impossible to maintain such standards. These supply shortages were the crucial difference between the two sides: the South faced the same medical difficulties the North did, but had to treat their three million diseased and wounded in an invaded and blockaded country.⁶⁷ Under such conditions, supplies were “purchased abroad and brought in as contraband through the blockade, obtained through the lines, captured from the enemy, furnished by private and state agencies, and purchased or manufactured within the boundaries of the beleaguered Southern Confederacy.”⁶⁸

The practical consequences of the blockade were many. More people south of the Mason-Dixon Line were involved in aid and relief societies than north of it. Moreover, these Southern organizations made greater contributions and greater sacrifices than did their Northern counterparts; in the South, social pressure against the uninvolved was tremendous. Individual states even supplemented the efforts of both the Confederate government and the local relief organizations by contributing directly to their own troops. The South also placed a great deal of importance on pharmaceutical laboratories (the North did not) for they desperately

needed to manufacture medicines they had formerly obtained abroad. They worked to create substitute drugs from plants indigenous to their region, and produced satisfactory opium and chloroform which helped their cause.⁶⁹ They also began to distill a great deal of alcohol, which was in great demand by the military, but many people bitterly opposed using grain for this purpose. As the war progressed shortages did become a serious problem — the ambulance corps was seriously handicapped by a lack of vehicles and horses, and there was a dearth of medicines, surgical instruments, dressings, bedding, and clothing — but acute shortages did not occur until late in the war, and had no real bearing on the South’s fortunes at Gettysburg.

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

The prelude to the battle of Gettysburg began in June, 1863, when Robert E. Lee, commanding the Army of Northern Virginia, side-stepped the Union army defending Washington and marched into Pennsylvania. The Army of the Potomac, first under the command of General Joseph Hooker (until June 27, 1863) and then under the command of General George Meade, hastened to intercept the invaders. Dressed in woolen uniforms and heavily laden, the Union soldiers marched twenty to thirty miles a day until, in the words of one participant, “the boys [were] almost wore out and a grate many [were] shiewless”⁷⁰ in their search for Lee. Finally a collision became inevitable, and at the little crossroads town of Gettysburg the stage was set for the “bloodiest, perhaps most crucial engagement in American history.”⁷¹ For three days — July 1-3 — the Union and Confederate forces fought until it appeared to one participant “as if no living thing could survive the terrible conflict going on.”⁷² On the first day alone there were 10,000 Union and 7,000 Confederate casualties.⁷³ In what has been called a “crescendo of carnage,”⁷⁴ each day proved more deadly than the last. By the end of the second day, Union and Confederate losses hovered around 20,000; the third day’s engagement continued the slaughter, and included the heaviest artillery duel ever seen on the American continent — one hundred and forty Confederate and eighty Union guns hammered away at each other for hours. Losses from artillery fire were amazingly small, but Confederate shells overshot Cemetery Ridge and inflicted heavy casualties among units of the Union reserve artillery, supply and ammunition trains, and the medical services.⁷⁵ By the end of that final day, the North had lost 26.1% of their 88,289 men (3,155 killed, 14,529 wounded, and 5,365 missing); and the South had lost 37.3% of their 75,000 (3,903 killed, 18,735 wounded, and 5,425 missing).⁷⁶ The story on both sides, in the words of one field hospital nurse, was one “of want, of suffering unparalled, and of bravery and endurance unequalled.”⁷⁷ Some regiments, like the Confederate’s 26th North Carolina



Soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Michigan infantry lying dead on the field of battle at Gettysburg. "This regiment—one of the units of the Iron Brigade—left seven distinct rows of dead as it fell back from battle-line to battle-line, on the first day. Three-fourths of its members were struck down." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. II, p. 239.)

and the Union's First Minnesota, experienced more than 85% casualties; the severest regimental losses of the war.⁷⁸

Neither army lingered. On July 4, Lee retreated south. He took with him 4,000 Union prisoners and 12,700 Confederate wounded on the now famous seventeen-mile-long wagon train; a wagon train of such suffering it prompted one brigadier general to say that "during this night I realized more of the horrors of war than I had in all the two preceding years."⁷⁹ Late in the day on July 5, General Meade began his pursuit. The armies left behind "a macabre scene of nightmare desolation, a vast charnal house of unburied, festering dead whose contorted bloated bodies lay in fields and woods littered with the infinite debris of battle. There were shattered guns and caissons, broken muskets, cartridge boxes, canteens, torn and bloody fragments of clothing, and gaping knapsacks, battered daguerreotypes, rain-sodden letters, and testaments lying pathetically in the mud . . . discarded where the battlefield ghouls had dropped them in their robbing of the dead."⁸⁰ More importantly, the retreating armies left behind 21,000 wounded (15,000 Union, 6,000 Confederate) who now had to be cared for. The Union medical system was about to be severely tested.

