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# *Pennsylvania* FOLKLIFE



SUMMER 1976





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## COVER:

*The cover illustration is entitled "A New Love Song only ha'penny a piece". It is an English print (Cries of London, Plate II) from a painting by F. Wheatl y, R. A. It depicts a ballad seller crying her wares on the street. Pennsylvania's broadsides (see questionnaire) were distributed also on city streets, in market stalls, and by traveling peddlers.*



# Veterinary Folk Medicine in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania

By GERALD L. POCIUS

The study of the health system of a specific cultural group often provides insight into the beliefs about disease etiology and the various forms of treatment within that group. The choice of a type of healer, the duration and type of treatment, and the relationship between traditional and professional health systems are beginning to be studied in an attempt to better understand the relationship between human health and culture. In most cultural groups, however, the traditional health practices which deal with domestic animals have rarely been mentioned.

Veterinary practices can provide as much insight into human behavior as the system dealing with humans, and are often related directly to human medical practices. The care of farm livestock is of immense importance to the local farmer, and the veterinary profession in North America grew out of traditional healers specializing in farm animals. This essay will examine the traditional veterinary health system in one section of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, primarily through the use of information obtained from three farmers in this region: Lee Snyder and Herbert Wilkins of Hop Bottom, and Karl Gesford of Dimock. Focus will primarily be on the care of the dairy cow, since this is the most important and the most common farm animal in this county. Through this survey it becomes evident that many similarities existed between the local practice of veterinary medicine in Susquehanna County, and traditional health practices of peasant cultures in general.<sup>1</sup>

## *Susquehanna County*

Susquehanna County, nearly rectangular in shape, borders on New York state in the northeastern corner of Pennsylvania (map 1). Unsettled before 1800, this section of Pennsylvania originally belonged to Connecticut. When settlement did begin in the early 19th Century,

<sup>1</sup>Henry Glassie observed that until recently, most American country people could be considered peasants, fitting the anthropological models concerning this group. For Glassie's comments, and a discussion of these models see: Henry Glassie, "The Variation of Concepts Within Tradition: Barn Building in Otsego County, New York," *Geoscience and Man*, 5 (1974), 225.

immigrants came largely from the New England area, from Connecticut, Vermont, and Rhode Island.<sup>2</sup>

Early immigrants cleared the land, and built saw mills to convert the abundant timber into marketable lumber. The terrain of the county was not suitable for large produce farms; the settlers found that "the altitude of the territory [was] high and the surface somewhat rough and broken, fitting it for grazing or dairying, rather than for ordinary farming."<sup>3</sup> By the late 19th Century, the county was referred to as "the butter county" of Pennsylvania, with dairy farming being the major industry.<sup>4</sup> In 1926, eight-four percent of the land in the county had been converted to farms.<sup>5</sup> With the introduction of modern refrigeration equipment in the 20th Century, the emphasis shifted from butter production to milk production, with refrigerated trucks now carrying milk to nearby processing complexes.

Dimock and Lathrop townships, where the three farmers live who provided most of the information for this study, are located in the southern portion of Susquehanna County. Both townships are especially noted for their dairy farms and the production of milk. In 1887, for example, a writer commented:

The soil of Lathrop is quite fertile and is especially adapted to produce grass. Much hay is shipped, and the dairy interest has become the most important industry since the clearing of the county.<sup>6</sup>

Another writer, commenting about Dimock township, noted that the area "is a dairying district, and much attention is given to the breeding of fine cattle."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Rhmanthus M. Stocker, *Centennial History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (1887; rpt. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 367, 677, 679.

<sup>3</sup>George P. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania: A History* (New York and Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Co. Inc., 1926), IV, 1979.

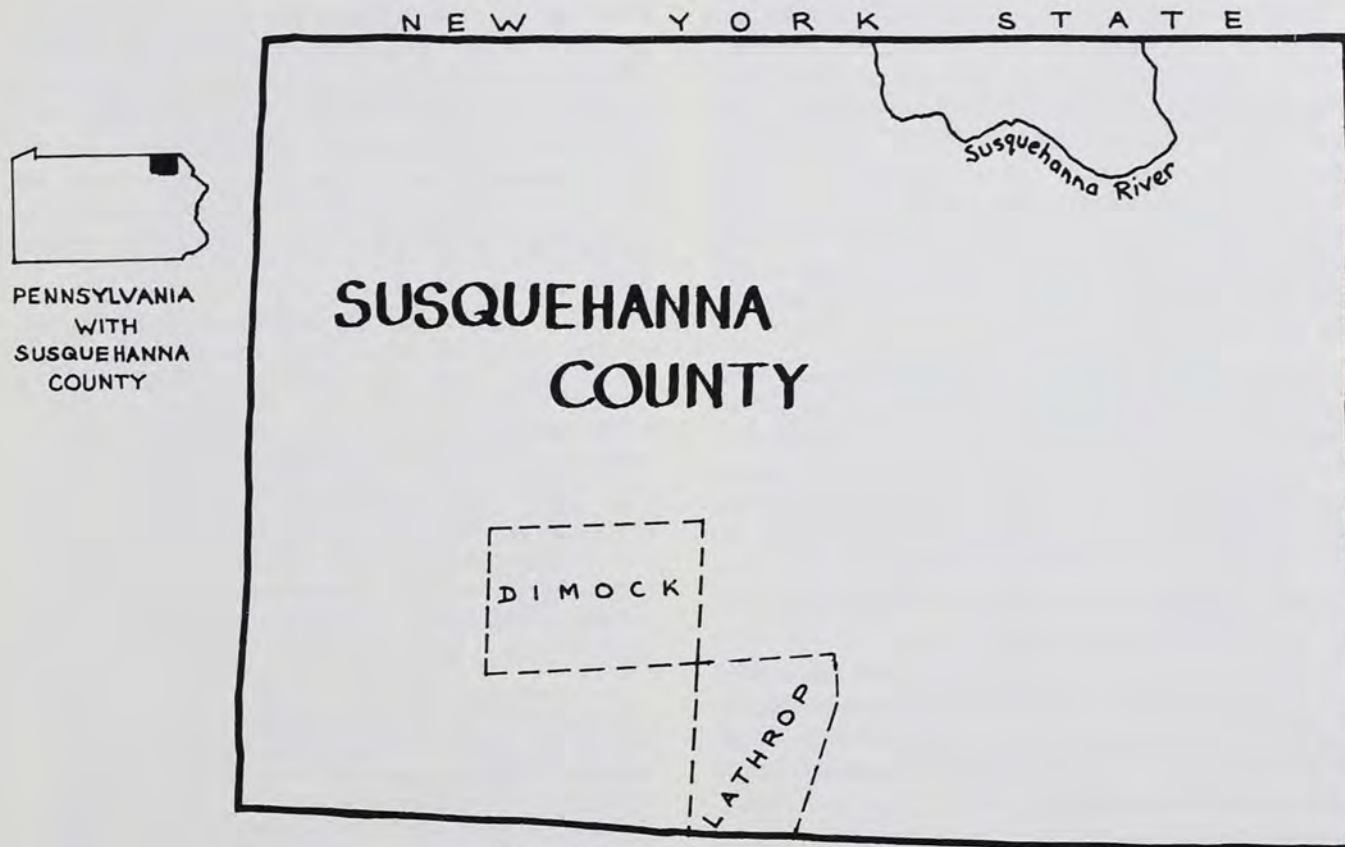
<sup>4</sup>Emily C. Blackman, "Susquehanna County," in *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Civil, Political and Military, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, ed. by William H. Egle (Philadelphia: E. M. Gardner, 1883), p. 1088.

<sup>5</sup>Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, IV, 1976.

<sup>6</sup>Stocker, *Susquehanna County*, p. 676.

<sup>7</sup>Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, IV, 1979-1980.





Map of Susquehanna County

Most dairy farms in Susquehanna County in the early 20th Century averaged in size from one hundred to two hundred acres, with from thirty to fifty cows. Each farm usually had a dwelling house, basement barn,<sup>8</sup> horse barn, and a small number of outbuildings. Oats and corn were the principal crops; cattle were usually Holsteins.<sup>9</sup>

Karl Gesford, Lee Snyder, and Herbert Wilkins are all retired, but still live on their farms. Two of the farms are now worked by younger family members, while Herbert Wilkins' farm no longer has cows because of the rapidly rising costs of farm machinery, fertilizer, feed and most other farm essentials.

#### *The Cow Man*

The training of professional veterinarians did not begin in Pennsylvania until 1884 when the University of Pennsylvania opened a School of Veterinary Medicine. Before the arrival of a veterinarian in a farming region, care of the livestock was left to local farmers. Even after the arrival of the professional, local treatment of livestock by farmers persisted.

<sup>8</sup>This is the same barn type which Glassie examined in New York State. See: Glassie, "Barn Building," 177-235.

<sup>9</sup>For a discussion of the characteristics of the Holstein breed see: Fred T. Ullrich, *Our Farm World: A Source Book in General Agriculture* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), pp. 367-369.

Perhaps the first veterinarian in Susquehanna County, G. A. Lathrop, was stationed there by 1887.<sup>10</sup> Although the number of veterinarians increased to five by the mid-20th Century, the local treatment by non-professionals persisted up until the last fifteen years. In this area of Susquehanna County, a network of local farmers had existed who were recognized as possessing special skills and knowledge for the cure of diseases in cattle, and the ability to assist in the birth of calves. These experts, known locally as "cow men,"<sup>11</sup> possessed no magico-religious powers for healing, but rather relied mainly on herbal cures for maladies.<sup>12</sup> The cow man would be contacted first by his neighbors if a cow had a particular ailment, and they could expect almost immediate attention. Cow men would visit farms in a five-mile radius from their own farm. They could perform many of the services provided by a professional veterinarian, and a system of referral existed between the cow man and the vet.

<sup>10</sup>Stocker, *Susquehanna County*, p. 203.

<sup>11</sup>Ditchfield refers to a farm laborer in England who cares for cattle as a cowman; see: Peter H. Ditchfield, *County Folk: A Pleasant Company* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1924), plate opposite p. 124. In Scotland, the term cowman refers to the devil; see: Alexander Warrack, *A Scots Dialect Dictionary* (London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers Ltd., 1911), p. 107.

<sup>12</sup>For a discussion of the division of folk medicine into these two major types see: Don Yoder, "Folk Medicine," in *Folklore and Folk-life: An Introduction*, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 192.



Specific cow men were mentioned when farmers were questioned about cattle treatment. Karl Gesford claimed that his next door neighbor, who was a handy man, traveled around the Dimock area curing cows. Lee Snyder recalled that there were two Bailey boys who lived near his farm who were "good" with cows. "They were a couple of old bachelors and they lived by themselves," according to Snyder. Lee himself also cared for cattle in the area. Herbert Wilkins was known as a cow man in his area, and his father-in-law before him was also a cow man.

The knowledge of how to treat cattle diseases came from various sources. A cow man could learn from another cow man, he could obtain remedies from individual farmers during his many visits, he could experiment himself, or he could observe the practices of the veterinarian. Erwin G. Johnson, Wilkins' father-in-law, obtained his knowledge through all of these channels, and later his son-in-law would gain these skills through a kind of apprenticeship.

Johnson was born on a farm in Hop Bottom in 1880, and was in his early twenties when he began to help his neighbors in the curing of various cattle diseases. Much of his knowledge, according to Wilkins, came from his own experiments, recalling:

He kinda learned it on his own, from his own experience. He always was, ah, quite a cow man, and he learned quite a lot from, a little bit [from] veterinarians when they was around, and he kinda took it upon himself t', to undertake such work.

Through his own experience, and by observing the work of the veterinarian, Johnson became what was called a cow man.

The cow man often believed that the skills of the veterinarian were elementary merely being able to recognize the symptoms of a disease and then giving the proper medication. The veterinarian was considered more of a technician than a professional, and the cow man would quickly learn these technical skills. As Wilkins commented:

And when the veterinary did leave you any medicine, you had to give it to the cow anyway, so you might as well learn how to do it, and you could go up and you could buy that same stuff off the veterinary right there and you could do your own veterinary work.

Besides learning from the visits of the veterinarian, Johnson also learned about the internal anatomy of cattle through another method: "He got so good handlin' cattle that, ah. He knew quite a little bit about the insides of 'em, and he used to do quite a little bit of butcherin', too, on the side." Through this knowledge of the location of internal organs, Johnson could attempt to diagnose the causes of various ailments, often by using a cure that he thought would affect the organ which he diagnosed as diseased.

A cow man would always be alert to new remedies and cures. Printed guides were apparently rare.<sup>13</sup> Many cures were obtained during social visits with neighbors who might specialize in treating a particular disease. Lee Snyder recalled an incident in which his father learned how to cure scratchers, a sore which grows between the cloven hoof of certain animals. He used this incident as an example of how many cures were learned by the cow man:

Now, it was like, ah. My father went into a blacksmith shop with, ah, a horse that had, ah, oh, scratchers. You know, that's one of the stinkiest things that ever was. He asked, ah, the blacksmith what t' do for it. The blacksmith told him how to burn him and went on with quite a lot of red tape, 'n' then grease 'em, 'n' get 'em out of it. Well, there was an old fellow come in there. You wouldn't hardly thing that he'd know enough t' come in out of the rain. As soon as he stopped in inside of the houer, the blacksmith shop, he, he said, "Somebody in here has got a horse with scratchers." Dad poked up and said, "Yes," he says, "I have." He said, "Put a little sugar lead and alum water onto it," he said, "there wouldn't be any." Well, Dad said he didn't thing nothing more about what the blacksmith had told him. he said, "What proportions?" "Well," he said, "an ounce of each and a pint of water." He went down 'n' got it 'n' put it on his horse and the scratchers was gone. Not more 'n' a couple of days and it was gone.

#### *Cow Men and Veterinarians*

In many peasant societies, health care and healing are provided by various types of healers, from locally trained to professionals. This hierarchy of healers extends from familial members through professional health care personnel, and the choice of the healer is often an indication of the degree of acculturation of the peasant



*Mr. & Mrs. Lee Snyder*



society member in the industrialized larger society.<sup>14</sup> For example, in rural Greece:

The cheap and easy local remedies are tried first, before an illness has become a serious threat to comfort or performance . . . Ordinarily, the very first exchange of information is within the family itself; if the family has its own healer, she (or he) will take charge. If there is some delay in recovery, or if the family has no woman with healing skills . . . the patient or someone in his family will seek the advice of a neighboring wise woman or other person possessed of special knowledge.<sup>15</sup>

If these measures fail, the family will finally turn to the professional physician.

In Susquehanna County, the curing of farm animals during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries took place using a similar model. Professional veterinarians were rare at the time, and local cow men were relied upon for the first stage of treatment. If a farmer was unsuccessful in treating a cow himself, the cow man would be summoned. When asked whether local farmers called his father-in-law first when a cow was sick, Herbert Wilkins replied:

Most of 'em did in later years, yes, because they knew that he was good at it, and that, ah, that he would also tell 'em that if, ah, if there was something wrong that a veterinary wouldn't be able to help him any, why, he would always tell them that there was no use of havin' a veterinary.

The cow man, as a member of the local culture, would be trusted in his diagnosis, and would be contacted first. He could cure some types of diseases, but both he and the farmer recognized his limitations. There were certain cases that only the veterinarian could cure, and those which neither could cure. If the cow man claimed that the veterinarian could not cure a particular illness, then often the vet was not contacted, saving the farmer both time and money. Local residents looked upon the cow man's diagnosis as just as accurate as the veterinarian's.

According to most farmers, the veterinarian recognized that the cow man had certain skills in diagnosing diseases, as well as helping in certain situations. This

recognition brought with it a cooperation between traditional and professional healer, a cooperation which is apparently rare when two cultural levels of health systems meet.<sup>16</sup> An indication of this cooperation was evident when Herbert Wilkins discussed the delivery of calves.

When a cow experienced difficulty in giving birth, a local cow man would be contacted. If he could not help, then a veterinarian would be contacted, especially if the cow man felt that the veterinarian could help. According to Wilkins, one veterinarian always checked to see whether his father-in-law had been there yet:

I've often heard when old Fred Miller was in the veterinary business. Somebody called him. They had a calf that they wasn't able to, to, a get. Why, he always asked 'em if they had Erwin Johnson there, and if he'd been there, why, Fred would say, "Well, there's no use in me comin' if Erwin's been there." He was pretty good on being able to get a calf.

The veterinarian recognized Johnson's skill, and in many cases felt that Johnson's knowledge was equal to his own.

Farmers often singled out incidents which showed that the local cow man was just as effective as the veterinarian, and that the veterinarian openly cooperated with him.<sup>17</sup> When Lee Snyder recalled one such incident, he placed the cow man in an equal, if not superior, position to the veterinarian. He described his attempts to get a cow to freshen, or give birth:

I went one place, that tried probably fifteen minutes. I says, "There's no use in my tryin' any longer," I says, ah, I says, "you better have a veterinary come and cut this calf up," I says, "that's beyond me." And they asked me what veterinary I'd rather have come. I says, "For me, I'd get Hollister," I says, "I've worked with him more than anyone else." Well, they went right and called him, and when he come down to a, he passed the remark then, he says, "When Lee Snyder calls for me," he says, "I know it's a bad case." And so he hurried right down. He says, "There's just one thing I wanna try first." So he, he tried with the rope. He gave one pull. He says, "It's no use," he says. He says, "Might just as well get ready t' cut it up." And so I helped him with the cuttin' it up.

Again, the fact is mentioned that the veterinarian verbally commented that the case must be severe, since the cow man was not able to treat it. The local farmer asked Snyder who he would rather work with, suggesting his superior role in relation to the veterinarian. Finally, the cow man commented that he assisted the veterinarian in his task, indicating that he knew the proper procedure.

<sup>16</sup>One of the few instances of cooperation between traditional and professional healers can be found in the contact between physicians and midwives in some rural areas of North America; for an example see: Sister M. Lucia van der Eerden, *Maternity Care in a Spanish-American Community*, Catholic University of America Anthropological Series No. 13 (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1948), p. 21.

<sup>17</sup>Members of a peasant culture frequently point to the success of the traditional curer in treating maladies that the professional physician could not cure; for an example see: Rubel, *Across the Tracks*, pp. 194-195.

<sup>14</sup>These printed guides will be discussed below, pp. 18-23; for a typical example see: William B. E. Miller and Lloyd V. Teller, *The Diseases of Live Stock and Their Most Efficient Remedies* (Chicago: Waverly Publishing Co., 1887).

<sup>15</sup>For a discussion of this point see: Lola Romanucci Schwartz, "The Hierarchy of Resort in Curative Practices: The Admiralty Islands, Melanesia," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 10 (1969), 204-205.

<sup>16</sup>Richard and Eva Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece: A Study of Three Communities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), p. 167; for discussions of the resort to a hierarchy of healers in other cultures see: Margaret Clark, *Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 206-217; Ari Kiev, "The Study of Folk Psychiatry," in his *Magic, Faith, and Healing: Studies in Primitive Psychiatry Today* (New York: The Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1964), p. 14; Octavio Ignacio Romano V., "Charismatic Medicine, Folk-Healing, and Folk-Sainthood," *American Anthropologist*, 67 (1965), 1154; Arthur J. Rubel, *Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1966), pp. 180-199.





*Herbert Wilkins and his wife in front of their barn, which now stands empty.*

Traditional curers in many peasant societies would not take payment for their services, usually adding to their popularity.<sup>18</sup> The cow man in Susquehanna County fitted this model, and most likely this contributed to his success in the area. When discussing cattle treatment in the past, Lee Snyder explained that “the money wasn’t so free that they [the farmers] called the vet any more than they partially had to.” He added, “I’ll tell ya. Years ago, people didn’t charge for everything that they done.” Wilkins’ father-in-law also did not charge; rather, it was “just t’ help the neighbors out. In them days, why, you had to help one another out.” Wilkins also explained that local veterinarians never tried to stop his father because he did not have a license. Receiving payment and having a license were apparently connected. As Wilkins commented, “he didn’t need any license, just for the reason that he didn’t ah, didn’t go around charging any fee at all.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Rubel, *Across the Tracks*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>19</sup>In his study of the Mexican-Americans of South Texas, Madsen found that many traditional healers felt that their powers would be withdrawn if they charged for their services; see: William Madsen, *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology (2nd ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 91.

In many types of treatment, the cow man felt that he could care for a cow with the same degree of success as the professional veterinarian. In certain cases, even the veterinarian recognized this, and would check to see whether a cow man had seen a particular animal before he came. Yet, local farmers often felt that a veterinarian was impersonal in his treatment, interested only in quickly finishing his job. Since the cow man was a member of the immediate neighborhood, and in no hurry to keep appointments, he often remained with the farmer after his treatment was over, sharing comments about the year’s harvest or the latest piece of farm machinery.<sup>20</sup> In short, the veterinarian could offer many of the services that the local cowman offered, except one — sociability. When discussing the reasons for making a choice between a cow man and a veterinarian, Mr. and Mrs. Snyder expressed these sentiments:

Mr. S. But I’ll tell ya. I’ve had the remark made to me that, ah, the fellow’s dead now that made it, that “I’d rather him [the cow man] come,” he says, “ ‘n’ help, than any veterinary,” he says, that he ever had.

GLP. Why would that be? You know how to do it better than the vets?

Mr. S. Well, I’ll tell ya. I had a little feelings for anything.

Mrs. S. Veterinary was all in a hurry t’ get it done, ‘n’ so he could get t’ goin’, And they wouldn’t care.

Cow men would treat animals with a certain amount of love and respect, according to farmers. Herbert Wilkins claimed that his father-in-law became a good cow man “because he had a great, ah, love for cattle, I guess, was about the only way I could explain it.” When he treated a cow, he would always try to calm her, being careful not to frighten her through any unnecessary movements.

Farmers claim that the cow man was often as effective as the veterinarian. When Lee Snyder could not help a cow freshen, he called the vet, just as a local vet always checked to see whether Erwin Johnson had been there. When the veterinarian also admitted that he could not help the cow, the skill of both the local healer and professional appeared equal. The cow man might encounter a severe case in which he had to call the vet, but residents made it clear that the veterinarians also could not treat every case. Lee Snyder remembered that his father could not cure a particular cow, and called the vet. Snyder recalled: “Now this veterinary that I was tellin’ you about went down there to Lathrop, he says, ‘I don’t know what’s a matter w’ your cow’.”

The skills of the cow man would be acquired through observation of treatment techniques of farmers, veteri-

<sup>20</sup>Patients frequently contrast the sociability of the traditional healer with the impersonality of the professional; for examples see: Irwin Press, “Urban Illness: Physicians, Curers and Dual Use in Bogota,” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 10 (1969), 211; Madsen, *Mexican-Americans*, p. 93.



narians, or other cow men. Herbert Wilkins acquired many of his techniques by serving a kind of apprenticeship with his father-in-law. Wilkins was born in Minnesota, and he and his family moved to Endicott, New York, when he was nine. Around the age of thirty he got married, and started farming near Hop Bottom. He recalled:

Well, it was when I, when I first come down here, I was kinda green at it, y' know. I was a lad that, well I was born and raised on a farm, but I, I never had the dairy experience that I did when I came down here. Our folks had just a few Jersey cows and they always churned and sold our, our butter. But I got down in here and it was dairying, they all sold milk down here. So I really had to learn something about it if I was going to stay.

