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## Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 22, No. 3

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# *Pennsylvania* FOLKLIFE

SPRING 1973



*The Chairmaker of Newtown*



## Contributors to this Issue

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SUSAN J. ELLIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, presents here her M.A. paper in the Graduate Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania, a history of scrapple (panhaas), one of Pennsylvania's folk foods that has attracted some attention on the regional market. Miss Ellis is at present engaged in social work among Philadelphia's ethnic populations.

WALN K. BROWN, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is studying for the Ph.D. degree in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. A native of York, Pennsylvania, and a graduate of the Pennsylvania State University, Capitol Campus, he spent last summer at Eckley in Luzerne County doing ethnographic research for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, in connection with the open air museum of coal region culture which the Commission is developing at Eckley. The photography for his article was done by Dr. Robert A. Barakat, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.

DR. LOUIS WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, is a member of the Department of Astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University. His article in this issue, the fifth in his series on Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology, presents materials illustrating the connection of religion, both organized and folk, with the calendar.

DR. FRIEDRICH KREBS, Speyer, West Germany, retired recently as archivist at the Palatine State Archives in Speyer. His article in this issue deals with 18th Century emigrants from Baden-Durlach. The original documents were located in the Karlsruhe State Archives.

# *Pennsylvania* **FOLKLIFE**

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### COVER:

*Frank Boccardo, chairmaker of Newtown, Bucks County,  
Pennsylvania.*



# Frank Boccardo: Toward an Ethnography of a Chairmaker

By BURT FEINTUCH

In the fall of 1971, while working on a photographic study of house types in Newtown, Pennsylvania, with fellow student Richard Raichelson, we observed several traditional slatback styled chairs for sale on the porch of an unusual house. There was also a small hand-painted sign announcing that caning and rushing of seats was done there. We went in and met Frank Boccardo, an extraordinary man and craftsman. This paper is a brief discussion of Frank Boccardo; the man, his life, and his craft.<sup>1</sup>

Newtown, Pennsylvania, is a small, predominantly middle class community located in Bucks County approximately eight miles from the northeast boundary of Philadelphia, about half way between Bristol and Doylestown on state highway 413. The center of town is quite old, having several 17th Century buildings and quite a few 18th Century buildings. During the 18th Century it was the county seat. It was also briefly a headquarters for George Washington, and is located fairly near the point where the American troops crossed the Delaware River to take Trenton. Today Newtown is flanked on several sides by new suburban-type houses. The people who live in Newtown seem for the most part to value the town's heritage and appearance. Many of the old houses are owned and have been restored by middle or upper class white collar workers who often do not work in Newtown. It has become very difficult to find any sort of housing at all.

The town is situated in rolling countryside and is really the beginning of the farming areas of the county. There are a few wooded areas and Newtown Creek runs through the center of the town. William Penn originally set aside the land on either side of the creek as a commons but today all that remains of the commons is a small plot behind the postoffice, marked by a small monument.<sup>2</sup> The creek runs through Frank Boccardo's back yard.

<sup>1</sup>This paper is based on interviews conducted by Richard Raichelson and myself in January and February of 1972, done at Frank Boccardo's home at 109 Sycamore Street, Newtown, Pennsylvania. Quotations which are not footnoted have been taken from transcripts of Boccardo's remarks.

<sup>2</sup>Historical information about Newtown was learned from various county historical markers scattered about the town.

Francesco Boccardo was born in 1885 in a farming district on the Adriatic coast of Italy, across country from Naples. His father had nine children and was a farmer. In the old country, which is how he always refers to Italy, Frank made a few rough chairs for his own use and he also remembers repairing woven seats. He learned to do both by finding an example, taking it apart, and basing his work on the way in which the example appeared to have been constructed. This learning method is the one that Frank always seems to have used when learning virtually anything; he received no training (formal or informal) in most of the things he does, including reading and writing English and Italian. When an example is unavailable he improvises, basing his improvisation on a combination of past experience and ingenuity.

Frank enjoyed farming, but there was no land for him at home. "Old country got no ground to work, too many people." When he was seventeen years old he left home and worked in a brick and tile yard. Soon after that he started his own brick yard: "And

*Frank Boccardo and two samples of his work.*







*Detail of back posts of Boccardo chair.*

I started a brick yard . . . and I make good. Made a lot of money. My father had nine kids too, you know. Christ, I had money, you know, but I had no place to leave it. I says I got to get out of here, and I came to America.”

When he was twenty-one years old Frank emigrated to the United States. For the first two years he lived in Bristol, Pennsylvania, on the Delaware River in the lower portion of Bucks County. Bristol is an industrial town with a substantial Italian-American community. His first job was a “leather factory”; he had to pay in order to get the job, and shortly thereafter the factory went bankrupt. The next job was with the Pennsylvania Railroad, “pick and shovel”.

In 1908 Boccardo moved to Newtown in order to work on the trolley which ran from Bristol to Doylestown. He worked a few months and was promoted to a “boss job,” which he held for close to twenty years until the trolley line went out of business, probably because of the influence of the automobile. His last job involved making and installing concrete posts at the Tyler estate in Newtown, which was at the time the home of the extremely wealthy Tyler family, and is today the site of the local community college. As he put it:

Only had three jobs in all my time . . . I worked two, three months in railroad, a couple a months in a leather factory and after that I got . . . trolley and I been in trolley ever since 1923 when it stopped . . . . And after that I started work . . . concrete posts . . . . How many I make? Oh Christ, I don’t know. I worked two, three years making posts all the time . . . Make twenty posts a day. I got fifty cents to put them in and a dollar seventy-five for the posts.

For fourteen years Boccardo and his wife, who joined him several years after he emigrated, lived in a small house in Newtown. In 1917 they bought about

an acre of land roughly a block from the main business street, on what today has become a busy street with houses on one side and several automobile dealers and supermarkets on the other side. The street is dominated by a large 18th Century stone church. Following his father’s precedent, Frank built his own house.

I started to build around, one corner a year. I started to build around 1922—I ain’t got done yet. Built one corner at a time and I lived inside the little old house. [What part didn’t you finish?] The kitchen. I started in the other corner and came this way . . . . By myself, no help . . . . I do carpentry and mason work, paint, everything, no help. Made the concrete bricks. [Did anyone teach you how to build a house?] No, I didn’t need no teacher. When I want to build something, I just got my head . . . . Well, most I make a brick one night, the next night I put it in the wall. I had a wood form you know . . . . I used to use sand and the cement. No grout. I was afraid to use grout . . . damn grout, little drop of water come, wash off. In olden times grout had too much damn dirt in it.

The house is quite large and is built almost completely of concrete bricks made by Boccardo. It is supported by oak joists and trolley track rails used because they were less expensive than wood. Frank claims the house is similar to Italian houses; it is certainly unique in Newtown. Today Frank lives and works alone in half of the house (his wife died in 1952 and their ten children have their own families), and



*Finial, showing handcrafted carving featured on the Boccardo chair.*



one of his grandsons, Bob Boccardo, lives in the other side with his wife and several children. The house is divided in half and there are two front entrances. Frank's half is sparsely furnished and not completely finished. One enters into a front room full of chairs Frank has made, along with chairs he is repairing. Behind that room is a room which is basically unlivable; it contains a refrigerator and an odd assortment of gardening tools, bits of chairs, and miscellaneous odds and ends which are apparently rarely, if ever, used.

There are two rooms upstairs in Frank's half of the house. The front room contains an empty wardrobe, a broken table, and several of Frank's chairs, either completed or in various stages of completion. On the wall is an early photograph of John Lennon in a paper frame, placed there by one of Bob's daughters. There are several bundles of rush leaning against the wall and spread on the floor; in fact there is rush all over Frank's part of the house, either bundled or in bits and pieces on the floor.

The room in the upstairs rear is the room in which Frank lives; he sleeps, cooks, eats, and works in it. There is a large old double bed, several chests of drawers and tables. Cooking is done on two kerosene double-burner hotplates which during the winter are kept burning constantly, although there are radiators which supply heat. It is very warm in the room; Frank has a kidney ailment is more comfortable when it is very warm. The room appears to be in incredible disarray, with drawers hanging open, parts of chairs and tools scattered all around, the floor covered with rush, peppers and onions hanging on the walls, and a variety of odds and ends, some apparently used, some seemingly discarded years ago, scattered all over.<sup>3</sup> The walls are decorated with a few old photographs of the old country, and several out-of-date calendars. There is a radio in the room; it is tuned to a Philadelphia station which broadcasts news all day and night. Frank used to watch television, but his eyesight is no longer good enough.

Frank Boccardo has probably lived in Newtown longer than any other resident and is thought by his grandson to be the oldest person in the town. He used to socialize at a small cigar shop several blocks away from his home, but no longer does, probably because most of his friends have passed away. At eighty-seven years of age, Frank has difficulty hearing and is quite bent over, but he is very strong and alert. He still speaks with a heavy Italian accent. He is basically a loner, and rarely leaves the house except to shop for groceries nearby and to work in his garden, and in the summer to cut rush. Although his grandson and family are

<sup>3</sup>It should be noted that although the room appears to me to be in incredible disarray, it does not seem unusual to Frank. My impressions of the room are shared by Bob Boccardo and Richard Raichelson, nevertheless they are value judgements and should be recognized as such.



*Shaving chair round.*



*Assembling understructure of chair.*





*The chairmaker's workshop. Left: English and Italian calendars on wall. Right: rushes for caning, food, tools, and clothing.*

quite open to him, Frank seems to prefer spending his time in his half of the house.

Frank does his own cooking. Most of what he eats is based on the Italian food he remembers from the old country.<sup>4</sup> His garden is large and he grows hot peppers and tomatoes, among other things. Hot peppers, he claims, are what keep him alive. For quite a few years Frank grew tobacco and made cigars for himself; he still has a bag full of the homemade cigars. "I used to smoke fifteen of them a day. I got so god damn dizzy I had to quit." Today he grows his own pipe tobacco. There are also grape vines and peach trees, the fruits of which Frank makes into wine. The wine is not drunk; he distills it into what he calls brandy, which is very strong but quite smooth. There are glass gallon jugs full of wine scattered throughout the house, some of which are said to be fifteen years old. When there is a surplus from the garden, Frank sells it from his front porch.

Before he began building chairs other than for his own use, Frank used to earn money by repairing rush and cane seats, a skill he learned in Italy by taking apart an old seat and copying it. The seats in the old country were, by his own admission, rougher; they were also plainer. "Old country, you don't see no fancy jobs . . . Everything you make last long, not like over here. That should be everywhere." Frank claims that the seats he makes will last a hundred years. In repairing rush seats, he replaces the entire seat; in working with intricately patterned cane he is able to match patterns and either patches holes or replaces the entire seat. He cannot tolerate a loose seat, nor can he tolerate a loose chair, so he often tightens entire chairs brought to him for repairs to the seat.

Repairing seats was Frank Boccardo's major source of income for about fifteen years, from the Depression until the mid-1940's, although he also saved a considerable sum of money from when he was employed.

<sup>4</sup>For Italian cookery in the Philadelphia area, see Toni F. Fratto, "Cooking in Red and White," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIX:3 (Spring 1970), 2-15.

Word of mouth caused people to send chairs in need of repair to him from as far away as Canada. A large portion of his work comes from New York City and Trenton, New Jersey. Many of his clients are antique dealers who are restoring chairs in order to sell them. In essence Frank is applying a skill learned while he lived in a European folk community to traditional American chairs which usually are no longer owned by people from the same traditional background from which the chairs were produced. Probably most of the chairs are considered more as collector's items than the functional furniture they once were.

In 1924 Frank built six chairs for himself. They were of the slatback type, but were closer in form to the European slatback chairs than to the American ladderbacks. The slatback chair is a western European type: ". . . chairs of step type with turned legs and plaited seats (still the main type of the Mediterranean and West-European region) . . . . These last objects of furniture as a rule had their place in the center of the eating room or the kitchen which is a characteristic only of true peasant culture in West and South Europe, while in Central, North and East Europe they are features that are younger and influenced by bourgeois culture."<sup>5</sup>

Photographs of European slatback chairs sometimes reveal a woven seat pattern, apparently made of rush, which is almost identical to the seats that Frank puts on the chairs he makes.<sup>6</sup>

In 1948 Frank began making and selling chairs. He patterned the chairs after an American chair brought in for repair work on the seat. Frank calls his chairs ladderbacks, and they are very similar to American chairs most common during the first half of the 18th Century.<sup>7</sup> The chairs are painstakingly made, and done so with an extremely old type of technology. In fact,

<sup>5</sup>Sigurd Erixon, "West European Connections and Culture Relations," *Folk-Liv* 1938: 2, p. 158.

<sup>6</sup>See for example the Erixon article cited above, plate 23, a, b, c, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup>Luke Vincent Lockwood, *Colonial Furniture in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), pp. 153-154.





*Clamping curved chair slats.*

colonial American craftsmen, who used lathes to turn the round posts, used a more advanced technology than does Frank, who does not use a lathe.

Boccardo's tools may be seen in photograph below. Left to right are: (1) a saw, purchased in a hardware store; (2) coarse and fine rasps, also purchased; (3) three knives, the first made by Frank from a paring knife blade set into a new handle, the middle one being a blade from a set of garden shears set into a new handle, and the third being a pocketknife blade also set into a new handle; (4) two chisels, whose handles broke and were replaced by homemade handles; and (5) two purchased hatchets, the small one having a handmade handle. Not shown are several old wooden planes purchased many years ago and an electric drill with a dowel fitted over a portion of the bit to stop it from going too deep. Frank uses a homemade press and "C" clamps to bend the slats and posts, and several bar clamps to clamp together portions of the chair.

For many years the chairs were glued with "hot glue" (hide or animal glue) which, as the name implies, must be heated before use. Now Frank uses commercially available plastic resin glue (Weldwood) which is easier to work with and stronger than hot glue. Although many woodworkers use white glue, Frank does not like it because it is not waterproof.

Boccardo makes one basic style of chair in two sizes and in varying degrees of ornamentation. The style is most similar to the Massachusetts type pictured by Henry Glassie in his *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*.<sup>8</sup> The large chairs are forty-eight inches high. They have five curved arch-shaped slats between parallel uprights or posts.

<sup>8</sup>Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), p. 230, Fig. 66A.

There are eight rungs, two on each side. There are always carved ornaments on the ends of the two rear posts, and sometimes the rungs are carved. The small chairs are similar to the large ones except that they have only four slats and the rungs are never carved. There is no set size for the small chairs.

Recently Frank began to build the chairs with the rear uprights bent slightly backwards. He feels that this makes the chairs more comfortable, and decided to do it after seeing a chair, sent to him for repair, which was constructed in that manner. Aside from bending the rear uprights and adding carved rungs to the large chairs, there has been little stylistic variation since he first began selling the chairs. He has converted several chairs into rocking chairs, but did so merely by adding rockers to otherwise identical chairs.

Construction of the chairs is as follows:

1. The trees are chopped down by one of Frank's sons who lives nearby, and who has some hardwood trees growing on his land. Cherry is preferred for reasons of appearance, but recently has been unavailable, so hickory, which Frank believes is stronger, has been used instead. Cherry and hickory are the only woods used. One season, twenty chairs were made from one large cherry tree. Frank splits the logs and using a hatchet he hews them into a roughly round shape in the approximate sizes required for the various parts of the chairs. The wood is aged in the house for a year; during the winter it is kept on top of the radiators.

2. When aged properly (proper aging is judged by elapsed time), the roughly hewn logs are shaped into the various pieces, first with a hatchet, then with a plane, a coarse rasp, a fine rasp, and sandpaper. A



*Tools. Left to right: (1) saw, (2) coarse and fine rasps, (3) knives, (4) chisels, and (5) hatchet and axe.*





*Steps in the final assembly of the chair.*



pocketknife is also used when appropriate. No lathe is used to form the round posts and rungs: Frank is afraid to use one.

The rear posts are made first, and then the slats. The slats are cut from the hand-hewn logs on a planer and a table-saw by Frank's son and given back to him in a rectangular shape of the proper thickness. Previously Frank had them cut at a local sawmill which will no longer do it for him. They are boiled for several hours and then put in the homemade press in order to bend them. After several hours they are removed from the press and shaped into their final form, using the hatchet, rasps, and knives. If the posts are to be bent they are also put in the press. Finials, called "ends" or "points" by Frank, are cut by hand, using a pocketknife, chisels, rasps, and sandpaper. The electric drill is used to make holes in the posts where the slats are to be attached; the holes are shaped by hand into slots, into which the rungs and slats are inserted, then hammered home. The back is then glued and clamped after a trial fitting to determine that nothing is crooked. Sometimes it is necessary to drill a hole to let excess glue escape from a slot.

3. The front pieces are then joined together in the same way as was the back. When completed and dry the front and back are joined by the side rungs, glued and clamped. All that remains is for the seat to be put on. It should be stated that Frank keeps most of the measurements involved in his head. He uses a metal ruler to measure when he feels that it is crucial, but many measurements are approximated by looking at an already completed chair.

4. In the summer Boccardo cuts the rush for the seats himself, wherever he is able to find it. In the past he has traveled to the northeastern section of Philadelphia to cut rush; he has also cut in much of Bucks County. Until recently, he supplied rush to a furniture store in Philadelphia, selling it by the pound, but in the last several years he has cut only enough for himself. Last year he cut six hundred pounds. When cutting, he is driven to the site by his son or grandson. He cuts with a sickle and brings a table and chair and eats his meals there for the day. With the help of his son or grandson he brings the rush home and spreads it on the lawn to dry. It takes a week for the rush to dry sufficiently so that it can be bundled. The bundles are then stood against the house for two or three nights in order for the dew to "cure" them (the sun, in drying the dew, bleaches the rush from its original green to white). "Curing them by the dew" is Frank's own invention. For the next month the bundled rush is left outside during the day and brought inside at night. When exposed to the sun the bundles must be turned several times a day in order to insure even drying.