The testing had, of course, really begun during the battle, and at that time the ambulance corps and first aid stations and functioned superbly. Dr. Letterman commanded a "magnificent organization of 650 medical officers, 1,000 ambulances, and close to 3,000 ambulance drivers and stretchermen."⁸¹ Despite the incredible number of casualties, the ambulance and stretcher work approached perfection. Each night the day's



"On the morning of the 4th, when Lee began to abandon his position on Seminary Ridge . . . both sides sent forth ambulance and burial details to remove the wounded and bury the dead . . . Lee was getting his whole army in motion to retreat [and] many an unfinished shallow grave, like the one above, had to be left by the Confederates." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. II, p. 239.)

casualties, except for those behind the picket lines, were recovered and taken to the rear. By the morning of the 4th, over 14,000 Union wounded had been removed; the remaining few hundred were removed during the course of the day under enemy sniper fire. It was not an easy or appealing job. One Union nurse reported that "the sight of the field is perfectly appalling; men tossing their arms wildly calling for help . . . lie bleeding, torn and mangled; legs, arms, and bodies are crushed and broken as if smitten by thunderbolts; the ground is crimson with blood."⁸² The ambulance crews also buried the dead, which at Gettysburg usually meant digging trench graves where 75 to 150 bodies were all "laid in like logs of wood."⁸³ The work of these burial squads was often hampered and even nullified by hundreds of friends and relatives of the dead who reopened graves (and left bodies exposed) in their frantic search for loved ones.

Once you go beyond the work of the ambulance crews and stretchermen, many critics feel that medical efforts after the battle of Gettysburg left a lot to be desired; "that the field hospitals . . . failed to earn the compliments bestowed upon the ambulance corps."⁸⁴ That the field hospital system did not function at Gettysburg as it was meant to function is beyond dispute; in fairness, however, it must be noted that most of the problems were caused by the unprecedented conditions, not by internal breakdowns. The overwhelming number of casualties, for example, forced changes from the very beginning. Seven regular corps hospitals had been set up, but these did not come close to being able to handle the wounded. Indeed, the number of wounded was so large the entire countryside became one huge hospital under Letterman's direction. According to Edwin



Sanitary Commission wagons leaving Washington for the front. These wagons "carried those supplies which would be of most immediate use on the battlefield. It included stimulants of various sorts, chloroform, surgeon's silks, condensed milk, beef-stock, and dozens of other things." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 337.)

Forbes, an artist stationed with the Army of the Potomac, "as far as the eye could see on either hand were parked wagons, ambulances, and the usual accompaniments of an army in the field. Ambulances filled with wounded were hurrying to the rear, to leave them at farmhouses and barns selected for the purpose and designated by the Medical Department's yellow flag."⁸⁵

In addition to practically all the farmhouses and barns in the vicinity, churches, schools, the Lutheran Seminary, Pennsylvania College's "Old Dorm," the county courthouse, and the county almshouse were all commandeered for the wounded.⁸⁶ This meant that doctors had to spend a great deal of time traveling, which was particularly unfortunate since their ranks had already been seriously thinned when Meade's army left in pursuit of Lee. The Union Army originally had 650 medical personnel available at Gettysburg, but Meade left on July 5, before the first rush of battlefield surgery was finished. Since another major battle was expected, Letterman left only 106 medical officers to care for the 21,000 wounded.⁸⁷ This meant a caseload of 300 patients per doctor, and since only one-third of the remaining doctors were surgeons, it meant 900 cases per surgeon. The result was that, like Dr. Simon Baruch, many surgeons at Gettysburg spent "two days and two nights in constant operations and vigils."⁸⁸

With so many wounded to be treated the lines of injured never seemed to end. A particularly vivid description of operating room activity is the following eyewitness account by General Carl Schurz:

There stood the surgeons, their sleeves rolled up to their elbows, their bare arms as well as their linen aprons smeared with blood, their knives not seldom held between their teeth, while they were helping a patient on or off the table . . . As a

wounded man was lifted on the table, often shrieking with pain as the attendants handled him, the surgeon quickly examined the wound and resolved upon cutting off the injured limb. Some ether was administered and the body put in position in a moment. The surgeon snatched his knife from between his teeth . . . wiped it rapidly once or twice across his blood-stained apron, and the cutting began. The operation accomplished, the surgeon would look around with a deep sigh, and then - "Next!"⁸⁹