After his marriage, he traveled around with his father-in-law for ten years, until his death, learning techniques of treatment. When Johnson died, farmers knew that Herbert Wilkins had assisted him in the past, and he would now be contacted for help.

#### *Treatment*

Cow men in Susquehanna County usually treated the more common ailments and conditions, with a veterinarian being contacted for those maladies which were rare. When questioned about these common conditions, cow men immediately could describe their symptoms and

treatment. The diseases frequently mentioned were: diarrhea or scours, fowls, milk fever, warts, the clotting of blood, constipation, blockage of the udder, and poisoning. Of these conditions, only milk fever, warts, poisoning and blockage of the udder were cured by a treatment other than herbal or patent medicines. These herbal remedies will be discussed first.

After a cut stopped bleeding, various poultices and salves were placed on it. According to Karl Gesford, "they used to put tobacco on 'em. Tie a bandage on it, and generally right over the cut, put tobacco on it." He claimed that the nicotine in the tobacco stopped the infection.

Lee Snyder used a special mixture of gunpowder, white vitriol, salimony powder, copperas and water for healing wounds.<sup>21</sup> This mixture would reduce swelling, and heal a cut, according to Snyder, even better than if someone had stitched it. The gunpowder that can be bought today in the area is not the same type. According to Snyder, "it ain't regular black gunpowder," but a high explosive type which is not as effective in this mixture.

<sup>21</sup>For the use of gunpowder for curing in the Ozarks see: Vance Randolph, *Ozark Magic and Folklore* (1947; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), p. 94. White vitriol is zinc sulphate and copperas is iron sulphate; for a discussion of their properties see: Miller and Lloyd, *Diseases of Live Stock*, pp. 496-497, 504.



*Herbert Wilkins in front of his barn, now empty.*



When cows became constipated, Herbert Wilkins' father-in-law made a special mixture which was extremely effective, according to Wilkins:

He, he would mix up a batch of ah, a liquid combination if a cow got bound up in the bowels. Why, he had his own home remedy, and it would all sum up t' about eight quarts all together with some yeast cake, an' oil meal, an' heated up to a certain temperature.

This mixture had to be given carefully to the cow:

you'd have to be careful, ah, pourin' that down the cow that you didn't get any down on her lungs. [Why was that? What would happen?] Well, she would eventually die from havin' all that liquid on her lungs. You know, there's a ball on the back of a cow's tongue. You got t' get a hold of that animal's tongue and you gotta pull that tongue out enough to get that ball up out of the base of the throat, see.

In some regions of North America and the British Isles, special "drenching horns" were used to pour liquid down the throat of a cow.<sup>22</sup>

Polish and Lithuanian farmers began settling in Susquehanna County during the late 19th and early 20th Century, often with little or no experience in the raising of cattle and the running of a farm. These farmers apparently often underfed their cattle, and Wilkins' father-in-law poked fun at their ignorance when called upon to treat a cow's ailments:

There was a bad disease the old timers used t' use. It was "hollow manger," my father-in-law called it. He got a big charge out of that. A lot of foreigners that would start farmin' around here years ago, they didn't feed the cows like the American people did. Some of 'em got in pretty poor condition. When they would freshen, they didn't have strength enough to stand up, a lot of 'em. He told 'em they had hollow manger, which he got a big kick out of, cause they didn't understand what he meant by "hollow manger". They didn't feed 'em enough.

The term hollow manger obviously borrows from a disease of a cow's horn, "hollow horn".

According to Wilkins, pneumonia was rare among cattle in the area. He did remember, however, a disease called shipping fever which was similar in symptoms to pneumonia.<sup>23</sup> His father-in-law treated this disease with hydrated lime, placing a tablespoon of lime on each cow's ensilage once a day for three days. He claimed that "they didn't like it too good. It'd make 'em kinda snort a little bit." He described how his father-in-law discovered this treatment:

I think how he, he first started usin' hydrated lime.

<sup>22</sup>A drawing of these drenching horns can be found in: Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby, *Vanishing Folkways* (South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1971), p. 59; another cure for constipation can be found in: Margaret Fay Shaw, *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 51.

<sup>23</sup>A discussion of shipping fever can be found in: Rudolph Seiden, *Livestock Health Encyclopedia* (2nd ed.; New York: Springer Publishing Company Inc., 1961), pp. 443-446.

You know, in the winter time, you sweep the concrete manger out with a broom. You gotta keep it cleaned out if you want to keep the cow eatin' good. Well, it'd kinda smell a little sour, so he would sprinkle some of the hydrated lime on the manger, then take the broom, kinda sweep that hydrated lime around. And of course, you wouldn't be able to get it all out, so we'd throw the ensilage right in and the cows would eventually eat that up. I guess he found out that'd kinda bound 'em just up a little bit, so he went to usin' it for the shipping fever.

Through such experimentation, accidental at times, the cow man discovered new methods on how to treat a particular malady.

The cloven hoofs of cows sometimes become cut in between the cleft by stones or other foreign objects. This injury, known as fouds, or foul in the foot, frequently is accompanied by "an intolerable stench [which] arises from the parts between the claws."<sup>24</sup> Lee Snyder discussed one treatment for this injury using sugar of lead and alum water<sup>25</sup>; he also found that saltpetre and vinegar were beneficial when applied between the claws.

Skin diseases that developed on the udder were treated with various salves and oils. Wilkins usually relied on skunk oil for these skin diseases, this oil being made by thoroughly rendering skunk fat.<sup>26</sup>

For the swelling of the udder, or "bag trouble," iodine was frequently used. It was given internally to the cow.<sup>27</sup> As Wilkins remembered:

If we had a quarter swell up on a cow, you can give her a tablespoon of iodine in a soft-drink bottle with about that much [1½ inches] water in it. Get a hold of your cow, put that into her mouth, let her have that iodine water. Just, just that one tablespoon of iodine, she'd be alright. You didn't have t' give her a shot a penicillin like they do today.

The old remedy was just as effective as the new, but could be administered by the farmer or cow man, and would cost nothing.

Probably the most common cattle ailment that was treated with some type of herb or drug was diarrhea, commonly called scours in many regions, including Susquehanna County. According to Herbert Wilkins, scours was a loose bowel infection, often caused by a slight case of pneumonia. When asked how you could tell if a cow had scours, Karl Gesford replied that "you'd know if you walked behind one."<sup>28</sup> Herbert Wilkins

<sup>24</sup>G. H. Dadd, *The American Cattle Doctor* (New York: C. M. Saxton & Co., 1858), p. 219.

<sup>25</sup>Sugar of lead is another name for acetate of lead; see: Robert McClure, *American Horse, Cattle and Sheep Doctor* (Chicago: Frederick J. Drake & Company, 1901), p. 373; also see p. 280 for a discussion of "foul claw" and its treatment. Sugar of lead was also used in human medicine; see: W. L. McAtee, "Home Medication in Grant County, Indiana, in the Nineties," *Midwest Folklore*, 5 (1955), 216.

<sup>26</sup>For an example of a special salve used for udder sores in Vermont see: Ruth M. Rasey, *Out of the Saltbox: The Savour of Old Vermont* (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally & Company, 1962), p. 73.

<sup>27</sup>The properties and uses of iodine are discussed in: D. C. Jarvis, *Folk Medicine: A Doctor's Guide to Good Health* (London: Pan Books Ltd., 1958), pp. 136-137.

<sup>28</sup>For the causes and symptoms of scours see: C. H. Eckles and G. F. Warren, *Dairy Farming* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916), pp. 160-161.



described his method of treatment: "Get two ordinary tea bags of that orange pekoe tea. Make about a pint of boiling water on them bags. Give that to 'em, that'll straighten 'em up about as fast as anything yet today." Numerous kinds of tea are frequently mentioned in early articles as good remedies for diarrhea.<sup>29</sup> Karl Gesford claimed that sulphur was a common remedy for diarrhea,<sup>30</sup> while Lee Snyder reported that two ounces of castor oil, one teaspoon of creosote, mixed in a bottle of milk, was also an effective cure.

Most of the herbal cures used in Susquehanna County that have been discussed are of a gentle variety, and few harsh purges were used. The use of mild substances for treatment was most likely a result of 19th Century movements to change veterinary practices, largely through the vehicle of print. Although printed guides were rarely used by cow men, the change in the contents of these guides over fifty years most likely parallels changes in veterinary medicine in Susquehanna County during the same period, and a short survey of these changes will thus prove useful in understanding recent practices.

The first veterinary college was not established in North America until 1862.<sup>31</sup> In spite of this late emergence of professional training, a large number of publications on veterinary care were being published in North America from the beginning of the 19th Century, following a tradition that was common in England since the Middle Ages.<sup>32</sup> These books were printed for popular consumption, and were concerned primarily with curative rather than preventive medicine for livestock.

One of the most important guides appeared in 1849. R. L. Allen's *Domestic Animals*<sup>33</sup> dealt with all types of farm livestock, their care breeding and disease. The

<sup>29</sup>For example see: "Scours in Calves," *The Cultivator*, 7 (1840), 196; C.B.M., "Scours in Calves," *Cultivator and Country Gentleman*, 51 (1886), 154.

<sup>30</sup>For comments about the use of sulphur in the treatment of cattle diseases see: "Sulphur for Cattle," *Country Gentleman*, 9 (1857), 176; for a general discussion of its uses see: J. Laurie, *An Epitome of the Homeopathic Domestic Medicine* (London: Leath and Ross; Boston: Otis Clapp and Son, n.d.), pp. 622-626. For other cures for diarrhea see: S. W. Cole, *The American Veterinarian* (New York: A. O. Moore, 1859), pp. 206-207; Duncan G. F. Macdonald, *Cattle, Sheep, and Deer* (5th ed.; London: Steel and Jones, 1872), p. xxiii; McClure, *Sheep Doctor*, pp. 272-273; J. Russell Manning, *The Illustrated Stock Doctor and Live-Stock Encyclopaedia* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros.; New York, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Kansas City: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1882), p.761; William Youatt and William Fream, *The Complete Grazer and Farmers' and Cattle-Breeders' Assistant* (14th ed.; London: Crosby Lockwood and Son, 1900), pp. 555-556.

<sup>31</sup>J. F. Smithcors, *The American Veterinary Profession: Its Background and Development* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963), p. 656; for comments about early professional veterinarians in Pennsylvania see: Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955), p. 178.

<sup>32</sup>For a survey of these early guides see: L. F. Newman, "Folk-Lore and History in Veterinary Medicine," *Royal Society of Medicine, Proceedings*, 45 (1952), 94-96; for one of the most influential guides see: Thomas Tusser, *His Good Points of Husbandry*, ed. by Dorothy Hartley (1557; rpt. Portway Bath: Cedric Chivers Ltd., 1969).

<sup>33</sup>R. L. Allen, *Domestic Animals* (New York: C. M. Saxton, 1849).



Karl Gesford

materials were taken largely from contemporary printed sources. As a recent writer pointed out:

The veterinary parts of his book are not original but are copied from other works, in most instances without proper acknowledgement, and serve to furnish us with a view of prevalent ideas of that age.<sup>34</sup>

Allen briefly mentions that he has gathered material from the *New England Farmer*, the *Albany Cultivator*, the *American Agriculturist*, and other agricultural periodicals.<sup>35</sup>

Early 19th Century veterinary medicine, like human medicine, consisted largely of the use of harsh purges, along with external practices such as bleeding. Veterinary guides often list these types of remedies.<sup>36</sup> Since these publications contained material gathered largely from agricultural periodicals which printed local practices described in readers' letters, both veterinary guides and

<sup>34</sup>Joseph M. Arburua, "History of Veterinary Medicine in the United States," *American Veterinary Medical Association, Journal*, 85 (1934), 26.

<sup>35</sup>Allen, *Domestic Animals*, p. 50.

<sup>36</sup>For descriptions of bleeding see: Cole, *American Veterinarian*, pp. 37-39; Manning, *Stock Doctor*, p. 745; Macdonald, *Cattle*, p. xxiv; see also Hartley and Ingilby, *Folkways*, p. 57.





*The use of a  
drenching horn.*



agricultural periodicals often reflected local practices, rather than new systems of treatment.

A farmer from Prattsville, N. Y., wrote to the *Country Gentleman* about a cure for milk fever in 1860. His letter was printed, and his cure may have been tried by other farmers, gradually passing into oral tradition. His remedy may also have been borrowed by an editor for a veterinary guidebook. The cure he described is typical of the complex and often harsh remedies used in the early 19th Century in all areas of the country:

My mode of treatment is as follows, and whoever tries it will effect a cure in nine cases out of ten. As soon as I see the cow has the disease, I take sacking, or other heavy cloth, lay it across the small of the back, and keep it continually wet with cold water from the spring, poured on by pails full. This will allay the inflammation until physic can be got to operate. Then take a handful of tobacco wet in vinegar, and bind it in the hollow of the head back of the horns, and keep it wet with vinegar, as the disease appears to affect the head very much. After this is done, commence giving physic — give one pound of Epsom or Glauber salts. This I think the best if handy, for it is cooling to the system; if not handy, take about two quarts of molasses and lard, each equal parts. After the physic has been down two hours and no operation, take a lump of chalk the size of a hen's egg, pulverize it fine, put in a quart bottle, and as soon as the cow is got in a position to give it, pour in one pint of good vinegar quickly, placing the bottle to her throat, and let it go down. If there is no operation in the space of three or four hours, repeat the last dose. Chalk and vinegar I know to be a harmless physic. Wait about half an hour, and if no operation, cord the neck and bleed about two quarts, which will greatly facilitate the operation of the physic. Give the cow all the while cold water to drink. After there is a circulation got, the cow must be fed moderately for a few days. Several cows under my observation, that had been milked for several days previous to calving, have had the milk fever, so I think it no preventive.<sup>37</sup>

Many cures that were sent to periodicals by farmers and later found their way into veterinary guides, often consisted of many alternative treatments, as these remedies for milk fever sent in to an agricultural journal. S. W. Cole, editor of the popular guide, *The American Veterinarian*,<sup>38</sup> which sold 30,000 copies in four years after its publication in 1859, gathered remedies and lumped them together under each malady, claiming: "It has been our object to give several remedies, especially for the most common and destructive diseases; as, in case a medicine does not succeed in due time, it affords an opportunity to try another."<sup>39</sup> In many cases, however, a cow was subjected to a variety of treatments in only a period of several hours.

<sup>37</sup>E. M. Bouton, "Milk Fever in Cows," *Country Gentleman*, 17 (1861), 348.

<sup>38</sup>For full citation see footnote 30.

<sup>39</sup>Cole, *American Veterinarian*, p. vi.

A BOOK FOR EVERY FARMER.

THE  
AMERICAN VETERINARIAN;  
OR  
DISEASES OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

SHOWING THE  
CAUSES, SYMPTOMS AND REMEDIES,  
AND  
RULES FOR RESTORING AND PRESERVING HEALTH BY  
GOOD MANAGEMENT.  
WITH  
DIRECTIONS FOR TRAINING AND BREEDING.

BY S. W. COLE,  
EDITOR AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT BOSTON CULTIVATOR, FORMERLY  
EDITOR YANKEE FARMER AND FARMER'S JOURNAL.

NEW YORK :  
J. O. MOORE, AGRICULTURAL BOOK PUBLISHER,  
No. 140 FULTON STREET.  
1859.

*Cole's veterinary book, widely used in the 19th Century.*

The veterinary guides spread the use of bleeding and harsh purgatives, but opponents of these methods began to arise. By the beginning of the 20th Century, local veterinary practices had changed, evolving more humane treatments. The leader of this reform movement was George Dadd.

George Dadd, a trained physician, gradually began to specialize in the care of livestock. He soon became aware of many treatments which he considered unnecessarily harsh, and decided to publish veterinary guides which provided an alternative system. In one of his early books, published in 1854, he clearly outlines what he felt were abhorrent practices:

The farmers oftentimes see their best stock sicken and die without any apparent cause; and the cattle doctors are running roughshod through the *materia medica*, pouring down the throats of the poor brutes salts by the pound, castor oil by the quart; aloes,



THE AMERICAN  
CATTLE DOCTOR:

A COMPLETE WORK ON ALL THE DISEASES OF

CATTLE, SHEEP, AND SWINE,

INCLUDING

EVERY DISEASE PECULIAR TO AMERICA,

AND EMBRACING

ALL THE LATEST INFORMATION ON THE CATTLE PLAGUE AND TRICHINA.

CONTAINING ALSO

A GUIDE TO SYMPTOMS,  
A TABLE OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND  
A LIST OF VALUABLE MEDICINES.

GEO. H. DADD, V. S.,

Twenty-five Years a Leading Veterinary Surgeon in England and the United States,  
and Author of the "American Horse Book."

NEW YORK:

ORANGE JUDD CO., PUBLISHERS.

CINCINNATI: R. W. CARROLL & CO.

1883.

Title page from Dadd's book, influential in reforming veterinary practices.

lard and a host of kindred trash, follow in rapid succession, converting the stomach into a sort of apothecary's shop; setons are inserted in the dewlap; the horns are bored, and sometimes sawed off; and as a last resort, the animals are blistered and bled. They sometimes recover, in spite of the violence done to the constitution; yet they drag out a low form of vitality, living, it may be said, yet half dead, until some friendly epidemic puts a period to their suffering.<sup>40</sup>

Dadd's pleas were accompanied by cures which often consisted of simple herbs, administered in only small doses.

Changes in methods of treatment seem to have taken place in Susquehanna County among cow men, from the

<sup>40</sup>Quoted in: J. F. Smithcors, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art: A Narrative Account to 1850* (Kansas City, Mo.: Veterinary Medicine Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 375-376; for a discussion of these practices by readers of an agricultural journal see: "The Best Doctor for Animals," *Country Gentleman*, 13 (1857), 12, 172.

harsher remedies to the more gentle variety advocated by Dadd. Herbert Wilkins claimed that he and his father-in-law used only common "household spices" in their treatment, and only in small quantities.<sup>41</sup> Wilkins never used bleeding, and his father-in-law could only vaguely remember the earlier cow men discussing this method. Only one method of treatment that Erwin Johnson used was a product of this era of harsh practices. Wilkins remembered how his father-in-law treated cows that were cold:

He would take his knife, and make a slit up the end of her tail for about a couple of inches. I've seen him put a little bit of salt in there too. Well, that, he'd let that bleed just a little bit then he'd hang onto it so it wouldn't bleed too much. He wouldn't cut too deep, y' know, and it would kinda start the circulation.<sup>42</sup>

With this one exception, medicinal remedies used by the cow men in Susquehanna County were primarily gentle in nature, indicating that veterinary reform literature most likely had a widespread, albeit gradual, effect on practices. Since cow men did not own or use these printed guides, it seems likely that many of these new practices began to circulate orally. The arrival of professional veterinarians in the region, whom the cow man often consciously imitated, most likely also led to this change.

Besides curing maladies through substances ingested or rubbed on the infected area, a number of maladies were treated through the use of some type of non-organic substance or device. Maladies treated in this manner included milk fever, warts, helping blood to coagulate, and assisting a cow during birth.

When a cow received some type of wound, the farmer usually left the blood to coagulate itself. If it was a stubborn wound, however, he would resort to other measures. Lee Snyder described one common method:

If one was real, eh, stubborn, and you couldn't stop it no other way. The cattle inspectors weren't so, quite so hard on people years ago, y' know. There'd be cobwebs in the barn. Gather up some cobwebs, put onto it, and you'd stop blood quicker than anything that I ever heard of.

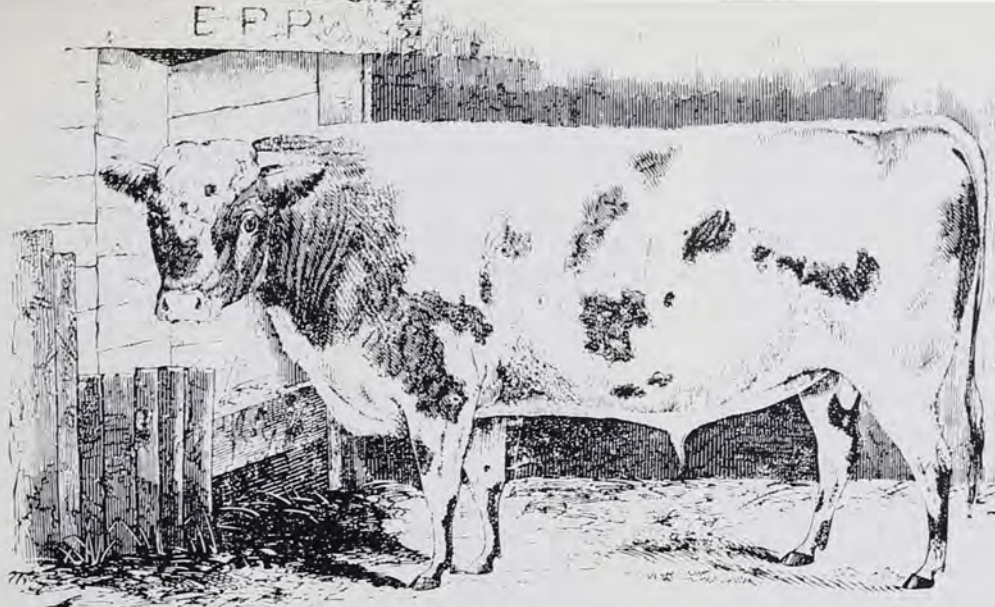
Karl Gesford and Herbert Wilkins both used the same method.<sup>43</sup> Wilkins also used other substances to cause clotting: "Throw a handful of some fine ground feed on

<sup>41</sup>A good collection of remedies, using both old and new methods of treatment, can be found in: United States, Department of Agriculture, "Diseases of Domestic Animals," in *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1877* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), pp. 455-471.

<sup>42</sup>A similar treatment was described by Cole for "tail sickness"; see: Cole, *American Veterinarian*, p. 200.

<sup>43</sup>For the use of cobwebs to stop bleeding see: Cole, *American Veterinarian*, p. 50; Roderick Peattie, ed., *The Great Smokies and the Blue Ridge* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1943), p. 113; Mai Thomas, *Grannies' Remedies* (New York: Gramercy Publishing Company, 1965), p. 21; Bill Wannan, *The Australian: Yarns, Ballads, Legends, Traditions of the Australian People* (Adelaide: Rigby Ltd., 1969), p. 102.





*Ayrshire Bull, Dundee the Second.—The Property of E. P. Prentice, Mount Hope, near Albany. From Farm Journal, Volume 3, 1853.*

it, anything that would kinda stop it enough to let it clot, y' know."