Before the seat is made, the rush is brushed with water and allowed to stand overnight. The following



morning it is wrapped in a wet blanket to make it pliable. Only enough for one day's work is done.

To make the rope from which the seat is fashioned, several pieces of rush are twisted together and the weaving begins. Throughout the entire weaving process pieces of rush are continually being twisted into the rope. Over four hundred feet of rope is required; the process of making a seat takes eight hours, although Frank is unable to work for that period of time without resting. Boccardo tends to alternately work and sleep throughout the day and night. He is able to complete one seat in a twenty-four hour period. Weaving a seat is a complicated process and is very strenuous; he was unable to demonstrate since he only weaves in the summer. Much of this type of work is done by the blind in rehabilitation industries. Unlike Boccardo they do not make rope on the bottom of the seat; instead the bottoms are looser and not finished as well. "Now the people making chairs, they don't make rope on the bottom . . . just make a rope on top. You see that bottom is like the top. I make it on the bottom too. You can't build a house without building a foundation first. It's the bottom that holds the top." The seats are also stuffed with rush.

5. Both the wood and the rush are shellacked. Sometimes the wood is stained, if Frank thinks it is too light in color. The stain is mixed from powder and linseed oil, purchased at a hardware store; the shellac is also purchased.

It takes a total of eleven days to produce a single chair. Last year Frank Boccardo made thirteen chairs; he usually makes between ten and thirteen.

The chairs are comparatively expensive, at eighty-five dollars each for the large ones and forty-five dollars for the small ones, but in terms of the time spent on each chair they are not at all expensive. Most chairmakers are able to produce a minimum of several



*Finished chair frame ready for caning.*

chairs each day, but their chairs are turned on lathes and the seats are generally made of coarser material such as oak splits, which require much less time for weaving.<sup>9</sup> Some builders do not turn any of the parts; posts and rungs are squared. It is common, especially in the South, for chairs to be built from unseasoned wood which shrinks and results in extremely tight joints.<sup>10</sup>

Frank sells the chairs he builds. Until recently they were sold through word-of-mouth advertising, but two summers ago he began to work on the front porch during the summer. So many people, many of them merely passing through the area, saw him and were interested enough to stop that he sold every chair he



*Finishing touches on the chair post.*

<sup>9</sup>See Glassie, p. 234; Richard Krizman, "Manuel Vaquasewa, A Chair-Maker from Alamos, Sonora, Mexico," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, VIII, 233-246, in which seats are made of leather which is tacked onto the chair frame; and "An Old Chairmaker Shows How," *The Foxfire Book*, ed. Eliot Wigginton (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 136-137. Glassie includes a large bibliography of material concerned with traditional furniture and craftsmen.

<sup>10</sup>See Glassie, p. 234, and *The Foxfire Book*, pp. 136-137.



had built the previous winter, and he now has more orders than he can possibly fill. He has become something of a minor tourist attraction; a local newspaper printed a brief story about him last September and he has had several students from a nearby prestigious Quaker high school spend several days observing him. He is very amused, and somewhat proud of his success. He takes great pleasure in telling about automobiles from New York that skid past his porch, the driver having noticed him and applied the brakes too suddenly.

The people who buy the chairs seem to do so because not only are the chairs handsome pieces but they are handmade "by an old craftsman." In a sense the chairs are new antiques, and Frank is very much aware of this aspect of their appeal. Once his son made a seatpost for him on a lathe, but Frank thought it was too smooth, so he roughed it up a little with his handtools before using it. He says that he could make the chairs smoother, but that then they would not look handmade.

*Caning chairs, a process learned by Frank Boccardo in the old country.*



*Rushes, gathered by the chairmaker, awaiting the caning process.*

This seems to be as much a matter of aesthetics as of business sense.<sup>11</sup>

The usual conception of the "folk craftsman" is of a person living in an isolated rural community who builds a functional item which is a part of the cultural heritage of his, or her, community.<sup>12</sup> This is clearly not the case with Frank Boccardo. Also inappropriate is the common definition of folklore, dealing with it in terms of its being a way in which those aspects of culture deemed valuable by a community are passed from one generation to the next. Although Frank Boccardo has spent most of his life in Newtown and definitely plays several roles in the community (such as tourist attraction), he is not really a participating member of the community. Once a member of what probably could be safely termed a folk community, Frank Boccardo is sixty-four years and four thousand miles from that community and its heritage. The chairs he builds are largely a product of an age and a heritage which are not his own, although they are apparently related to precedents familiar to him. However, Frank Boccardo's work, and life, are products of a cultural, familial, and personal tradition of building things for one's own use, applied to a new cultural context. Frank Boccardo is an artist with his hands; his art is a result of a combination of traditions and ingenuity.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup>I personally have seen a chair which almost definitely was built by Frank Boccardo auctioned off as an antique in a local auction gallery.

<sup>12</sup>For a discussion of attitudes toward traditional furniture and its builders, as well as bibliographical material, see Michael Owen Jones, "The Study of Traditional Furniture: Review and Preview," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, VII, 233-246.



# Traditional Food on the Commercial Market: THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA SCRAPPLE

By SUSAN J. ELLIS

## PROBLEM AND METHODS:

From the very start of my research on scrapple, it became apparent that very little has been written about this Pennsylvania butchering delicacy. If mentioned in writing at all, it is simply described in terms of its ingredients and manner of preparation, but the complex of tradition surrounding scrapple and its commercial history can only be gleaned by reading between the lines.

I therefore used three methods of research: the standard library approach, the personal interview, and the written questionnaire. A copy of the questionnaire can be found at the end of this paper. As expected, the personal interviews proved most fruitful because I was able, through conversation, to learn much information and many anecdotes, customs and the like just by being friendly and showing my sincere interest. The questionnaire, by and large, gathered terse, though informative answers.

Besides the specific interviews and other methods listed, I made many trips to local supermarkets and several Farmers Markets. There I observed consumers purchasing scrapple and had several conversations in an informal way. I also read the labels of every scrapple package I could find, so that my discussion on ingredients would have a larger scope.

I was forced, for purposes of consistency, to choose one spelling of the country word for scrapple, *panhaas*. There is no agreement on the spelling of this word and I came across many versions: *panhaas*, *panhaus*, *ponhoss*, *ponhaws*, *pon-haus*, etc. All are attempts at capturing the pronunciation of the Pennsylvania German word in English print. Unless I am quoting a written source, I shall use the spelling "panhaas."

Though I certainly could have interviewed many more people, I soon found that I was perceiving definite patterns in the answers from my informants. Through these similarities and with the back-up of the written and government sources I found, I feel quite confident of the validity of the conclusions presented in this study.

This paper presents a commercial history of scrapple. But beyond that it is a study of the paths a traditional item may take, of the divisions it may develop, and of the historical and urbanizing forces that act upon it to mutate the tradition.

Scrapple, or *panhaas* as it is known in rural counties of Pennsylvania, is "a prime example of that thrifty

Dutch desire to waste nothing and want not." Ever famous for hearty and nourishing food, the Pennsylvania "Dutch" surpassed themselves in the variety of their butchered pork products:

Nobody has ever made more thorough use of the pig, not even the great meat packing houses . . . From the tiniest scraps of hog meat, unusable elsewhere, they made scrapple, one of their truly great contributions.<sup>2</sup>

To understand the popularity of scrapple, one must further recognize the importance of pork in the diet of the country family in Pennsylvania:

Salt pork was standard fare the year round; beef was secondary . . . There was sausage to make, lard to fry out, tallow to save. A truly amazing number of food products was made from hog meat—salt pork, bacon, ham, souse, scrapple, head-

<sup>1</sup>Bill Wolf, "Eat Hearty, It's Plenty," *Saturday Evening Post*, August 14, 1948, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup>Archie Robertson, Pennsylvania section, *The American Heritage Cookbook and Illustrated History of American Eating and Drinking* (New York: American Heritage, 1964), p. 168.





cheese, cracklings, spare-ribs, jowls, pickled pig's feet and many others. A goodly supply of beef was dried, corned or smoked, but the backbone of farm fare throughout the year was hog meat.<sup>3</sup>

To rural *panhaas* lovers, many of whom can still remember the old butchering methods, scrapple ingredients and manner of preparation are well known. The city scrapple consumer, however, is often unaware of exactly what he is eating—and the farther from Pennsylvania one goes, the less knowledge or even recognition of scrapple there is:

For the behoof of all who may be unacquainted with the nature of scrapple, it is . . . a composite creation contrived from diverse ingredients in sundry quantities. Into its mixture enter the boiled meat of an hog's head and liver (or beef liver), chopped and chopped into almost infinitesimal bits, abundance of powdered sage, salt and pepper . . . and both wheaten flour and corn meal; sometimes additional herbs and spices are included according to the taste and discretion of the maker.<sup>4</sup>

This general description of scrapple is quite accurate, especially in its acceptance of the "discretion of the maker" as an integral part of scrapple production. As one butcher<sup>5</sup> interviewed during the course of research

<sup>3</sup>Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg: Pa. Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), p. 403.

<sup>4</sup>"Several Anonymous Philadelphians," *Philadelphia Scrapple* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1956), p. v. ff.

for this study so aptly explained, traditional *panhaas* makers actually vary their recipe as to percentage of meat in each boiling pot, for each butchering session concludes with a differing amount of scrap meat. Retail butchers first sell all other pork cuts according to customer demand and cannot therefore always save the same amount of meat for the pudding pot. Each farmer, butcher and large manufacturer of scrapple has his own special "formula" of spices, and percentage and cuts of hog meat. Some add beef liver or kidneys, while others swear by an all-pork recipe. Variations also occur in which kind of flour is used: buckwheat, wholewheat, white all-purpose, or soybean—or any mixture of these.

Though the exact ingredients may vary, the process of making scrapple is universally agreed upon. After all other butchering is completed, those small pieces of meat not otherwise used are boiled in water until they separate from the bones. Head meat, livers and hearts are most often used, though many other parts of the pig such as snouts and skins can be added. It is from this use of "scrap" meat in the sense of something left over rather than of poor quality that the English term "scrapple" seems to have developed. The Dutch word *panhaas* means "pan rabbit" and no one

<sup>5</sup>Interview with Mr. Newton Bachman, former butcher of Berks County and still demonstrator at the Kutztown Folk Festival. Interviewed at the Festival, July 5, 1971.

Labels from wax-paper packaging of three varieties of commercial scrapple.

**Scrapple** **BROWN 'N SERVE**  
**More Parks' Scrapple, Mom!**



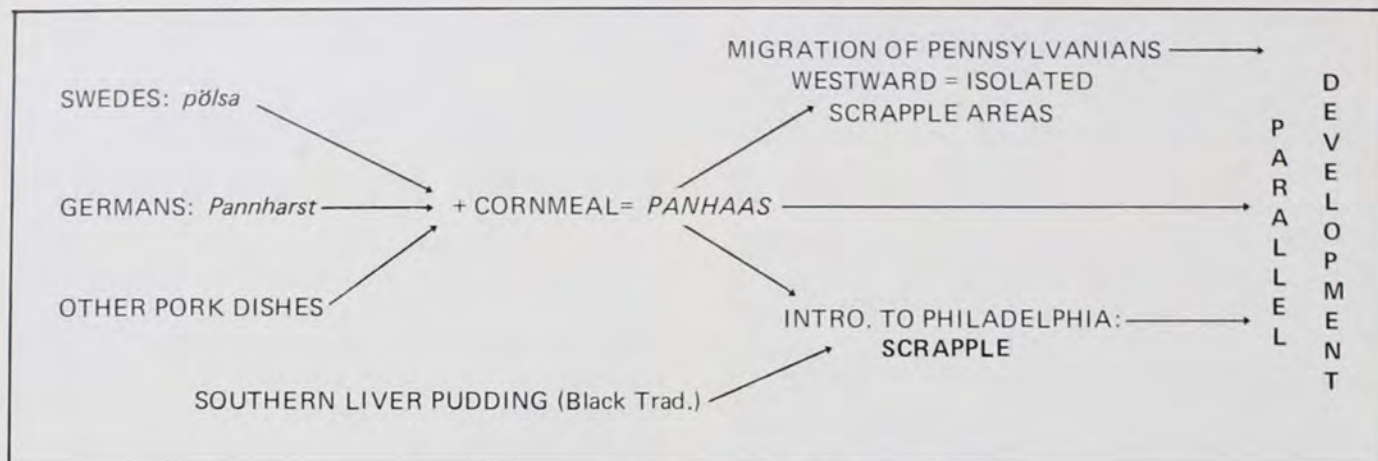


Chart showing suggested influences on Philadelphia Scrapple.

has been able to find a logical explanation for such a misnomer.

After boiling, the meat is cooled and then chopped and ground finely in a meat grinder. Spices are added and part of the mixture is separated to be made into liverwurst or liver pudding. The remainder is replaced into the pot of liquid and is seasoned even more. This "pudding," as it is known, is again brought to a boil and the flour and cornmeal added in succession slowly, with much stirring. When the mixture is thoroughly cooked and thickened it is poured into crocks or pans, immediately sealed and left to cool. When eaten, the scrapple is cut into slices about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick and fried well on both sides.

By definition, then, scrapple is the last product yielded during hog butchering. As a thrifty and delicious way of using up all of the pig, it has been prized since colonial times. Like all farmers, Pennsylvanians made their slaughtering days communal affairs. Neighbors went from farm to farm, sharing equipment, butchering hogs and beef to be used for the winter. In the days of no refrigeration, pork was never eaten during the summer months. There is even an old saying that scrapple is only prepared during months containing the letter "r" in their name.<sup>6</sup>

Some farmers were "frost butchers," starting their home slaughtering after the first frost of the year. Others routinely slaughtered their hogs in early December. As butchering occurred close to Christmas time, one custom that developed from the communal practice became an important part of the holiday season.<sup>7</sup> This was known as the "metzelsoup," "a gift package con-

taining some of the sausage, the pudding or the scrapple,"<sup>8</sup> that was given in thanks for the neighborly assistance at slaughtering. Those farmers with renowned scrapple recipes were most popular and never lacked for help. Furthermore:

As the butchers [went] from farm to farm throughout the early winter months, all of the neighbors [had] fresh pork every day and the favor [was] always returned with interest.<sup>10</sup>

The question of how and why this dish developed in Pennsylvania is not answered by a simple description of what scrapple is and how popular it was. The colonial history of Eastern Pennsylvania reveals that each of the nationalities that settled here brought a homeland pork dish similar to what emerged as scrapple—though the final product is definitely and distinctively native to this land.

Scrapple, . . . which is not a "Pennsylvania Dutch" discovery, as is so general supposed, . . . dates from the even earlier real Dutch and Swedish settlers . . .<sup>11</sup>

The Swedes, who came to Pennsylvania in 1638, brought with them what is still eaten in Sweden as *pölsa*, or "hash." This by-product of pork butchering was made much like scrapple, but without the corn meal and with a high liver content. It was and still is especially popular at Christmas time.<sup>12</sup> The *pölsa* can be prepared from leftovers of boiled or roast meat as well as from uncooked meat. The important ingredient is barley.<sup>13</sup> Fried hash, or *stek* *pölsa*, is most like Pennsylvania scrapple.

The Germans, historically skilled in the art of butchering, contributed to the ancestry of scrapple, too.

<sup>6</sup>Interview with Mrs. Evelyn Shober, owner of the Ephrata Market Basket. Interviewed at the Farm Museum, Landis Valley, Pa., June 17, 1971.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with Mr. Ed Habbersett, President, Habbersett Brothers. Interviewed at the Habbersett factory, June 11, 1971.

<sup>8</sup>For a complete discussion of the Metzelsoup practice at Christmastime, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania, A Folk-Cultural Study* (Kutztown, Pa.: Pa. Folklore Society, 1959), pp. 31-34.

<sup>9</sup>*Lancaster Sunday News*, December 18, 1932.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>Struthers Burt, *Philadelphia, Holy Experiment* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1945), p. 366.

<sup>12</sup>Interview with Mrs. Carmen Sandstrom-Smith of the American-Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia, July 16, 1971.

<sup>13</sup>J. Audrey Ellison (ed. & trans.), *The Great Scandinavian Cookbook* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1966), p. 348.



Though buckwheat was used almost exclusively in their homeland dish, the procedure of boiling the pork scraps and liver into a pudding-like substance was definitely analogous to scrapple-making. In fact, the rural name of *panhaas* had its roots in Germany where the word occurs in various forms: Pannhase, Pannash and Pannharst. (Harst is Low German for 'roast.')

Some believe that:

. . . scrapple was first prepared in the Rhine Pfalz section of Germany where it was called Pan-haas or Pawn-haus and in the beginning was made of . . . pork gravy, spices not being added till the early 19th century.<sup>15</sup>

Settling in Pennsylvania from 1683 onward, the Germans found the Dutch and the Swedes already eating their own tasty pork dishes. Sometime during the 17th Century the important transformation occurred: native corn meal was added to the recipes and scrapple emerged as a different dish unique to the colonists. In one sense, "scrapple was the wedding of German sausage-making skills to American Indian corn meal."<sup>16</sup> Thus a new tradition was created.

Growing from the late 17th Century, this *panhaas* tradition underwent a remarkable division in the mid-19th Century. This homemade country dish was brought to the city—to Philadelphia—where the complex of customs surrounding scrapple developed in a new way, tangentially to the continuing tradition on the farms.

Introduced mainly by farmers of neighboring counties who sold their produce in the thriving market centers of the city, and sought after by new city dwellers who still remembered the good taste of breakfast back on the farm, *panhaas* became a city dish. Known only by its English name "scrapple," as time went on it was increasingly often coupled with the adjective "Philadelphia"—especially if mentioned in other areas of the nation:

This breakfast food, which, wherever it is known at all, is described as "Philadelphia Scrapple," seems to have been introduced to the housewife in this city about the middle of the last century. Early cookery books do not mention it, for it seems to have been prepared by some of the farmers who brought their products to market in this city.<sup>17</sup>

One more tradition merged into the picture at this point: the Southern version of liver pudding or liver sausage, that later even came to be known as scrapple, too.<sup>18</sup> The growing number of black as well as white immigrants from the South, especially after the Civil

War, came to Philadelphia looking for food to remind them of home. Philadelphia scrapple was an instant success.