This continued, hour after hour, amidst "groans and shrieks and maniacal ravings; bitter sobs and heavy sighs, piteous cries; horrid oaths; despair; the death rattle, darkness; [and] death."⁹⁰

Not only was there a shortage of medical personnel at Gettysburg, there was a shortage of medical supplies as well. These supply shortages are another example of circumstances beyond Jonathan Letterman's control. On June 19, General Hooker, over Letterman's protests, had ordered a cutback on the transportation of hospital tents, mess chests, and medical supplies, as part of the forced march from Virginia. When Meade assumed command three days before the battle began, he countermanded the order, but corps hospital trains did not begin to arrive until late on July 2nd. The medical teams, then, had only a modest supply of anesthetics, dressings, drugs, and instruments. The situation was worsened by the fact that the area around Gettysburg had already been stripped of much of its food and forage. As late as July 8, the Rev. Dr. Henry Bellows, in a plea for aid, noted that "If I were to spend a week, I could not fitly describe the horrors and suffering of our wounded men. The dead are not yet buried; hundreds are yet undressed of their wounds; thousands have not food. The country is stripped bare of ordinary supplies . . . Indeed there is nothing to be had for love or money. Forage is very scarce . . . Beef is the only thing of which there is enough."⁹¹

As grave as the situation was, it would have been infinitely worse without the incredible giving of private citizens and relief organizations. In the first week after the battle, for instance, the Sanitary Commission and the public both donated \$20,000 each in cash or supplies.⁹² Moreover, several hundred medical cadets (young medical students who volunteered as wound dressers and ward helpers) and local and area doctors contributed their services. Many women also rushed to help; as already noted, women were rare in field hospitals but every great battle attracts "free-lance women nurses [and] relievers."⁹³ At Gettysburg, where the need was so great, many Northern women served in the field hospitals for several weeks. They helped distribute relief supplies, assisted the doctors, and tended the wounded.

Outside the field hospitals the great work was done by the Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission. The Christian Commission had been organized by the Young Men's Christian Association not only to provide relief, but to help keep the spirit of Christianity

alive among the soldiers as well. Their work was helpful, but the work of the Sanitary Commission was irreplaceable. It was the intention of the Sanitary Commission "to do what the government could not. The government undertook, of course, to provide all that was necessary for the soldier . . . But, from the very nature of things, this was not possible, and it failed in its purpose, at times, as all governments do, from occasional and accidental causes. The methods of the Commission were so elastic, and so arranged to meet every emergency, that it was able to make provisions for any need, seeking always to supplement and never to supplant the government."⁹⁴

At Gettysburg the Sanitary Commission fulfilled its stated purpose magnificently. Before the battle even began, while the army medical and supply trains were held up, the Commission took precautions and built up their own reserves in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; and also stationed agents at Harrisburg. Their stores — sorely needed medical supplies, as well as tons of mutton, poultry, fish, vegetables, bread, clothing, and many other necessary articles — reached the battlefield hours before supplies from any other quarter. The Sanitary Commission also set up a valuable "lodging hospital" just north of the railroad tracks and station for wounded soldiers waiting overnight for a train.⁹⁵ Additionally, the organization served as a conduit for the most effective use of the civilian monetary donations previously mentioned. At Gettysburg, the Sanitary Commission was, in fact, the "great artery which bears the people's love to the people's army."⁹⁶

In many ways this love extended to the Confederate wounded and the Confederate medical personnel at Gettysburg. In June of 1862, the opposing governments had agreed that medical officers would be considered non-combatants and, as such, would not be held as prisoners of war. Consequently, some Confederate surgeons remained behind to care for their wounded, and all — doctors and patients alike — were treated with courtesy, honor, and compassion; an unusual situation in a civil war. In fact, Union medical personnel were under strict orders that no difference in treatment would be permitted or tolerated; supplies were meted out on a share-and-share-alike basis. Medical Director Letterman made sure his equal treatment orders were enforced, for he believed "humanity teaches us that a wounded and prostrate foe is not our enemy."⁹⁷ Others, too, were as magnanimous; Dr. Winslow, of the Christian Commission, for example, approached Confederate surgeon Baruch of his own volition and offered to share his commission's supplies;⁹⁸ he also suggested that Baruch approach the Sanitary Commission. Baruch took his advice and was surprised to be treated with "unexpected consideration,"⁹⁹ and astounded when he received a