Warts on cattle were common, and were usually treated by simply cutting the wart off. Karl Gesford related that he saw warts cured by tying a string around them until they gradually fell off.<sup>44</sup> Castor oil was also put on them, according to Gesford.<sup>45</sup> No one remembered warts being removed through magical charming, a tradition common in other regions. Lee Snyder, when questioned about this, added:

I have heard of it on human beings. My, ah, nephew was staying here with us. His hands was covered with warts. My God, you couldn't hardly see, his hand was full of warts. And, this fella died here about, ah, he hadn't been dead more than a year. He was down here. "Say, young man," he said, "let me see your hands." "No." He didn't want. "Ah, come on," he said, "let me take, I wanna look at 'em." I don't know what he said. Spit a little tobacco juice on them and rubbed them around. And, my God, in a week's time, his warts was all gone. But I don't know what it was.<sup>46</sup>

Blockages of a cow's udder were apparently common, often caused by the clinging together of the internal membrane. Foreign objects also blocked the teat, and the *Country Gentleman* recommended to one of its readers to place a knitting needle up the milking tube of the udder to eliminate the blockage.<sup>47</sup> Herbert Wilkins recalled an incident where his father-in-law used another method:

He was awful good on cows' udders. I never forget, we were milking one night. He had a cow there that had a spider in the end of her teat. He said,

<sup>44</sup>This treatment is also found in: Nelson S. Mayo, *The Diseases of Animals* (8th ed.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1913), p. 306.

<sup>45</sup>For other cures see: J. M. Jessup, "Cure for Warts," *Country Gentleman*, 5 (1855), 345; "Warts on Cows," *Country Gentleman*, 10 (1857), 305.

<sup>46</sup>For the use of tobacco for warts in Nova Scotia see: Women's Institutes of Nova Scotia, *Crocks, Pots and What-Not's* (N.p.: n.p., 1973), p. 76.

<sup>47</sup>"Diseases of the Udder and Teats in Cows," *Country Gentleman*, 4 (1854), 313; see also; McClure, *Sheep Doctor*, p. 308.

"Hey, how's your jack-knife? Is it good 'n' sharp?" I said, "Yeah, I always got it." I always carried a good sharp jack-knife. He said, "Get me the pliers." So I got him the pliers and he took a hold of that cow's teat with the end of the pliers, took my knife and just cut the end of 'er teat right square off, about that much [ $\frac{1}{2}$  inch] of it. Took a hold of the teat. "God," he said, "that'll milk now." And it did!

He took the end of the teat and dipped it into a patent medicine, Raleigh's Anti-Pain Oil, and put vasoline on it. Wilkins is still amazed that the teat never leaked.

Karl Gesford recalled a case of poisoning that was diagnosed by his neighbor, the local cow man. A farmer down the road had put three heifers and a bull in a pasture near the road. Workmen painting the guardrail had left several empty paint pails in the field, and these had become filled with rain water. The animals had licked these pails, and were poisoned from the paint. The veterinarian was called but could not help the animals. The local cow man later explained that "the only thing you could do with something like that is give'em more poison. One counteracts the other." A different poison, such as arsenic, should have been used to counteract the lead poisoning, according to the cow man.

Milk fever was probably one of the most common diseases that occurred among milk cows, not only in Susquehanna County, but in most regions of the eastern United States.<sup>48</sup> Subscribers to agricultural periodicals in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries frequently reported the common symptoms: "The cow will first appear weak, staggering as she walks, eyes glassy, will not eat, and is in great distress."<sup>49</sup> A cure for this disease sent in by a reader from New York State has already been discussed.

<sup>48</sup>This disease is also known as "falling sickness"; see: McClure, *Sheep Doctor*, p. 276.

<sup>49</sup>Bouton, "Milk Fever," p. 348; for a longer discussion see: Eckles and Warren, *Dairy Farming*, pp. 153-155.



Some farmers advocated patent medicines, such as "Moore Brothers' General Cow Drink,"<sup>50</sup> but the most common method used by Susquehanna County cow men involved inflating the cow's udder with air by some mechanical means.<sup>51</sup> Herbert Wilkins' father-in-law's treatment "was to take a quill, a short [quill], insert that in one of the teats on the cow's bag and blow their bag up with air, an' that was supposed to get 'em over milk fever." Karl Gesford recalled the treatment used by the local cow man which was used in many areas. Cow men took a "milking tube and put it on the end of a bicycle hose on a bicycle tire pump, and pump it, each quarter separate, then tie a string around so the air won't come back out." A rubber band or piece of rag could also be used to tie the teat.<sup>52</sup>

Cow men were especially known in Susquehanna County for their ability to help a cow freshen, or give birth. When a cow was ready to freshen, a farmer would contact a cow man; he would soon arrive, bringing only a rope to assist in the birth.

When complicated births occurred, the cow man usually knew how to treat the problem. Calves would sometimes become turned inside the uterus, and a normal birth would not be possible. In that situation, the cow man would attempt to turn the calf. Herbert Wilkins spoke of his father-in-law:

He could reach in there and straighten out a calf inside a cow just as good as a veterinary. And he was a short-armed man, too. How he done it, I don't know. He'd take his shirt right off, just like a veterinary. Take his underwear right off up top here. He'd go clear up here [the end of his arms]. He'd have his nose right under a cow's tail trying t' get in there far enough t' turn a calf. He was very good at it.

Many times the cow man placed a rope around a section of the calf to assist in labor. The rope was slowly pulled, and a calf could be re-oriented, if necessary, using the rope. In extreme cases, where birth would not be possible, a cow man had to reach in and cut up the unborn calf.

#### *Human Medicine and Local Practices*

Human medicine was connected in many ways with the practice of local veterinary medicine in Susquehanna County. Treatments used by cow men for cattle were

<sup>50</sup>C.W.U., "Milk Fever," *Cultivator and Country Gentleman*, 50 (1885), 194.

<sup>51</sup>For changes in the treatment of this disease see: R.H. Smythe, *Healers on Horseback: The Reminiscences of an English Veterinary Surgeon* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1963), p. 49.

<sup>52</sup>For treatments of milk fever in other areas see: Helen Creighton, ed., *Bluenose Magic: Popular Beliefs and Superstitions in Nova Scotia* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 275; Patrick Logan, *Making the Cure: A Look at Irish Folk Medicine* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1972), pp. 166-167; McClure, *Sheep Doctor*, pp. 291-292; MacDonald, *Cattle, Sheep, and Deer*, p. xxiv; Enid Porter, *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 93; Youatt and Fream, *Complete Grazier*, p. 557.

often considered suitable for the same malady when it affected a human.<sup>53</sup> Many of these remedies, as Herbert Wilkins pointed out, consisted merely of household spices or patent medicines. Lee Snyder gave an example of this connection when he discussed a cure for a sore which had been used by his father on a cow. He recalled:

I got t' be around, around twelve years old, and I had a running sore here on my ear they couldn't cure. Well, like we spoke about the cows, people didn't run to the doctor the minute they had a little pimple or anything. They didn't go unless they really had to. But, ah, my mother broke her leg, and the doctor was up here, so I asked him about it. "Oh," he says, "I'll bring somethin' up," he says, "that'll help ya." And, ah, when he come he forgot it. Well, Dad called on the phone and he says, "Ah, doctor," he says, "would it do any hurt to use sugar lead and alum water on his ear?" "Well," he said, "it wouldn't hurt but it won't do no good." Well, when he got up here he says, "That's better than," he says, "that's better than anything that I got in my pill bag to put onto it," he says, "that cure is the best of anything I've seen done."

Not only was this cattle treatment effective on humans, but its efficacy was even acknowledged by the medical doctor, pointing to the validity of many local treatments.

#### *Cattle Care Today*

In Susquehanna County today, the cow man no longer plays an integral part in the care and treatment of cows. Only the professional veterinarian is consulted when a cow required treatment. This change is just one of many that has occurred not only in agriculture in the past fifty years, but also in the entire rural social structure. When asked whether anyone would go around to neighboring farms like the cow men once did, Herbert Wilkins replied:

I don't hardly think so. The farmers now have gotten so big that they haven't got the time. Or, let's say, they won't take the time, because they are farming on a lot bigger scale than they ever used to. Nowadays, it's every farmer for himself. They used to own a machine. Maybe three or four of 'em went in on this one tool, and they would use it all around the neighborhood, like a lime sower or a corn harvester in them days. But nowadays you just can't depend on the neighbor to help you at all anymore.

Lee Snyder echoed a similar feeling: "I'll tell ya. Today, everybody that's got cows has got so cursed many that they call the vet right away quick because they haven't got time to spend with 'em."

The change in rural economic and social structure brought with it an increase in farm production. The size of herds had to be doubled in order to produce

<sup>53</sup>This connection is common in many peasant cultures. For example, in John George Hohman's book of magico-religious and herbal remedies, *The Long Lost Friend*, he mentions that "everything prescribed for man in this book is also applicable to animals." See: John George Hohman, *Pow-Wows or, the Long-Lost Friend* (Chicago: Stein Pub. House, n.d.), p. 34.



enough milk to pay increasing costs. Machinery was no longer shared, and each farmer had to purchase his own. Crops were no longer harvested jointly by neighboring farmers, and extra laborers now had to be hired during the harvest. With this myriad of social changes, the farmer was forced to focus on his own farm, and, as Herbert Wilkins explained, it was "every farmer for himself."

Attitudes toward the professional veterinarian remain ambivalent today. Many farmers will quickly claim that veterinarians provide better care for cattle today than when the cow man provided much of the treatment. As Lee Snyder put it: "I'll tell ya. Science has done a lot for this country, and they've done a lot of experimenting, and I ain't gonna say that the old time remedies is gonna be as good as what they got today."

Although many farmers are apt to praise the achievements of modern medical science automatically, their dissatisfaction with changes in the health care system for animals is apparent. The modern veterinarian, like his predecessors, is impersonal in his treatment, unlike the local cow man who once was common. Although the veterinarian's remedies may be effective, his impersonal method of administering these remedies is often pointed to when failures occur. For example, when a cow is ready to freshen, according to Herbert Wilkins, the veterinarian today simply ties a rope around the unborn calf, attempting to hasten the birth. He related:

They'll, they'll put a tackle block on the cow, take it across to a solid post, and they'll yank 'em right out. They don't give a cow a chance t' help herself any, and they will. They don't know how to, to pull down so they don't snap that pelvis bone.

Local veterinarians today, according to Wilkins, have installed walkie-talkies in their cars in order to keep in contact with their office. When they are out visiting, they can merely radio their office, and find out where they are to go next. The veterinarians thus have commercialized their profession even more, in the eyes of some farmers. Wilkins explained this situation:

Now, y' see, now, now what the veterinaries have been doing the last few years, if we had t' have a veterinary down here, he, he, he would come down, we wouldn't know whether he would come right down from his office, or whether he was over the hill here, through the walkie-talkies. Well, he'd, he'd come from down the road and drive in here and he'd charge us the full seven or eight dollars for the trip alone, whether he was at the next door neighbor or not or whether he come clear from Montrose.

Even scientific changes which have taken place in the last twenty-five years with regard to the raising and care of cattle have been met with ambivalence by some farmers. Cows are now given scientifically-determined feeds, and are kept inside for longer periods. In fact,

one nearby farm which specializes in large quantity milk production never permits its cows to leave the barn. Herbert Wilkins summarized his feelings toward the health of today's cows by stating:

Everybody babies them a little bit too much anymore. The cows are all kept into these ventilated barns, and they, ah. They just aren't the rugged individuals that they were years ago.

He feels that many of the cattle diseases which are common today are caused by overfeeding.

### *Conclusions*

Like health systems in many areas, the treatment of cattle diseases in Susquehanna County was handled by both professional and traditional healers. A hierarchy of alternatives existed, and the traditional healer, or cow man, was generally contacted first by the farmer who had a sick cow. Unlike many human health systems, however, these two levels of practitioners were not in competition with one another. An informal cooperation existed between the cow man and the vet. The cow man often imitated and borrowed from the veterinarian, while the vet recognized the cow man's skills in many treatments.

Cures used by cow men in Susquehanna County during the past seventy or so years consisted primarily of household herbs and spices, patent medicines, and treatments borrowed from the veterinarian. Very little of the harsh purges and bleeding of the 19th Century remained, most likely pointing to the success of the first veterinarians in introducing reform in the area. A close connection existed between human and veterinary medicine, and remedies often were interchanged.

Today, the cow man in Susquehanna County no longer visits his neighboring farms in order to treat their cows. Younger farmers have not taken up this role from their elders. In the past, the social structure consisted of networks of interaction among farmers, close cooperation being expected in most aspects of social life. Butch Wilkins, Herbert's son, complains that today "you could be dyin' " and neighbors would not come to your assistance. Farmers have had to become more competitive, producing larger quantities of milk, in order to stay in business. Many farms are no longer being worked, and are being sold to land speculators. The interlocking system of cow man-veterinarian which provided health care for livestock in the past depended not only on the fact that certain farmers had a love of cows and were skilled at treating their diseases. More importantly, this system could operate only in a social structure which required and expected cooperation among farmers. As this structure altered, the role of the cow man also changed and declined. The reliance solely on the professional veterinarian today for livestock health care is one of many indications of the pervasive social changes which have taken place in this region.



# Folk Medical Recipes in Nineteenth-Century American Farm Journals

By BERNARD L. HERMAN

The state of conventional or academic medicine in the opening decades of the 19th Century was characterized by conjecture and factionalism in the medical fraternity. Individual doctors often touted the efficacy of various cures for particular ailments in direct opposition to the opinions of their colleagues. The majority of cures were directed at symptoms, rather than the root of the complaint, and emphasized purges, blood letting, herbal teas and medical decoctions and infusions mixed around the primary ingredients of laudanum and alcoholic spirits. Experimentation on patients was not an uncommon occurrence, although it most often took place in conjunction with seemingly incurable diseases. According to one period account, "The profession is founded in the multiplicity of diseases to which humanity is liable, and in the medical qualities of certain substances, which have been found to supply a remedy."<sup>1</sup> The imperfect understanding of such factors as causation, contagion and the physiology of the human body, led to a number of false curative assumptions of which Benjamin Rush's use of "Ten-and-Ten" (ten grains of calomel or mercury and ten of jalap) in conjunction with heavy bleedings during the Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic of 1793 is a prime example.<sup>2</sup>

To pursue the physicians' calling in 1837, the student was required to attend a series of lectures on the various branches of medical science; "viz. Anatomy, Surgery, Materia Medica, Chemistry, the Theory and Practice of Physic. . ."

In this country, an attendance on two regular courses of lectures entitles the student to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, provided he can sustain with sufficient ability, an examination before the professors, or, as they are usually termed, the medical faculty.

The degree of M.D. conferred by a college or university, is a passport to practice in every state of the Union; and in some states, none are permitted to

attend the sick, professionally, without having first obtained a diploma conferring such a degree. In other states, however, no legal restrictions are imposed on the practitioners of the healing art; or they are licensed by a board of physicians, constituted by the law for the purpose.

The practice of this profession is generally attended with great labour, and, in many cases, with much perplexity. Diseases are often stubborn, or incurable, and effectually baffle the most skillful practitioner.<sup>3</sup>

"Doctors," however, existed outside the academic boundaries of conventional medicine and were frequently acknowledged by their own clientele as being as reliable as their scholastically trained counterparts. In rural situations especially, where geographic isolation dictated a greater degree of self-sufficiency, ailments were treated according to the advice of herb-doctors, "granny women," or from a stock of household recipes. One lengthy account of a cure of erysipelas in 1826 was directed by a household member:

I accidentally met an acquaintance the other day whom I had not seen for a long time, and having inquired for his family, he told me his "alterum dictum" had been very unwell — that she was attacked with the St. Anthony's Fire, insomuch that he thought she would have died instantly, but there was a venerable old dame about the house, who, like Aunt Charity, had "the whole catalogue of yerb teas at her fingers' ends, from formidable wormwood down to gentle balm," who being roused, directed them to get some dry nettle, . . . and make a strong tea of it. They did so, and she was immediately relieved.<sup>4</sup>

These cures plainly existed outside the sphere of a scholarly medical idiom and were passed from individual to individual as the necessity arose. Few, if any, folk healers took the trouble or time to write down their prognosis and prescriptions in day books, relying instead on the informal accumulation of knowledge gleaned from

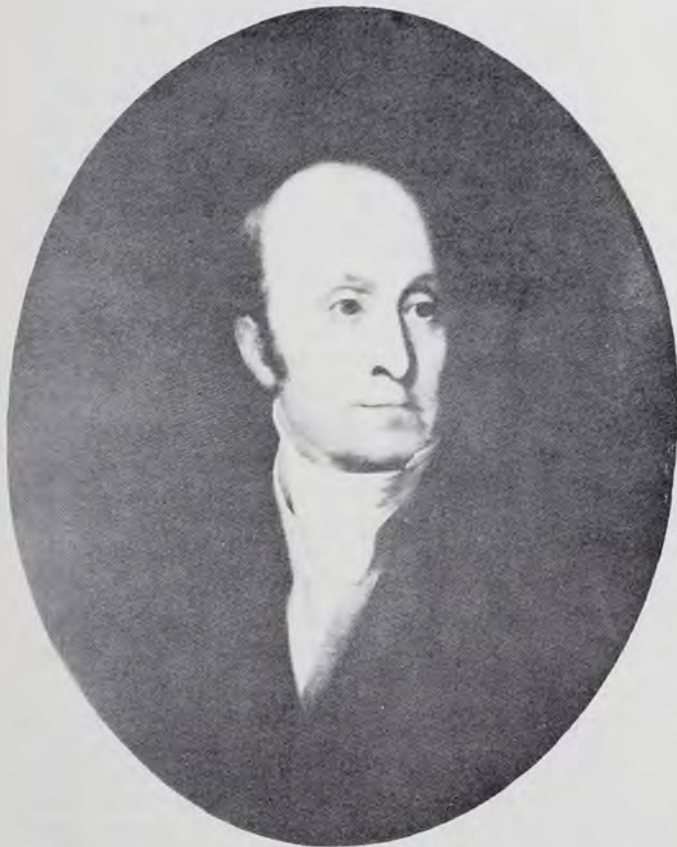
<sup>1</sup>Edward Hazen, "The Physician," *The Panorama of Professions and Trades* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1837), p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>See J. H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793* (New York: Time Incorporated, 1965).

<sup>3</sup>Edward Hazen, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup>"Cure for the Erysipelas," *American Farmer*, 8:51 (March 10, 1826), p. 407.





James Mease, M.D., editor of first American edition of the "Domestic Encyclopedia".

tradition and practice. There existed, however, the need for a forum in which household recipes, accounts of extraordinary cures and the description of the morphology and properties of medicinal herbs could be freely discussed. Despite the precarious state of the practices of conventional medicine, the medical journals generally cited home cures only as curiosities. Local papers and trade and farm journals did not subscribe to such an elitist professional attitude and accordingly their correspondence and household hint columns became the medium for the interchange of folk-medical practices on a greater popular level.

Because this paper was initially designed as an attempt to locate, extract and annotate folk-medicine references and cures in early American farm journals, the primary source materials are the issues of the *American Farmer* from 1818 through 1828 (volumes I-X), and the *Genesee Farmer and Gardners' Journal*, 1833 through 1835 (volumes III-V). Ancillary period sources are volume I of the *New York Farmer and Horticultural Repository* (1828), *The Western Tiller*, volume I, 1828-1829, and *The American Miller*, volume X, 1882.

The format of all these journals, with the exception of *The American Miller*, is quite similar. Issued as weekly, bi-weekly or monthly papers, the farm journals generally

devoted themselves to discovery and debate concerning improved practices in agriculture and husbandry. The bulk of the articles were written either by the editor, subscriber-correspondents or borrowed from other sources including rival publications, lectures or agricultural books. Because the papers were rarely more than twelve or sixteen pages long, many lengthy articles were run in series such as James Mease's "On Diseases and Accidents of the Farmer," which ran in six installments in the *American Farmer* in the spring of 1826. Feature articles, however, represented only a small percentage of the input into these periodicals. Letters to the editor or reading public, notes and queries, hints and receipts and miscellaneous addenda compose the bulk of information, and, most importantly, served as indicators of agrarian practices in action rather than theory.

As far as medical advice, descriptions of illnesses and receipts for cures were concerned the thrust was towards the veterinarian sciences dealing with cures for a spectrum of animal diseases including the botts in horses, yellow water in cattle and weaning pigs from the brood sow. Homeopathic cures were generally incidental to the journals and listed under receipts or recipes along with methods for removing stains from clothes or breaking dogs of sucking eggs. In the ten years of the *American Farmer*, only Dr. Mease's series of articles, extracted from the *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, deal with human sicknesses and cures from a conventional approach. In the same period, however, over one hundred and fifty recipes treating a panorama of ailments from warts and colds to rattlesnake bite and dysentery appeared in the pages of the same journal. Sometimes a group of half a dozen or more cures would appear in response to a printed letter of inquiry:

. . . If there is any of your million readers who can give a remedy for "Miller's Cough" or "Miller's Asthma," he would put many a sufferer who is deeply attached to his trade, under many obligations, if he will make it known through the *American Miller*.<sup>5</sup>

Which request was answered with twelve cures, including two mailed in by a single correspondent who offered an alternate if his first suggestion should have proved unsatisfactory.

On other occasions a subscriber would write in describing a particular malady, the specific, and a concluding invitation to other readers to try this cure and comment in the pages of the journal on its efficacy:

Some time since, when the Fall Fever raged violently in the neighborhood of a canal then in a state of progress, numbers of workmen engaged on it ate plentifully of garlic, and wholly escaped, while those who abstained from the use of this article, were severely afflicted by the disorder.

<sup>5</sup>"Notes and Queries — No. 53. Miller's Cough," *American Miller*, 10:3 (March, 1882), p. 122.



That this may have been accidental I freely admit: but garlic may nevertheless, be a specific against the Autumnal Fevers. If so it is an invaluable article in the *Materia Medica*. Persons in the neighborhood of canals and stagnant waters generally, are advised to make a trial in the course of the ensuing fall and communicate the result.<sup>6</sup>

In most instances though, the remedy was usually forwarded to the public as a brief statement of ingredients, dosage and efficacy:

#### Cure for Deafness

Equal parts of the juice of house-leek, brandy and sweet oil in a phial, to be hung up exposed to the sun for a month or more. This dropped in the ear at night, and on wool to be kept in the ear — a sure remedy for deafness.<sup>7</sup>

Whatever form the presentation of particular cures adopted, the format of the farm journals provided a ready channel of dissemination. John S. Skinner, editor of the *American Farmer*, actively promoted the exchange of home remedies. "There ought to be taught in every family," he wrote, a sort of medical catechism . . ." He published not only the letters of his readership, but also culled the pages of other contemporary farm papers and medical journals for additional advice.<sup>8</sup>

The presentation of individual cures in the pages of the farm journals were generally predictably formulaic. Many recipes extracted from folklife practice and oral tradition generated the questions of source, efficacy and acceptability — all crucial elements which the correspondent must have self-consciously felt obligated to allow for in his communication. An equal number of remedies, however, were simply prescribed for specific complaints without elaboration. This is not to imply that the more elaborate the presentation of the recipe the deeper the folk roots, consequently equating elaboration with compensation, but rather, beginning with the remedy as the core element in every case, the process of elaboration can be utilized as an analytical basis through which the contextual frame of various folk medicines can be better understood. The cure for ringworm which reads, "An esteemed friend says, common lamp or blubber oil applied to the part effected will cure the ringworm,"<sup>9</sup> may have been collected from innumerable sources in the course of the 19th Century, while the following, "An Extraordinary Cure," provides a particularly vivid historic-geographic context for a specific remedy.