Pennsylvanians were on the move, too, following the American dream of Westward expansion. And wherever they went, scrapple went along. For this reason, isolated pockets of scrapple consumers can still be located. Other plain sects, such as the Shakers, who came in contact with the Plain folk of Pennsylvania also picked up the *panhaas* recipes and took them along when they left the area.

The Shakers . . . were not among the Pennsylvania Dutch, being of English origin and living chiefly in New York, New England, Kentucky, and Ohio, but they did at one time have a colony in Philadelphia, which probably accounts for the presence in their recipe books of such Pennsylvania Dutch foods as scrapple and apple butter.<sup>19</sup>

Of course one may wonder why, if former residents were carrying scrapple recipes across the United States, this dish never became nationally popular. There is no real answer to this puzzle, except to point out that very few dishes are so widespread as to be truly called "American." Every region of this vast land has some dish to call its own and that first-time visitors to that area re-"discover" on their own.

By the end of the 19th Century, then, the scrapple tradition had two parallel branches, each developing in its own way. Graphically, the situation was this:

The history of scrapple in the city has its origin in the changes that occurred on Northern farms during the latter part of the 19th Century. Rapid strides in industrialization after the end of the Civil War drew many to the cities in the hope of finding new jobs and fast wealth. Philadelphia was no exception to the urban boom and drew much of its new population from neighboring Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Lancaster and other farming counties. The rural areas, faced with decreasing numbers of young men, also made adjustments in their way of life. Communal butchering became increasingly difficult as less hands on the farm meant more time had to be devoted to farming and not to going from neighbor to neighbor for butchering. Besides, the size of the farm family was now smaller, and so not as great an amount of pork had to be laid by for the winter. If only one or two hogs needed butchering, communal help was hardly necessary any more.

The situation continued to change as more and more farmers felt that the work of butchering was no longer justifiable if so few hogs were to be slaughtered; yet the meat and scrapple had to be obtained from somewhere. And so demand arose for the "specialist"—the butcher who would slaughter the hogs and sell the products his consumers had always known and still

<sup>15</sup>Arthur Dundore Graeff, "Scholla," *Reading Times*, October 18, 1954.

<sup>16</sup>Ruth Branning Malloy, "The Day I Went to Habbersett's," *Greater Philadelphia Magazine*, December, 1964, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup>Lila Perl, *Red-Flannel Hash and Shoo-Fly Pie* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1965), p. 74.

<sup>18</sup>Joseph Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia*, (Harrisburg: Nat. Historical Association, 1933), IV, 1076.

<sup>19</sup>Perl, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>19</sup>Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 167.



wanted. Those farmers always renowned for their butchering gradually gave up their farms to devote their time to their new specialty, thereby satisfactorily serving the needs of their neighbors. This process was hardly unique to Pennsylvania, but here the farmers so selected were the ones with the tastiest scrapple recipes, too.

These country butchers maintained the old traditions and were valued for them by their customers. The commercial rise of scrapple in the city, however, led to increasing dissociation from the roots of the dish. In the course of this study, both individual country butchers and city manufacturers of scrapple were questioned. To demonstrate the differences between the two groups and within the latter group as well, and to provide a basis for a discussion of what has been happening to Philadelphia scrapple, six "case studies" follow. The first three are Lancaster area butchers, the second three are Philadelphia companies. They were selected because their different stories form a natural and evident pattern, and because they are all representative of many scrapple manufacturers.

The Martin family of Ephrata,<sup>20</sup> have been engaged in custom butchering since 1953, when they began

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Mr. John Martin, butcher, at Hollinger's Farm Market, Ephrata, Pa., June 17, 1971.

selling their pork wares and their homemade scrapple as part of their chicken business at the Reading Terminal Market in Philadelphia. The Martin family had been farmers for generations and the pork products that they sold were all from private family recipes developed long before the current generations became commercial. In 1956, aware of the scarcity of good butchers in their home town and tired of the long trips to the city each day, the Martins decided to give in to the demands of their neighbors to sell the old-fashioned pork products at home.

Rather than start their own store, the Martin men arranged to run the meat counter at Hollinger's Farm Market in Ephrata. The association has lasted to the present day. Though the market is modern in appearance, its customers are local townspeople and farming families who want pork and scrapple just the way they have always known them.

Mr. John Martin, second generation commercial butcher, speaks of expanding the family business to market their scrapple wholesale for delivery to city buyers. He feels that such an enterprise would have to be successful because, in his opinion, there is no "true" scrapple available in the city today. He is angry at government regulations passed and enforced by people who know nothing about farm butchers nor about the high quality of scrapple.

The Stoltzfus Meat Market<sup>21</sup> also grew from local consumer demand. Located in Intercourse on the site of the family farm, Amos Stoltzfus runs a retail store and restaurant in which he sells all sorts of pork products and a very popular scrapple. Mr. Stoltzfus is the second generation involved in commercial butchering, though his family did their own slaughtering for decades. All recipes are traditional, but Mr. Stoltzfus improved upon his father's method by installing a refrigeration system eight years ago. His customers are all area residents, mainly farmers, who also patronize his restaurant in which his own produce is served.

The pride in maintaining tradition that he learned from his father, Mr. Stoltzfus is now trying to instill in his own sons. He even hopes that someday they might write a book about butchering customs, thereby combining their family heritage with the education former generations of Stoltzfuses never had time to get.

The Shober family,<sup>22</sup> owners of the Ephrata Market Basket, do a thriving business in butchered products. They have been selling scrapple commercially for about twenty years. Their butcher, Pierce "Fats" Leshner, brought his own recipe for scrapple that he had not altered from the one handed down in his family for

<sup>21</sup>Interview with Mr. Amos Stoltzfus, owner, Stoltzfus Meat Market, Intercourse, Pa. Interviewed at the Market, June 17, 1971.

<sup>22</sup>Interview with Mrs. Shober previously cited, plus written questionnaire returned by mail, July 26, 1971.

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**Pork!      Pork!      Pork!**  
**FRESH KILLED      FRESH KILLED**  
 FFA Hogs . . . State College Tested!

<b>Spare Ribs</b>	Country Style	.....	Lb. <b>79c</b>
<b>Spare Ribs</b>	Regular	.....	Lb. <b>79c</b>
<b>Fresh Hams</b>	Whole	.....	Lb. <b>69c</b>
<b>Pork Shoulder Steaks</b>	Lean, Juicy	..	Lb. <b>89c</b>
<b>Country Sausage</b>	Garner's	.....	Lb. <b>89c</b>
<b>Italian Sausage</b>	Garner's	.....	Lb. <b>89c</b>
<b>Garner's Own Souse</b>		.....	Lb. <b>79c</b>
<b>Garner's Ponhaus</b>		.....	Lb. <b>39c</b>
<b>Garner's Own Pudding</b>		....	Lb. <b>69c</b>

**FRESH KILLED IN OUR OWN PLANT**  
*For the Finest In Quality Meats . . . It Has to Be Garner's*  
 Open Daily 7 A.M. to 6 P.M., Fri. 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. & Sat. 6 A.M. to 7 P.M.  
 1617 **Garner Meats** Phone 942-8416  
 3rd Ave. Altoona's Only Govt. Inspected Meat Plant

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*Upstate, scrapple is more often called by its Pennsylvania German name, "Panhaas". This advertisement, from the "Altoona Mirror" in 1971, places "Ponhaus" between two other rural specialties, "souse" and "pudding".*



generations. The customers of the Ephrata Market Basket are only local people who are not only devoted to the scrapple they can purchase there, but also to the old-fashioned concern and friendliness they can expect from Fats Leshner.

These three country butchers represent what is common in the counties surrounding Philadelphia. They are similar in development, all having responded to the desire of the local folk to have a source of butchered products prepared in the traditional way. All are producing scrapple according to time-tested recipes gotten from their own family past. John Martin, Amos Stoltzfus, and Pierce Leshner all remember being a part of a home butchering scene as a boy. Each feels that his work today is part of an ongoing tradition begun many years before by his own father and grandfather. Though they all enjoy the financial profits, they value the pride they can feel in their work through meeting the needs of their neighbors.

All of the butchers interviewed from rural areas most commonly used the term *panhaas* for their product, though they certainly were familiar with the English name scrapple. No one had ever heard of any other name for the dish. As expected, variations in the recipes occurred. Some favored the addition of beef liver, others preferred an all-pork recipe. Some used only salt and pepper to season their scrapple, while others defended the addition of such spices as coriander, marjoram, or sage. All used corn meal, of course, but differed as to buckwheat, whole wheat or white all-purpose flour.

Four types of scrapple manufacturers are presently supplying the Philadelphia market. First is the country butcher who still travels to the city to sell his products at such places as the Reading Terminal Market or the Lancaster County Farmers Market in Wayne. At such centralized markets city residents are able to purchase scrapple and other produce prepared in comparatively small quantities of high quality. Butchers interviewed at these markets have much the same story to tell as those located in the home rural areas.

The second type of city commercial scrapple supplier is best represented by Habbersett Brothers,<sup>23</sup> a small corporation with family roots that has become a leading scrapple merchant in the city. The third type is the company that has grown so large that its heritage is forgotten and scrapple has become only a minor part of the product line. The Bernard S. Pincus Company,<sup>24</sup> is representative of this kind. The final category is the nation-wide organization that has bought out a Philadelphia plant that produces scrapple. The new

<sup>23</sup>Interview with Mr. Ed Habbersett previously cited.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Miss Laurie Harrill, Public Relations representative of the Bernard S. Pincus Co., June 15, 1971.

<sup>25</sup>Phone conversation with Philadelphia plant and written questionnaire returned by Miss Ellen Edwards of the Consumer Services, Public Relations Division of Oscar Mayer and Company, Madison, Wisconsin.

owner continues to sell scrapple but is willing to discontinue production if the product does not sell outside of the Philadelphia area. Oscar Mayer and Company<sup>25</sup> is a good example of such a company.

The office windows of the Habbersett factory in Middleton still look out upon the family farm. Truly a family organization, all male members of the clan since 1840 have been involved in the commercial venture. Habbersett products proudly proclaim 1863 as the founding date of the company, but Mr. Ed Habbersett, current President, explains that this is only the date of incorporation and does not represent the twenty or more years previous to that time when the two founding brothers sold their butchered wares in a horse-drawn cart.

The company has attempted to keep the original recipe intact, but this poses some difficulties as time goes on. The process of refining flour and corn meal has changed, largely to improve their preservability. Though the modernization is welcomed, it represents uncontrollable changes in the scrapple recipe. Habbersett's has attempted to minimize the changes by dealing continuously with the same flour mills in the Media/Middleton area. In this way, the company is assured of the same quality flour and is always considered if the process of grinding is altered.

Habbersett customers are from the greater Philadelphia area since the company sells mainly to the supermarket chain stores. Because so many of the consumers have not been raised in a rural culture, Habbersett finds that they must be taught to prepare scrapple once they buy it. The packages of scrapple marketed by Habbersett and every other city supplier therefore have cooking directions printed on the wrapper. This is unknown in rural areas, where the *panhaas* is sent home in brown wrapping paper just like any other pork cut. The necessity of printing directions indicates just how far from tradition the city consumer is.

The Habbersett company does ship orders of scrapple anywhere upon request. Most orders come from former Philadelphia residents unwilling to give up their delicious breakfast food. The devotion of these isolated pockets of scrapple consumers is demonstrated by the poetic response of one Indiana resident to the rise in price of her mail order of scrapple:

The price of a pig  
Is very big,  
And the cost of scrapple is high,  
But no matter where the prices go  
We'll eat it till we die!

Mr. Habbersett and a company employee of forty-three years, Mr. L. F. Zebly, now Secretary-Treasurer, were able to trace their method of packaging scrapple back to the beginning. In 1863, scrapple was packed in stone crocks sealed with a layer of lard. This method was impractical, however, once consumer de-



mand began to grow and so the company began to produce scrapple in fifteen-pound tin pans that could be cooled in the spring house. These pans were delivered to local stores and the butcher would cut off whatever amount the housewife needed. He would wrap her individual portion in corn husks, which served to protect the scrapple and to keep in its flavor. This procedure continued through the early 1900's.

In late 1920, Habbersett Brothers experiment with a plain paper wrapper for individually-marketed portions. They worked in conjunction with the Paterson Parchment Company and a local printer who put the company name on each wrapper. It soon became apparent, however, that plain paper became spotted with grease from the scrapple and that some sort of waxed paper was needed. By 1935, the Paterson Company had first tried an extra sheet of waxed paper under the brown piece, then one sheet of paper coated with wax on the inside, and finally paper waxed on both sides. During 1930 the Habbersett company made one more change in their packages: they began to print their paper with an over-all leafy design in red so that if any moisture still came through the paper it would not be noticeable. Wax paper continued to improve throughout this century and proved quite satisfactory. But about one year ago Habbersett's began packaging its scrapple in cellophane which is the best yet for preservation and is economical as well.

Mr. Ed Habbersett, as the rightful representative of his company, speaks with pride about the consistently high quality of its scrapple and points out the demise of competitive firms who found that customers quickly recognize lowered standards sacrificed to bigger profits. Habbersett Brothers is truly the last remaining small company doing a large volume business in scrapple in the Philadelphia area.

In 1881, the Burk's Sausage Company began selling scrapple and other pork products in Philadelphia. As one commercial directory of 1886 put it:

Louis Burk, Manufacturer of Vienna Smoked Sausage, etc., . . . is a native of Philadelphia, and a practical and skillful exponent of his trade . . . The Sausage Works are run by steam power, and a competent force of experienced assistants is employed in the production of the famous Vienna Sausage, as well as bologna, country sausage, scrapple, etc., for which the house is widely noted. The trade is large, extending throughout the City, and the annual business reaches a considerable amount . . . His sterling business principles have won the general regard of commercial circles in which he is considered a leading representative of his line of trade.<sup>28</sup>

Though obviously successful in the 19th Century, the Burk's Company was taken over by Bernard S. Pincus

<sup>28</sup>Pennsylvania Historical Review, *City of Philadelphia, Leading Merchants and Manufacturers* (Phila: Historical Publishing Co., 1886), p. 213.

in 1916. The Pincus company produced a line of scrapple and other sausage products under the brand name of "Yankee Maid." The current Yankee Maid scrapple recipe is a combination of the one used by Burk's and Pincus. It is interesting to note that the Pincus com- its own recipe for scrapple, as did Burk's. Mr. Pincus pany, though a family affair, did not start out with traveled through Lancaster County in search of recipes from which he then derived his own. The Pincus plant also had many Pennsylvania German workers who helped in perfecting the product through their own experience.

Although the "Yankee Maid" line is now sold all over the eastern seaboard, scrapple is most heavily marketed in the Pennsylvania area, as far west as Harrisburg, and east from Philadelphia through New Jersey. In recent years the company has tried to introduce scrapple in more distant areas, but these attempts have failed by and large. The Pincus company also finds it necessary to include exact directions for preparation on the scrapple package and is concerned that many of its consumers undercook scrapple due to lack of understanding of how it should taste.

While the Pincus company was still only one store in 1916, scrapple was produced in ten-pound tin cans out of which individual portions were sold. Later aluminum replaced the tin, but paper was used to wrap the slices from the first. Once Yankee Maid appeared in area supermarkets, one, two, and five-pound portions were sold in paper wrappings. These were recently changed to a plastic casing something like a tray, covered with protective cellophane. The company feels that this new package is most successful because the scrapple is now totally visible to the buyer.

The Yankee Maid manufacturers have also found it difficult to adhere perfectly to the old recipe. Spices are produced by a finer grinding process today than was possible a century ago. To overcome this taste difference, the Pincus company buys the spices in whole form and grinds them at the factory. This scrapple is prepared with stone-ground corn meal and a mixture of rye-base and wheat flour.

While still in view of its family roots, the Bernard S. Pincus Company is most concerned with its future. Habbersett Brothers does its public relations work through its president; Yankee Maid is represented by a young and attractive public relations specialist. The officers of Yankee Maid are still from the Cooper family, related by marriage to the original Pincuses, and the plant superintendent is from the old Burk's corporation, but the prevailing tone of this company is not one of pride in heritage; very few people are even aware of the family tradition at the executive level. If scrapple sales continue to decrease in volume as is presently the case, the Pincus Company would have no qualms about closing out the line.



A company already contemplating cancellation of its scrapple production is the Oscar Mayer Company. Oscar Mayer was in the sausage business for many years before 1949 when it bought out the Vogt's company in Philadelphia. Vogt's had been manufacturing scrapple since the turn of the century but had found it expedient to lower their quality to such a point that its reputation was all but ruined. Just before being bought out, the plant began to package dog food, also, and thus finished its credibility with the public.

Oscar Mayer raised standards at the plant and consumers responded to the brand name of the new company already well known from the other sausage products. At that point the general offices of Oscar Mayer were located in Chicago and the company made no pretense at understanding the scrapple tradition of eastern Pennsylvania. Now located in Madison, Wisconsin, Oscar Mayer is still out of touch with the local culture—to the point of not even knowing the Dutch term of *panhaas* as an alternative name for its product.