Headquarters of the Christian Commission in the field, 1864. "During the year 1864, 47,103 boxes of hospital stores and publications were distributed [by the Commission], valued at \$2,185,670.82." (The Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. 7, p. 337.)

wagon filled with Sanitary Commission stores. In turn, Confederate soldiers pressed into service as Union nurses proved to be "friendly and efficient."¹⁰⁰

AFTERMATH

As early as the 8th of July the authorities began shipping out all the wounded who could be moved. They were sent to general hospitals in Baltimore, York, and Harrisburg. To treat the seriously wounded who remained, a general hospital, Camp Letterman, was established in late July a mile east of Gettysburg. Between August 5-11, all Confederate wounded were moved to this new institution. On the 12th, all the remaining Union wounded were evacuated to the rear.

By August 18, all the field hospitals outside the town were broken up, and all the wounded (with the exception of a few hangers-on in farmhouses and barns) removed.

Although painful memories would linger on, the tragedy and drama of the battle was over. At Gettysburg, 21,000 wounded had been treated under conditions that, according to one observer, would make such treatment possible only if administered by "arch-angels."¹⁰¹ But there were no "arch-angels" available at Gettysburg, and no abundance of resources that might have made up their lack. The only things in abundance, in fact, were problems and patients. It was a situation in which the potential for further disaster was high, and further disaster was averted only by the efficiency of the ambulance crews; by the hard work and dedication of the doctors and nurses; and by the cooperation of the local people and the volunteer relief societies. Without their good work the death rate would surely have been much higher, and for their efforts, at least, we can still be thankful.

ENDNOTES

¹Sylvia G. L. Dannett, ed., *Noble Women of the North* (New York: Sagamore Press, Inc., 1959), p. 257-58.

²George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue, The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War* (New York: Collier Books, 1961), p. 197.

³*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁷Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), p. 129.

⁸Adams, p. 14.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Adams, p. 13. As Adams points out, these reforms seem mild now, but they were revolutionary at the time.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹³Louisa May Alcott, *Hospital Sketches* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 32.

¹⁴Holland Thompson, ed. *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, Vol. 7 (New York: The Review of Reviews Co., 1911), p. 304.

¹⁵Adams, p. 35.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 43. By this time the budget had reached enormous proportions — \$11,502,000 in 1863.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 80. Under this system, one out of fifteen became a member of the surgical team that performed all operations.

²⁰Adams, p. 48.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 56.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 106.

²³H. H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray, the Confederate Medical Service* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1958), p. 23.

²⁴Adams, p. 62.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 60; these tents were 15 x 14 feet overall, 11 feet high in the center, and had sidewalls 4½ feet high.

²⁶Joseph P. Cullen, "Drugs in the Confederacy," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, June 1965, pp. 61-62.

²⁷Adams, p. 124.

²⁸Alcott, p. 87.

²⁹Cunningham, p. 224; the South used chloroform almost exclusively.

³⁰Adams, p. 101.

³¹Today's steel-jacketed cartridges travel at such high velocity that the bullet is sterilized by heat and does not lose its shape on impact. It tends to drill a neat aseptic hole through tissue and bone alike, and usually passes completely out of the body. If it does not kill, the wounded will suffer less pain, bleed less, and have a better chance of fighting off infection.

³²Adams, p. 103.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 119.

³⁴Cunningham, p. 224. One jovial soldier remarked: "Lord, what a scramble there'll be for arms and legs, when we old boys come out of our graves on the Judgment Day."—Alcott, p. 32.

³⁵Mary Holstein, *Three Years in Field Hospitals of the Army of the Potomac* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1867), p. 47.

³⁶Dannett, pp. 99-100.

³⁷Adams, p. 134.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁹General DeChanel, "Good Order and Cleanliness," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Oct. 1967, pp. 40-44.

⁴⁰Adams, p. 155.

⁴¹Alcott, p. 66.

⁴²Adams, p. 159.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴⁴Cunningham, p. 5.

⁴⁵Adams, p. 20.

⁴⁶Cunningham, p. 3.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴⁸Alcott (p. 45) describes a situation she saw repeated, with variations, many times: "A slight wound in the knee brought him here; but

his mind had suffered more than his body; some string of that delicate mechanism was overstrained, and for days, he had been reliving, in imagination, the scenes he could not forget, till his distress broke out in incoherent ravings, pitiful to hear."