On the 21st ult, a negro lad, the property of Mr. Dunstan Banks, near this place, as he was returning from work, about dark, was bitten by a rattlesnake so severely, that in a few minutes he became entirely blind, and fell down. He was carried

<sup>6</sup>"Garlic," *American Farmer*, 5:16 (July 11, 1823), p. 128.

<sup>7</sup>"Cure for Deafness," *American Farmer*, 9:49 (February 22, 1828), p. 392.

<sup>8</sup>"Recipes," *American Farmer*, 10:25 (September 5, 1828), pp. 198-199.

<sup>9</sup>"Ring Worm," *Genesee Farmer and Gardners' Journal*, 5:10 (March 7, 1835), p. 75.

to the house, when a messenger was despatched to town for Dr. James Guild, who, in about an hour afterwards, reached Mr. Banks. At the time of his arrival, the boy was suffering the most excruciating agony, when he had a common black or junk bottle about half filled with the spirits of turpentine, made quite warm, and after scarifying the wound made by the snake, applied the mouth of the bottle to it, and commenced pouring cold water on the bottle, until the contents were perfectly cooled. In about half an hour, and before the bottle was removed from the wound, the boy became perfectly easy, and fell into a sound sleep. Next day he was able to walk about, and the day following he was at work as usual. . .<sup>10</sup>

Elaboration in the cures recorded in the journals followed a consistent formula in which an introductory statement is followed by the recipe, then an instance of application and efficacy is cited followed by an invitation to the reader to try it himself or, in many instances, the testimonial precedes the remedy. The testimonial element in the presentation may be quite descriptive, as in the previous example, or bluntly direct:

#### A Certain Cure for the Itch

Take black pepper, ginger and brimstone, each of equal parts, a little West India rum, and a little hogs lard, all well mixed as a salve. Rub a little in your hands, hold them to the fire and smell them for a few moments, repeat it several times in the day and at night. Effectually tried by Joseph Keaton.<sup>11</sup>

Whether or not the process of elaboration incorporated in testimonials occurs when folk remedies are collected directly from oral tradition is a question that has not found its answer in modern folklore studies. Most contemporary collectors have geared their collecting to the item itself, recording a maximum number of individual cures for various complaints, rather than describing the contextual terms in which the recipe is described to them by their informants.

A second type of elaboration/testimonial found in the medicines presented in the farm journals is seen in conjunction with cures received by the correspondent from an unorthodox source in the eyes of conventional medicine of the period. These are the cures of the herb doctors, "granny women," and Indians. The presentation of cures learned from these sources is frequently couched in terms that compensate for their existence outside the conventional medical idiom:

Cure For A Wen. — (an Indian prescription). First take a pound of new butter, without salt, lay it in a coal oven; get a bullfrog, without hurting it, (says the Indian,) the frog must be alive : — lay the frog with the back down in the butter; bake the frog until it is well done; take it out, pour off the butter in a vessel, and anoint the wen as often as you please in the course of a

<sup>10</sup>"Extraordinary Cure," *American Farmer*, 9:48 (February 15, 1828), p. 384.

<sup>11</sup>Joseph Keaton, "A Certain Cure for the Itch," *American Farmer*, 10:26 (September 12, 1828), p. 207.





Title page of *Pennsylvania Farm Journal*, Volume 3, 1853.

day — the cure has been tried on a wen that had been growing for 30 years, and had become quite painful, attended with an itching. It ceased the first day it was tried, and sunk very soon. In eight or ten months the body of the wen was squeezed out, without pain. The patient thinks it would have come out much sooner, but she neglected it as it did not hurt. This application produced a curious sensation, as if searching for roots. Any person thus afflicted, need not hesitate to try the experiment as it is simple.<sup>12</sup>

The person in this case self-consciously acknowledges the unorthodox (in the eyes of conventional medical practice) ritual procedure spelled out by the remedy by stressing the source "so says the Indian," yet concludes her description of the cure with a first person avowal of its efficacy. A similar situation occurs in a lengthy account of a cure for snake bite reprinted from the *Augusta Constitutionalist*. In this example

<sup>12</sup>"Cure for a Wen," *American Farmer*, 1:24 (September 1819), p. 188.

the correspondent describes how, some years prior to his emigration from England, he read an account of a London snake handler who treated poisonous snake bites with olive oil taken internally and rubbed on the wound. To prove the effectivity of his cure he allowed himself to be stung by a viper in the presence of the membership of the Royal Society, and after the symptoms became well advanced applied the oil to himself and recovered. The demonstration of an acknowledged folk remedy in front of a learned society made such an impression on the correspondent that when he was traveling in the vicinity of Pendleton, South Carolina, and confronted with a snake bite victim he readily applied what he had read of some years before. He felt his success so marked that he was compelled to write:

I can hardly excuse myself of criminal neglect in having so long omitted to make thus public this sovereign remedy for the worst of poisons. The knowledge of the efficacy of the olive oils, abundantly diffused in the district of Pendleton, and partially so in some of the adjoining district of Pendleton, and partially so in some of the adjoining districts, and wishing it to be known generally, caused me to write these remarks for publication.<sup>13</sup>

Where publication attempts to provide an avenue of legitimacy for the cure of a wen, the publication in a London journal on the acceptance of a folk cure by an official group served as the mechanism of transmission for a remedy from one folk group to another through the agency of a popular medium. In addition, concerning the latter cure, it is notable that writer from Pendleton utilized his cure in 1766 but refrained from communicating it to the general public until July, 1825.

One of the most significant documents bearing on the application and acceptance of folk medicine in the farm journals is Dr. James Mease's series of articles, "On Diseases and Accidents of the Farmer." Dr. Mease was a former student of Benjamin Rush at the University of Pennsylvania in the late 18th Century and a long time associate of the Philadelphia College of Physicians. In his serial essay Mease enumerates thirty-two maladies commonly afflicting farmers, describes the symptoms, and provides a cure that could be effectively concocted and applied by a family member or the patient himself. His treatments ranged from heavy bleedings (a practice acquired from Rush) to common first aid measures still in general use today. As a checklist for the prescriptions of conventional medicine, this collection satisfies the need for a comparative basis with which to examine folk medical remedies.

The recipes written into the journal, as well as those printed from other sources, cover all but five of the ailments treated by Mease in addition to a spectrum

<sup>13</sup>"Cure for the Bite of the Viper, Rattle-Snake &c.," *American Farmer*, 7:19 (July 29, 1825), pp. 151-152.



of complaints he failed to mention. Among the maladies he neglects, but which enjoyed heavy correspondence in print, are warts and corns (ten recipes), ringworm or the tetter (nine), rheumatism (six), and the gravel (three). Numbers of one of a kind recipes also appeared concerning baldness:

Is it true, as a correspondent intimates, that rubbing the head once or twice a day with the cut surface of a raw onion, till the roots of the hair become moistened with it, will effectually prevent the hair from falling off?<sup>14</sup>

swallowing pins:

Administer four grains of tartar emetic, in warm water, and let the patient drink the white from six eggs, which coagulating upon the stomach before the tartar operates, envelopes the pin, or bone, and it is brought up. A person who swallowed several pins was made to throw up the whole by the above method.<sup>15</sup>

stammering:

Those (a correspondent assures us) who suffer under the distressing affliction of an impediment in their speech, may be effectually cured . . . by a perseverance for three or four months in the simple process of reading aloud with the teeth closed, for at least two hours in the course of each day.<sup>16</sup>

and breast pains for mothers:

It may be useful to know, and will be a means of alleviating much pain, that when the breast and nipples are much inflamed, and cannot be sucked, but with the most intense suffering to the mother, a very simple remedy will relieve the breast from its milky burthen, without the slightest suffering. This is no other than filling a common bottle with hot water, and after standing a few minutes, empty it and apply the mouth of the warm bottle to the diseased nipple, and the milk will flow spontaneously into the bottle, giving at the same time a pleasurable sensation, and a complete relief to the overloaded breast.<sup>17</sup>

Before discussing the range of complaints and cures outside the *comparanda* furnished by Mease's outline, a comparison should be made between two examples of accident and disease handled by both conventional and folk medical practices as set forth in the journals.

"Dysentery," wrote James Mease, "is a very serious complaint, and deserves particular consideration, inasmuch as it is not like many other diseases, confined to one person, but often prevails as an epidemic through a country town, township or county. Scarcely a year passes, without the newspapers announcing its prevalence in some part of the United States."<sup>18</sup> The symptoms describing the disease were "frequent calls to the stool, with trifling but bloody discharges, attended with great pain in the bowels and loins, and

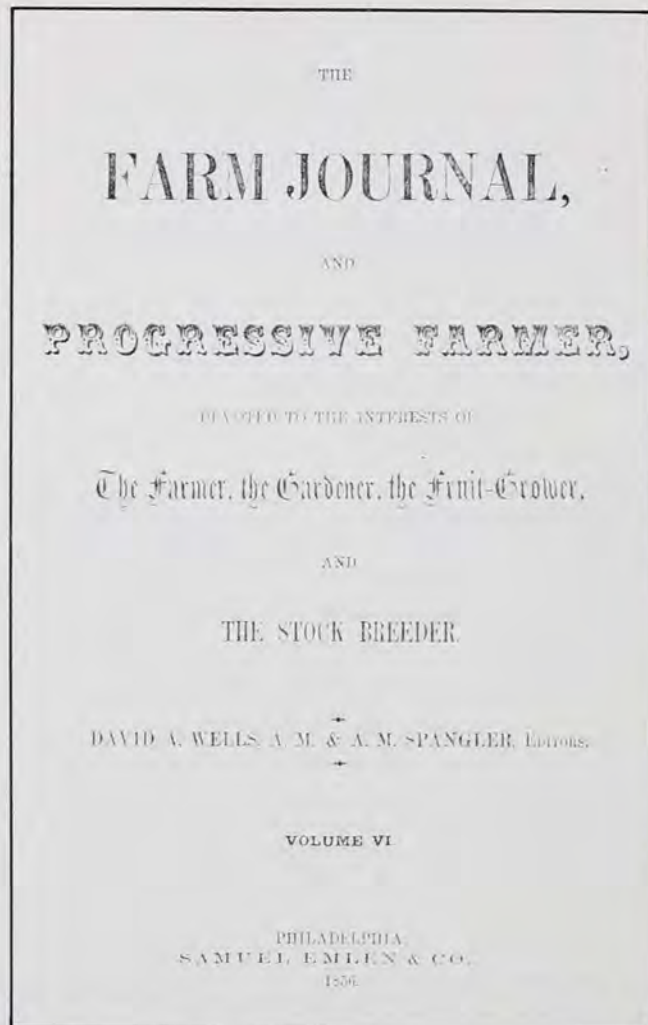
<sup>14</sup>"Prevention of Baldness," *Genesee Farmer and Gardners' Journal*, 5:6 (February 7, 1835), p. 43.

<sup>15</sup>"Remedy in case of swallowing Pins, Fish or other Sharp Bones," *American Farmer*, 3:16 (July 13, 1821), p. 128.

<sup>16</sup>"Cure for Stammering," *American Farmer*, 10:26 (1828), p. 207.

<sup>17</sup>"To Mothers," *American Farmer*, 10:10 (April 18, 1828), p. 38.

<sup>18</sup>James Mease, M.D., "On Diseases and Accidents of Farmers," *American Farmer*, 8:2 (March 31, 1826), p. 10.



Title page of *The Farm Journal, and Progressive Farmer*, Volume 6, 1856.

slight fever."<sup>19</sup> While the cause of the disease was unknown to conventional medicine, doctors did recognize the problem of contagion and as preventive measures accordingly suggested the avoidance of contact with the sick, attention to cleanliness and diet and the prohibition of "the idle night gossiping of servants."<sup>20</sup>

The treatment of the illness itself was aimed at the symptoms with the initial action being directed towards opening the patients's bowels by administering mild purgatives such as Epsom or Glauber's salts mixed with a tartar emetic and dissolved in hot water and taken with weak corn meal gruel. If the symptoms of headache, fever and abdominal pain persisted, bleedings were prescribed in conjunction with injections of warm water thickened with starch and a light dose of laudanum. Mease also prescribed rubbing the stomach area with sweet oil and laudanum, and promoting perspiration "by covering it with flannel, lying in bed, and drinking freely of rice-water, in which a stick of

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 11.



cinnamon has been boiled.”<sup>21</sup> In addition an infusion of the inner bark of the slippery elm could be infused in water and the liquid taken as a demulcent. In extreme or persistent cases of dysentery, mercury or calomel was given internally with laudanum until a cure was effected. Within this rambling list of prescriptions and poultices, the practices of bleeding, purges and using mercury internally can be traced back to the immediate context of the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793, when Mease’s mentor, Dr. Benjamin Rush, adopted the combination as his solution to stop the fevers.

Of six specific cures for dysentery written into *The American Farmer* only two correspond with elements of Mease’s conventionally accepted methods. These two recipes cite the efficacy of a decoction of the “low running Blackberry, or Dewberry—, made into a strong tea and given to the patient lukewarm and accompanied with much water.”<sup>22</sup> The result was a gentle and reportedly effective purgative. Mease appends his note on the use of blackberry root at the very end of his description and cure: “The diarrhea, which often follows dysentery, may be cured by taking a weak watery infusion of the roots of the blackberry or dewberry shrub.”<sup>23</sup> It is even more interesting to note that while one of the corresponded recipes acknowledges the source of this cure as an Indian remedy, Mease makes no such concession except to place his note physically outside the larger framework of his observations and prescribed treatments.

The four remaining recipes located in the journals include a second Indian remedy, an Ohio doctor’s discovery, a signed item of correspondence and a short addendum in a page of household hints. In contrast to Mease’s opinions, and underscoring the empirical incongruities in the practice of professional medicine, the physician from Ohio wrote first acknowledging the prevalence of dysentery and its seemingly incurable nature, then following his introductory remarks with his own cure:

And accordingly, I prescribed to a young woman of strong constitution (but at the time laboring under a violent attack of the dysentery), ten grains of prussiate of iron, (in milk), every two hours, and the effect was so immediate, salutary and complete, as at once to astonish the patient, the nurse, the friends and myself; since which I have used it in a great number of cases, with the most happy effects, and believe it to be a most valuable and entirely safe medicine, (in the hands of a skillful physician.)<sup>24</sup>

He concludes his communication by providing the

particulars of several other cases on which he had occasion to employ his discovery.

The Indian remedy predictably utilizes natural herbs in the form of cattail roots bruised, boiled in sweet milk and given to the afflicted person either warm or cold. It is further advised “to let the disease continue a few days before the root is used, or else a purge must be taken.” Furthermore, “no meat ought to be used, but ripe fruit is beneficial.”<sup>25</sup> The signed receipt from one Caleb Abernathey was written in 1821, four and a half years before the journal ran Mease’s serial, and utilizes table or sea salt dissolved in water and vinegar made more palatable with the addition of the essence of peppermint. While the use of salts taken internally approximates Mease’s first curative step, its application in conjunction with vinegar and the observation that, “the person may drink freely of Port, Madeira, or any good wine; or if these cannot be procured, he may drink French brandy or common spirits moderately diluted with water and sweetened with sugar,”<sup>26</sup> represent a deviation from the prescribed norm. The final specific for the dysentery appeared as an anonymous note:

Take new churned fresh butter, melt it over a fire, and skim off the curdy part, give two spoonfuls of the clarified remainder, two or three times a day: it seldom fails of effecting a cure.<sup>27</sup>

Despite their differences in their *Materia Medica* all of these recipes share the common quality of addressing themselves to particular aspects of the disease. The clarified butter and cattail, dewberry and blackberry root teas are all directed towards righting the symptom of diarrhea, while the prussiate of iron and salt mixed with water and vinegar were ostensibly administered as purgatives. In no instance is an overall curative program expounded similar to that of Mease, who, despite his application of such questionable practices as bleedings and giving mercury internally, tried to prescribe to the malady as its progressing symptoms indicated.

One of the most common household accidents is minor burns and scalds. The mysteries of causation and contagion which complicated the assessment and treatment of communicable diseases such as the dysentery, cholera, whooping cough and various of the annual remitting fevers, had no impact on the direct cause and effect symptoms of a burned hand or scalded leg. But, possibly due to its frequency of occurrence, fourteen readers committed thirteen different first aid and curative suggestions to the pages of the journals

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup>“Recipes for the Dysentery — An Indian Remedy,” *American Farmer*, 3:43 (January 18, 1822), p. 344.

<sup>23</sup>James Mease, M.D., *op. cit.*, (March 31, 1826), p. 11.

<sup>24</sup>“Cure of Dysentery,” *American Farmer*, 5:1 (March 28, 1823), p. 7.

<sup>25</sup>“Recipes for the Dysentery — An Indian Remedy,” *American Farmer*, 3:43 (January 18, 1822), p. 344.

<sup>26</sup>Caleb Abernathey, “Cure for the Dysentery,” *American Farmer*, 3:32 (November 2, 1821), p. 254.

<sup>27</sup>“Remedy for the Dysentery,” *American Farmer*, 3:28 (October 7, 1821), p. 224.



examined in this survey. While some of them closely correspond to Mease's professional viewpoint, several are clearly the product of home practice.

"When burns are of small extent," advises Mease, "ease may be speedily obtained by the application of cold water . . . to be renewed as often as is requisite to allay the pain."<sup>28</sup> When the burned or scalded part of the body was clothed, the clothes were to be removed immediately from the injured area. If a few minutes had elapsed, however, since the injury was sustained, the fabric had to be gently cut away to avoid tearing the damaged tissue. After the initial pain had been alleviated and the burned or scalded area exposed and bathed in a solution of cool lead water, a Jamestown weed ointment was applied. Blisters forming after the injury were to be lanced to let the fluid matter contained in them run out, while the dead skin over the wound was preserved as a protective layer for the new tissue forming beneath it. Winter burns were expressly not to be immersed in cold water due to the potential of contracting a chill. Instead the damaged skin was wrapped in cotton until the pain abated when the bandage was removed by softening the scar tissue with moisture, after which the part was covered "with the above ointment or one of bee's wax and oil, and washed every day with a solution of white vitriol and water."<sup>29</sup>

Of the thirteen recipes culled from the farm journals one prescribed a plaster compounded of Burgundy pitch, bee's wax and a little oil, two "to plunge the part burnt or scalded without a moment's delay into cold water or snow,"<sup>30</sup> and one to employ the simple expedient of wrapping the burn in cotton — all of which concur with different aspects of Mease's ministrations. The remaining remedies, while paralleling Mease in the use of healing poultices, prescribe nine different recipes for an equal number of "tried-and-true" plasters. Without giving descriptions of each of the proffered cures it should be noted that five of the nine are presented to the reading public as straightforward decoctions without accompanying elaboration or testimonial. The remaining four however, are carefully structured presentations in which the receipt proper is embedded in a testimonial frame or similar avowal or efficacy. Two of these are presented here; the first, taken in turn from an English periodical, describes a cure collected from an industrial context:

Mr. Cleghorn, a brewer in Edinburgh, has treated burns and scalds with success, by applying, in the first place, vinegar, until the pain abates; secondly, an emollient poultice; and thirdly, as any secretion of matter or watery fluid appears, by covering the sore with powdered chalk.  
Liniment for the same.

<sup>28</sup>James Mease, M.D., *op. cit.*, 8:4 (April 14, 1826), p. 26.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>30</sup>"Cure for Burns and Scalds," *Genesee Farmer and Gardners' Journal*, 3:52 (December 28, 1833), p. 409.

# THE CULTIVATOR,

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION,

DESIGNED TO

IMPROVE THE SOIL AND THE MIND



CONDUCTED BY J. BUEL.

VOL. IV.

ALBANY:  
FROM THE STEAM PRESS OF MACE AND VAN GENTHUYSEN.  
1837-8.

Cover page of *The Cultivator*, Volume 4, 1837-8.

Take of linseed, or olive oil,  
lime water, each equal parts,  
or 3 ounces, by measure;  
Mix by shaking them together.

This liniment is extremely useful in cases of scalds or burns, being singularly efficacious in preventing, if applied in time, the inflammation subsequent to these; or even in removing it after it has come on.<sup>31</sup>

while the second, unidentified in origin, is the initialed contribution of a single reader:

<sup>31</sup>"Burns and Scalds," *American Farmer*, 7:31 (October 21, 1825), p. 247



I give you a remedy for a burn, said to work miracles. As much powdered chalk as will to any quantity of hogs lard, make an ointment of tolerable consistency, and with a piece of lead mix well and thoroughly upon a pewter plate, anoint the burn frequently. F.<sup>32</sup>

What emerges from this comparison between the prescriptions of conventional medicine, as expounded by James Mease, and those forwarded from the folk or popular quarter, as communicated to the journals by a largely anonymous readership, is an unconscious tension between the two based, not in ethnic belief systems, but in the seemingly trial and error methodology of searching out the cure that works. On the one hand there is a curious merger of chemical and natural ingredients, including some undeniably deleterious to the patients' health, while on the other there is a definite trend towards the use of recipes that can be literally cooked and compounded from the common stock of household items. The argument is not that the cures summarized in one source were any better than those gleaned from ongoing correspondence, but that both conventional and folk-medical practices were simultaneously laboring towards a shared goal. The unfortunate aspect of these parallel efforts, and what eventually resulted in a deepening conflict between the two, was the already embryonic attitudes in academically oriented practice to regard cures, efficacious or not, from the folk and popular mainstream as curiosities to be noted but not assimilated into professionally acceptable modes of practice.

The majority of ills prescribed to, outside of Mease's outline, concern minor skin disfigurements and irritations especially those accompanying warts and corns and the tetter or ringworm. Of these warts and corns inspired the most extensive correspondence prompting the publication of ten different cures reflecting a large and diverse range of folk-medical beliefs. While all ten offerings treat the wart directly by external application, the applications themselves show few similarities. Three items suggested that herbal poultices of tobacco moistened with water, the juice extracted from fig leaves or crushed stalks of spurge, or the juice pressed from bruised green bean leaves, bound to the corn or wart, would effect a gradual cure. A fourth recipe calls for applying a roast clove of garlic, hot from the coals, to the corn and fastening it in place with a cloth just before going to bed. This was repeated for two or three days after which the foot was to be washed in warm water until the part was "as clean and smooth as if it had never been attacked by the disorder."<sup>33</sup> Three other recipes illustrate the degree of variance that could occur within the limits of a particular ailment and the stock of traditional domestic medical knowledge;

<sup>32</sup>F., "To Cure a Burn," *American Farmer*, 2:47 (February 16, 1821), p. 376.