*Historical etymology of the word "panhās," from Marcus Bachman Lambert, "A Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect" (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1924), pp. 117-118.*

**pannhās**[<sup>+</sup>], m, scrapple. There has been more surmise and discussion about the origin of this word than about that of any other word in the dialect. One popular explanation is that the early English settlers in and around Philadelphia made a dish resembling scrapple with the meat of rabbits as a basis, and that they called this dish pan-rabbit; that subsequently the German settlers substituted pork for rabbit in making the dish and by way of giving it a name made a literal translation of pan-rabbit into pannhās. The *New Standard Dictionary* alone of modern English dictionaries contains the word pan-rabbit, but it gives it as an equivalent for "panhas" and derives the English word from the German word. The late Dr. D. W. Nead in *The Pennsylvania German in the Settlement of Maryland*, p. 75 in Volume XXII Proc. Penna.-Ger. Soc., says: "In preparing the latter [*Leberwurst*] the liver and kidneys, with the tenderloin and some of the head-meat, was put into a large iron kettle and boiled until it was thoroughly cooked. It was then transferred to the block and chopped fine and stuffed into skins, like the sausage, or packed in crocks and sealed with a layer of fat. The water in which the meat had been boiled was used to prepare what was commonly called Pon-hoss (*Pfannhase*), that is, Pan-rabbit. A great many fantastic explanations have been given of the derivation of this term, but it is simply one of the humorous names similar to Welsh-rabbit, for a mixture made from cheese, or Leicestershire plover, for a bag-pudding. Pon-hoss was made by using the water in which the pudding-meat had been boiled for making a corn-meal-mush. This was put into pans to harden and was then cut into thin slices and fried. Sometimes a mixture of corn-meal and wheat flour, or buckwheat flour was used. A somewhat similar mixture is made now-

Questions about scrapple are answered by an employee of the "Consumer's Services Division" of the Oscar Mayer Company, who writes that the greatest demand for scrapple "continues from Pennsylvania and the surrounding eastern seaboard region, however, with the increasing mobility of our population, the demand for scrapple on the west coast has increased tremendously over the last five years."<sup>27</sup> Whether or not this is indeed a new development remains to be proven and seems to be a result of the Oscar Mayer advertising campaign to spread consumption of scrapple to new areas. The Parks Sausage Company, located in Baltimore, has also recently intensified its advertising of scrapple in the Washington, D.C., and Maryland region. Both of these major companies are stressing the taste of scrapple, its economy and its nourishing contribution to a winter breakfast, without any real mention of its traditional place in the foodways of Pennsylvania.

It is not the purpose of this study to pass judgement on the practices or relative merits of urban scrapple

<sup>27</sup>Oscar Mayer questionnaire previously cited.

adays in the larger cities, particularly Philadelphia, and is known as scrapple, but it is not the pon-hoss of the early Germans." He adds in a footnote a quotation from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* of January 16, 1913: "A University of Pennsylvania professor, whose home is in Vienna, tells me that nowhere on the continent of Europe did he ever eat anything like scrapple. He is quite certain that it is of American origin. Nor can he, excellent scholar in five languages as he is, and whose mother tongue is German, explain just whence the name ponhaus."

The early Pennsylvania-Germans undoubtedly originated the dish pannhās. The urge back of the invention was the desire not to waste the nutriment contained in the liquor in which the meat had been boiled. As a liquid it could not be used, so the natural thing to do was to thicken it with flour. But in the early day the only flour available was corn-meal, hence that was used. When better milling processes came, buckwheat flour was obtained and that was used. At the present time the proportion of buckwheat flour used in making scrapple is much larger than the proportion of corn-meal. The dish is not known in German cookery. But, although the early Pennsylvania-Germans originated the dish, they did not originate the name. They brought that with them from Germany. Professor Gustav Herbig, of Munich, Germany, a native of the Palatinate, informs me that "pānhās" is a Rhenish-Palatinate word in use today for any substitute (*Ersatz*), frequently consisting of scraps or leftovers chopped fine, prepared in a pan like roast hare. The usual term for such a dish is "falscher Hase." In Düsseldorf the term "pānhās" is used for "Buchweizen in Schinkenbrühe gekocht." Synonyms for the word, evidently humorous, are "gebratene Katze" and (in Pirmasens) "Dachhase" (=Katze).



manufacturers. However, the results of the survey seem to indicate that the closer a company is to understanding the scrapple tradition, the more concerned it is with selling a high quality product. All the companies use unimpeachably highgrade hogs, but even a cursory examination of the ingredients on each scrapple package shows which companies are aiming at profits above all else. There is quite a difference between scrapple made from pork head meat, livers and hearts in large percentage and that made from mainly pig lips, skins, snouts, etc.—even if these meat pieces are allowed by the government. There is also a qualitative difference between the use of wheat flour or a flour derived from soybeans. The more removed from the tradition a company is, the more likely it is to interpret “scraps” as *anything* left over, rather than choice small pieces of meat.

The popularity of scrapple in the city has become divorced from its farm origins. It is doubtful if many urban scrapple consumers are even aware of the tradition of this food, let alone feeling a sense of historical continuity with it. This lack of personal attachment to scrapple allows corporations to market scrapple most rural inhabitants would find unsatisfactory. The proof of this lies in the comments made by residents and butchers who know what good country scrapple is, about the city version of it. Almost without exception those interviewed disdained the scrapple available in the city and highly defended the kind sold at the neighborhood market. Those city residents recently removed from the farm generally buy scrapple only from farmers at the central markets and prefer, albeit sadly, to go without scrapple if necessary rather than to purchase what is sold at the supermarket.

In all fairness to the city product, the consumers raised on “Philadelphia scrapple” enjoy their dish, too. Most have never tasted country *panhaas* and are often disappointed when they do because the taste is different and one usually prefers what one is accustomed to eating.

The near rivalry of the two scrapple traditions is further illustrated by the debate over the names scrapple and *panhaas*. Most country folk feel that *panhaas* is only the Pennsylvania German word for scrapple—or rather, that scrapple is the anglicized version of the established Dutch word. They therefore see no difference between the two products—the distinction is semantic, not qualitative.

Though all evidence supports the fact that both words refer to the same dish, the controversy continues due to regulations of the United States Department of Agriculture, which defines scrapple and *panhaas* as two separate pork products, differentiated by the percentage of meat in each. The government stipulates that:

Scrapple shall contain not less than 40 percent of meat and/or meat byproducts computed on the basis of the fresh weight, exclusive of bone. The meal or flour used may be derived from grain and/or soya beans.<sup>28</sup>

*Panhaas*, however, is supposed to contain less than 40 percent meat. This means that, according to the government, the name chosen must be assigned because of the ingredients. Another complicating factor is that some people believe just the opposite definition—that is, that *panhaas* is richer in meat than scrapple. This misconception seems to have arisen from urban writers who tend to glorify country products for their supposed wholesomeness. Therefore one author describes *panhaas* as “a kind of richer scrapple made from country ‘butchering’ . . .”<sup>29</sup>

To debate scrapple in terms of its ingredients is to disregard totally the very nature of the product. If it is to be prepared from the “scraps” left after butchering, how can the exact same amount of meat be saved each time for the pudding pot? Certainly the large corporate scrapple manufacturers can control their production and such regulations were probably instituted with the good intention of protecting the consumer from a low quality product. But the government officials are obviously quite removed from the *panhaas* tradition if they think paper laws can create two distinct products from one product with two names.

The development of the urban scrapple market during this century is very closely tied to the economic history of Philadelphia. Scrapple was economical and filling. When money was scarce, a nourishing, inexpensive breakfast permitted tightening of belts the rest of the day. As each wave of new immigrants in the early 1900’s came to the city, a new group started on the bottom of the economic ladder. Such newcomers, of course, knew very little about the foodways of the Pennsylvania Germans but welcomed the scrapple they found in the city for its low cost. As conditions improved for the new citizens, they began to leave behind reminders of their poorer days, such as scrapple. By then there was already another group of newcomers in financial straits.

Since the major cycles of immigration influx have now subsided, the present consumers of Philadelphia scrapple are those still poor, a large majority of which are black Americans. Blacks, many of whom came North with a heritage of Southern liver pudding, early found scrapple to their liking. Other pork products such as chittlings and pig’s feet are still favorites in the “soul food” diet, and scrapple is naturally included. Another factor was that many Philadelphia blacks were

<sup>28</sup>U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Regulations Governing the Meat Inspection of the United States Department of Agriculture*, p. 85.

<sup>29</sup>Paul B. Beers, *The Pennsylvania Sampler* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1970), p. 36.



farmhands in the rural counties of the state and so were introduced to the breakfast dishes of the farm families.<sup>30</sup> When the farms changed and these hands moved to the city, they continued to eat what they were raised on: scrapple.

The thriftiness of scrapple was further emphasized during World War II when scrapple could be bought without food stamps. The federal government felt that there was insufficient meat in scrapple to warrant placing a quota on its consumption. This upsurge in scrapple buying created far-reaching changes within the industry, because for the first time there was a demand for the product even during the summer months. It was now possible to eat economical pork products all year round because the rapid advances in home refrigeration allowed preservation without fear. Once the trend of purchasing pork and scrapple all year round began it never reversed. Though scrapple is still a cold-weather food, some manufacturers are producing it twelve months of the year now, instead of the traditional nine.

Since scrapple in the city has been so closely connected with consumers of low economic status, its present reputation is one of "a poor man's food." In the country, *panhaas* is certainly considered thrifty, but is more valued for its taste and its nourishing contribution to a winter breakfast. There is no stigma attached to the purchase and eating of scrapple; if anything, the desire to buy the best tasting scrapple is still very obvious.

This cuisine is completely without class consciousness. What is good—and not what is novel, fashionable, or easy to fix—determines what the Pennsylvania Dutch eat and serve to their guests.<sup>31</sup>

The case is quite different in Philadelphia. Scrapple's association with hard times, little money, and the concept of "scraps" as unwanted left-overs rather than wholesome meat, make it a product unacceptable to many families of better means. Certainly, if a city resident enjoys the taste of scrapple he will purchase it regardless of others' connotations of it. But more often, once a family feels itself removed from the lower income brackets, the housewife no longer buys scrapple, preferring such heretofore financially difficult products as bacon and breakfast sausage.

Besides scrapple's unfortunate connections in the city to times of poverty, the semantic problem of the name "scrapple" has been another factor in its diminishing popularity. Only country folk seem to be able to recognize that thrifty use of a high-grade pig is a good thing and that "scraps" is not a nice way of saying "garbage." In the city, distrust of the ingredients in the product—and distaste at reading the label on the

package without any understanding of butchering—caused scrapple to accrue the reputation of a poor-quality dish. In all fairness, some urban scrapple firms did not deserve the housewife's confidence as they began to add every conceivable part of the pig to the pudding and cut corners in scrapple production to gain more profit. By today, the combination of incorrect connotations of the name plus unfortunate realities in some marketed scrapple ingredients has effectively decreased the volume of scrapple sales.

It would seem that scrapple manufacturers, aware of such pejorative connotations to their product, would consciously advertise their scrapple to increase sales. This has not been the case, however.

Habbersett Brothers, the company closest to its family ties, refused to advertise in the past. The founding generations and even the living family patriarch (now semi-retired) felt that a good product sells itself. They hardly envisioned the changes that would occur in their urban market. The current president, however, realistically admits that the time has come to be more concerned with public relations. He has therefore begun discussions, with an advertising firm and the consumer will probably become aware of Habbersett scrapple ads in the near future. Mr. Habbersett firmly stresses that his advertising will emphasize quality of product and adherence to traditional methods.

Such large companies as Yankee Maid, Oscar Mayer and Parks include scrapple in their general advertising of their entire line of pork products. The emphasis is on how good everything tastes rather than on any specific qualities or on the historical authenticity of the scrapple. When these companies attempt to introduce scrapple to other geographic regions, they rarely mention its Pennsylvania origin and even imply that it is some sort of new dish. This is rather surprising in light of the success the words "Pennsylvania Dutch" have had on other product labels.

This approach may explain why the scrapple market has not expanded beyond this area. The product is not commercially important enough to warrant a major ad campaign and most consumers are unwilling to try a breakfast food that they do not know how to prepare and that their neighbors are not eating, too. Also, the modern trend is away from the old-fashioned hearty breakfast. As fewer and fewer workers require physical activity for their jobs, the desire for something as filling as scrapple in the morning is fast and understandably disappearing.

And so the scrapple market is decreasing even in Philadelphia, though the proposed future ad campaigns may yet cause a revival. In the country, however, the *panhaas* tradition continues to flourish—and probably will do so until the Pennsylvania Germans lose their keen interest in hearty food. That day, hopefully, will be a long time coming.

<sup>30</sup>Interview with Mr. Sylvester Coleman, former farm hand on Quaker farm, now city resident, August 7, 1971.

<sup>31</sup>Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 161.



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MASK THE  
WONDERFUL  
AROMA &  
FLAVOR OF



# Habbersett

SAUSAGE & SCRAPPLE & BACON

SAVE DAYLIGHT TIME NEXT SUNDAY  
SAVE WITH SCRAPPLE DINNERS EVERY DAY!



*Advertisement for  
Habbersett's Scrapple  
from Philadelphia  
newspaper, 1972.*

## CONCLUSIONS

Through library research, personal interviews, and written questionnaires, this study has attempted to reveal just what scrapple, or *panhaas*, is, how it developed in this region alone, and what forces were active in its commercial rise.

*Panhaas* is definitely a native product. Its ancestry can be traced to many European pork dishes brought here by the very early settlers, but it was the important addition of Indian corn meal as a thickener that unified the various strands and produced *panhaas*. All evidence points to the fact that *panhaas* is still eaten in the rural areas of Pennsylvania today much the same as it has always been eaten. The only differences are the presence of refrigeration and the absence of home slaughtering. Historical changes on the farm led to the rise of specialized butchers whose commercial scrapple is prepared in the same way it had always been prepared on the individual farm.

Immensely popular in the country for almost two centuries, scrapple was not really introduced to the city of Philadelphia until the mid-19th Century. Since that time, scrapple's development in the urban setting can be described as "mutated tradition." As the years went by, fewer and fewer city residents were aware of the dish's farm origins or felt any personal connection

with the dish. The city grew and immigrants arrived in great numbers and scrapple was accepted as a *city* product while the country tradition was forgotten by all except those dedicated few who still bought their scrapple at the Farmers' Markets. Called "Philadelphia" scrapple by all, manufacturers found it necessary to print directions for cooking on package labels because so few knew by experience how to serve the dish.

The commercial history of urban scrapple became so closely tied to the economics of the city that the dish gained the reputation of "poor man's food." This, plus the connotations assigned to the name "scrapple," has hurt the scrapple market of today. The black consumer, however, is still buying scrapple as part of the "soul food" diet now so much in favor.

As a general observation, the farther away from its family, or farm roots a city scrapple manufacturer is, the more likely it is to emphasize profit and an "anything goes" approach to ingredients than to emphasize maintaining a food heritage.

Except for isolated pockets, scrapple has not spread far from the Pennsylvania region. Several factors may have contributed to this situation. Since scrapple was not introduced into the city until comparatively late, the slow process of travelers and other visitors dis-



covering the dish and carrying it away to other areas could only begin to develop in the early part of this century. It is true that some famous people such as George Washington and others associated with Philadelphia as the capital of the young republic extolled the virtues of the country cooking such as scrapple, but the effect of such proclamations was minimal. The lack of advertising until currently also affected the possible spread of scrapple—people will not try what they have never heard of. Add the existing situation to the fact that very few food products have become nationally famous, while each region has some distinctive cuisine, and one can begin to understand why scrapple remains a Pennsylvanian delicacy.

This study also concludes that *panhaas* and scrapple are one and the same product with two different names. By definition, scrapple cannot have a consistent recipe and the whim of the maker is an important consideration. Therefore, one must examine the process of

preparation and the basic ingredients to see if the pork dish sold is indeed scrapple. Using these criteria, Philadelphia scrapple is *panhaas*, and vice versa, regardless of superimposed government regulations. It is impossible to give a value judgement on whether the dish served in the country is better or worse than that served in the city. Suffice it to say that the consumers of each prefer their own kind, proving that people like what they have gotten used to.

The *panhaas* tradition is still going strong but the urban scrapple market is sagging. Besides scrapple's reputation in the city, the changing breakfast habits of the nation are taking their toll on the hearty breakfast food. But those who love their scrapple will continue to defend it, and to eat it any time of day. Though city scrapple is no longer connected with any on-going tradition as is its country twin, it has made its contribution to the culture of the city and has satisfied many a hungry city appetite along the way.

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# The Pennsylvania Dutch CARRIAGE TRADE

By WALN K. BROWN

The invention of the wheel is probably the greatest single contribution to mankind. As early as 3500 B.C. wheels were used in Sumer.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that the wheel originated in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, although its invention is credited to the Elamites whose sculptures are the earliest to portray it.<sup>2</sup> The earliest form of wheel was made of a single solid material, and was therefore quite heavy and clumsy. Due to the clumsy nature of the early solid form, the wheel was modified to a lighter and more maneuverable spoked form. These spoked wheels are first represented

<sup>1</sup>Charles Singer, et al., editors, *A History of Technology*, Vol. I, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 211.

<sup>2</sup>Edwin Tunis, *Wheels: A Pictorial History* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1955), p. 9.