⁴⁹Dr. Byron Stinson, "Battle Fatigue and How It Was Treated in the Civil War," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Nov. 1965, p. 40.

⁵⁰Dr. Gordon W. Jones, "Sanitation in the Civil War," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Nov. 1966, p. 13.

⁵¹Cunningham, p. 163.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³Adams, p. 111.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵⁵Thompson, p. 253.

⁵⁶Adams, p. 112.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 111.

⁵⁸Cunningham, p. 11.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶¹Dr. Simon Baruch, "The Experiences of a Confederate Surgeon," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Oct. 1965, p. 41.

⁶²Cunningham, p. 73. In 1862 the Southern Congress passed an act giving "preference in all cases (matrons, nurses, and cooks) where their service may best subserve the purpose."

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

⁶⁵Adams, p. 115.

⁶⁶Cunningham, pp. 29-30.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷⁰Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank* (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1971), p. 61.

⁷¹Edward J. Stackpole, "The Battle of Gettysburg," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, July 1963, p. 1.

⁷²John W. Urban, *My Experiences Mid Shot and Shell* (Lancaster: Hubbard Brothers, 1882), p. 322.

⁷³Stackpole, p. 7.

⁷⁴Henry W. Elson, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, Vol. 2 (New York: The Review of Review Co., 1911), p. 253.

⁷⁵Stackpole, p. 61.

⁷⁶Robert Hoffsommer, "The Aftermath of Gettysburg," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, July 1963, p. 49.

⁷⁷Holstein, p. 55.

⁷⁸Cunningham, p. 6.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸⁰Hoffsommer, p. 49.

⁸¹Adams, p. 83.

⁸²S. Emma E. Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* (Hartford: W. S. Williams and Co., 1865), p. 43.

⁸³Hoffsommer, p. 50.

⁸⁴Adams, p. 84.

⁸⁵Edwin Forbes, "As An Artist Saw Gettysburg," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Dec. 1967, p. 30.

⁸⁶Hoffsommer, p. 51.

⁸⁷Adams, p. 84.

⁸⁸Baruch, p. 45.

⁸⁹Adams, p. 106.

⁹⁰Cunningham, p. 222.

⁹¹William Quentin Maxwell, *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel* (New York: Longman's Green, and Co., 1956), pp. 211-212.

⁹²Maxwell, p. 212.

⁹³Adams, p. 65.

⁹⁴Livermore, p. 129.

⁹⁵Hoffsommer, p. 51.

⁹⁶Maxwell, p. v.

⁹⁷Cunningham, p. 129.

⁹⁸Baruch, p. 44.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 45. The Federal government also allowed Southern women to come up to nurse their sick and bring food.

¹⁰⁰Adams, p. 65.

¹⁰¹Maxwell, p. 211.

Altes im Neies



BOOK REVIEWS

Glass, Joseph W. *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986.

Here is a view of the Pennsylvania culture region, a new name for one of the oldest geographic/demographic areas of American social, economic and cultural development. Essentially rural in nature, the common denominators of this section have long been recognized. About twenty years ago, the name "Pennsylvania culture region," a most appropriate designation, was applied to it.

It is also factual, as Glass recognizes, that this region is most adequately described in agricultural terms. Surely we have not always been clear in our nomenclature about salient features. Indeed, to the most vital structure, different names have been applied: Dutch barn, *Schweitzer scheier* or Swiss barn, and "bank barn" (a split-level barn backed into a hill), the term most often used.

This barn undoubtedly originated in German-speaking central Europe, a point of view that remained conjectural even after decades of essays and books about it. In 1980 a new interpretation occurred. Glass mentions it in his text, although without names. In fact, Robert Ensminger and Terry Jordan revealed that the barn originated in the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland. Much of their original material was first published in *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

Still, one of the barn specialists in Philadelphia continued to insist that Dutch barns (*Schweitzer Scheiere*) had really first appeared in England, for he had seen two of them there. To this reviewer, that was simply reverse cultural baggage: an Englishman noted the value of Swiss German barns in Pennsylvania and carried the concept back to the English north country with him.

For years also, we have insisted that it was the bank of the hill and the ramp at the rear of the barn (enabling wagons to enter at the threshing-floor level) which was the real distinction of this type of structure, and we so named it. As Glass correctly points out, however, the most distinctive feature of the Pennsylvania barn is the cantilevered, often unsupported forebay at threshing-floor level in front of the building. The bank and ramp behind the building is less distinctive. Other names for the forebay are *vorschuss*, *overdann* or overshoot; it most often held the granary or divided grain bins, usually located to the left as you walked across the threshing floor.