<sup>33</sup>"Remedy for Corns," *American Farmer*, 9:27 (September 21, 1827), p. 215.

one prescribes warm water soaks and rubbing the corn daily with a little caustic solution of potash, the second offers a plaster compounded of "one ounce of naval pitch, half an ounce of galbanum, dissolved in vinegar, one scruple of ammonia, and one drachm and a half of diachylon, mixed together,"<sup>34</sup> and the third argues the efficacy of "soft brown paper moistened with spittle."<sup>35</sup> The two cures that follow not only complete the picture of the diversity of corn and wart cures, but also supply revealing editorial comments implying the journals' own stance toward the range of conventional and folk practices. The first text is particularly significant, describing the failure of apothecary medicine and the success of a home cure:

A hand as familiar to us as the one that holds this pen, was encumbered with a wart; and nitrate of silver, popularly called Lunar Caustic — the Lapis infernalis of the old chemists, — was strongly recommended. A piece was moistened and rubbed on the wart. Its only effect however, was to blacken it; for notwithstanding its terrific name, no pain was produced by the application; and though it was often repeated, yet after many days, no favorable change was effected. It was then given up in despair, and a silk thread was tightly applied around the base of the wart. The sensation could hardly be called painful even at the instant of applying it, and in a few minutes it was forgotten. In a day or two the wart was sensibly diminished, and in two or three more it was easily separated.<sup>36</sup>

The second, reprinted from the *New Jersey Advocate* in 1826, is a simple specific embedded in an exhortation against magical medicine and couched in an imitation of preaching rhetoric:

Away with the idea, ye sons and daughters of reflection, that charms and witchcrafts are necessary to remove your Warts; rub them with spirits of turpentine and they will soon lessen — gradually decrease — yea vanish for ever!<sup>37</sup>

The cures for the tetter, as well as other ailments such as croup or cough, gravel, rheumatism and toothache, all evince the same sort of diversity within a given medical frame. Where some of the remedies are recipes offered without testimonial or comment, others are protracted personal histories:

I have been troubled with this complaint on my hands for perhaps thirty years. I have used remedies prescribed by eminent physicians, both in this country and in Europe, and I have used perhaps twenty applications recommended in the newspaper, or otherwise, but all without permanent effect. In one instance I went so far as to cauterize the skin, but soon after the new skin had hardened, the tetter reappeared. After a violent attack of the yellow fever in the West Indies, all the

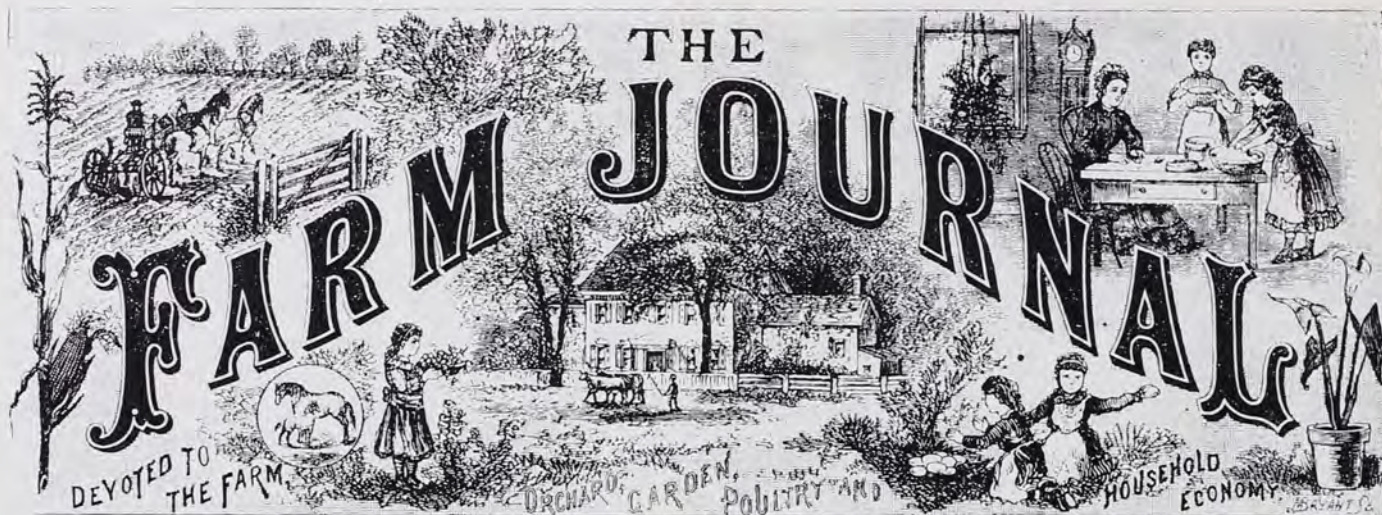
<sup>34</sup>"A Corn Plaster," *American Farmer*, 9:50 (February '29, 1828), p. 399.

<sup>35</sup>"Corns and Warts," *American Farmer*, 8:23 (August 25, 1826), p. 184.

<sup>36</sup>"Cure for Warts," *Genesee Farmer and Gardners' Journal*, 6:26 (June 25, 1836), p. 201.

<sup>37</sup>"Warts," *American Farmer*, 8:19 (July 28, 1826), p. 157.





VOL. VI.—No. 9.

PUBLISHED BY WILMER ATKINSON, PHILADELPHIA.

SEPTEMBER, 1882.

Price, Five Cents.

Practical not Fancy Farming

50 Cents a Year.

*Masthead of the Farm Journal, September, 1882.*

skin of my body peeled off — I was then in hopes this would be an effectual cure, but no such thing, like Monsieur Tonson, the tetter came again.

I had given up all hopes of ever effecting a cure, when I noticed, some six or eight months ago, in your, or some other paper, that Indian dye, or blood root steeped in strong vinegar would effect a cure. . .<sup>38</sup>

The concluding paragraphs of this letter then detail the successful use of this decoction and culminates in a vigorous endorsement and recommendation of use to the reading public. This particular example, however, is unusual in its free denunciation of the ineffectual attempts of "eminent physicians" and their "celebrated ointments."

In addition to specifics prescribed for the treatment of individual disorders (like those discussed above), several cure-alls were also communicated to the journals. Most of these were the byproduct of the morphological description of a particular plant or herb such as bugle-weed or water hoarhound "good for internal hemorrhages, lung ailments, as an astringent, wound dressing or refrigerant,"<sup>39</sup> but at least two contributions were actual recipes designed as all purpose elixirs and plasters:

Family Ointment

The following simple recipe is said to produce an excellent ointment for chapped hands, burns, and other sores — Take a piece of marrow about the size of a small orange, put it beside

the fire in a small gallipot; when it is sufficiently melted, strain off the oil, to which add three tea-spoonful of whiskey or other spirits;<sup>40</sup> beat up the mix — until it is cold, when it is ready for use.<sup>40</sup>

and for "Indigestion, Weak Stomach, Head-Ache. & C.:"

One tea spoonful salt Tart. 1 table spoonful Cream Tart. ground together — a tea spoonful of this mixture in a wine glass of water for a dose — repeat the dose till you are relieved.<sup>41</sup>

A notable aspect of the cure-alls is that they are not representative of the material gathered for this study, but only constitute a one percent minority. The other ninety-nine percent of the cures, despite frequently shared ingredient and preparation characteristics, were directed as specifics, not as generally applicable ointments and decoctions.

In the latter half of the 19th Century another phenomenon manifested itself in conjunction with the appearance of folk recipes in the pages of the journals. The appeal for a cure for "miller's cough" was cited earlier in this paper with a brief comment on the volume of response. One of the significant factors emerging from the dozen recipes sent into the 1882 volume of the *American Miller* for Mr. Bacon's benefit is the fusion of folk and popular medicines to produce an acceptable product. More clearly observed in material culture, this vernacular synthesis begins with an opposition between traditional and inno-

<sup>38</sup>"The Tetter," *Genesee Farmer and Gardners' Journal*, 5:10 (March 7, 1835), p. 78. See also "Tetter Worm," *American Farmer*, 8:21 (August 12, 1825), p. 167.

<sup>39</sup>"Bugle-Weed or Water Hoarhound," *American Farmer*, 2:29 (October 13, 1820), p. 230.

<sup>40</sup>"Family Ointment," *American Farmer*, 10:6 (April 25, 1828), p. 47.

<sup>41</sup>"For Indigestion, Weak Stomach, Head-Ache & c.," *American Farmer*, 3:50 (March 1, 1822), p. 392.





M. B. BATEHAM, Proprietor. } VOL. 3. ROCHESTER, AUGUST, 1842. NO. 8. } HENRY COLMAN, Editor.

*Masthead of the New Genesee Farmer and Gardener's Journal, August, 1842.*

vative or progressive elements and by combining favorable qualities from both is able to effect a workable compromise. In this way popular innovation can be subsumed into a folk-medical repertoire simultaneously rendering certain progressive elements palatable to an essentially conservative audience while allowing this some audience to use these same innovations as vehicles of change. Relative to the issue of miller's cough a dichotomy appears delineating two mainstreams of home medical practice — one relying on early fore-runners of the patent medicines such Dr. Jayne's Expectorate, Burrell's Cherry Balsam or Dr. Temple's Asthma Specific, and the other on a variety of home brewed syrups, viz:

Take one pint of pure strong vinegar, add four tablespoonfuls sugar and one tablespoonful of good cayenne pepper. Mix thoroughly and take one teaspoonful three or four times a day.<sup>42</sup>

Two correspondents, however, reconciled the two directions by eliminating the either-or choice, and instead mixing the apothecary medicines into home cooked decoctions. Illustrative of this synthesis "A Hoosier" writes:

I will give a remedy for Miller's cough that has been of great service to me: Take one ounce of syrup of squills, one ounce of paregoric, one ounce of syrup of ipecac, one ounce of tincture of blood root, one ounce of tolu, and sweeten with honey to suit the taste. . . .<sup>43</sup>

effectively incorporating commercially prepared ingredients (paregoric, squills, ipecac and tolu), with items readily gathered from adjacent woodlands (bloodroot) and the pantry (honey).

What emerges from this limited examination of folk and conventional medical practices presented to the public through the forum of trade and farm journals

is not so much an understanding of the range, diversity and uncertain effectivity of medicinal recipes, but rather the potential for a much enlarged scope of study. The materials cited here are indicative only of vague trends and patterns in medical thought and practice directed towards a largely unknown audience whose single shared characteristic is their literacy. To obtain a larger, and hopefully more complete, perspective of the quantity and type of material conveyed in the journals, all of these periodicals would have to be surveyed. Considering the number of journals that circulated in the 19th Century, this alone would be a monumental task. Furthermore, where this paper deals generally with particular responses to individual ailments compared within the dual framework of Dr. Mease's summary serialization "On Diseases and Accidents of Farmers" and the self generated *comparanda* of the corresponded cures, a sympathetic insight into healing practices could be realized through a separate examination of curative substances in and of themselves.

Finally, a large number of the printed cures, whether gleaned from other contemporary periodicals or directly received from a member of the readership, show an active desire on the part of the writer and editor to communicate the recipes in the context of testimonial statements describing the circumstances, origin, and efficacy of their contribution. While certain traits characterizing the interrelationship of all these written narrative elements have been summarily reviewed here, it is clear that most exciting work would be that carried out in the field with living informants. Comparatively little work has been undertaken and accomplished in the situational and spoken narrative contexts from which folk medical practices have been collected. This, and the question of the continued use of many of the recipes cited here within oral tradition, are both suggestive in their possible application to current fieldwork in folk medicine research.

<sup>42</sup>C. O. Morgan, "The Miller's Cough," *American Miller*, 10:4 (April 1, 1882), pp. 163-164.

<sup>43</sup>"A Hoosier," "Notes and Queries — No. 85. Miller's Cough," *American Miller*, 10:4 (April 1, 1882), p. 169.



# A Pictorial Essay on Pennsylvania's Anthracite Mining Heritage

BY WALN K. BROWN and J. DENIS MERCIER

Anthracite coal, or "hard coal" as it is often called, is a source of fuel peculiarly indigenous to Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania this precious fuel commodity abounds

in coal fields which cover almost 500 square miles. Since its discovery in 1769 in the vicinity of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, anthracite coal has played an im-



*View of Pottsville from Graham's Magazine, July, 1854.*





*During the mid 1960's Paramount studios attempted to commercialize the anthracite coal industry through a movie entitled "The Molly Maguires." A remnant of this movie is still to be observed in Eckley, Pa., by the coal breaker facade which stands as part of the museum exhibit. The breaker is said to have cost Paramount over \$100,000 to build.*

portant role in the history and culture of Pennsylvania.

In this pictorial essay a view of Pennsylvania anthracite coal mining heritage will be presented. This presentation will receive its main emphasis on source materials derived from the village of Eckley, a "patch town" which typifies Pennsylvania's anthracite culture. Therefore, a brief history of Eckley may help to illuminate the interested reader on the growth and lifestyle which surrounded one Pennsylvania coal town.

The village of Eckley is located eight miles east of Hazleton, Pennsylvania. In the spring of 1853 four men went into the town to Shingletown in search of coal. These prospectors, Richard Sharpe, Francis Weiss, Asa Lansford Foster, and John Leisenring, satisfied that enough coal was in the area to support a business, leased the land from its owner, Judge Tench Coxe, and within a year Shingletown was expanded into a thriving anthracite "coal patch". By 1855 the first loads of coal were being shipped.

By 1857 Shingletown had become a booming "patch town". Renamed Fillmore for a brief period, it was finally renamed Eckley, a name which emanates from the Coxe family, owners of the land upon which the town stood.

By 1861 the town had grown to a size that supported three churches, three schools, a hotel, butcher shop, tailor shop, doctor's office, sawmill, large breaker, and over 1,000 residents. But the hazards of the coal business—accidents, strikes, and the fluctuating price of coal also had their effects upon Eckley. For instance, in 1872 Eckley felt the results of a short strike that saw the men leave their mining jobs in sympathy to the suppressed miners of the Schuylkill region. It was also in 1872 that an influenza caused the horses and mules to sicken and die.

In the year 1886 Eckley reached the height of its growth. At this point in time Eckley could boast a population of approximately 1,500 inhabitants and three streets of houses.

Toward the end of the 19th Century new mining techniques were being developed. Strip mining was one of these new techniques. When this technique became an important part of the Eckley operation it caused unemployment for many miners, and Eckley lost many of its inhabitants who moved to other mining regions in Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. This "stripping for coal" technique slowly de-populated Eckley, as it literally scooped away the land surrounding the town.



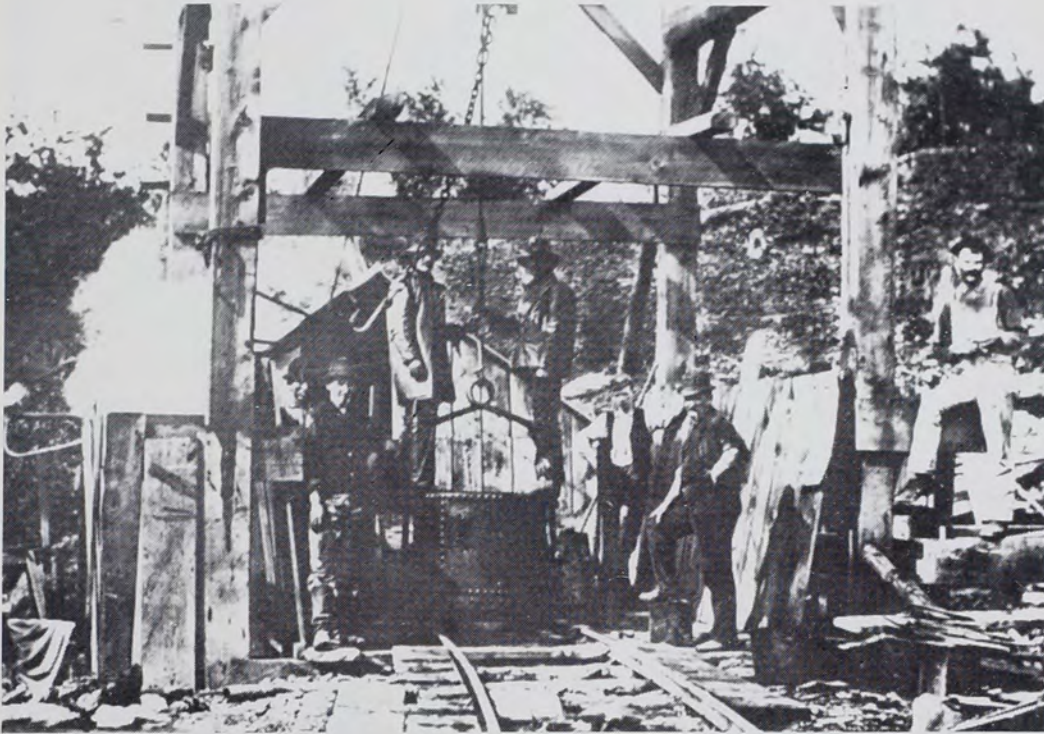


*The coal breaker at Eckley, Pa. at the turn of the Century. It is the breaker which the tourist most often notes as the visible portion of the mining operation. The breaker, however, is only one small segment of the total mining operation. It is the final operation of the mining process wherein the coal is segregated from the rock, slate, and other foreign matter. A similar breaker on the site of this one was constructed by Paramount Studios for the film "The Mollie Maguires" in 1968.*



*This abandoned slope located in Eckley, Pa., was operational into the 1950's. Until recently it stood as a reminder of Eckley's past importance as a "patch town." Stripping operations resumed on this site in late 1974, destroying these last vestiges.*





*Entrance into the mine is through the "face." These men are about to descend into the dark bowels of the mine to begin a day of mining.*



*A ca.—1930 picture of Eckley's Colliery shows a shipment of coal waiting transport to Hazleton. This is one of the few panoramic views of Eckley ever taken. Many buildings pictured here do not exist today.*

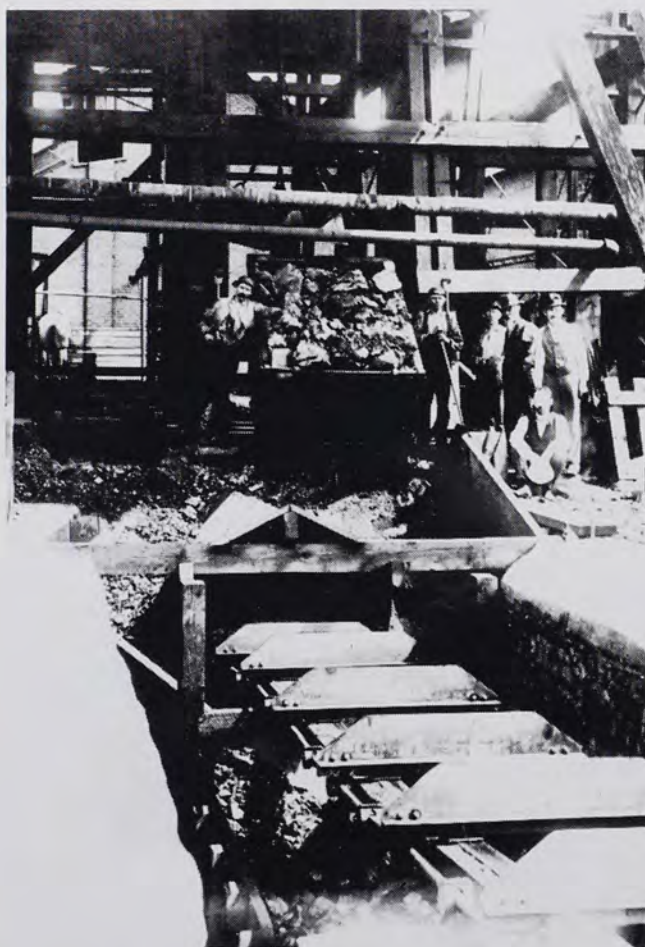


Eckley became transformed from a thriving coal mining community into a deteriorating strip area as layers of earth and coal were ripped from its very back door. In 1911 the breaker was turned into a washery and all coal was trucked to Hazleton to be broken. The buildings on either side of Main Street fell under the jaws of the ravenous steam shovels as stripping operations continued to expand. Slowly, the town which had boasted over 1,500 inhabitants at its height dwindled to a few hundred.

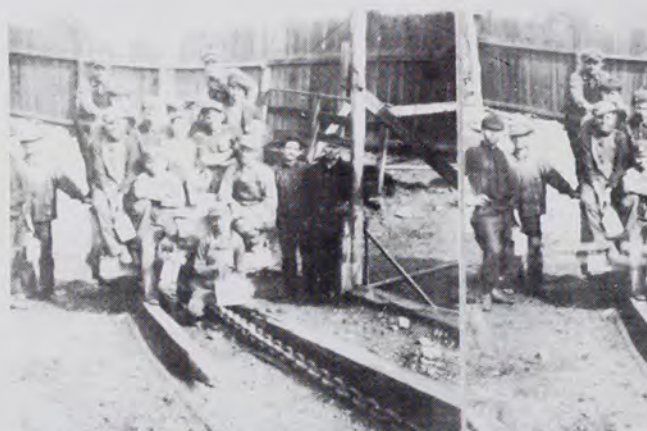
Eckley's decline continued through a series of leases in an ever diminishing attempt to strip the surrounding area of its ever depleting coal resources, and ever

declining population. It is speculated that Eckley could have become a ghost town had not Paramount Pictures designated the village as the site for its film "The Molly Maguires" in 1968.

Finally, the village of Eckley was acquired by the Hazleton Area Chamber of Commerce, which in 1970 deeded the village to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Today the village is a museum under the sponsorship of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. It is dedicated to telling the social-economic story of the anthracite coal miner, his family and way of life in a mine patch in the heartland of anthracite coal.