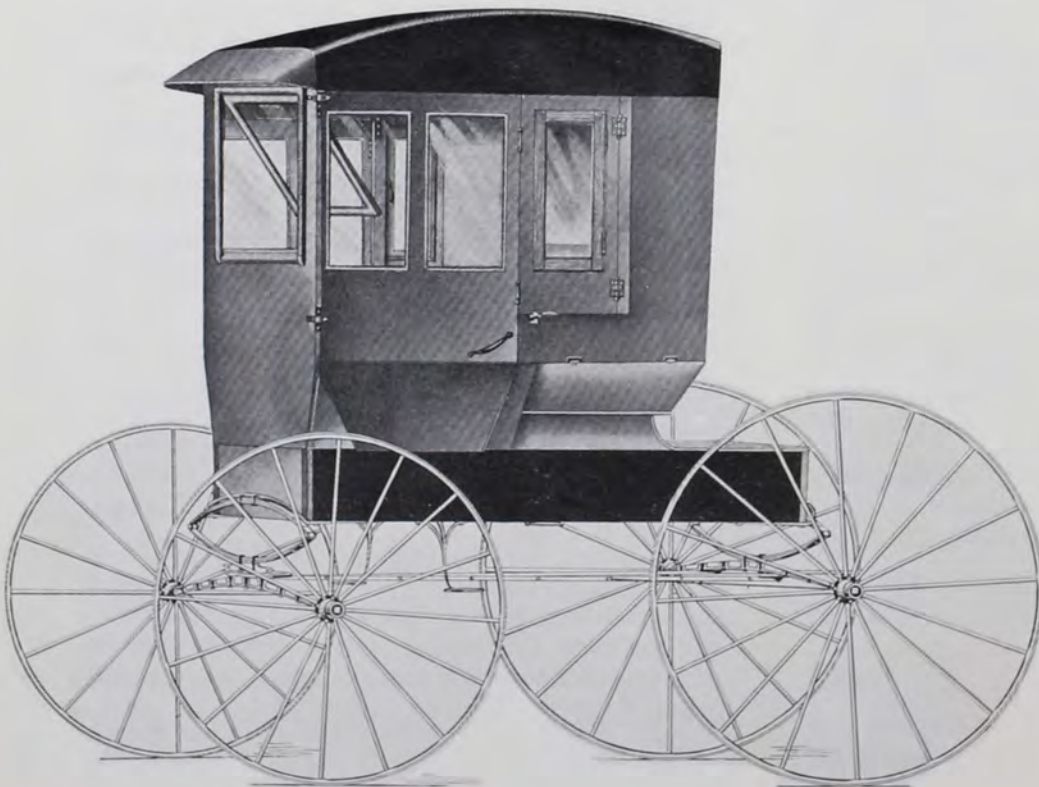
Wenger's Carriage Works, Paradise, Pennsylvania. Postcard view circa 1900.

in the archaeological record just after 2000 B.C., in Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup>

The invention of the wheel was a great boon to mankind. With it man could transport his family and belongings from one place to another with relative ease as compared to former transportation practices.<sup>4</sup> Through the centuries the wheel was continually adapted and modified to aid man in his never ending search for self-improvement, and desire to make his life easier

<sup>3</sup>Singer, pp. 211-212.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 705. Although various beasts of burden have been used throughout the centuries, it is noted that "man's oldest beast of burden was woman—on the more or less justifiable plea that the male had to be unencumbered to protect his family."



Storm-Proof Buggy, Model of 1911, from Catalogue of Parry Manufacturing Company, Indianapolis. Inset shows construction of coach.



and less arduous. Through the use of the wheel he was able to traverse large distances with greater ease, relying less on his own strength and more on the strength of animals. Dogs, horses, oxen, and other animals were used to pull wheeled objects, containing man and his possessions, from place to place. Man's world grew larger as his circle of influence grew wider through the exploitation of wheeled vehicles. He was no longer bound to the area of land he could travel by foot, but rather could discover and conquer lands far outside the former area by employing animal-powered wheeled vehicles. Further, similar animal-powered vehicles could be used to cultivate the soil, and for various other helpful enterprises, which formerly had been done by manpower. The wheel greatly aided man in his utilitarian functions, and greatly aided in his knowledge of the surrounding environment.

Over centuries of diffusion the use of wheeled vehicles spread throughout the world. With the spread and constant use came many improvements along with various adaptations.<sup>5</sup> The wheeled vehicles were recognized as having more than a direct utilitarian use, and could also be used for other purposes. Chariots and other forms were used as speedy means of traversing distances (also as effective warring vehicles) and were thus used to facilitate long and speedy journeys. Comfort soon became a basis of consideration for travel. Until the beginning of the 17th Century in England, litters were the primary mode of transportation used by the higher classes. It was during this period that a sort of chariot was invented for the transportation of ladies. These chariot-like vehicles were termed "chares," and seem to be the earliest form of pleasure-carriage used in England, being the prototype of closed carriages.<sup>6</sup>

With the colonization of America, wheeled vehicles were introduced to aid in transportation and for the cultivation of the soil. However, in the early 17th Century no carriages of any note were made in America, and very few were used.<sup>7</sup> Those carriages which were used, were mainly those of wealthy English living in the New England area, primarily Boston.<sup>8</sup> It is noted that in 1697 an innkeeper named John Clapp, located at the Bowery, New York, kept a hackney coach for the accommodation of the public.<sup>9</sup> However, it appears that the first private coach in New York was owned by a Lady Murray, in 1745.<sup>10</sup> By the year 1786

<sup>5</sup>For information concerning the evolution of wheeled vehicles, see Ezra M. Stratton, *The World On Wheels* (New York: Published by the author, 1878). For information concerning the use of wheeled vehicles in Europe, see Gosta Berg, *Sledges and Wheeled Vehicles* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1935).

<sup>6</sup>Stratton, p. 258.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>G. A. Thrupp, *The History of Coaches* (Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing Co., 1969), p. 124.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

✠ J. C. CONDO, ✠

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*Two advertisements by carriage builders from Centre  
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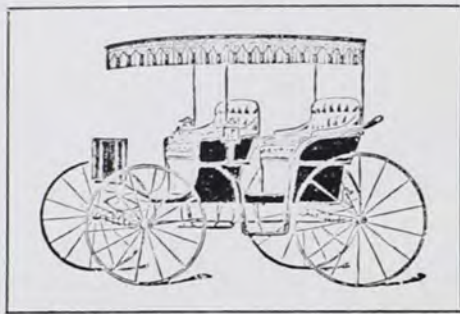
BINDER TWINE AND ALL REPAIRS.

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KUTZTOWN, PA.

Allentown and Reading Trolley Cars Pass the Door.

*In the pre-automobile days the Dutch Country was full of small local carriage factories. This advertisement is from the R.F.D. Directory of Berks County, 1908.*

there were three coachmaker's factories in New York, and three years later six more factories were opened, while five livery yards had begun to keep hackney coaches. By 1790 there were eight coach-builders in Philadelphia, but it appears that their vehicles were a sort of wheel chair resting upon wooden springs.<sup>11</sup> In 1805 the English chariot was copied in America, but it was found cheaper to order these carriages from Europe, because of the high price of material, and the excessive cost of wages.<sup>12</sup>

The scarcity of traveling vehicles in Philadelphia is noted in *The Register of Pennsylvania* where the writer tells how James Reed, esq., "an aged gentle-

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 125.

man who died in the fever of 1793," remarked that he could remember when there were only eight four-wheel carriages kept in the province.<sup>13</sup> However, in the same publication the rapid progress of this article of luxury is shown by the list of duties on pleasure carriages in 1794, which included 33 coaches, 137 carriages, 35 chariots, 22 phaetons, 80 light wagons, and 520 chairs and sulkies.<sup>14</sup>

The carriage trade was constantly flourishing and improving.<sup>15</sup> *The Register of Pennsylvania* notes that a form of brake was invented in Pennsylvania for carriages:

Mr. Enoch Walker, of Pennsylvania, has applied for a patent for a mode of stopping carriages, suddenly and safely, when descending steep hills, or checking their descent when too rapid.<sup>16</sup>

By the beginning of the 19th Century the American carriage trade was in full swing. Carriage works were flourishing in the Eastern United States, supplying the public with various carriage forms. This growing and lucrative carriage trade can be attested to by the publication of two practical journals dedicated to those interested in carriage building: *The Hub*, published in New York, and *The Carriage Monthly*, published in Philadelphia.<sup>17</sup> These two journals catered solely to the carriage trade, and the various companies which supplied carriage parts and tools. Within the pages of these two journals are to be found various types of carriages, lists of various carriage-makers located throughout the country, lists of suppliers of carriage implements, vast amounts of advertising related to tools and supplies used in the carriage trade, along with helpful hints on how to improve work or save time in making or repairing carriages.<sup>18</sup>

During this period, and before the turn of the century, there were nearly 700 members who held membership in the Carriage Builder's National Association, while it is noted that this number did not include many small firms or retailers.<sup>19</sup> With such a large number of active carriage-makers there came great improvements in carriage types. Lightness, speed, and comfort replaced the older heavier forms of carriages. As one source notes:

<sup>13</sup>Samuel Hazard, ed., *The Register of Pennsylvania*, IV (July, 1830 to January, 1831), pp. 156-157.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>15</sup>For a comprehensive study of the history of carriages and the carriage trade in America, see Henry W. Meyer, *Memories of the Buggy Days* (Cincinnati: Brinker Printing Co., 1965).

<sup>16</sup>Hazard, p. 175.

<sup>17</sup>*The Hub* (New York: Trade News Publishing Co. of N.Y., 1859-?).

<sup>18</sup>*The Carriage Monthly* (Philadelphia: Ware Bros., Publishers, 1866-1893).

<sup>19</sup>*The Carriage Monthly* paid particular attention to supplying articles concerned with new carriage making methods. Each publication had at least one good and comprehensive article concerned with new improvements in the trade.

<sup>20</sup>Jack D. Rittenhouse, *American Horse-Drawn Vehicles* (Los Angeles: The Dillon Lithograph Company, 1948), Introduction.



# ALBERT F. HEIN

Manufacturer of

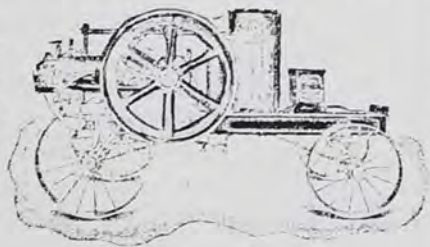
## Carriages, Wagons and Coaches

Of All Descriptions

LENHARTSVILLE, PA.

## Badger Gas and Gasoline Engines

uilt Vertical, Horizontal, Stationery and portable, also mounted on skids or hand truck. Copper and Tank boled.



## Automobile Repairing

Supplies Constantly  
on Hand



*This advertisement shows the transition from horse-drawn transportation to the gasoline engine and automobile. In the early 1900's some wagon-builders became auto mechanics. From the R.F.D. Directory of Berks County, 1908.*

Light, easy-running, one-horse, spring market-wagons, with oil-cloth tops, drawn by active, well-fed trotting horses, have now taken the place of heavy, white-covered, four-horse wagons that used to come to market once and twice a year in the olden time.<sup>20</sup>

It was during this period that the Studebaker Company was credited with producing "a wagon every five minutes of the working day," and an Indianapolis firm produced over 7,000 sleighs in a single season.<sup>21</sup> Mass production seemed to have reached surprising levels of output, when compared to production only half a century previous. Carriage firms began advertising their products, offering different models for different needs, and of course at different prices, depending upon the style of carriage ordered.<sup>22</sup>

At the peak of the American carriage trade there came the invention of the automobile, which was soon

<sup>20</sup>Franklin Ellis, and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1883), p. 352.

<sup>21</sup>Rittenhouse, Introduction. For pictures concerning two carriage forms manufactured by the Studebaker Company, see, Ralph Straus, *Carriages & Coaches: Their History & Their Evolution* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1912), illustration page between pages 274-275.

<sup>22</sup>For information concerning types and cost of carriages offered by one specific company during this period, see James A Birch, *The Celebrated Birch Carriages and Harnesses* (Burlington, New Jersey: No publisher given, 1907), pp. 11-80.

to displace the carriage as a means of transportation. At the turn of the century electric automobiles were in operation on New York streets, soon to be followed by steam and then gas-propelled vehicles. Yet, for a few years the carriages were still to predominate. Although here were no basic design changes in the carriages after 1900, their reliability as a means of transportation was more substantial than the newly introduced automobile. The popularity of the carriage as a means of transportation continued until after the gasoline shortage caused by World War I. It was after the war that the automobile companies began to flourish, producing their vehicles at steady rates, and selling them to the public as the new and modern means of transportation. With the introduction of Henry Ford's Model "A" in 1928, this low-priced but sturdy automobile offered the opportunity for people of lesser financial means to own the new form of transportation.<sup>23</sup>

The automobile's popularity and proliferation announced the decline of the American carriage trade. The automobile brought a new and exciting means of transportation to the American public. Slowly the carriage companies phased out, or attempted to enter the automobile trade, as was the case of the Studebaker Company. Liveries, blacksmiths, etc., found the automobile trade more lucrative and more substantial, turning away from carriage-related enterprises to the flourishing automobile trade. Carriage owners found the automobile more attractive and less dangerous a means of transportation on roads beginning to be cluttered with the faster moving cars. With ever-mounting enthusiasm the automobile replaced the horse-drawn carriages, and as the years slipped by, the carriages diminished from America's highways.

Today the horse-drawn carriage is a rare sight to behold, and the carriage-maker an almost non-existent entity. This does not mean, however, that carriages or the carriage trade are extinct. One the contrary, there are still isolated pockets where horse-drawn carriages ply the roadways, and shops where carriage craftsmen still pursue the vocation of carriage-making. We are in this article interested in one such area, where the carriage trade still exists, catering to the needs of one specific group of people who rely upon horse-drawn vehicles as their major means of transportation. This group is the conservative sectarian minority of the Pennsylvania Dutch, composed of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite faiths, located in the Lancaster County area of Southeastern Pennsylvania.

For these Pennsylvania Dutch sectarians, the custom of using the horse-drawn carriage is an old one, a

<sup>23</sup>Tunis, see especially pages 87-94 for information concerning the introduction of the automobile to American society.



custom which is very stringently adhered to by the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite sects. The reason for the use of the carriage, as the means of transportation, is the feeling that "the old is the best,"<sup>24</sup> that since this was the mode of transportation used years ago, the carriage should be the means of travel employed today. Further, it is realized that if the automobile was adopted as the means of transportation, it would open the flood gates of social change within the community, as well as function as an inducement for moving away from the close-knit community life fostered by the lack of long-range mobility inherent in carriage travel.<sup>25</sup> Thus, although there is no restriction on train, trolley, or bus travel, possession of an automobile is prohibited, and a person owning one may be excommunicated unless he sells it.<sup>26</sup> The use of horse-drawn vehicles as the principal means of transportation restricts the social life of the Pennsylvania Dutch sects to their general community. Therefore, both family and community interaction are kept at an optimum, while reducing exposure to the outside world to a minimum. In this manner "worldly" temptations are avoided, due to the lack of exposure, and the traditional life is kept intact. One source notes how an Old Order Amishman had joined the Church Amish sect, which allows the use of automobiles, and due to the new range of travel possibilities was able to increase his sphere of influence to encompass approximately four times the previous area covered by horse-drawn vehicles. Although his physical mobility was increased four-fold, it is interesting to note that his contact with family members decreased.<sup>27</sup> Thus, we can readily see why the Old Order sects are hesitant to allow the use of automobiles by their members.

Several conservative sects allow their members to own automobiles. Usually referred to as "Black Bumper" sects, they allow the use of automobiles, but prohibit the display of chrome, and therefore all chrome is painted black. Another group considers the automobile's use acceptable as long as it is of a dark conservative color; while some of the more liberal sects accept the automobile without any restrictions.<sup>28</sup> However, in this study we are concerned with the Old Order sects which still follow the traditional ways of life, and thus employ only horse-drawn vehicles as their means of transportation.

<sup>24</sup>John A. Hostetler, "The Amish, Citizens of Heaven and America," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, X:1 (Spring, 1959), p. 35.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>C. G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XXV, 16.

<sup>27</sup>Elmer Lewis Smith, *The Amish People* (New York: Exposition Press, 1958), pp. 192-195.

<sup>28</sup>Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Horse-and-Buggy Mennonites," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII (Special Festival Issue, 1960), p. 38.

<sup>29</sup>Smith, p. 189.

<sup>30</sup>Elmer Lewis Smith, *The Amish Today*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XXIV (Allentown: Schlechters, 1961), p. 189.

For the Old Order sects the use and care of carriages begins at an early age. Children are taught how to drive the carriages, care for the vehicles, and care for the ever-faithful horses who power the vehicles. Among the Amish, boys of about 16 years of age are given their own rig which is called a "bachelor's" or "courting" buggy. The gift of this vehicle is a symbol of the family's recognition that the boy is nearing adulthood, and that it is time for him to begin dating.<sup>29</sup> This "bachelor's" buggy is different from the closed carriage used by the family. It is a small, open two-seater without a top covering. This rig is a valuable aid to courtship, for it helps the Amish boy to transport his girl to and from social functions.<sup>30</sup> The reason for the presentation of the "two-seater" open rig as compared to the "four-seater" closed rig to the Amish youth, seems to be the prevailing sentiment that a man before marriage is not in need of a vehicle with more than room for two, and the top is not necessary since the unmarried man has no children to contend with. On the other hand, the married man needs the extra room and protection afforded by the "four-seater" closed carriage. Therefore, if you see an Amishman driving the "two-seater" buggy, he is probably unmarried; while if you see an Amishman driving a "four-seater" closed carriage, he is probably married.<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that this is not a hard-and-fast rule, as many variables may contribute to invalidate this assumption of being totally correct on all occasions.

There are essentially three types of horse-drawn carriages used by the sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch: the buggy, the spring wagon, and the "six poster" or family carriage. The buggy is used primarily by the young folks. This type has two different forms, depending upon whether it is an Amish buggy or a Mennonite buggy. The Mennonite buggy has a convertible roof and parallels the "top buggy" which predominated in the latter half of the 19th Century.<sup>32</sup> The Amish buggy has no roof to it, and best parallels the "Bonner buggy," also popular during this period.<sup>33</sup> However, both Amish and Mennonite buggy forms are distinct types, and seem to have evolved into their own peculiar forms. The reasons may be many for the evolution of these buggy types, but it appears that three specific influences have altered the Pennsylvania Dutch carriage forms: the Pennsylvania Dutch forms are built in a more rugged fashion, placing emphasis upon strength and reliability as compared to lightness and elegance; the seating area has been modified to include more comfortable upholstered seats; and each carriage-maker uses his own set of dimensions and angles to construct his

<sup>29</sup>Bachman, pp. 16-17.

<sup>30</sup>Bachman, pp. 16-17.

<sup>31</sup>See Stratton, p. 465, for drawing of "top buggy."

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 464, for drawing of "Bonner buggy."

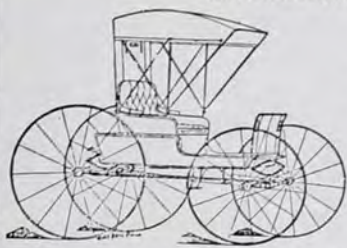


# GRUBER CARRIAGE WORKS

WM. E. GRUBER, Propr.