One of the most helpful aspects of this author's work is his combination of descriptive maps and

photographic illustrations with the text. In that fashion he targets the specific locations where particular features of this specialized barn are found. Had Glass and Ensminger taught at major universities instead of at Millersville and Kutztown, their ideas would have been heralded and widely publicized. Instead of that, folk cultural personnel remain essentially ignorant of them until now.

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Bild Atlas - Pfalz/Pfälzer Wald [Photographic Atlas - Palatinate, Land and Forest.] Stuttgart: Pegasus Buch- und Zeitschriften- Vertriebs- Gesellschaft mbH, 1985. English Edition.

A scenic atlas of the historic regions and the people of the Palatinate. Descriptive and pictorial examples of the major divisions of the Rheinland-Pfalz. Starting with a general map-overview of the Palatinate the guide book then spells out the various regions of the Pfalz, showing the great diversity of landscapes, products and people to be found there.

The atlas is replete with photographs from throughout the region, arranged by area and with an appropriate specialized map to accompany that section. The photographs are clear and uncluttered, and amount to a mini-tour of the region depicted. Also, the topography of the Palatinate region is graphically illustrated. It shows the degree to which the landscape changes from one geographic mood to another; it also illustrates the amount of similarity Pennsylvanians may find when they compare Palatinate topographic variables with familiar scenes from the Quaker State. On the other hand, the limitations which Goethe had earlier noted: "*Amerika, Du hast es besser als unser alte Kontinent . . .*" may also be most graphically seen in the variety of cathedrals, castles and historical ruins throughout the Palatinate.

Do you want to find the most scenic route between two local folk-cultural centers, or are you interested in the best regional *Autobahn*? Answers to all these questions may be found here. One objection: the photo captions are too small to be read easily.

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Hockl, Hans Wolfram. *Warm scheint die Sunn*. Kaiserslautern: Heimatstelle Pfalz, 1986.

Here is another masterpiece of dialect verse which almost sings its way into one's mind. This small book is another in the series *Pfälzer in der weiten Welt*, which now includes gems of South German dialect verse from writers of a common language background, as well as the contributions of dialect writers from Pennsylvania,

Galicja and the Banat. The series editor notes that these writings combine a Danube Swabian mood with a Palatinate idiom to express ordinary ideas and activities in a simple, homey, country style. Hans Wolfram Hockl, the author, has produced another delightful variation of this beloved Palatinate spirit. Pennsylvania Germans will find many a sympathetic rural thought in the small verses of Hockl, from the well in which he sees reflected faces from the past in "Die Glocke heer ich laude" ("I hear the church bell tolling"), to other similar moods in "Erntedank" ("Harvest praise"), and "Ich heer e Veegleche" ("I hear a little songbird").

Many of Hockl's poems reflect the same puzzles and problems of dialect expression as do snatches of Pennsylvania verse. His "Unser Ordografie" sounds in part like Birmelin's "Waardeschpielerei." Dialect sound simplification does often produce visual and verbal repetitions, though with different meanings. Isn't it comforting to know that Palatinate writers have the same tendency to interchange p and b sounds (or d and t sounds), as we do?

* * *

The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren. Volume 1. Rifton, N.Y.: Plough Publishing House, 1987.

This massive initial portion of a long-lost standard account of the experiences and sufferings of the Hutterite Anabaptists is a triumph of international scholarly cooperation. In short, it amounts to a Hutterite *Martyrs' Mirror*. Only two copies of the original writing, from 1580 and 1581, are still intact.

But such was the isolation of some congregations that the *Chronicle* existed in North America after even the recollection of it had become very blurred among European scholars. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a German-language version has been available in European universities.

In our own time, then, efforts of the Hutterite Brethren have been combined with those of prominent Mennonite researchers to produce this masterpiece. Translation (and even transcription) was difficult. To anyone who has tried to decipher old hand-copied German documents the enormity of the work is immediately apparent. After years of study, comparison and debate, this work is the final result.

The editors had to integrate information from five main sources, a complicated interweaving to be sure. They also clarified place names, not an easy task in Eastern Europe. In addition, the task of identifying persons and succinctly presenting facts aids the reader-researcher. It reads quite clearly. More than eight hundred pages of text introduce so many people and events that repeated reference to earlier passages of text is necessary.