*When the coal reached the surface it was dumped out of the coal car onto a conveyor at the bottom of the breaker where the large chunks of coal were broken into smaller pieces and the slate, rock, and other foreign materials were separated from the coal.*



11260 Minors and boys working Anthracite Mine



*At the top of the tippie, young "breaker" boys would separate the coal from the other materials. Youths as young as 8 and 9 years old would work a full shift. Often referred to as "cherry reds," these youth would wrap wire around their fingers to avoid lacerations of their hands and fingers which were a product of the sharp pieces of slate which had to be separated from the coal.*





*Once in the mine the miner operates in a world of semi-darkness, attempting to extract as much "black gold" as possible during his shift. Here, two miners stand by a "breast" of coal which is ready to be shoveled into waiting coal cars for shipment to the surface and the coal breaker.*



*When the coal car is filled it is transported along the "gangway." This picture displays the size and number of supporting timbers which help to retard cave-ins. Unfortunately, however, mine disasters still occurred and many a miner's burial crypt rests under tons of earth and coal.*





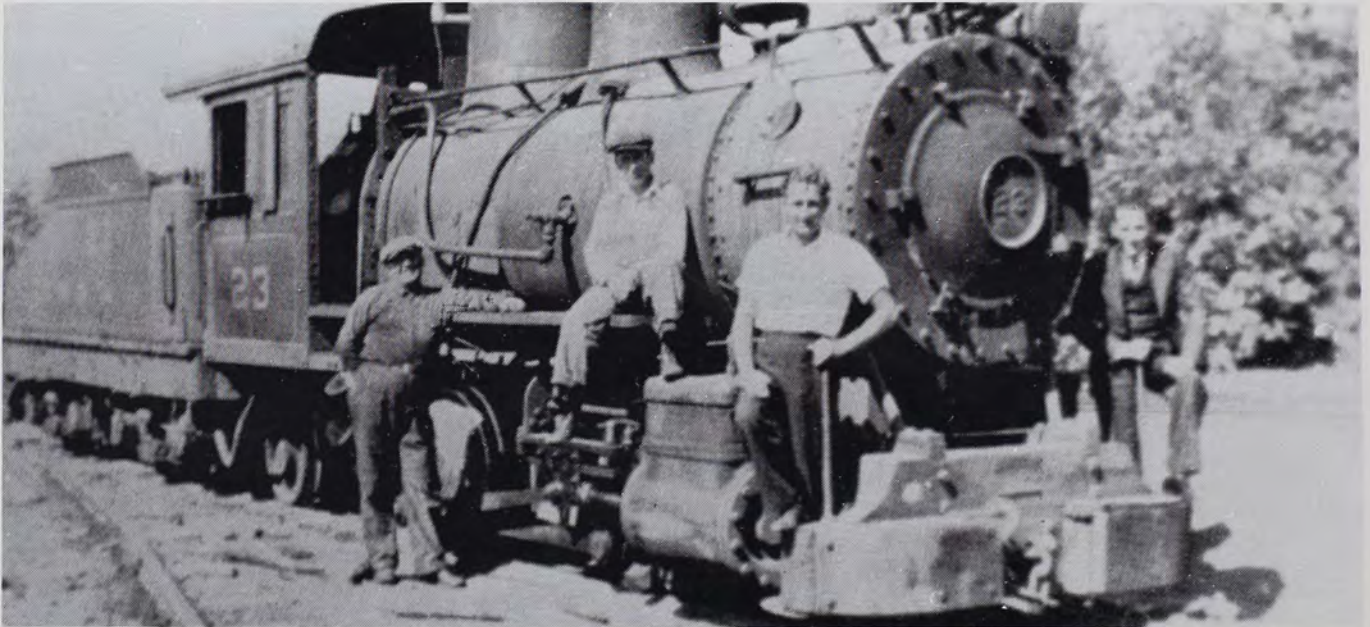
*"Patch towns" were serviced by a variety of itinerant vendors. Here a restored meat wagon is displayed which serviced the area surrounding Eckley during the early decades of this century.*



*Until the introduction of "electric mules," the mule provided the energy to transport the coal from the mine to the surface. The mule driver and his mule spent a long day working together. This picture was taken in "No. 10" shaft near Eckley.*



*The coal and iron police enforced law and order in the coal regions. Here an early coal and iron policeman is shown in his uniform as he patrolled the Coxe Brothers mining operations in Eckley.*



*Once the coal was broken and separated it was put into large coal cars and transported from the colliery to its destination. The engines which transported the coal were called "lokies" and were slightly smaller than a usual train engine. Pictured is an Eckley "lokie" crew.*





Large numbers of families immigrated to this country in search of work in the mines. This circa 1890 tin-type of an immigrant family displays the garb of the period. It is the oldest picture found in or of Eckley to date.



The "stoop" or front stairs area of the "patch town" house was a place to relax and converse. Much of the "patch town's" community life emanated from the "stoop." Here a young family relaxes after church.



Young girl in her first communion gown. Circa 1900.

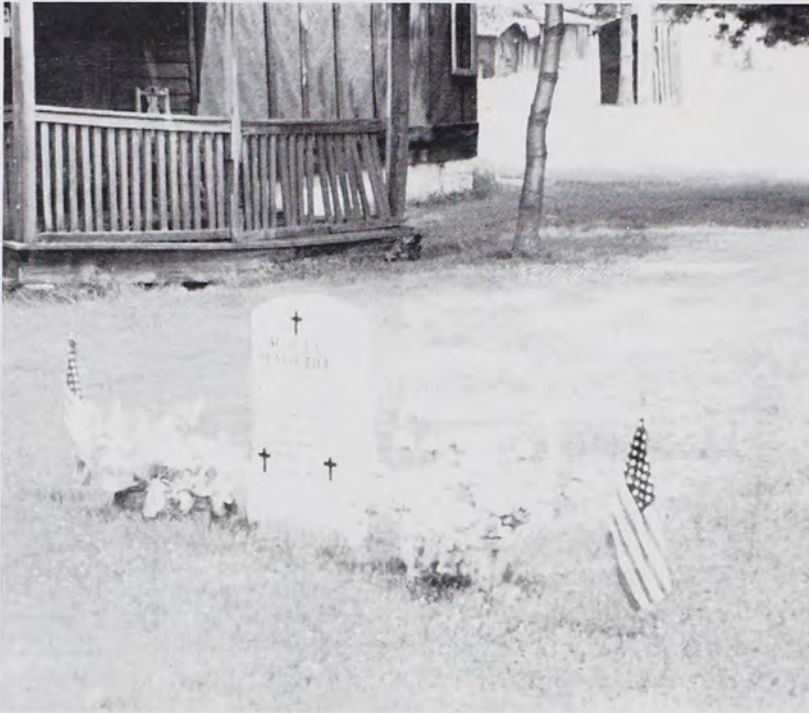


Sunday afternoon family get-togethers were an important social event in the coal communities. This family enjoys a game of cards and a bottle of "spirits" which the men drank to "cut the coal dust."

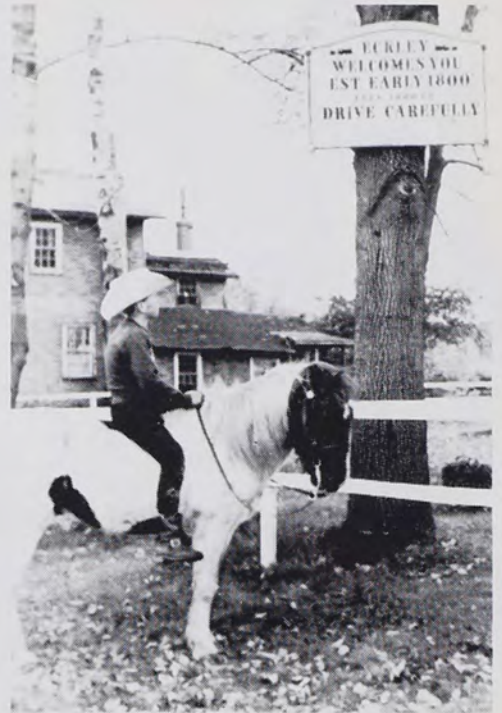


In 1920's garb these two young women relax on a Sunday afternoon. Behind them stands the Eckley hotel.





*Although Molly Maguire never saw America, (she lived and died in Ireland) this false grave was placed in Eckley by a local resident. The Molly Maguires were a group of Irish miners who wreaked havoc and even murder in the coal regions. Beginning as a group formed to combat unfair labor practices against Irish miners, they ended being viewed as an aggressive, militant group.*



*Today travelers come from diverse regions of this country to observe the remnants of Pennsylvania's anthracite coal mining heritage. Eckley's anthracite museum is Pennsylvania's bi-centennial spot to view Pennsylvania's coal mining past.*



*To supply the ties, beams and shafts necessary for safety and transportation in the mines, a lumber mill was a necessity in the coal regions. Here a circa 1920 photo captures the Mifflin Lumber Mill.*



# Fraktur:

## An Annotated Bibliography

By WENDY LEEDS

The Pennsylvania Germans produced illuminated manuscripts of many different styles and functions between the years 1735 and 1865. These have come to be called "fraktur-schriften" or simply "fraktur".<sup>1</sup> These manuscripts have fascinated a large number of people over the years, and there have been many articles and books written on them. The following pages will provide a brief analysis of the approaches which have been taken to the topic up to the present time. For descriptions and evaluations of specific books or articles, the reader is referred to the attached annotated bibliography.

The early references to fraktur occur in articles whose authors were primarily concerned with related topics rather than with fraktur per se. Some of the most common of these were the Ephrata Cloister, the Pennsylvania Germans in general, or folk art. As is to be expected, the tone of these articles varied depending upon which subject the author was most interested in. Someone writing on the Pennsylvania Germans, for example, would take a historical approach, while someone interested in folk art would analyze the artistic content of the drawings.

The approaches taken by those authors writing solely on fraktur can be divided into two main categories: they are either holistic or particularistic in nature. It would seem that authors do not begin a new subject by discussing small parts of it in detail, but rather a single author first outlines the general subject matter to be covered, and only after this has been done do others research specific details. This was the case at least as far as fraktur is concerned: when one looks at those articles devoted primarily to fraktur it becomes evident that they are related to each other in a cyclic manner; the holistic and particularistic ones progressively alternate. One way of describing the pattern would be by use of a diagram, which could be drawn thus:



<sup>1</sup>For reasons of length only those fraktur which were entirely hand-made will be considered in this paper. However, there were also many manuscripts produced which were either partly or wholly printed, and which were just as important. For a bibliography of these sources, Shelley (1961) contains the most up-to-date list.

The point of this cone stands for the article by Henry C. Mercer written in 1897. It was the first article which actually considered fraktur as an art which could be of intrinsic interest. It was well-researched, accurate and most important, holistic in approach. Once this article was written, it provided the impetus for other authors to pick up specific points made by Mercer and do further research on them.

The first plateau in the diagram would be the book written by Henry S. Borneman in 1937. Although based only on his own collection of fraktur, his book was definitely holistic in approach, and was certainly a major work as far as advancing the study of fraktur was concerned. Presumably this was possible because his collection included so many varieties of fraktur. While Borneman's work was greater in scope than Mercer's, the basic approach of each was the same.

The second plateau in the diagram would be the book written by Donald A. Shelley in 1961. His work was more nearly all-encompassing than Borneman's, including far more details and suggesting more specific ideas for other authors to enlarge upon. While this work is not definitive, it is probably the most complete work produced to date.

These are not the only authors that have written major works in the field of fraktur; and they are certainly not the only ones who have used the holistic approach. However, they are the ones who have most successfully combined the two. Each of them has not only accurately summed up the work on fraktur done before his time, but has outlined the research yet to be done.

Occasionally an author succeeds in producing a brief yet concise statement of what fraktur is, what the major varieties are, etc., covering in fact all of the major points adequately though giving no details. An example of this is Frances Lichten's pamphlet produced for the Philadelphia Free Library in 1958. Since it was aimed at the unknowledgable public rather than at scholars in the field, she omits most of the supporting evidence for her remarks, giving only summaries of the main points. Her work could either be considered a small plateau within the cone, or could be drawn outside of it, indicating that it was outside of the main stream of scholarship.





OR



OR



Before describing how the particularistic approaches fit into the diagram, it is necessary to realize that they are equally as valuable and important as the holistic ones. It is not enough for a single author to outline what work has been or is yet to be done in a given field; someone must take the time to expand upon this outline. The two approaches are very different in nature, but they are at the same time complementary, so that one is of little use without the other. Thus, a kind of symbiotic relationship develops.

As far as the different particularistic approaches are concerned, the main types are the following: (1) to write about a single artist and his work; (2) to describe a single genre of fraktur (i.e. the Taufschein), or a variety of fraktur produced by a single group (i.e. the Mennonites); (3) to discuss a single collection, either private or public; (4) to produce a catalogue meant to accompany a specific museum exhibition of fraktur; or (5) to approach fraktur by way of a related subject, as the early references to the topic did. Many of these different approaches actually begin by giving a brief summary of fraktur, before discussing the particular area of interest to that given author. This is not to be confused with a holistic approach, it is merely a result of the need every author has to orient his readers to the subject at hand before describing any one aspect of it in detail.

In order to include all the particularistic approaches in the diagram shown previously, they would be drawn in the following manner:



In this way they are clearly seen as supporting the holistic plateaus, as well as building upon them. More importantly, they are seen to be essential to the structure of the cone.

There are a few authors who, although they use the particularistic approach, are so important to later scholarship that they should be differentiated from the rest within the diagram. The most significant example of this would be John Joseph Stoudt, especially his book of 1937 (and its revision in 1948). His work should really be added to the cone in either the form of a small plateau or a large nodule on one of the lines going up the side of the cone.

Each book or article written on fraktur has importance in and of itself; each has its own strengths and weaknesses. At the same time, however, it is possible to view all of the work done up to the present as a single coherent whole, represented physically by the cone.

### Bibliography of Fraktur

Adams, Ruth. *Pennsylvania Dutch Art*. Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Co., 1950. 64 pp., photos, illus. see pp. 49-56. Gives a brief history and explanation of types which is not bad, and has some nice examples.

*Antiques*, 37 (2), February 1940. p. 60. Photo of a fraktur of the Washingtons, no text.

"Art Throughout America," *Art News*, 38 (4), October 28, 1939. pp. 19, 20, 22, 24. see pp. 20, 22. Column in the magazine which discusses a show held in Pittsburgh which included some fraktur.

"Art Throughout America," *Art News*, 38 (5), November 4, 1939. pp. 14, 15. See p. 15, photo. Describes a show at the Philadelphia Museum of Art which included some fraktur.

Aurand, A. Monroe, Jr. *Historical Account of the Ephrata Cloister and the Seventh Day Baptist Society*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Aurand Press, 1940. 24 pp., bibliog. see pp. 10, 19-20. Good introduction to Ephrata, mentions the sisters doing fraktur, includes a reprint of Fahnestock article.

Birk, Eileen P. "Current and Coming: Fraktur and Other Folk Art," *Antiques*, April 1969, pp. 442, 452, 456, 460, 464, 468, photo, see pp. 456, 460. Comment on fraktur with mentions of specific exhibits to see, since Shaffer's article appears in the same issue of the magazine.

"Birth and Baptismal Certificate," *American-German Review*, 5 (2), December 1938, p. 2, facsim. Good color reproduction of a fraktur, but only the briefest of identification, no text.

Borneman, Henry S. "On the Illuminated Writings (Fraktur Schriften) of the Pennsylvania Germans," *American-German Review*, 9 (5), June 1943. pp. 32-35, photos. Discussion of folk art and of fraktur according to type, good historical outline.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Books, autographs, drawings, paintings, illuminated and other manuscripts, etc." Public Auction Sale, November 1 and 2, 1955. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., Sale Number 1620, 242 pp., photos.





Reproduction of  
Henrich Otto birth  
certificate from  
book on Pennsylvania German fraktur by Donald A. Shelley.

Contains a large number of photos of fraktur pieces, with as much identification as was available on each.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts: A Classification of Fraktur-Schriften and an Inquiry into their History and Art.* Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Papers, vol. 46, 1937, 45 pp. and 38 plates. Reprinted by Dover Publications, Inc.: New York, 1973. One of the major works on fraktur, based on Borneman's private collection which was one of the largest. The reprinted edition is almost as good as the original.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Pennsylvania German Bookplates.* Pennsylvania German Society Publications, volume 54, 1953, 171 pp., photos, illus. Contains a large amount of information on all types of fraktur, although the emphasis is on bookplates (all made by fraktur).

Boyer, Walter E. "The Meaning of Human Figures in Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art." *Pennsylvania Folk-life*, 11 (2), Fall 1960, pp. 5-23, facsim., photos. One of the few articles to treat fraktur from the art-historical point of view. His thesis is that the human figures represent the sponsors.

Breuning, Margaret. "Fraktur Illuminations Make Unusual Show," *Art Digest*, 19 (7), January 1, 1945, p. 10, photo. Describes a show at the Old Print Shop and discusses specific examples of fraktur.

Broadsides, published at the Ephrata Cloisters. Num-

bers refer to Library of Congress identification numbers.

"A Literal Translation of the Ephrata Christmas Greeting". Ephrata, Pa.: Restored Press of the Brotherhood, The Cloister, 1965. (Portfolio 162, number 48.)

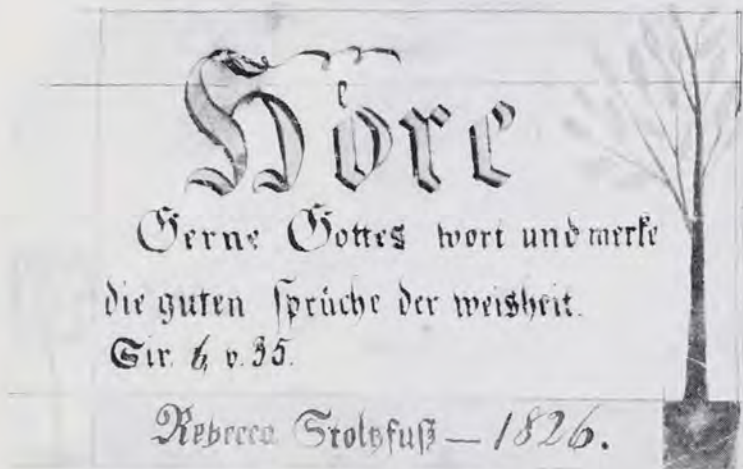
"Stylized Flowers of Ephrata" (page from an Ephrata ABC book done in 1750). Ephrata, Pa.: Restored Press of the Brotherhood, The Cloister, 1966. (Portfolio 162, number 49).

"Text of One of the Fraktur-schriften on the Walls of the Saal, The Cloister, Ephrata". (English translation given also). Ephrata, Pa.: Restored Press of the Brotherhood, The Cloister, 1966. (Portfolio 162, number 50).

Brumbaugh, G. Edwin. "The Significance of Pennsylvania German Art," *School Arts Magazine*, 32 (7), 1933, pp. 386-394, photos. Gives a history of the Pennsylvania Germans, mentioning fraktur briefly.

Brumbaugh, Martin G. *The Life and Works of Christopher Dock: America's Pioneer Writer on Education with a Translation of his Works into the English Language.* Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1908. 272 pp., facsim., music, photos. see pp. 107, 239-255. Gives quote from Christopher Dock saying that he would give "a flower drawn on paper or a bird" to increase a child's fondness for school. Also gives a large number of examples of fraktur.





Small fraktur (4" x 2-1/2) by Rebecca Stoltzfuss, 1826.  
Pennsylvania Folklife Society

Campbell, William P. "Amateurs, Frakturs and Elegant Young Ladies," *Art News*, 65 (6), October 1966, pp. 50-53, 69, 70, 71, 72, photos. Describes the Garbisch collection shown at the National Gallery of Art, which included much fraktur.

Chew, Paul A. *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Art in Pennsylvania*. Greensburg, Pa.: Westmoreland County Museum of Art, 1959, 105 pp., and 211 plates, see plates 153-161. Gives background information on each plate but no more.

Christiansen, Erwin O. *The Index of American Design*. New York: MacMillan Co., 1950. Publication of the National Gallery of Art. 229 pp., bibliog., photos, see pp. 2, 8, 9. Briefly mentions what fraktur is and gives an example of it.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Pennsylvania German Folk Arts," *Art in America*, 45 (3), Fall 1957, pp. 47-50, 70-71, photos, see p. 71. Gives a history of the Pennsylvania Germans, then of different kinds of folk art, including a paragraph on fraktur.

"Coast to Coast," *Art Digest*, 27 (17), June 1953, pp. 12-15, see p. 14. Column in the magazine which mentions the Philadelphia Museum of Art show on the Pennsylvania Dutch, taken from the Geesey Collection.

Cole, Ann Kilborn. "Do You Know Fraktur?" *Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine*, June 9, 1959 (article found in the Philadelphia Free Library, in the files of the Art Department, with no page number given). Article discusses the Borneman Collection of fraktur in the Philadelphia Free Library, and is accurate.

"Commentary," *Antiques*, 37 (4), April 1940, p. 166. Column in magazine discussing Drepperd's article in February of 1940 in the same magazine.

"Commentary," *Antiques*, 38 (3), September 1940, p. 53. Contains public responses to Drepperd's article in February of 1940 in the same magazine.

David, Hans Theodore. "Hymns and Music of the Pennsylvania Seventh-day Baptists," *American-German Review*, 9 (5), June 1943. pp. 4-6, 36. photo. Description mainly concerns the religious sect, but mentions also the manuscripts prepared at Ephrata.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Musical Composition at Ephrata," *American-German Review*, 10 (5), June 1944, pp. 4-5. This is a preliminary report discussing the different manuscripts produced at Ephrata.

de Jonge, Eric. "An Illuminated Fraktur," *Antiques*, November, 1960. pp. 480-481. photos. Discusses one artist and his work, a prayer book dated 1766.

Doll, Eugene E. and Anneliese M. Funke. *The Ephrata Cloisters: An Annotated Bibliography*. Bibliographies on German American History, number 3. Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1944, 140 pp., see numbers 9, 20, 47, 130. Would be very useful for further research on Ephrata.

Downs, Joseph. *Pennsylvania German Arts and Crafts: A Picture Book*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943. n.p. [23 pp.] photos, see p. 3, photos 9-11. Revised and republished 1949, 31 pp., see plates 17-21. Good as a picture book, but the amount of text is negligible.

Drepperd, Carl W. "Origins of Pennsylvania Folk Art," *Antiques*, 37 (2), February 1940. pp. 64-68. photos. He proposes the idea that Pennsylvania German folk art came from textile motifs common in Sweden and Holland. Discusses fraktur as one of the folk arts.

\_\_\_\_\_. *American Pioneer Arts and Artists*. Springfield, Mass.: Pond-Ekberg Co., 1942, 172 pp., bibliog., facsim., photos, see pp. 146-154. Virtually no text, but the illustrations are good.

Dubbs, Joseph Henry. "Rustic Art in Lancaster County," *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers*, 7 (2-3), November 7 and December 5, 1902, pp. 17-20, see pp. 18-20. Discusses the fraktur produced at Ephrata as well as other varieties, but calls them "miserable pictures" and is generally condescending towards fraktur.

Eberlein, Harold Donaldson. "Pen and Brush Illuminations of the Pennsylvania Germans: Illustrated by Examples Taken From the Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society," *Arts and Decoration*, 4 (8), June 1914, pp. 315-317, 327, photos. Gives some illustrations from Ephrata, but insofar as attitude is concerned, his is atrocious. He considers the art crude but says it has a certain virility nevertheless. All of his articles have basically the same attitude.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Art of 'Fraktur' in Early Pennsylvania," *American Homes and Gardens*, November 1914, pp. 390-391, 396, photos. Little identification of his



examples, which are badly reproduced, and again his attitude is hostile.

\_\_\_\_\_. "What Early America Had on its Walls," *International Studio*, 88 (364), September 1927. pp. 53, 56. Mainly discusses broadsides and landscapes. Divides fraktur into two classes, religious and secular.



Small fraktur (3-1/4" x 6"). One of a pair made for Henrich Fenner.

Eberlein, Harold Donaldson and Abbot McClure. *The Practical Book of Early American Arts and Crafts*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1916, 339 pp., illus., photos, see pp. 286-297. More extensive treatment of fraktur than he published earlier, and better organized.

Eberlein, Harold Donaldson and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard. "Illuminated Monastic Manuscripts Were Origin of Fraktur-Painting," *American Collector*, 5 (8), September 1936, pp. 4-5, 10-11, photos. Emphasizes Mercer and Ephrata Cloisters. Less biased than some of his other articles. Gives lots of examples.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fraktur Painting in Pennsylvania." *American-German Review*, 3 (1), September 1936, pp. 11-15, photos. Discusses how fraktur "deteriorated" from the fine work of Ephrata to secular art and lets his preferences show clearly.

Eckhardt, George H. "The Henry S. Borneman Collection of Pennsylvania-German Frakturs," *Antiques*, 71 (6), June 1957, pp. 538-540, photos. Brief but good history of the Pennsylvania German farmers, putting the fraktur in historical context.

Edye, M. Louise. *Home Craft Course in Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts*. Plymouth Meeting, Pa.: Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, 1945, Volume 7 of the Keyser Home Craft Course Series, (22 pp.), facsimis. Gives a practical course in how to duplicate the pieces of fraktur that are illustrated. Also gives a brief history of the art, nothing outstanding.