MT. PLEASANT, BERKS CO., PA.

BERNVILLE ROUTE No. 2



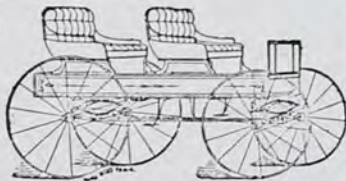
Our Carriages  
Are All Hand  
Made.

None Better  
for Wear and  
Style.

Never any doubt about  
the lasting qualities  
of the

Gruber Made-at-Home Surreys

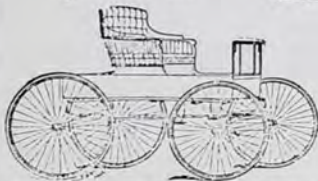
It is the Material that  
goes into the



## GRUBER RUNABOUTS

Also manufacturer of  
Light and Heavy Spring Wagons

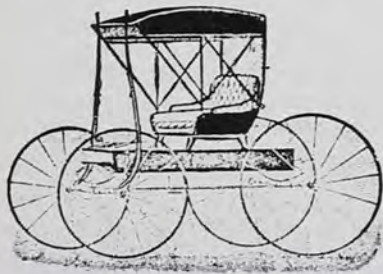
Rubber Tiring and Repairing  
a Specialty.



The Gruber family of Berks County were renowned wagon-builders. They also made carriages, according to this notice in the R.F.D. Directory of Berks County, 1908.

Advertisement showing terminology of different types of carriages still in use in 1908. From R.F.D. Directory of Berks County.

## Wernersville Carriage Works.



## JOHN K. YERGER

Manufacturer and Dealer in

Carriages, Buggies, Wagons, Sleighs  
MARKET WAGONS, ETC.

Wheelwright Work and General Repairing  
Done Promptly

Rubber Tire Work a Specialty

A Full Assortment on Hand at All Times

My desire is to work for future business. Honest goods will be used and satisfaction guaranteed.

WERNERSVILLE, PA.

carriage. Thus, over the years the Pennsylvania Dutch carriage forms have taken on a style uniquely their own. It may be useful to note here that although the Amish buggy has no roof, while the Mennonite buggy has, the Mennonites will discard a worn out roof and use the buggy without the roof, rather than throw the buggy away. It may therefore be misleading to classify either an Amishman or Mennonite by the absence of a roof on his buggy. On the other hand, however, if the buggy has a roof, it will be a Mennonite buggy.

The spring wagon is also an essential piece of horse-drawn equipment. This vehicle is used for transportation of objects which cannot be transported in the other vehicle forms. It is very similar to the light "farm wagon" used throughout America in the pre-tractor days, and has undergone only minor changes in its use by the Pennsylvania Dutch sects.

The "six poster" or "family carriage" is the primary form of transportation for the Pennsylvania Dutch sects. This is a closed carriage form. For the Amish it is painted gray and trimmed in black, and termed the "Amish Carriage." For the Mennonites it is painted a glossy black color all over, and is referred to as the "Mennonite Carriage." Both sects will refer to this carriage as the "family carriage." The "family carriage" is constructed similar to the "light curtain rockaway" which predominated at the turn of this century;<sup>34</sup> and at a glance resembles the exterior of the "improved business wagon," used in the mid-19th Century.<sup>35</sup> However, once again we must note that the "family wagon," as used by the Pennsylvania Dutch, is a vehicle unique unto them, the reasons for this uniqueness being those explained for the buggy types. Therefore it is best to say that although these carriage forms parallel those used at an early stage of American carriage use, they are unique to the people who use them as their major form of transportation. This uniqueness can be illustrated by the slight differences which distinguish the Amish from the Mennonite "family carriage." Although the basic construction of the two forms is quite similar, there are slight differences in construction which help to denote the two forms. These basic differences are; the "Amish Carriage" is gray, while the "Mennonite Carriage" is black; the "Mennonite Carriage" has a wooden top underneath the exterior fabric top, while the "Amish Carriage" has no wooden top, but merely a fabric covering; the "Amish Carriage" has built-up wooden sides located at the rear side sections of the carriage which act as a support for the rear seat, while the "Mennonite Carriage" has only one wooden brace along the side, the rear seat being secured to the floor of the carriage by twelve-inch-long steel rods.

<sup>34</sup>See Tunis, p. 89, for drawing of "light curtain rockaway."

<sup>35</sup>See Stratton, p. 444, for drawing of "improved business wagon."



The Old Order sects rely upon the horse-drawn carriage as their major mode of transportation. Therefore, much of their life evolves around this transportation form. These horse-drawn vehicles are no longer made by large companies which specialize in making quantities of a product, using production-line processes, and offering a vast selection of models and colors to the buyer. Rather, the majority of these vehicles are made and assembled by individual carriage-makers who assemble the carriages for specific customers. One source points to a firm located in Indiana which makes 800 carriages per year,<sup>36</sup> while another source notes that another carriage works in Indiana produces from 275 to 300 carriages per year.<sup>37</sup> However, these carriage-works seem to be the exception rather than the rule. Most of the carriages are made as a result of a complex of various craftsmen who make specific parts for the carriages, which are assembled into a single unit by a carriage-maker. Most of these parts are made by either Amish or Mennonite craftsmen, each craftsman contributing his product along the line of partial completion of the total carriage. There are essentially five major contributors involved in the complex which comprises the total completion of the actual carriage: They are: 1) the coachmaker, who makes the carriage body; 2) the wooden shaft-maker, who cuts and forms the wooden shafts used to attach the horse to the carriage; 3) the wheel-maker, who makes and assembles the steel hub and the wooden spokes and rim; 4) the blacksmith, who, with his forge, makes and assembles the running gear including the metal work of shafts and wheels; 5) the carriage-maker, who attaches the body to the running gear, does all painting and upholstering, adding finishing touches to the complete vehicles.

To the above list must be added three other producers who supply parts to the carriage-maker, and who, many times, are non-Pennsylvania Dutch. They are: a Japanese firm which manufactures the springs upon which the coach rests; a producer which manufactures the steel axles upon which the springs rest, and which holds the whole unit together; and various small suppliers which manufacture the reflectors, lights, signals, etc., which are part of the finishing touches to the completed vehicle.

Once the vehicle itself is completed, this does not end the cycle of contributors whose skills and products put the carriages on the road: a harness-maker makes the harness and bridle for the horse used to power the vehicle; a smith shoes the horses; the horse-seller auctions off the horses which power the vehicles; and several other small contributors make the carriage road-worthy.

The all-important horse whose strength powers the carriages along the roadways has his own special mys-

<sup>36</sup>Hostetler, p. 35.

<sup>37</sup>Smith, *The Amish Today*, p. 296.

tique. The buying and selling of these animals is an important and unique process. There is, of course, a lot of swapping or buying of horses among individuals. However, it is interesting to note that an institution has arisen for the sale of these animals, known as the horse-auction. For the Lancaster area this horse-auction is held in New Holland, occurring every Monday.

The horses which draw the carriages are usually standard-breds; some of the people use a saddle horse, but this is the exception, for there is such a demand for saddle horses outside the carriage trade that the high prices make these animals too expensive to warrant their use. Those horses primarily used are those which, for various reasons, do not make good riding horses, so they are relegated to the position of being the carriage horse. This does not mean, however, that these are not good animals. On the contrary, the owner takes a great deal of pride in his horse. The average price for one of these horses is somewhere between two hundred and three hundred dollars, a horse costing more than three hundred dollars being considered an expensive one.

The harness used for the carriage-horse is leather and usually trimmed in rubber, rarely having any decorative trimmings. One source notes that recently a small amount of decoration has been allowed by the authorities, in the form of flowered rosettes on the bridle.<sup>38</sup> The cost of the entire harness will be in the vicinity of \$125.<sup>39</sup>

In the Lancaster area there are between forty and fifty carriage-related shops. Some of these shops have several men making and completing the carriages, but the majority of these shops are operated by one man, who is frequently helped in minor tasks by his family.<sup>40</sup>

Located in Lancaster County is the shop of Mr. Abe Zeller,<sup>41</sup> a Mennonite by faith, and a coach-maker and carpenter by profession. Mr. Zeller has a small farm on which he raises rabbits to be sold to experimental laboratories; but his main interest and source of income is derived from the manufacture of carpentered goods. Mr. Zeller has been in the carpentry business for quite a few years. Prior to making coaches he was a cabinet maker. He later began making furniture on his own, selling his extension tables and cedar chests to customers, finally moving into the coach-making trade about eight years ago. The initial coach business

<sup>38</sup>Bachman, p. 18.

<sup>39</sup>See Birch, pp. 85-137, for harness types and costs at the turn of the century, as compared to current prices. For information concerning various types of harnesses and riggings used on late 19th Century carriages see C. C. Martin, *The Harness-Maker's Complete Guide* (Chicago: Jefferson Jackson, 1891).

<sup>40</sup>A recent article examines a small carriage shop located in Lancaster, Penna. See Stephen J. Sansweet, "An Honorable Craft, Buggy-Making, Thrives In One Quiet Enclave." *Wall Street Journal*, (June 11, 1970), pp. 1 and 26.

<sup>41</sup>The name Zeller is a pseudonym used in place of the informant's correct name, at his request.





*Lancaster County carriage shop. Pieces ready for assembly.*

was only slight, but the business has grown so much over the last eight years that he has had to dedicate more and more time to the construction of coaches. Today Mr. Zeller devotes himself almost entirely to coach-making, doing only small amounts of furniture work. Even on a full-time basis of coach-making, Mr. Zeller is still between six and eight months behind in his orders.

Mr. Zeller first began his career in the coach-making trade by constructing his own "six poster," or "Mennonite Carriage." He began by examining finished carriages, asking questions of carriage-makers concerning the types of materials used, measurements, angles, fabrics, etc. This inquisitiveness, combined with his carpentry skills, enabled Mr. Zeller to construct a car-

*Seats assembled for Mennonite carriage.*



riage of the "six poster" design for himself. He did such a fine job on his own carriage that he was asked to make two coaches for a local carriage-maker, and this began him in his new trade.

Mr. Zeller makes the entire coach from "scratch"; however, his work is restricted to the wood-work of the coach body. The painting, upholstering, and glass fitting, is done by his brother-in-law who has his own shop for these purposes.

The actual construction of the coach begins with the selection of woods to be used in the coach's construction. Mr. Zeller prefers to use ash for the sills and posts;<sup>42</sup> but ash is a difficult wood to obtain, so oak is used in its place; both woods are considered to be hard woods. The rest of the coach is made of poplar (many coach-makers now use ply-wood in place of poplar, but Mr. Zeller believes that poplar is a better wood for his purposes, and will make a stronger coach). Next, Mr. Zeller cuts out the various pieces which comprise the total construction of the coach. The number of pieces involved in the entire construction of the coach Mr. Zeller is not certain; however, he believes it would be reasonable to assume that there are approximately fifty individual pieces.

Rather than set up his tools to make one piece at a time, Mr. Zeller will make as many as thirty pieces for thirty bodies at once. Mr. Zeller notes that many coach-makers will make each piece separately, fitting each piece into the piece previously made. However, this allows for slight differences in angles and sizes, also making the actual construction of the coach more difficult and time consuming. Mr. Zeller, on the other hand, uses uniform sizes and angles for each of his coaches, thus keeping the coach of one specific dimension, while allowing for time-saving methods in mass producing the pieces. This initial step toward the completion of the finished coach, is the most time consuming. To make the various pieces will entail about fifteen hours of work for each coach body.

Once this step is completed Mr. Zeller will gather together all the necessary pieces needed to complete the wooden flooring for the coach. The seats are then assembled, both front and rear, followed by the construction of the doors, and finally, the front window is constructed. These pieces are finished in triplicate, and set aside until entering the actual phase of constructing the entire coach frame. The reason these pieces are finished in triplicate is so that once ready for the actual construction of the coach frame, Mr. Zeller can construct three coaches in succession without

<sup>42</sup>Ash wood was the principal wood used in the construction of mid-19th Century English carriages. For further information concerning the use of woods in English carriages during this period, see "Woods For Carriages," *The Carriage Journal*, VII (Autumn, 1969), pp. 81-82. Taken from *The Carriage Builder's and Harness Maker's Art Journal*, I (1859).





*Starting the assembly with the coach floor.*

stopping to reconstruct these necessary pieces. In this manner Mr. Zeller can construct two coach frames in a single working day.

At this point Mr. Zeller is ready to construct the coach frame. To begin this stage Mr. Zeller will take the flooring piece, or "buddabord" in the dialect, and place it on his hydraulic lift. The "buddabord" is screwed to the lift's wooden bottom in order to render it stationary. The lift moves up or down, and thus allows easy access to the coach's various parts as it is being constructed. It is interesting to note that over two thirds of Mr. Zeller's shop is run by modern electric tools, a time saving aid for the craftsman.<sup>4</sup> The Amish coach-maker, on the other hand, does not use electricity, and is dependent upon compressed air power, or power derived from 12-volt automobile batteries. This, naturally, makes the Amish coach-maker's job more difficult as he is therefore limited to the number of tools he can use, as well as having less power output at his disposal. When the "buddabord" is secured to the lift, the actual construction of the coach body begins. To the "buddabord" are added various supporting and enclosing posts which constitute the shape and support of the coach. The major pieces involved in the construction of the coach frame are: the front post, or "fedderscht poschta;" the sill, or "schwellig;" the center post, or "middle poschta;" the rear post, or "hinnerscht poschta;" the side plate, or "shpun;" the end sills or front rafter, "fedderscht shpar;" the side panels, or "side panel;" the top, or "dach;" and various mouldings which secure the pieces together, making the coach stronger, plus making it reasonably water-tight.

<sup>4</sup>For pictures of an electric powered Mennonite coach maker's shop, see Charles S. Rice, and John B. Shenk, *Meet The Amish: A Pictorial Study of the Amish People* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1947), section on "Carriage Making."

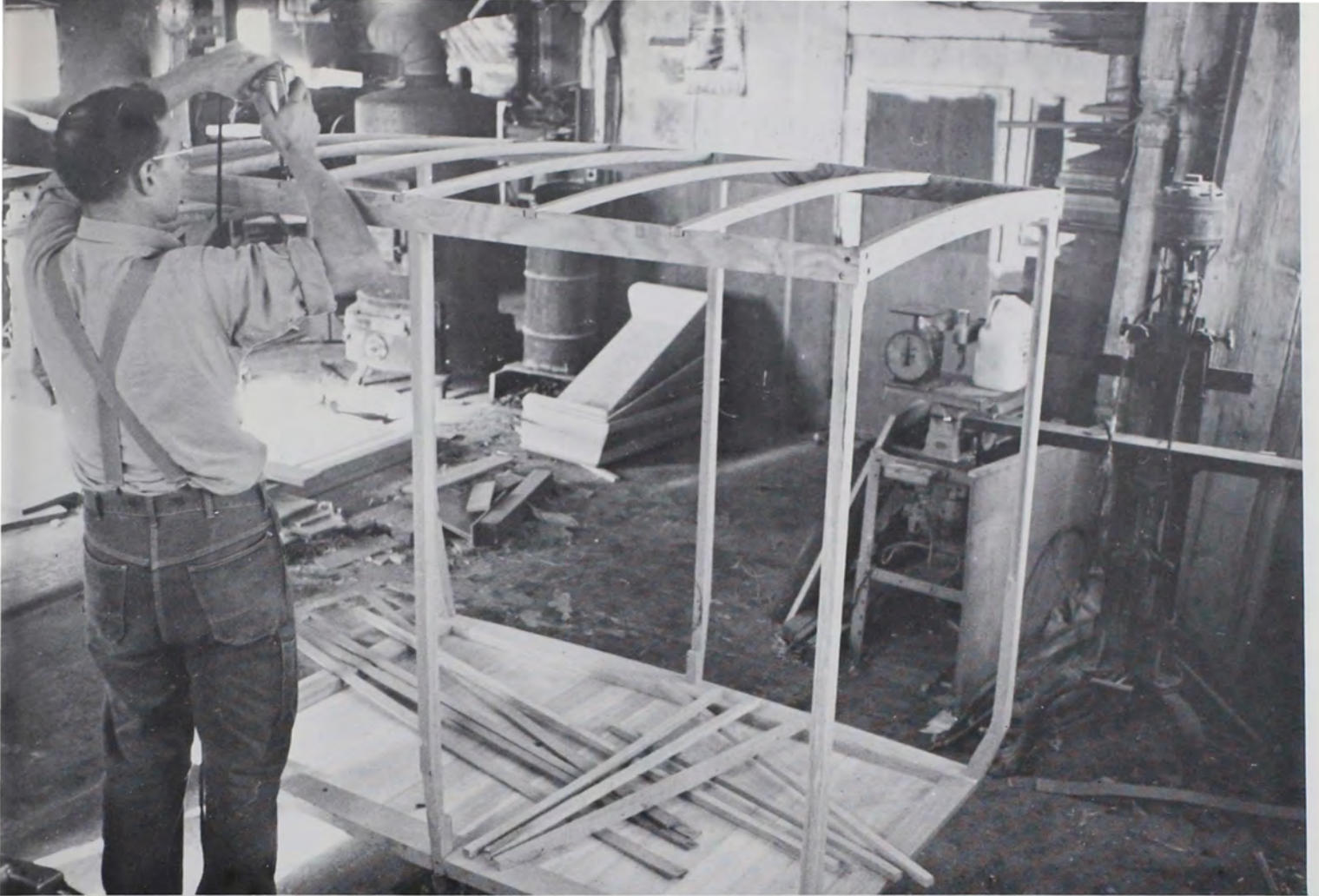
Each one of the above pieces is pre-cut and pre-grooved, so that Mr. Zeller need only drill the screw holes, apply a strong glue to the joints, and screw the wooden pieces tightly together. To further speed this assembly process, Mr. Zeller has his oldest son David place the screws in the holes for him, fetch his different tools, and do other minor jobs for him. As Mr. Zeller does the work he is constantly talking to his son, relating in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect what parts he needs or what job his son can do to be of aid.