Still, this is not an easy book to read, although that is hardly the fault of those who have assembled the book

for us to use. Partly it is the fault of the subject itself. Few Pennsylvania German readers are so familiar with events and places in Eastern Europe that they move easily from one chapter location to the next. That reflects the fallacy of our own assumptions that Pennsylvania Germans are virtually all of Rhineland German origin. It ignores not only the Hutterites we find in such detail here, but the Schwenkfelders and religious Moravians, to say nothing of the geographical Moravians and Silesians of a later date.

Many readers will spend but a short time on the history of the world to 1517 in this book, but descriptions detailing hazards of an Anabaptist existence remind us of the religious environment of the time. An initial Register of events of Hutterite life and of martyrs seemed of major interest to those who originally compiled the *Chronicle*. Indeed, it remains very effective in our own time as a tally list of Anabaptist casualties at the hands of Turks, Hungarians, Catholic princes and Swiss Calvinists alike. The terror of those times is reflected by repeated references to "abduction of children by the Turks," and to others who were "drowned at Zurich [or] burned at Waldsee" by fellow Swiss.

Michael Sattler, Georg Blaurock and Thomas Herrmann were burned, drowned or otherwise executed for their faith and a refusal to recant. Some of these violent deaths appear in the *Martyrs' Mirror* as well as in the *Chronicle*. Polish Imperial troops created destruction and suffering by their raiding Hutterite villages. This account does substantiate Schwenkfelder accounts of pillage and suffering in Eastern Europe. Unpleasant, realistic reading, for life was harsh for all Christians there, given such frontier conditions and the repeated invasions and civil war.

* * *

Paton Yoder, editor. *Tennessee John Stoltzfus: Amish Church-Related Documents and Family Letters.* Noah G. Good, translator. Lancaster: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 1987. Volume I in a new *Mennonite Sources and Documents Series*.

A book of Amish local history, done as only the Anabaptists can do it. Yoder, Good and their other friends and relatives who labored on this production, deserve the reader's thanks for producing a book of local history and religion which is neither dull nor pedantic.

Given the limited number of family names in the Amish communities, one might expect an inevitable mixture, impossible to understand or decipher. Instead, this work is cohesive, instructive and enlightening. The letters and documents contained in the book demonstrate the breadth of interest and the variety of experiences of a people who, by their strict limitation of formal education, might be expected to be narrow and parochial.

That is not to say that every bishop we encounter in these source readings is sympathetic and understanding. The very nature of that office and the strictness of the regulations they are required to enforce gravitates against that. Still, personal feelings and observations are apparent in much of the content of these documents. They were written by real people.

The book is divided into two parts. The first is indeed basically a church correspondence which deals with application of the *Ordnung* and the disposition of transgressions of that law. Yet worldly readers, accustomed to viewing Anabaptist church operation as a firm and harsh discipline, will find some astonishing passages in the documents.

For example, in Document Number Four (p. 42), David Beiler wrote to Mose Miller in 1853 concerning the need for understanding the member whose actions are being questioned: "For where there is no law, there is also no transgression."

Yet it is in the second part that the world of the mid-nineteenth century Amish is shown in a much different light than most twentieth century readers expect. For too long we have heard the Pennsylvania German was a stay-at-home who kept his nose to the grindstone (or to the wood stove in the kitchen) and never ventured more than a half-dozen miles from home. The subjects of the personal letters in Part 2 of *Tennessee John Stoltzfus*, travelled by train and visited extensively, not only from farm-to-farm and from community-to-community, but from state-to-state as well.

It was not at all unusual for Amish women from Ohio to visit relatives and friends in Indiana as well as in Pennsylvania. The subject of this book, *Tennessee John Stoltzfus*, earned his nickname from his activity in that southern state. Social history values and examples are particularly illustrated in the 1866 diary kept by Malinda Stoltzfus as she travelled through Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania, visiting relatives and friends as she went.

One of the most helpful aspects of this book is the extensive and descriptive introduction to each chapter and to each individual document as it appears in print. If each individual's birth and death dates were also identified the first time that person appeared in the book, the reader would find each one more identifiable there.

William T. Parsons
Institute on Pennsylvania German Studies



WAS HE A CIVIL WAR VETERAN?

The following handwritten letter lay for years in a German language book Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker had placed in the "miscellaneous volumes" section of the Pennsylvania German Archives Collection, now in Myrin Library 301, on the Ursinus College campus in Collegeville, Pa. The book had nothing to do with the Civil War, nor did it have any relation to Tamaqua.