Ernst, James E. *Ephrata: A History*. Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, volume 25, 1961, 354 pp., facsimis., photos, see pp. with photos or facsimis. Posthumously edited with introduction by John Joseph Stoudt. The text does not concern the fraktur but the illustrations do and are worth looking at.

Evans, Nancy Goynes. "Documented Fraktur in the Winterthur Collection: Part I," *Antiques*, 103 (2), February 1973. pp. 307-318, photos. Gives a concise history of fraktur and then shows and describes the documented fraktur. Description of the individual pieces is very complete.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Documented Fraktur in the Winterthur Collection: Part II," *Antiques*, 103 (3), March 1973, pp. 539-549, photos. More of the same and just as well done.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Exhibition of Pennsylvania German Fraktur," *American-German Review*, 9 (4), April 1943, pp. 33-34, cover and illus. Brief description of the exhibition with a small amount of historical background.

Fabian, Monroe H. "The Easton Bible Artist Identified," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 22 (2), Winter 1972-1973, pp. 2-14, photos. Analysis of one artist's work and many examples of it. Also gives a biography of the artist discussed. His appendix is a good place to



find further readings. The article is very well put together.

\_\_\_\_\_. "John Daniel Eisenbrown, Frakturist," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 24 (2), Winter 1974-1975, pp. 31-35, photos. Same type of article, but on another artist.

Fahnestock, William M. "A Historical Sketch of Ephrata; Together With a Concise Account of the Seventh-Day Baptist Society of Pennsylvania (Written for the Portraiture of Pennsylvania, and communicated in a letter to Thomas F. Gordon, Esq. — By him furnished for the Register)," *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, 15 (11), January-June, 1835, pp. 161-167. This article has been reprinted in whole or in part several times. Below are several of the references.

Aurand, 1940. pp. 19-20 (see earlier in this bibliography for the exact reference).

*Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 5 (10), January 15, 1954. pp. 11, 16.

*Protestant Sentinel*, 7 (15), pp. 57-58, and 7 (16), p. 61.

*The Triennial Baptist Register*, number 2, 1836, pp. 297-306.

*The Lancaster Examiner*, April 16, 1835.

Ferris, Edythe. "Some Origins of Pennsylvania Dutch Art," *American-German Review*, 10 (2), December 1943, pp. 14-16, illus. Gives an outline of what one would have to do in order to discuss the origins of the art completely.

Fisher, John et al. *Pennsylvania Dutch Designs*. (No place of publication given): Folk Art Press, 1946, 10 pp., silk screens, see p. 4, 7, 10. Contains silk-screened motifs and from fraktur taken out of context.

"Folk Art," *Antiques*, 60 (5), November 1951, pp. 443-444, photos. Part of an article on Winterthur museum. Contains only a few sentences on fraktur.

Ford, Alice. *Pictorial Folk Art: New England to California*. New York: Studio Publications Inc., 1949, 172 pp., see pp. 30-33, 146-147. Aimed at collectors, and very chatty style of text. Information is there but the presentation of it could be better. She does give a list of all the Ephrata books and where to find them today, which could be very useful.

"Fraktur at the World's Fair," *Antiques*, 73 (5), May 1958, p. 476, photo. No text to speak of, mentions the four works chosen to go to the World's Fair and gives an illustration of one.

"Fraktur-Schriften: Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania Arts and Sciences*, 3 (2), Folk Festival 1938, pp. 72-78, 116, photos. Gives small amount of identification of the photos given. Extensive quotation from Borneman; better to read the original.

Friedrich, Gerhard. "The Seven Rules of Wisdom," *American-German Review*, 11 (2), December 1944, pp. 15-16, photos, chart. Description and example of a specific type of fraktur otherwise little discussed.

"The Frontispiece: A Pennsylvania Illuminated Manuscript (1801)," *Antiques*, 41 (2), February 1942, p. 117, photo. Description of the photo and no more.

Gaines, Edith. "Collector's Notes," *Antiques*, 97 (6), June 1970, pp. 191, 198, 920, 921, 924, photos, see p. 924. This is a column in the magazine. The author is asking for information regarding Ephrata Cloister, including the fraktur.

Garbisch, Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler. "Important Frakturs, Embroidered Pictures, Theorem Paintings and Cutwork Pictures from the Collection of Edgar William Garbisch and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch." Public Auction, January 23 and 24, 1974, at the New York Galleries of Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Inc., Sale number 3595, photos. Part I. 92 pp.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Important Frakturs, Embroidered Pictures, Theorem Paintings and other American Folk Art from the Collection of Edgar William Garbisch and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch." Public Auction, May 8 and 9, 1974, at the New York Galleries of Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Inc., Sale number 3637, photos. Part II. 82 pp.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Important Frakturs, Embroidered Pictures, Theorem Paintings and Cutwork Pictures and Other American Folk Art from the Collection of Edgar William Garbisch and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch." Public Auction, November 12, 1974 at the New York Galleries of Sotheby Park-Bernet, Inc., Sale number 3692, photos. Part III. 77 pp. Each of the above catalogues contains many photos of fraktur pieces and as much information concerning them as was known at the time.

Gibbons, Phebe Earle. *'Pennsylvania Dutch' and Other Essays*. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1874, 318 pp., see pp. 170, 186. Reprinted in 1882, 427 pp., see pp. 152, 164. Reprinted again, New York: AMS Press, 1971, exact copy of 1882 edition. She visited Ephrata and gives a description of the fraktur on the walls there. In addition she pulls together everyone else's comments on Ephrata, though none of them concern fraktur.

Gilbert, Russell Wieder. *A Picture of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Pennsylvania History Studies No.1. Gettysburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1958, 68 pp., photos, bibliog., see 1 photo and pp. 37-39. Enlarged and reprinted, 1962. 83 pp., photos, bibliog., see 1 photo and pp. 48-51. Brief historically oriented discussion of fraktur, and of the basic types.

Gotwald, Frederick Gebhart. *The Teutonic Factor in American History*. Springfield, Ohio: Published by the author, 1902., 26 pp., see p. 5. Mention made of the fraktur created at Ephrata.



*Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1949, see numbers 368 and 713 for manuscript collections which include fraktur.

Hark, Ann. *Blue Hills and Shoofly Pie in Pennsylvania Dutchland.* Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1952, 284 pp., illus., see p. 75. She mentions the different kinds of fraktur which are part of the Landis Collection.

Hatch, John Davis, Jr. "An Exhibit of the Arts and Crafts of the Pennsylvania Dutch," *American-German Review*, 5 (6), August 1939, pp. 32-33, photos. Discussion of the exhibit displayed by the Circuit Case Extension Cooperative in colleges in the South of the U.S. which included fraktur.

Hawes, Lloyd E. "Adam and Eve in the Decorative Arts," *Antiques*, September 1963, pp. 278-282, photos. Gives only one paragraph of discussion on fraktur, but the photos are worth study.

Hollyday, Guy Tilghman. "The Ephrata Wall-Charts and Their Inscriptions," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 19 (3), Spring 1970, pp. 34-46, photos. Gives German and English translations of the wall-charts but also gives some background regarding the Cloisters and discusses the sources for the text.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Ephrata Codex: Relationships Between Text and Illustration," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 20 (1), Autumn 1970, pp. 28-43, photos. Discusses the *Turtel-Taube*, giving long passes from it in English and German and giving illustrations from it. There are not that many articles dealing with the Ephrata manuscripts and this is one of the best.

Hommel, Martha Hill. "Pennsylvania German Birth and Baptismal Certificates," *Hobbies (The Magazine for Collectors)*, 59 (9), November 1954, pp. 114-115, photos. A not very well done history and description of the fraktur of this type. Gives only a small amount of identification for the examples.

Hopf, Carroll. "Calligraphic Drawings and Pennsylvania German Fraktur," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 22 (1), Autumn 1972, pp. 2-9, facsim., photos, see pp. 6-9 since the emphasis of the article is on calligraphy rather than fraktur. Excellent article, done from an art-historical viewpoint. Discusses the vocabulary of the motifs used, why the fraktur disappeared, and a brief history of why it appeared in the first place.

"In the Museums," *Antiques*, October 1955, pp. 368, 374, 376, 378, photos, see p. 376. Column in the magazine discussing the Borneman Collection at the Philadelphia Free Library.

"In the Museums," *Antiques*, May, 1958, pp. 468, 474, 476, 478, photo. see p. 476. Column in the magazine discussing the fraktur sent to the World's Fair.

Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art. *Pennsylvania German Designs: A Portfolio of Silk*

*Screen Prints.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943, [20 pp.], see plates 3, 6. Research done by the Pennsylvania WPA Art Project. Contains motifs used in fraktur taken out of context.

Kauffman, Henry. *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art.* New York and London: American Studio Books, 1946. 146 pp., bibliog., illus., photos, see pp. 30-31 and illustration numbers 50, 51, 57-61, 80, 82, 115, 127, 128, 132-135, 142-143. Gives a brief introduction to the topic, but it is surprisingly well done and complete considering the length. Discusses the different types of fraktur.

Keyes, Homer Eaton. "A Pennsylvania Bookplate," *Antiques*, 14 (1), July 1928, p. 28, photo. Brief discussion and description of the photo.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Love's Labor Mechanized," *Antiques*, 15 (2), February 1929, pp. 111-112, photo. Photo and discussion of an 1812 handmade valentine, done in very chatty style.

Keyser, Mildred D. "Pennsylvania German Art," *School Arts Magazine*, 45 (8), 1946, pp. 270-275, 10a., illus., bibliog., photos. Discusses the history of the Pennsylvania Germans and then specific motifs they used.

Kieffer, Elizabeth C. "Penmanship: The Art of the Scrivener," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 5 (13), March 1, 1954. pp. 3, 12, 15. facsim. Gives a good history of penmanship and how fraktur is related to it, including why it is not presently used.

Kline, Robert M. and Frederick S. Weiser. "A Fraktur-Fest," *Der Reggebogge (The Rainbow)*, 4 (3-4), September-December 1970, pp. 3-12, cover, photos. Discusses several artists previously known only by nickname or not at all.

Klinefelter, Walter. *The ABC Books of the Pennsylvania Germans.* Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, volume 7, pp. 1-104, 1973. facsim. Contains a long checklist of the specific ABC books and where to find them today. Gives a large number of facsimiles which are worth looking at.

Kriebel, Lester K. "A Brief History and Interpretation of Pennsylvania German Illuminated Writings ('Fraktur-Schriften')," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, 3 (1), October 1941, pp. 20-31, bibliog., photo. Does exactly what he says in the title, and does a concise job of it.

Lamech, Brother and Brother Agrippa. *Chronicon Ephratense; A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penna.* Translated from the German by J. Max Hark. Lancaster, Pa.: S. H. Zahm and Co., 1889, 288 pp., illus. Written by two of the brothers at Ephrata, so it provides one of the few not only contemporary but knowledgeable books on the Cloister. Mentions the art of fraktur practiced there.



Lefevre, Edwin. "The Meaning of Pennsylvania-Dutch Antiques," *Saturday Evening Post*, 207 (42), April 20, 1935, pp. 16-17, 32, 35, 37, continued in 207 (43), April 27, 1935, pp. 26, 31, 80, 82, 84, 87, see p. 87, photos. The first part contains a history of the Pennsylvania Germans, the second a discussion of different genres of art, including fraktur as one. It is aimed at collectors.

Lichten, Frances. *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania*. London and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946, 276 pp., facsim., illus., photos, see pp. 193-223, 245-276. Important for the illustrations more than the brief text.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Arts*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1958, bibliog., photos, 34 pp., see pp. 21-24. Also published as the *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin*, 54 (259a), Autumn 1958, same pagination. Discusses the exhibit at the Philadelphia Museum of Art at that time as well as general background information on fraktur. Is one of the better museum catalogs.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fraktur From the Hostetter Collection," *The Dutchman*, 6 (1), June 1954, pp. 10-13. facsim. Very good though brief discussion of fraktur from who did it to how it was done to how it was preserved till the present.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Fraktur: The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Free Library of Philadelphia, 1958, 26 pp. Aimed at an unknowledgeable audience and therefore does not have many names, dates of specifics. Aside from that, is very informative. Forms an excellent introduction to the topic.

Lipman, Jean and Eve Meulendyke. *American Folk Decoration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951, 163 pp., bibliog., facsim., illus., photos, plates, see pp. 143-155. Aimed at would-be artists who wish to copy the fraktur, virtually gives color-by-number technique.

Lipman, Jean and Alice Winchester. "The Flowering of American Folk Art 1776-1876," *Antiques*, 105 (2), February 1974, pp. 348-354, photos. Preview of the book they published shortly after. Brief mention of fraktur, no more.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Flowering of American Folk Art 1776-1876*. New York: Viking Press in cooperation with the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1974, 288 pp., photos, see pp. 104-117. Good illustrations, and surprisingly good text, very accurate.

Little, Nina Fletcher. *The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1957. 402 pp., photos, see pp. 265-275. Very brief introduction to the subject, but the examples are beautifully reproduced. Good discussion of each example given.

\_\_\_\_\_. *American Folk Art: From the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection*. Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1959, 47 pp., photos, see pp. 36-37. Gives photo and description of one fraktur piece from the collection.

Mallory, Paul. "Fraktur Painting: A Medieval Survival," *Design*, 33 (10), March 1932, pp. 254-255, facsim., photo. Very superficial job, not very well done.

Mercer, Henry C. "The Survival of the Mediaeval Art of Illuminative Writing Among Pennsylvania Germans," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, volume 36, 1897, pp. 424-433, facsim., photo. This is the first major work on fraktur, and was the best for many years after it was published. Is mainly a discussion and description of specific articles held by the Bucks County Historical Society at Doylestown. This article was quoted by following authors as the first actual reference to fraktur (which it actually isn't) for many years.

Miller, Elizabeth K. "An Ephrata Hymnal," *Antiques*, 52 (4), October 1947, pp. 270-262, facsim., photos. The text is not that good, being mainly personal reminiscences rather than scholarly research, but the examples given are superb. One of the few articles to give so many illustrations from Ephrata manuscripts.

Museum of Modern Art. *American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America 1750-1900*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1932, 132 pp., bibliog., photos, see pp. 17-18, illus. 72-74. Actually written by Holger Cahill, this is a brief article from an art-history approach on modeling and dimensions in fraktur. also mentions some of the history.

McClinton, Katharine Morrison. *A Handbook of Popular Antiques*. New York: Random House, 1945 and 1946, 244 pp., illus., photos, bibliog. after each chapter, see pp. 160-166. Aimed at collectors, but the basic information is accurate.

[Ormsbee, Thomas H.] "Our Valentines First Handmade: Began to be Widely Popular Early in 19th Century," *American Collector*, 6 (1), February 1937, pp. 1, 12-13, photos. Mainly about valentines, but also mentions valentines made with fraktur.

"The Paradise of Penn's Germans," *Art News*, 52 (4), Summer 1953, p. 29, photos. Discusses the Geesey Collection shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Paul, Velma Mackay. "Designed for Heirlooms," *Country Gentleman*, 67 (2), February 1947, p. 128, illus. Brief article advertising a set of Pennsylvania German designs which one can order free. Describes a tree of life and exactly what each leaf means. Pity no one else is so sure of the symbolism.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Geburts und Taufschein," *American Antiques Journal*, 3 (1), January 1948, pp. 8-11, photos.



Discusses motifs and colors, especially as shown in the examples she gives, but does not adequately identify these examples.

"Pennsylvania Dutch Design," *American Fabrics*, 54, fall 1961, pp. 77-79, facsim. Includes several fraktur pieces, but virtually no text.

*Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 4 (2), June 1952. p. 7. Photo of a baptismal certificate, with no accompanying text.

*Pennsylvania Folklife*, 23 (1), Autumn 1973. cover. Photo of a vorschrift, with no accompanying text.

"The Pennsylvania German Arts," *Antiques*, March 1959. pp. 264-271. photos. see p. 271. Photos only, no accompanying text.

*Pennypacker Auction Centre* has sold a large number of fraktur and these are frequently pictured in their auction catalogues. These can be difficult to obtain after the fact. The following are all available at the Philadelphia Free Library in the Rare Book Room:

- 18 (5) June 24 and 25, 1974.
- 101 May 21, 1973 (Walter Himmelreich Collection)
- 16 (10) September 9 and 10, 1972
- 16 (2) April 10, 1972
- 15 (11) October 18 and 19, 1971
- 15 (10A) October 4, 1971 (Walter Himmelreich Collection)
- 15 (10) October 4, 1971 (Walter Himmelreich Collection)
- 15 (5) May 24, 1971
- 15 (4) May 10-11, 1971
- 15 (3) April 19, 1971
- 14 (13) October 12 and 13, 1970 (Mobberly Collection)
- 14 (8) May 25, 1970 (Burke Collection)
- 13 (9) November 24 and 25, 1969

May 30 and 31, 1958 (Himmelreich Collection) no number given

April 25, 26, 27, 1963 (Rothschild Collection) no number given

October 29, 1973 (Pennypacker Collection) no number given

Rawson, Marion Nicholl. *Candleday Art*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1938, 383 pp., facsim., see pp. 199-206. Chatty style, the facts given are accurate. Aimed at an unknowable audience.

*Der Reggebogge* (The Rainbow), 6 (4), December 1972, pp. 8-9, photos. No article accompanying them, only identification of the specific pieces of fraktur pictured.

Reichmann, Felix and Eugene E. Doll. *Ephrata as Seen by Contemporaries*. Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, volume 17, 1952 (1953). 206 pp. Includes the earliest references to fraktur, quoting sources completely rather than in fragments. See the following references:

1759 "An Account of the Society Called Dunkards, in Pennsylvania by a Gentleman of America" (see p. 83)

1764 "An Universal History, From the Earliest Account of Time to the Present" (see p. 86)

1768 "Histoire Naturelle et Politique de la Pensylvanie" (see p. 89)

1771 "Caspipina's Letters" (see p. 101)

1835 Fahnstock's article (see pp. 164-186)

Riccardi, Saro John. "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art and Architecture: A Selective Annotated Bibliography," *New York Public Library Bulletin*, 46 (6), June 1942, pp. 471-483. Not only a bibliography which is very well annotated but also a discussion of the types of Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art included in it. Also includes an index.

Robacker, Earl F. *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff: A Guide to Country Antiques*. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 163 pp., bibliog., photos, see pp. 57-58. Mainly aimed at collectors, so the stress is on how best to display the items rather than on the history of the subject.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Major and Minor in Fraktur," *The Dutchman*, 8 (3), Winter 1956. pp. 2-7, facsim. Same biases in this article as in his earlier book. Discusses the *Geddelbrief* which no one else seems to have mentioned as a variety of fraktur.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Paper for Fancy," *Antiques*, 72 (6), December 1957, pp. 543-545, photos. Shows the influence of fraktur on paper cut-outs.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Books Not for Burning," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 9 (1), Winter 1958, pp. 44-52, photos. Emphasis here is on how best to preserve the books. See especially the illustrations of an arithmetic book with fraktur.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Rise of Interest in Folk Art," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 10 (1), Spring 1959, pp. 20-29, photos, see pp. 26-27. Useful mainly for the illustrations rather than the text.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Fraktur of Monroe County," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 21 (1), Autumn 1971, pp. 2-15, cover. photos. Has fewer obvious biases than his other articles. He does a nice job of bringing together the biographies of different artists from Monroe County.

Robacker, Earl F. and Ada F. "Antique or Folk Art: Which?," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 12 (3), Fall 1961, pp. 8-11, photos. Useful for the photos, although no specific reference is made to them in the text.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Far-From-Lonely Heart," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 17 (2), Winter 1967-1968, pp. 2-11, photos. Again, useful for the photos rather than the text.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Floral Motifs in Dutchland's Art," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 17 (4), Summer 1968, pp. 2-7. Contains one photo of fraktur.



Rosenberger, Homer Tope, ed. *Intimate Glimpses of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Proceedings of the Third Rose Hill Seminar, June 26, 1965, 98 pp. See cover for a photo of fraktur. No specific mention made in the booklet of it.

Rumford, Beatrice. "Folk Art in America: A Living Tradition," *Antiques*, 107 (2), February 1975, pp. 333-335, photos. No real discussion of fraktur in the article, but see photo of a baptismal certificate with long descriptive notes on it.

Sabine, Ellen S. *American Folk Art*. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958, 132 pp., illus., photos, pp. 25-26, 45-48, 57-59, 3, 103, 105, 125-127. Contains parts of fraktur taken out of context for the use of people who wish to copy the motifs of the Pennsylvania Germans. Text concerns mainly how to copy them accurately rather than what they are.

Sachse, Julius Friedrich. *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania: 1708-1842; A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Printed for the author, 1899, Volume 1, 506 pp., facsim. Reprinted in 1909. Useful mainly for the illustrations of fraktur produced at Ephrata.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania: 1742-1800; A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Printed for the author, 1900, Volume 2, 535 pp., facsim., see pp. 299-303. See also the many illustrations of fraktur produced at the Cloister.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Music of the Ephrata Cloister: Also Conrad Beissel's Treatise on Music as set Forth in a Preface to the 'Turtel Taube' of 1747 amplified with Fac-simile Reproductions of Parts of the Text and Some original Ephrata Music of the Weyrauchs Hugel, 1739; Rosen and Lilien, 1745; Turtel Taube, 1747; Choral Buch, 1754, etc.* Lancaster, Pa.: Printed for the author, 1903. Reprinted from volume 7, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society. 108 pp., facsim., photos. Useful mainly for the illustrations of various manuscripts produced at Ephrata.

Shaffer, Ellen. "Fraktur Art: A Contribution to the 'Face of America,'" *Manuscripts*, 10 (3), Summer 1958, pp. 33-37, photos. Discussion of the American Pavilion at the World's Fair, which included several pieces of fraktur. Brief discussion and history of what fraktur is.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Illuminators, Scribes and Printers: A Glimpse of the Free Library's Pennsylvania Dutch Collection," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 9 (4), Fall 1958, pp. 18-27, photos. Discussion of the donors of the collection held in the Free Library with beautiful examples given.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fraktur: The Colorful Art of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Antiques*, April 1969, pp.

550-555, photos. Gives a good cross-section of the kinds of fraktur in her examples, and good basic introductory article to the subject as a whole.

Shelley, Donald A. "An Unusual Valentine," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, 27 (3), July 1943, pp. 62-67, photos. Discussion of a single valentine done in fraktur. Tells all the words and gives photos of it. Nice example of what can be done with a single piece of fraktur by someone knowledgeable in the subject.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Illuminated Birth Certificates: Regional Examples of an Early American Folk Art," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, 29 (2), April 1945, pp. 90-105, photos. Another good example of what can be done, this time with an entire variety of fraktur rather than just one piece.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Illuminated Manuscripts," *Art in America*, 42 (2), May 1954, pp. 139-146, 165, photos. Discusses mainly the Garbisch Collection, but also gives historical background of fraktur and some nice examples. Discusses the development of fraktur and the fraktur from other states than Pennsylvania.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Henry Ford and the Museums: The Paintings," *Antiques*, December 1958, pp. 148-192, see p. 186 for photo of fraktur. The text does not discuss it.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, volume 23, 1958 and 1959, 375 pp., facsim., superb bibliog., photos. This is probably the best and most complete work done on the subject of fraktur so far. Anyone wanting just one work to read on the subject should choose this one.