At this point in the construction, the initial coach frame is constructed. The dimensions are as follows; 54" high; 40½" wide in the rear; 39" wide in the front; 67½" long. The 1½" difference between front and rear gives the carriage a boat-like shape, but the difference is so slight it can barely be noticed. There is no special reason for this difference; as Mr. Zeller states, "It is just part of tradition." Mr. Zeller now

*Adding the upright supports to the coach. Their number gives the Mennonite Carriage its local name, the "Six-Poster".*





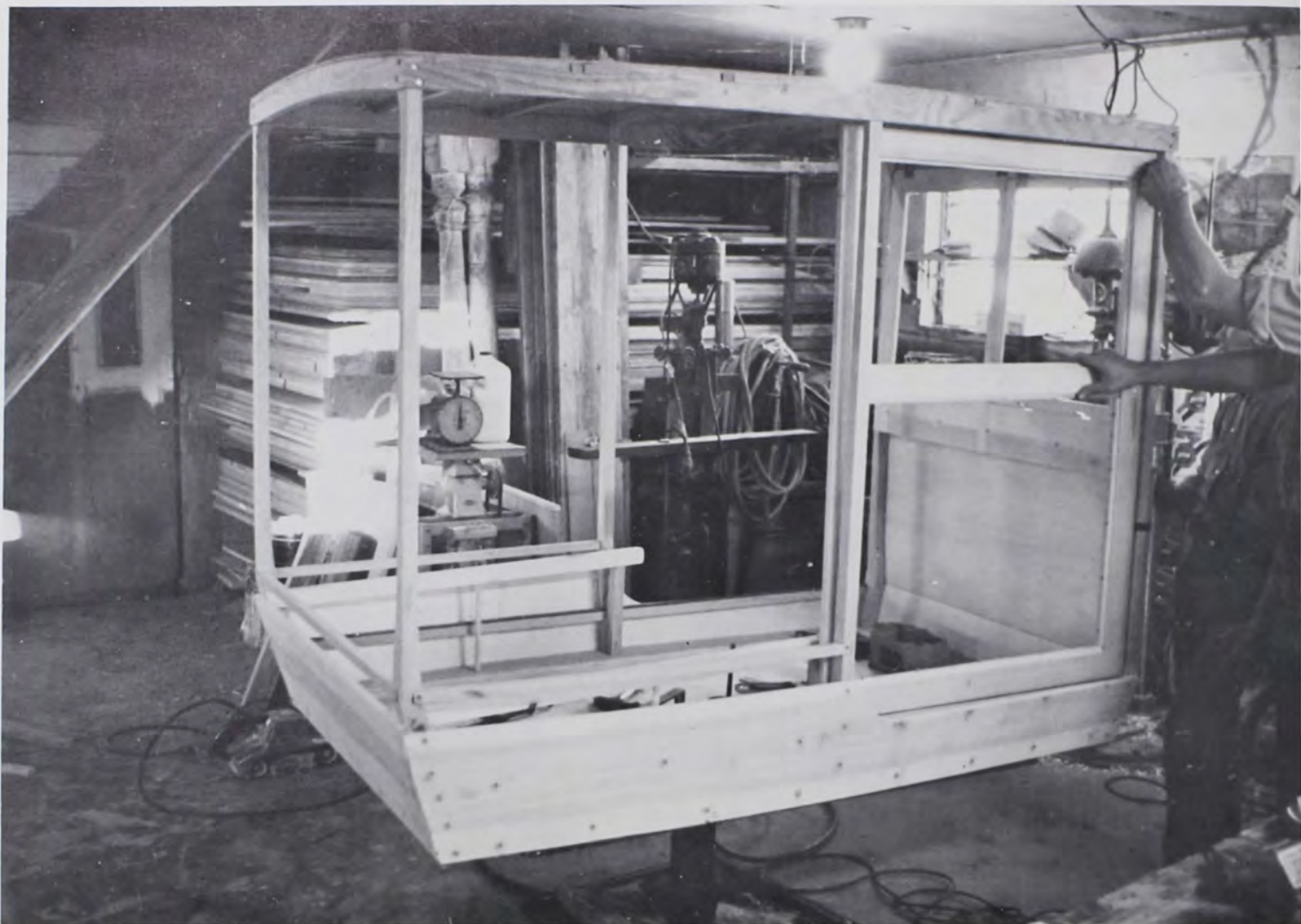


*Assembly of roof supports for Mennonite Carriage.*

*The carriage-maker here adds the "Dach" or roof.*







*The doors, left and right, are sliding doors with plexiglass windows at top.*

adds the track upon which the sliding doors will run, so that the coach doors may be easily opened and closed. The door frame, which has already been constructed, has a groove running along its bottom which holds two nylon roller sheathes. These bottom sheathes rest upon a copper track which is nailed to the wooden door track, running the length of the carriage on both the driver's and passenger's side. The top part of the door has two deep grooves into which springs are placed, and upon which wooden pegs are laid. The pegs also run along a wooden door track at the top of the carriage, their function being to keep the door in place, as well as reducing rattle.

The coach is now ready for the front window frame, already constructed. The window frame consists of a double window divided by a center post. The driver's side of the window is fastened, by hinges, which allow the driver to move it up and attach it to the roof, so that, if he needs to, he can reach the horse or the

harness without lifting the whole front window. The entire front window frame is also attached to the body by hinges, which allows the entire frame to be moved up and out of the way when the window is not needed. This window assembly allows the passengers to enjoy air circulation when it is hot, as well as giving the driver an unobstructed view of the horse and road.

We are now involved in the last stages of the coach construction. The screw holes are half filled with wood filler, and the body is set aside; the construction of a new body begins. However, the body is not yet completed by Mr. Zeller. The next day the screw holes are filled completely, and a coat of "Wood Life" is sprayed on all wooden parts of the coach to keep it from rotting out. At this point the coach body is completed, and the seats are placed inside the body, not to be fastened into the coach by Mr. Zeller, as they must be upholstered before they are secured to the body. Herein approximately 30 hours of total



labor has gone into the completion of the coach body. The coach bodies are transported in threes by "spring wagon" to Mr. Zeller's brother-in-law, who does the upholstering and painting of the coach body.

At Mr. Zeller's brother-in-law's shop the coach body undergoes its finishing touches. The body is sanded and four coats of base paint are applied. Once the base paint has dried, the body is again sanded and two more coats of glossy black paint are added to the wood for the exterior finish.

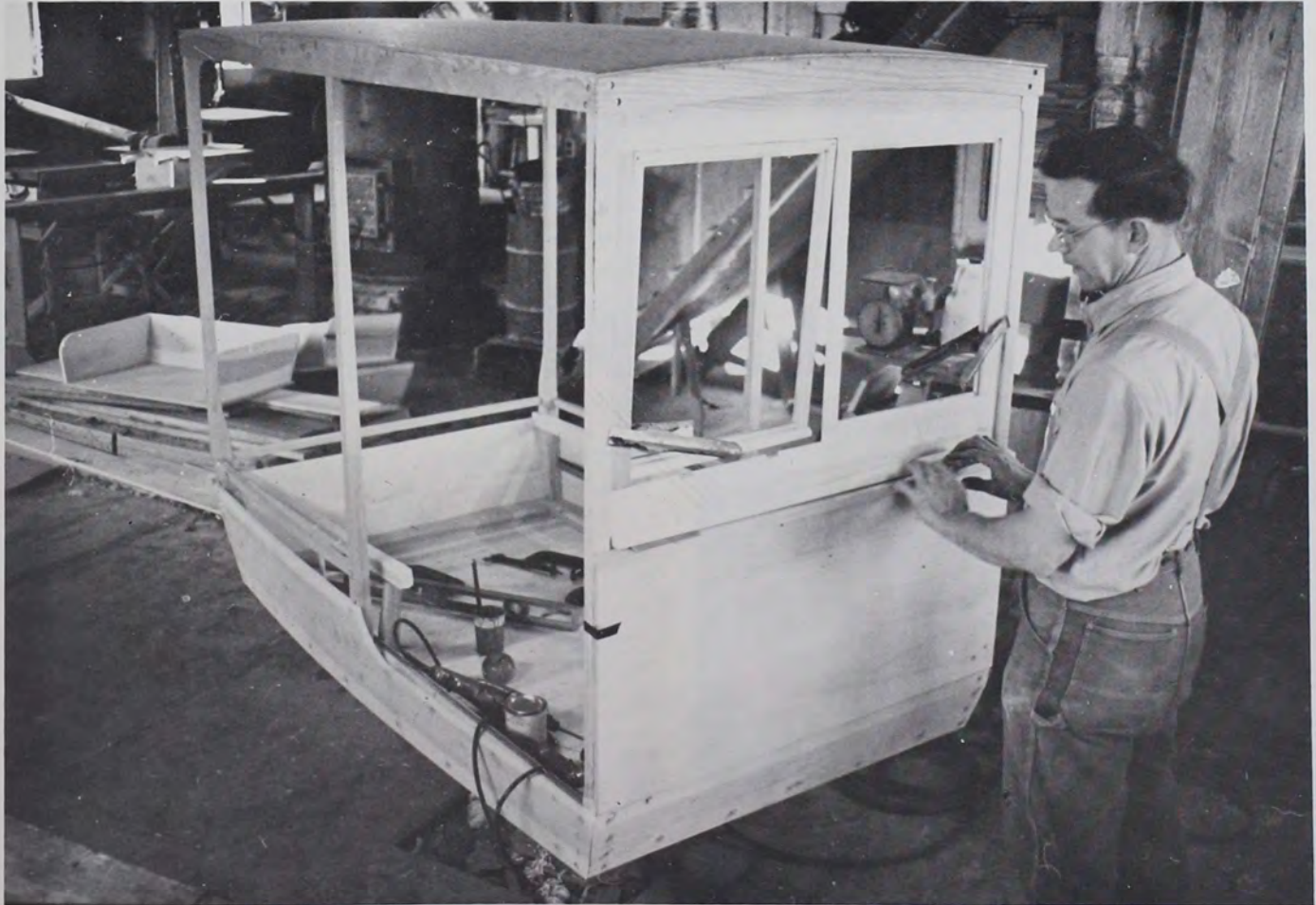
Windows of  $\frac{1}{8}$ " plexiglass are then fitted into the window frames on both sliding doors, and glass is placed into the windshield at the front of the coach.

The seats are now upholstered in a dark material, usually black, although shades of blue or green are not uncommon. The reason for the dark interior is not based on religious belief, rather, it is an economic move, for the dark colors will not show the road dirt and stains which may be acquired through use. Under

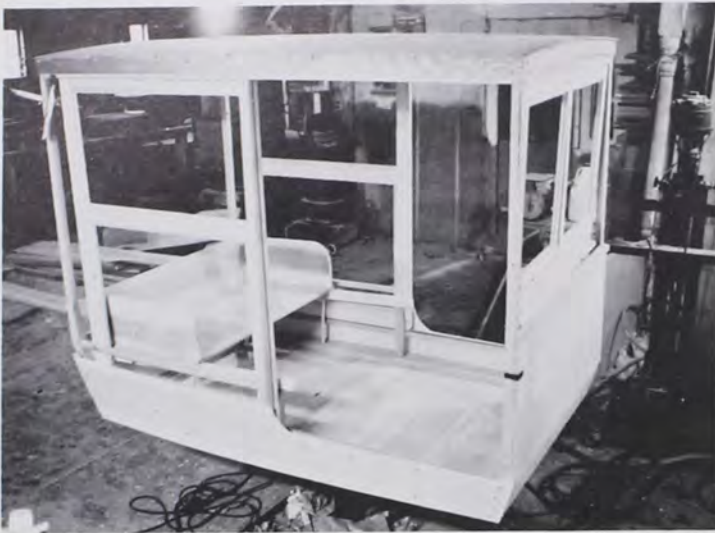


*Right - The front windshield is in two sections. The entire window can be moved up out of the way in warm weather, while the window on the driver's side is also hinged for separate opening.*

*Below - Mennonite carriage with windshield.*







*Back seat added to coach.*

the material, which is usually vinyl, is a foam rubber base which gives the seat a very comfortable texture. The seat, when finished, is every bit as comfortable as an automobile seat.

The top, sides, and rear are now covered with a strong cloth fabric, to which a stiffener has been added. The top material is fastened permanently, while the sides and rear are fastened by strong spring snaps which will allow the sides to be rolled up during warm weather. In the "Mennonite Carriage," both sides and rear have a 2" by 5" window of plexiglass sewn into the material to allow passengers to see outside the carriage. The "Amish Carriage" has only a single 2" by 5" plexiglass window which is located in the rear of the coach.

*Front seat is now in place, ready for upholstering.*



A vinyl material is now applied to the bottom half of the sliding doors, which is not filled with wood. The reasons for the use of vinyl material rather than wood, are twofold; it is much lighter than wood; it is more resilient, and will not splinter like wood.

The final upholstering step is the addition of either carpeting or vinyl flooring. The majority of the carriages have the carpeted floor, but vinyl flooring is sometimes used.

The completion of the upholstering and painting work gives way to the last step in the final completion of the carriage.

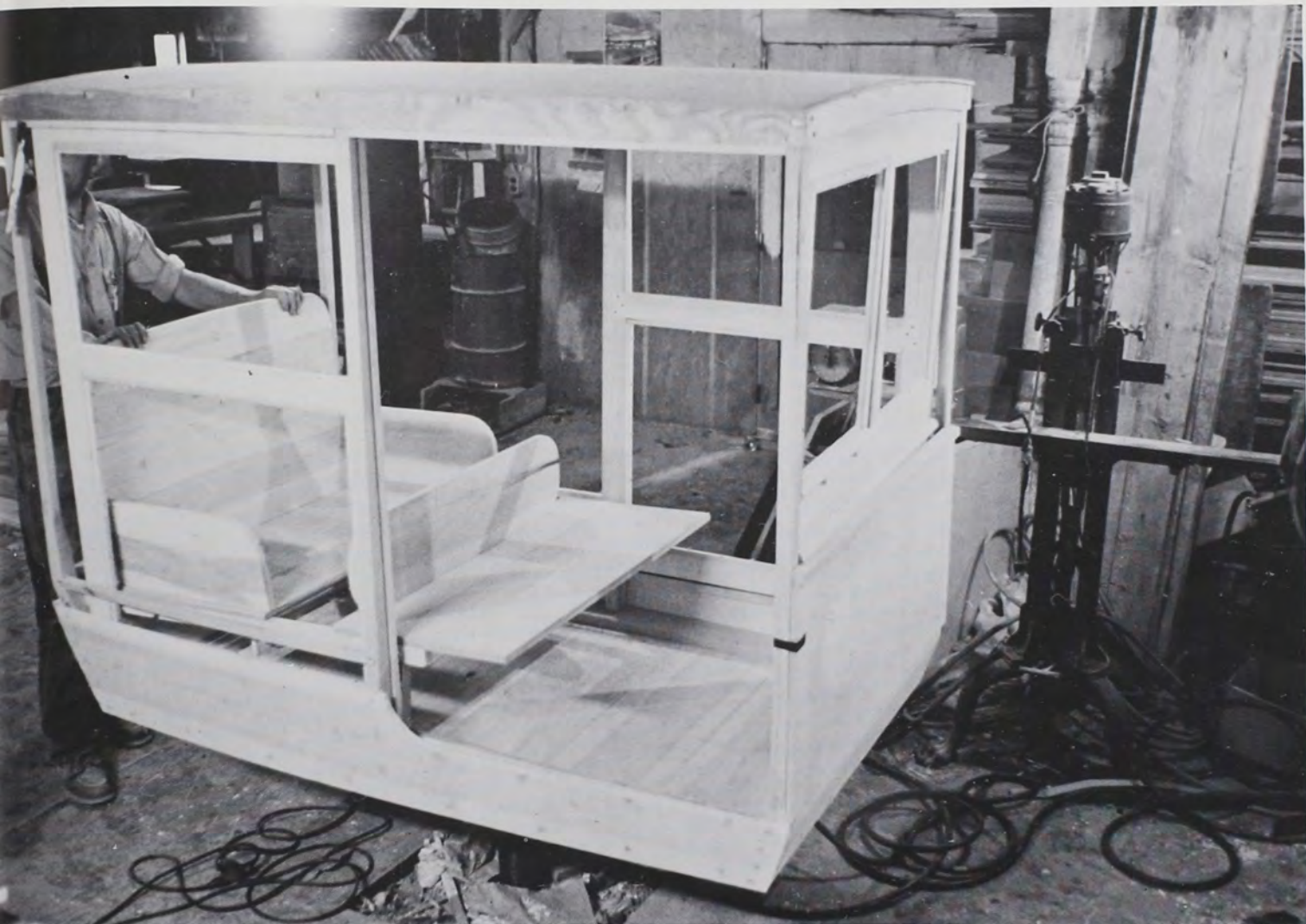
Another small carriage shop, is that of Mr. Zook, an Amishman.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Zook has a small shop which is manned and staffed by only himself, although at times his wife will help him with minor work. Most of Mr. Zook's work is in the repair of carriages, but he does assemble about six carriages per year to be sold. Mr. Zook receives his carriage parts from small shops like Mr. Zeller's (although in his case the coach-maker is Amish), and Zook's phase of the operation constitutes the last link of constructing the carriage; in this case the "six poster" "Amish Carriage."

Mr. Zook's shop is quite different from the shop of Mr. Zeller's. There is no use of electric power, and the only power sources are derived from compressed air and 12-volt batteries.