The letter speaks for itself, yet it does seem indicative of the wide variety of types of service rendered to the Union Army in that massive conflict. In many cases like this one, few standards of conduct or procedure existed and the rule of thumb was simply to do what worked.

The Forty-Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, enlisted in Schuylkill County and served most of the war. It became famous for the exploits of Colonel Henry Pleasants, a mine engineer in civilian life, who dug the tunnel at Petersburg, Virginia, known as "The Mine." When the regimental band under Walbridge served at Lexington, Kentucky, they were on garrison status.

[N.B. Since the original contains little punctuation, I have added periods and paragraphed it. Incidentally, we have found nothing to indicate that any pension was ever granted. W.T.P., Archivist]

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ALS Horace C. Walbridge, P. & R. Restaurant, Tamaqua, Pa., to Zack C. Hoch [Pension Section, Department of Treasury, Washington, D.C.], 4 April 1907. 18x11.5 cm. 4pp.

Tamaqua, Pa. 4 April 1907

Mr. Zack C. Hoch, Dear Sir

Your letter was received in due time, [I] would have answered sooner but I have been a little unfortunate this winter as myself and most of my family have been sick nearly all winter. Thank fortune we are getting around again. The reason I did not go down to see Mr. Legler & Rothomel was on account of my sickness. We were in a bad fix; only one of the family was able to attend to the business. We had to depend on strangers. I think you can imagine how that went in a business of this kind, where you have to cook and wait on customers.

Now in regard to questions, we will start with No. 1. In regard to being employed by the U.S. Government, your copy headed "Return to Pa.," signed by the Post Commandant Col. J. K. Siegfried, will explain that. He says there that we were members of a Citizens Band who were employed by the 48th Regt., P.V.I. So you see we were employed by the Regiment, not the U.S. Government.

No. 2: In regard to being in line of duty, you can see by your copy headed Camp, 48 Pa. Vols., that we agreed to obey our superior officers and were subject to the rules & regulations, the same as those that were mustard [sic] in the service.

No. 3: This Band was not paid by the U.S. Government, but paid by J. Wagner, who was one of the committee authorized by the Regt. to procure a band while they were doing post duty at Lexington, Ky. He was the Regimental Quartermaster.

No. 4: The reason they employed us, was because they were a fine Regiment and wanted to make a good showing while on duty at Lexington, Ky.

No. 5: To my knowledge I never heard of any of them applying for a record to show that they have been employed by the U.S. Government. There are only three of those 13 men alive today. Legler, Downing & myself.

No. 6: None of the 13 men that I had in that Band drew pensions for that service that I know of.

I think this includes all that I could inform you of. I would feel glad if you could establish a claim for my old friend Legler. He was a faithful man, always ready for duty and never complained. You will find enclosed all the papers. You will find the answers correspondingly according to numbers. I answered them truthfully to the best of my knowledge and ability.

Yours Respectfully,
Horace G. Walbridge

P. & R. Restaurant
Tamaqua, Penna.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The 7th Ulster-American Heritage Symposium, cosponsored by Western Carolina University and Appalachian State University, will be held at the University of Ulster at Coleraine, July 28-30, 1988. Proposals are invited from those interested in presenting papers to this Symposium, which is being jointly organized by the Department of History at the University of Ulster and the Mountain Heritage Centre at Western Carolina University.

The Symposium will be concerned with all aspects of the Ulster-American heritage from the seventeenth century to the present day. The proceedings will consider the processes of migration, settlement, and subsequent development; the different social groups which participated in them; and the various regional economies which were involved (including those in Britain). Attention will also be devoted to specific features of the cultural heritage (both material and non-material), e.g.

architecture, folklore and music, as well as to the wider political, religious, economic and social circumstances which formed the background to Ulster-American migration during this period.

Anyone interested in presenting a paper to the Symposium should send brief details of its title and contents to the following *by or before 15 January 1988*:

Mr. S.J.S. Ickringill/Professor P. Roebuck
7th Ulster-American Heritage Symposium,
Department of History, University of Ulster,
Coleraine, BT52, 1SA, Co. Londonderry, N. Ireland.

Contributors normally resident in N. America should also copy their submissions to Professors H. T. Blethen and C. Wood, Mountain Heritage Centre, Western Carolina University, Collowhee, North Carolina 28723.

A program for the Symposium will be published by Easter 1988 and those interested in attending should contact the organizers at Coleraine as soon as possible.

39th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

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