Shoemaker, Alfred L. "Johann Valentin Schuller — Fraktur Artist and Author," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 3 (10), October 15, 1951, p. 1., facsim. A biography of a single fraktur artist and an example of his work. One of the first articles to discuss a single artist in such detail.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Notes on Frederick Krebs the Noted Fraktur Artist," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 3 (11), November 1, 1951, p. 3, facsim. Basically the same type of article as the previous one.

"Shop Talk: Pennsylvania German Arts," *Antiques*, 49 (6), June 1946, pp. 344, 346, 348. Column in the magazine giving photos and a brief discussion of the different kinds of Pennsylvania German arts, considering fraktur as one of these.

Smith, Elmer Lewis and John G. Stewart and M. Ellsworth Kyger. *The Pennsylvania Germans of the Shenandoah Valley*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, volume 26, 1962, see pp. 166-179, photos. Bibliographic entries can be found in the footnotes. Gives



examples of fraktur made in the Shenandoah Valley by Pennsylvania Germans who moved there. Consists mainly of description of the examples.

"Special Events," *Antiques*, May 1957, pp. 464, 470, photo. Column in the magazine which mentions the exhibit in the Philadelphia Free Library. Also mentions the Eckhardt article published a month later in the same magazine.

Stoudt, John Joseph. "The Meaning of Pennsylvania German Art," *The Historical Review of Berks County*, 3 (1), October 1937, pp. 3-8, photos. Basically a preview of his book, and discussing the same thesis.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Consider the Lilies, How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art*. Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, volume 2, 1937, 333 pp., facsimils, photos. One of the major works in the field. Discusses fraktur as a part of all of Pennsylvania German art, dividing the book into chapters such as sources of iconography rather than according to the various types of art. His main thesis is that folk art does not represent the natural world but tries to depict the transcendent world.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Pennsylvania Folk-Art: An Interpretation*. Allentown: Schlechter's 1948, 403 pp., bibliog., facsimils, illus., photos. This is a revised edition of his 1937 volume.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts*. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1964, 364 pp., photos, see pp. 278-347 and the plates in the front of the book. A very good distillation of his previous work, with an abundance of photos.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History*. South Brunswick and New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1973, 272 pp., facsimils, illus., map, photos, see pp. 139-166. He puts fraktur into the context of all Pennsylvania German art. Covers the basic historical information, though briefly. Again an abundance of photos.

Sussel, Arthus J. "Pennsylvania Furniture Including Important Works by Philadelphia Cabinetmakers; American Portraits, Still-Lives and Landscape Paintings; Philadelphia and other American Silver; Pennsylvania Dutch Fraktur work; Sgraffito and Slip Ware; Swansea, Liverpool, Leeds and Staffordshire; Gaudy Dutch and Spatterware; Brass and Iron Utensils; Eagle Carvings; Quilts, Coverlets, Hooked Rugs." Public Auction Sale, October 23, 24, 25, 1958. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc. Part I, 155 pp., photos. Sale number 1847. Includes many photos of fraktur and as many details about the identification of the pieces as were known at the time.

\_\_\_\_\_. "American furniture: Oriental Lowestoft (Chinese export) Porcelain; Clichy, Baccarat and New England Paperweights, Battersea and other Enamel

boxes; Gaudy Dutch Ware; Georgian Cut Glass; Liverpool, Leeds and Staffordshire Ware; Brass, Wrought Iron Tole and other Implements; American paintings; Eagle Carvings; Views of Philadelphia and other prints; Silhouettes and watercolor miniatures; Embroidery pictures, samplers and valentines." Public Auction Sale, January 22, 23, 24, 1959. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc. Part II, 156 pp., photos. Sale number 1872. Includes many photos of fraktur and as many details about the identification of the pieces as were known at the time.

\_\_\_\_\_. "American and other Decorative Arts: Rare Glass and Pewter; Early Miniatures; Historical Printed and other Fabrics; Lighting Fixtures and fittings, desk ornaments and mantels; Fire brigade accessories and prints; Oriental Lowestoft (Chinese export), European and Chinese porcelains; Georgian Silver and Pewter." Public Auction Sale, March 19, 20, 21, 1959. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc. Part III, 124 pp., photos. Sale number 1888. Includes many photos of fraktur and as many details about the identification of the pieces as were known at the time.

Sweeney, John A. H. "New Rooms at Winterthur," *Antiques*, February 1955, pp. 132-137, photos., see pp. 134-135. Gives a brief description of the fraktur room at Winterthur.

Thomas, Edith M. *Mary at the Farm and Book of Recipes: Compiled During her Visit Among the "Pennsylvania Germans"*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Evangelical Press, 1928, 423 pp., photos, see pp. 122-123. Gives discussion and a photo of a Taufschein that the author was shown.

Treher, Charles M. *Snow Hill Cloister: A Unique Attempt at Quasi-monastic Protestantism in Franklin County, Pa.* Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, volume 2, 1968, pp. 7-114, bibliog., facsimils, photos. Snow Hill was a sister congregation to Ephrata. see pp. 5, 59, 8, 80. Only a brief discussion of the fraktur made there, but the illustrations are valuable.

"A Valentine in Fraktur," *Antiques*, 41 (2), February 1942, p. 144, photo. No text with the illustration, only a description of it and some information concerning St. Valentine's day.

Weaver, Samuel P. *Autobiography of a Pennsylvania Dutchman*. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1953, 228 pp., photos, see p. 25. He mentions that illuminated writing was found in many houses in the form of birth or marriage certificates.

Wehmann, Howard H. and Monroe H. Fabian. "Pennsylvania German Fraktur: Folk Art in the National Archives," *Prologue* (The Journal of the National Archives), 2 (2), Fall 1970, pp. 96-97, photo. Article concerns a fraktur piece found in a pension application file, and mentions that there are others in the National Archive files.



Weiser, Frederick S. *Daniel Schumacher's Baptismal Register*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, 1968, pp. 185-407, photos. See introduction to the Register, pp. 186-208, and plates. Gives a biography of one artist and subsequently discusses his work, giving examples.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Concept of Baptism Among Colonial Pennsylvania German Lutheran and Reformed Church People," *The Lutheran Historical Conference, Essays and Reports*, 1970, volume 4, pp. 1-45, facsimiles, see pp. 10-36. Discusses why he thinks fraktur is not especially religious or symbolic, and what the texts reveal about the faith of the people, giving many examples of the text. The article is generally very well done, as are all of the ones by this author. Unfortunately this journal is rather difficult to obtain.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Fraktur: Pennsylvania German Folk Art*. Ephrata, Pa.: Science Press, 1973, 103 pp., bibliog., photos. This is "Keepsake 1973," prepared by the Science Press annually in limited editions each Christmas. The text accompanying the pictures is brief, but very well done. The photos are selected so as to show works not included in other publications; they are from private collections not generally available.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Piety and Protocol in Folk Art: Pennsylvania German Fraktur Birth and Baptismal Certificates," *Winterthur Portfolio* 8 (1973), pp. 19-43, photos. Good study of a single type of fraktur, with good footnotes and a complete translation of the text of the pieces. Also gives very complete identification of each illustration.

Weygandt, Cornelius. *The Red Hills: A Record of Good Days Outdoors and in, With Things Pennsylvania Dutch*. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929, 251 pp., photos, see 123-127. Mentions fraktur casually, assuming that all of his readers know what it is. Very much oriented towards an unknowledgeable audience rather than scholars on the topic.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Dutch Country; Folks and Treasures in the Red Hills of Pennsylvania*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939, 352 pp., see pp. 31-33, 106-108, 203-204. More of the same. Casual references to the subject, without giving much information on it.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Plenty of Pennsylvania: Samples of Seven Cultures Persisting From Colonial Days*. New York: H.C. Kinsey and Co., Inc., 1942. 315 pp., photos, see pp. 19, 68, 177, and several plates. More of the same. Pleasant reading but not very informative.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Hearts and Flowers from Pennsylvania," *Antiques*, 65 (2), February 1954, pp. 146-147, cover, photos. Discusses bookplates which contain hearts which belong to the author. Useful more for the photos than the text.

Whitmore, Eleanor M. "Origins of Pennsylvania Folk Art," *Antiques*, 38 (3), September 1940, pp. 106-110, photos, bibliog. This is an answer to Drepperd's article of February 1940.

Winchester, Alice. "The Editor's Attic," *Antiques*, 44 (4), October 1943, p. 181, photos. Discussion of specific artists, but not very detailed. This is a column in the magazine.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Editor's Attic," *Antiques*, 62 (1), July 1952, p. 58, photos. Mentions the exhibits at Montclair Art Museum in New Jersey. This is a column in the magazine.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Antiques," *Antiques*, 71 (6), June 1957, cover and p. 535. Editorial comments regarding Eckhardt's article in the same issue.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Antiques," *Antiques*, 95 (4), April 1969, cover and p. 519. Discussion of fraktur since Shaffer's article is in the same issue.

Wood, T. Kenneth. "Mediaeval Art Among Pennsylvania Germans," *Antiques*, 7 (5), May 1925, cover and 263-266, photos. Spends much time discussing the Germans rather than the fraktur in Pennsylvania, then does give a brief history of the art, and discussion of his examples. One of the earlier articles on the subject, but by now there have been many better ones.

Yoder, Don. "Christmas Fraktur, Christmas Broad-sides," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 14 (2), December 1964, pp. 2-9, photos. Discusses and gives examples of several kinds of fraktur which are associated folk-culturally with the Christmas festival.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Baptism and Confirmation: Folk-Cultural Questionnaire number 7," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 17 (3), Spring 1968, p. 49, photo of fraktur. Gives small amount of discussion on taufschein and confirmationschein.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Pennsylvania Germans: A Preliminary Reading List," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 21 (1), Winter 1971, pp. 2-17, see pp. 12-13, photos. Discusses fraktur, the major works, and which books or articles are good for what types of information.

Yoder, Don, and Vernon S. Gunnion and Carroll J. Hopf. *Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Color Drawings*. Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley, 1969, [34 pp.], bibliog., illus., photos. One of the best museum catalogues. It gives several articles on different aspects of fraktur, each with a bibliography. There are a large number of examples from the exhibit, each with substantial identification.

Zehner, Olive G. "Harry S. High Folk Art Collection," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 6 (1), June 1954, pp. 16-19. Gives a photo of fraktur, but the text does not mention it.



# An Immigrant's Inventory

By MONROE H. FABIAN

Immigration from the German homelands to America in the 18th Century was a perilous venture. Those who had the courage or the desperation to make the trip often left their homes in the Rhine or Neckar valleys in late summer, traveled down the Rhine to board ship in Rotterdam or Amsterdam, and frequently did not land at a port such as Philadelphia until the middle of October — even if all went well at sea. Many died from the rigors of the voyage. Others must have expired soon after arriving in what they had hoped would be their promised land. For almost none of these luckless immigrants is there a memorial, in either the Old World or the New. Their kinsmen back in Germany forgot about them in a generation or two, and the loved ones who had accompanied them to America faced too much of a struggle themselves to dwell upon the dead.

For at least one of the pathetic souls who did not live long enough to reap the rewards of her arduous journey, there is indeed a memorial. It has remained unseen by all but a few, yet it is as poignant and as significant as the most skillfully crafted monuments to those who survived. In this case our immigrant's memorial is merely a small manila envelope filled with a few sheets of crumbling paper.<sup>1</sup> The hapless traveler's name was Lucina Keyser (the scrivener writing out the documents also spelled her names "Lewisina" and "Keiser"). It is quite possible that she came from the "county" of Wertheim in the so-called *Badisches Frankenland*<sup>2</sup> and almost certain that she arrived at Philadelphia toward the end of September in 1753 aboard the ship *Neptune*, which had sailed from Rotterdam.<sup>3</sup>

Since a physician had noted no contagious disease on the ship, we may assume that Lucina Keyser, in light of the subsequent statements made about her condition, became ill aboard the ship as the result of pregnancy. She may have died within a month of her arrival in America of complications following childbirth. The list of the male passengers over fifteen years of age carries the name of a *Johan Christopl Keyser*, but there is no indication of his relationship to Lucina. He could easily have been her husband or cousin, or even her brother. In any case, she had a

benefactor in Pennsylvania in the person of one David Bähringer,<sup>4</sup> a shoemaker of Upper Milford Township, Northampton (now Lehigh) County. In 1757, possibly as many as four years after Lucina's death, Bähringer filed in Easton for the settlement of her "estate" and for the recompense of monies he had spent to support her in her feeble condition at the time of her arrival. The principal document submitted to the county authorities by Bähringer, as administrator of the estate, was a list of his expenses in maintaining Lucina from the date of her landing in Philadelphia until her death:

## Keiser

Account of David Bähringer ad<sup>ms</sup> of the Estate  
of Lucina Keyser

Sept. 28th 1753

Paid to the Doctor on Board the vessel for her	—	3	—
Paid for her Chest & things for bringing on shore . . . . .	—	4	—
for bring the Chest into a Tavern . . . . .	—	1	0
to Cash paid to her . . . . .	—	3	9
<i>the 16th Oct. 1753</i>			
Storich paid for the Chest . . . . .	—	9	—
paid for bringing her & her Chest to my house . . . . .	—	10	—
and Like wiss for what She had spent on the road . . . . .	—	4	3
to 13 days Noursing her & Child after she was brought to bed . . . . .	2	15	—
to Funeral Charges . . . . .	3	10	—
to 8 days Noursing the Child after her Dead . . . . .	—	10	—
to Henry Kuchs wife paid for 9 months Noursing of the Child a .20 Sh. pr. month . . . . .	9	—	—
to Doctor Stufe for the Child at the Same time - Sugar & other Necessaries . . . . .	1	—	—
paid for Appraising the Goods to Bastian Truckenmil- ler & David Gessey . . . . .	0	2	0
for victuals & trink at the same time to Said men . . . . .	—	4	—
paid to the Crayer John Shwind . . . . .	—	7	—
paid to the Clark Jost Vollert . . . . .	—	5	—
to Expenses for Clark & Crayer paid to Nicholas Scull . . . . .	—	6	10

19 10 10

for Letter of Administration . . . . . — 18 6

Total 20 9 4

Pd. advertisement 00 5 0

<sup>4</sup>Langguth-Yoder, p. 200, lists information about a Wertheimer, Peter Bähringer, who immigrated in 1754. Since there was also a Nicklaus Bähringer aboard the *Neptune*, a connection between David Bähringer and Wertheim is most likely.

<sup>1</sup>Northampton County Archives, File 150, 1757.

<sup>2</sup>Otto Langguth and Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Pioneers from the County of Wertheim," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XII (1947), 147-289. At least 29 of the male passengers aboard the *Neptune* are shown to be Wertheimers.

<sup>3</sup>Ralph Beaver Strassburger and William John Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, Pennsylvania German Society, Norristown, 1934, I, 538-545. The ship *Neptune* was in Philadelphia by September 23, 1753, when a doctor certified that there was no contagious disease aboard. On the following day the immigrants took the prescribed oaths necessary for admission to the Province of Pennsylvania.



Since only two dates are entered into the account, the actual lapses of time between the bringing ashore of Lucina, the delivery of her child, and Lucina's subsequent death are not clear. It is possible that she was brought ashore at Philadelphia on the first date mentioned, September 23, 1753, and remained in a tavern there until the second date, October 16th. Whether she delivered her child in Philadelphia we cannot tell, but the order of expenses implies that the child was born in Upper Milford Township at Bähringer's home and not in the city. The charge for "13 days Nourishing her & Child after she was brought to bed" insinuates that she died about two weeks after childbirth. Since David Bähringer did not probate the estate until 1757 there is also the possibility — but a slight one in view of the wording of the inventory of expenses — that she lived for four years from the time of her arrival. The payment of 9 Pounds to Henry Kuch's wife for "9 months Nourishing of the Child" prompts us, however, to accept the earlier date of Lucina Keyser's demise. It is quite probable that in frontier Pennsylvania in the middle of the 18th Century it was four years before Bähringer, a simple craftsman, learned that he could recover his expenses by the sale of Lucina's effects. If this is indeed the case, it is an interesting comment on the times and on the value of personal property that the effects had not been disbursed earlier. Whatever the reason for the delay, Sebastian Truckenmiller and David Gessey finally "bressed" or appraised all Lucina Keyser's earthly possessions on May 16, 1757.

A second document, perhaps even more important to the student of Pennsylvania German history than the first quoted here, was an inventory of the appraisal of the goods of the "Deceased Lewisina Keiser":

*May the Sixtanth 1757*

*Bresment of all The Goods Rights Chattells and Credis of the Deceased Lewisina Keiser in the Township of Upper Milford County of Northampton and Being as folwoeth Viz*

	£	s	p
in Cash .....	2	0	0
To a Father Bed .....	0	16	0
To 2 Boulsters .....	0	3	0
To 3 Boulsters .....	0	4	0
To a Sheet for a Bed .....	0	4	0
To a Bed Cais .....	0	8	0
To i Boulster Cace .....	0	4	0
To Bed Cordence .....	0	1	0
To a Table Cloth .....	0	3	0
To a hand Towel .....	0	0	10
To a [—] Blue Bede Coat .....	0	6	0
To a Strippet Bede Coat .....	0	6	0
To a Reddich Bede Coat .....	0	3	0
To a Black Bede Coat .....	0	7	0
To 2 Black aporns .....	0	2	0
To 2 Blue aporns .....	0	2	6
To a Black Jacket .....	0	1	0

To a Reddich womans Jacaket .....	0	1	3
To a Bodis .....	0	2	6
To a Blue Bodis .....	0	0	6
To a pair Whit stockings one pair			
Red Dito .....	0	1	0
To a psalm Book .....	0	2	0
To a Little Bible .....	0	4	0
To a Smothen Box and two (—) .....	0	1	0
		6	8
			7
To a Silk hengerchif .....	0	2	0
To a Silk hengerchif .....	0	3	0
To a White hengerchif .....	0	1	6
To a pair of White Mittinds .....	0	0	8
To a pair of Clofes Blue To a pair			
Black Dito .....	0	0	9
To 2 Kaps for Women .....	0	0	6
To 3 Shmal Linin pisie of Nidel work .....	0	0	4
To a Box .....	0	0	2
To a Tine Bason .....	0	1	6
To a Copper Cetel .....	0	2	6
To a Tine Pint .....	0	0	2
To a Chist .....	0	2	0
To a Erthen Pot .....	0	0	2
To a Erthen Pot .....	0	0	3
		£	17
			4
			1

We do not know the name of the clerk who penned the inventory of Lucina Keyser's belongings, but there is much internal evidence to indicate that he was German even though he was evidently quite proficient in English. At first glance, some of the words he uses are strange, but if one pronounces them and recalls the not-unusual pronunciations of English words still heard in some parts of southeastern Pennsylvania, they are quite intelligible. "Cais" is of course "case," as is "Cace." A "Bede Coat" is nothing other than a "pettycoat" and the descriptive words "Strippet" and "Reddich" are "striped" and "reddish". "Bodis" is clearly the word "bodice" and "Mittinds" and "Clofes" are "mittens" and "gloves". Also among the fabrics are three small pieces of needle work, perhaps unfinished, that our scribe has listed as "3 Shmal pisie of Nidel work."

If Lucina Keyser died so soon after her arrival as suspected, we have here a rare, possibly unique, record of what one 18th Century immigrant — of the most typical class to populate rural Pennsylvania — brought on the sea voyage from Europe. Properly packed, all of the items inventoried could have been fitted into one of the traditional *Kisten* or chests which were the most common storage receptacles of the period.

The "estate" of Lucina Keyser was sold at auction — piece by piece — on July 2, 1757, for a grand total of 10 Pounds, 10 Shillings and 9 Pence. This was some 7 Pounds less than the appraisal of the total. The chest itself, in which Lucina Keyser had brought all the reminders of her old home and her hopes for the new, was sold to one Mayer Hutz for 9 Shillings 3 Pence.



# *Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 44:*

## **Broadsides and Printed Ephemera**

Historians, collectors, and students of Pennsylvania folklife are beginning to concern themselves with printed ephemera, including broadsides, which issued copiously from the urban and rural presses of the state. These once used and soon discarded types of Americana are increasingly important as indicators of many aspects of everyday life on which we have otherwise scanty records. This questionnaire is directed in particular to readers who are collecting such materials or who are aware of local collections that are available for scholarly use.

1. *Broadsides.* The broadside — defined as a sheet of paper printed on one side — was used in early America as an adjunct to the newspaper to spread news, particularly of political events, tragedies, and noteworthy local happenings. Songs and ballads were often published in broadside form, after a tragedy, a hanging, or other unusual affair, to tell the story of the event in verse form. Elegies or verses in memory of a recently deceased person were also common. Will readers collecting such materials inform us of recent broadside examples in these categories.

2. *Sale Bills.* Among the commonest broadsides were the sale bills published to announce country auctions of household goods and other materials, which were often listed on the document itself. We are interested in documenting early examples of Pennsylvania sale bills, for publication. Will readers inform us of the earliest sale bills which they may possess.

3. *Funeral Cards.* Memorial or funeral cards were common in the Victorian era. Most of these appear to have been published by national presses in the Midwest. Were any of these cards — designed to be fitted into a Victorian family album — printed on local presses in Pennsylvania? How and by whom were these cards distributed?

4. *Posters.* Posters are usually large broadsides on stiff cardboard paper, for attaching to walls, or on regular paper for pasting to signboards. These usually announced such events as circuses, carnivals, traveling menageries, political rallies, picnics, concerts, camp meetings, and other gatherings. How were these distributed, and who printed them?

5. *Religious Tracts.* Among the plentiful ephemera of the present day are the religious handouts, tracts

on salvation, which are distributed to passersby on street corners in our towns, or deposited in telephone booths, toilets and elsewhere by representatives of religious movements. Which groups use such printed forms of evangelism? Are the examples you have seen published by local printers, or consigned from national religious presses? What types of persons distribute such materials?

6. *Trade Cards.* In the 19th Century, businesses distributed trade cards, little advertising cards usually printed in color, with a romantic or a humorous scene depicted and a local business address. How were these materials distributed among the urban and rural population? Were they intended for children or adults? What was the reaction you recall to the ethnic stereotypes (comic Negroes, comic Irishmen, for example) depicted on many of these cards?

7. *Local Printers.* Will readers inform us of the names and addresses of local job printers in their communities, particularly the smaller printing businesses, who still print ephemeral materials such as we have described above.

8. *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Examples.* Will our older readers explain why such materials were popular in the 19th Century? What types of ephemera were saved and what types were thrown away? Family Bibles, for example, were often a repository for such throwaway materials which were saved for some reason or other. Which types of ephemera were most popular and common in the 19th Century? If any of these have disappeared from common use, what types of ephemera have taken their place in this century? One example is the "Indian Reader" or "Healer and Advisor" Card, distributed at supermarket parking lots and on city streets, announcing the services of fortune tellers and popular healers, capitalizing on American Indian or Caribbean Negro expertise in healing everything from bad luck to disappointment in love.

Send your replies to:

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





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

## The Festival and its Sponsorship

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