The actual steps to the completion of the carriage are few at this point; however, they are quite time consuming. Mr. Zook will apply metal to the two wooden shafts he has received; these shafts are the pieces into which the horse is placed, and control the direction the front wheels will move as the horse changes direction. The molding of the metal work used to encompass the shafts is done by an acetylene torch. A steel rim is applied to the outside of the wheels so that the wheels, made of wood, will not wear out so quickly, also allowing easier pulling for the horse. Bolts are now secured by each spoke of the wheel, to give the wheel more strength. Next, the "gear assembly" is placed together. This "gear assembly" consists of the axles and the metal bed upon which the springs rest, the springs being bolted to the "gear assembly." In this operation the brakes are also installed. There are two different types of brakes used on the carriages; the hydraulic brake which is the same type of system used on automobiles, which both Mr. Zook and Mr. Zeller feel is too impractical as well as too expensive; and the manual brake which consists of a metal rod having rubber pieces at both ends that slow or stop the carriage by rubbing the wheel's outer rim. The body is now attached and secured to the springs which rest on the "gear assembly." Iron work is now done, which consists of adding the small foot step on either side of

<sup>4</sup>The name Zook is a pseudonym used in place of the informant's correct name, at his request.





*Coach ready for siding.*

the carriage, as well as attaching lights and signals. All electric work is done next, such as: wiring lamps and turning signals which are operated from a dash panel located at the front of the coach, or above the right shoulder of the driver. Finishing touches are now added; mirrors, reflectors, etc., are attached, and minor flaws or mistakes are repaired.

The carriage is now completed and ready for the customer's use. A total of 180 hours of work is involved in the total construction of the carriage. The price of the carriage will vary from \$890 minimum to \$1,500 maximum, depending upon who made the

carriage and whether the person desires a liner on the inside of the coach, and what type of instrumentation he wishes installed. But this is not the entire cost of the carriage in its ready-to-roll street form. As pointed out before, there are several other factors involved, such as: the price of the horse, and the cost of the harness. To which two other expenditures must be added: 2 or 3 blankets at a cost of about \$15.00 each, and the cost of a car battery at about \$20.00. So as we can see, the actual total cost of the functional carriage entails a cost of approximately \$500.00 more than the cost of the carriage by itself.



When finished what we have is a vehicle which will last between 15 and 50 years, the average life of a carriage being about 25 years. The life of this carriage is dependent upon four major factors: rotting, which occurs as a result of too much exposure to damp weather, and improper storage of the vehicle; the care taken by the carriage owner; how well the carriage was constructed (which very often depends upon who constructed the carriage), and the ever-present danger of being involved in an accident with an automobile.<sup>45</sup>

Man has been using the wheel for over 5,000 years. It is the wheel which aids him in traversing distances both great and small. For the Pennsylvania Dutch,

<sup>45</sup>See Smith, *The Amish People*, p. 247. Smith notes that Amish leaders have recently applied to the State Public Utility Commission for a taxicab permit, because "a number of Amishmen reported that the risk of taking a horse and buggy onto the highways was increasing, and that they would use the taxi to attend various functions" thus lessening the risk of accidents.

wheeled vehicles—in the form of buggies, wagons, and carriages—provide a form of travel which allows short distance mobility, while assuring group solidarity due to the prohibition against owning wheeled vehicles capable of long distance travel. As we have seen, the wheeled vehicles employed by the Old Order Pennsylvania Dutch sects are of a specific style. These vehicles are hand-assembled by craftsmen dedicated to constructing a durable vehicle at a reasonable price.

The carriage trade once prevalent throughout America, now exists only in small pockets of folk-culture. One of these small pockets exists in the Lancaster County area of Pennsylvania, where the Old Order Pennsylvania Dutch sects still employ and construct horse-drawn vehicles. The construction of the various carriage forms is still a lucrative trade, but a dying one. As the years pass by, the number of these skilled tradesmen dwindles—and some day in the future the carriage trade will be a craft of the past.

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Groff's Coach Works, West Quarryville, Lancaster County (postcard view, circa 1900).



Detailed postcard view of the Groff Factory, circa 1900, with three samples displayed in front.



# Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology V: Religion and Astronomy

By LOUIS WINKLER

## ALMANACS AND HUNDRED YEAR CALENDARS

An involvement of religion and astronomy was quite extensive in the early Pennsylvania German community and could most readily be found in almanacs. While the majority of the quantitative portion of almanacs involved astronomical data, it is likely that the most important part of the almanac to these Christians was the calendar with its ecclesiastical dates. Holidays were either fixed, that is they occurred on the same Gregorian calendar date every year, or they were moveable. As it

turns out the most important Christian holiday, Easter, is a moveable holiday, and since a good number of the other important holidays such as Good Friday and Pentecost are determined relative to Easter, they are also moveable holidays.

The calendar itself, of course, is a highly astronomical concept. The year is the length of time that it takes the sun to make a complete circuit of the stars. The month is about the length of time it takes for the moon to go through a cycle of phases. Etymologists believe

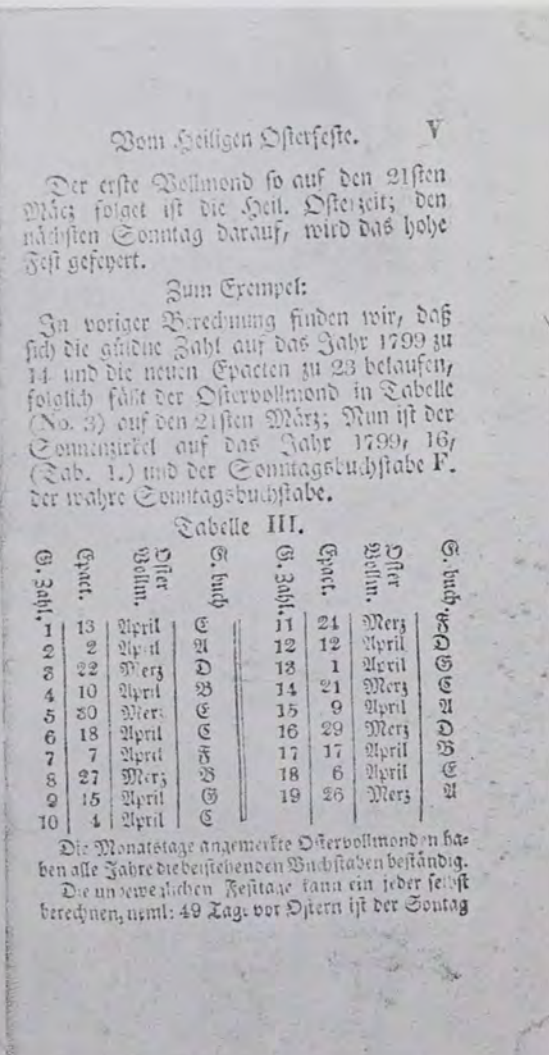
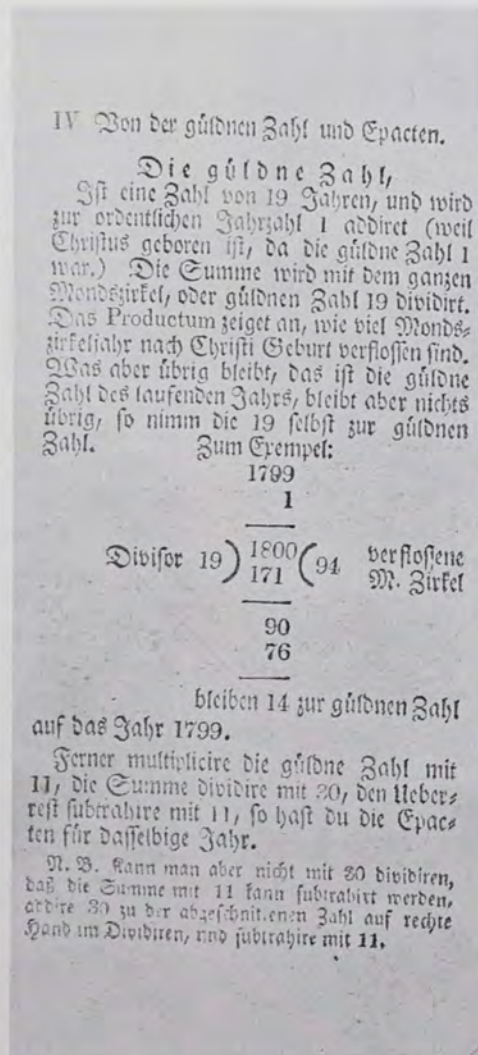


Figure 1-2. Samplings of astronomical information from a "Hundertjähriger Kalender". Courtesy Library Company of Philadelphia.



## Anmerkungen über das Schaltjahr.

In der Zeitrechnung ist es gewöhnlich, daß immer das 4te Jahr ein Schaltjahr von 366 Tagen ist: 1796 war ein Schaltjahr, daher sollte 1800 auch eins seyn. Daß es aber im Calendar ein gemeines Jahr von 365 Tagen ist, deswegen ist folgendes zu merken.

1. Ein Sonnenjahr enthält 365 Tage 5 Stunden 48 Min. 45 Secunden. Diese 5 St. 48 M. 45 S. machen in 4 Jahren beynahe einen Tag; deswegen zählt man im 4ten Jahre 366 Tage und nennet es ein Schaltjahr.

2. Da aber diese 5 St. 48 M. 45 S. viermal genommen, nur 23 Stunden 15 Min. ausmachen; und man also in 4 Jahren, 45 Minuten zuviel rechnet, so ist folgende Regel vestgesetzt worden: von den Jahren, womit ein neues Jahrhundert aufhöret oder anfängt, sind 3 Jahr, gemeine Jahre von 365 Tage, und nur das 4te ein Schaltjahr von 366 Tagen. Zum Beispiel, das Jahr 1600 war ein Schaltjahr, daher sind die 1700, 1800, 1900, nur gemeine Jahre, aber das Jahr 2000 wird ein Schaltjahr seyn.

Figure 3. Explanation of the year 1800 being an ordinary one. From the "Neuer Hauswirthschafts Calendar," 1800. Courtesy Juniata College Library.

that the word month is derived from the word moon and that the seven days of the week are named after the sun, moon, and five naked eye planets. The day is the length of time it takes the earth to spin once on its axis.

If a Pennsylvania German were interested in how Easter or other moveable holidays were computed he could find this out by reading some dozen pages of mathematics found in what was called a *Hundertjähriger Calendar* or "Hundred Year Calendar". Even if all the calculations were not understood by the reader, intermediate results in tabular form were included. It is this writer's opinion that it would require much more than average care and understanding to follow all the computational instructions. Some samplings of the information and computations found in a *Hundertjähriger Calendar* for the period 1799 to 1899 are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

To give the reader an idea of the complexity involved in determining the date of Easter it will be defined as it was in 325 A.D. by the Council of Nicaea. Easter is the first Sunday which occurs 14 days after the new moon after the First Day of Spring. In this way Easter can occur anywhere from March 22 to April 25. Just the concept of the First Day of Spring is complex because the onset of Spring is defined as the moment the sun appears to pass through an imaginary point in the sky called the vernal equinox. The vernal equinox is presently moving very slowly along the ecliptic from Pisces into Aquarius. Further the computations of the dates of the First Day of Spring, new moons, and Sun-

days are complicated by the fact that the calendar year length varies between 365 and 366 days.

The rules which govern the length of the calendar year amount to a process of determining how frequently we should introduce years of 366 days. If the year were exactly 365.25 days we would have three years of 365 days followed by one year of 366 days, repeated perpetually. But the fact is that the year is 365.24 days long and some scheme has to be determined when and how often we eliminate some of these leap years of 366 days. The rule, as set forth in 1582 under Pope Gregory XIII, is that centuries not divisible by 400 are not leap years.

If the process of juggling 365- and 366-day years is not kept track of and adhered to, the calendar would not be kept in phase with the seasons. For example, if all year lengths were just 365 days long, in the course of a little more than a century the seasons would appear to be occurring about a month later than they are now. The process of juggling year lengths is a very ancient one and is called intercalation. Intercalated calendars have existed since the dawn of history but were not precise or refined as they are today because the length of the year was not known precisely.

Before the institution of the Gregorian Calendar in 1582 a similar calendar had been used by Christians for about sixteen centuries. This was the Julian Calendar. The principal difference between the Julian and Gregorian Calendars was simply the preciseness of the intercalation process. Because Protestant Germany was employing the Julian Calendar for so many



centuries (and because it was not Catholic), Germany was reluctant to switch to the Gregorian Calendar in 1582. It was not until 1777 that Protestant Germany adapted the Gregorian system which is so widely used today.

Since Protestant Germany took nearly two centuries to switch from the Julian to the Gregorian systems it is not surprising to find both Julian and Gregorian systems in Pennsylvania German almanacs in the late 18th Century. Intercalation schemes were fairly well understood by late ancient times and the principal difference between the Julian and Gregorian systems was that the Gregorian was retarded twelve days relative to the Julian.

One of the noteworthy years in the history of early Pennsylvania German almanacs was the year 1800. Since 1796 was a leap year, anyone not fully aware of Gregorian intercalation processes would expect that the year 1800 would contain 366 days also. The fact that 1800 had 365 days and that all the years 1797-1803, inclusively, were ordinary years of 365 days, was noted in every almanac in a special announcement. Such an announcement is found in the 1800 issue of *Neuer Hauswirthschafts Calender* and is shown in Figure 3.

#### UNUSUAL CELEBRATIONS

Although there are many celebrations of greater significance than the *Sonnenwendfeuer*,<sup>1</sup> this one is of some astronomical interest. Evidently this was an event of interest to farmers because it is a celebration of the first days of summer and winter. Although the Pennsylvania Germans knew from their almanacs that the first days of summer and winter occurred close to June 24 and December 21, respectively, nevertheless they celebrated the two events on June 24 and December 25 respectively.

A literal translation of *Sonnenwend-feuer* is "sun turning-fire" and refers to the fact that the rising and setting positions of the sun start to move south (north) on the first day of summer (winter) after it had been moving north (south) for a half year. The relation between the *Ur-bogen* and *Sonnenwend-feuer* (discussed in Article IV of this series) is not hard to see. The *Ur-bogen* is the shortest path in the sky of the sun, and occurs close to December 21.

Just why the *Sonnenwend-feuer* celebrations are not held on the first days of summer and winter, but a little later, is not clear. In the case of the winter celebration it just might be that it is more convenient or reverent to hold it on Christmas rather than before Christmas. Of course many Christians burned Yule logs around Christmas and some may have thought of this as a *Sonnenwend-feuer* too. This inclusion of logs in the summer celebration however seems unlikely.

<sup>1</sup>Julius F. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: P. C. Stockhausen, 1895), p. 34.

#### WALZ'S TEXT

It is more than coincidence that the most outstanding astronomical text produced by the early Pennsylvania German community is strongly linked to religion.<sup>2</sup> The author of the text, E. L. Walz, was an ordained Lutheran minister. While he ranked himself outside the level of an astronomer in his astronomical knowledge and capacity, this writer's impression is that Walz had a sound understanding of astronomy and could convey his understanding. Walz not only characterized his text somewhat by his frequent references to God but he was quite careful to make his stand on astrology known. He ridiculed beliefs in astrology and often referred to its foolishness.

<sup>2</sup>E. L. Walz, *Vollständige Erklärung des Calenders* (Reading: J. Ritter, 1830).

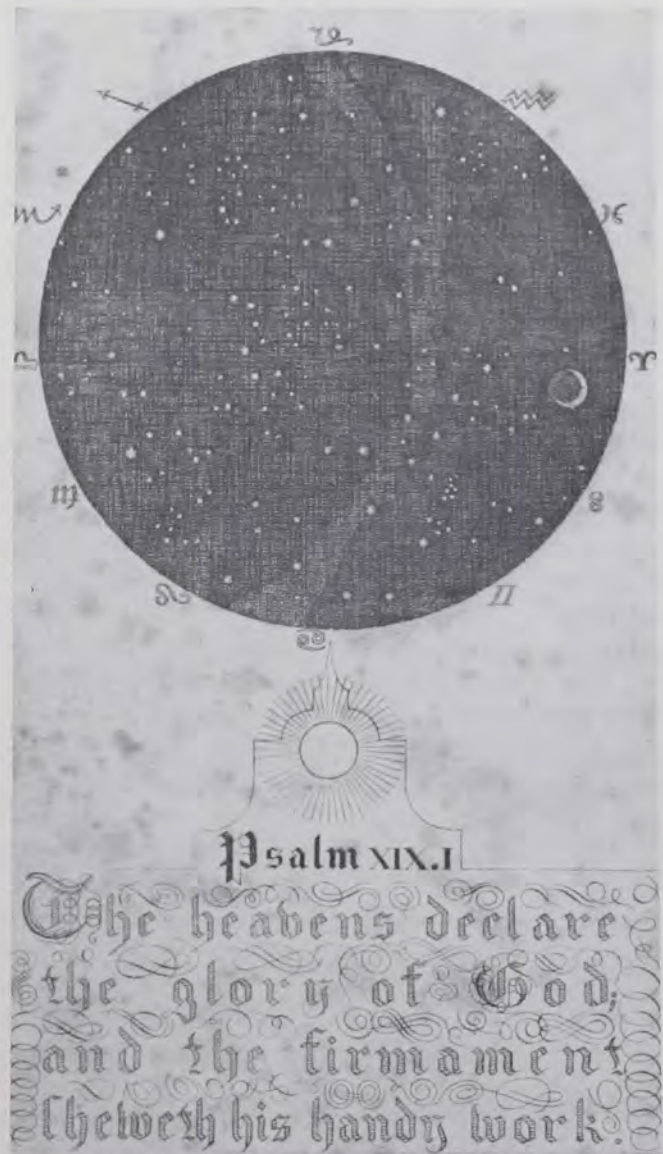


Figure 4. Frontispiece from E. L. Walz's astronomical text of 1830.



Perhaps the most unusual feature of Walz's text is that of the 315 pages, 130 are devoted to the calendar. This probably has religious significance too because the most prominent part of the calendar appeared to be oriented toward religious holidays and personages. Further, much of the 130 pages was devoted to the associated ecclesiastical history. It was not uncommon in the 19th Century to have astronomical texts devoted to just pure, rather than practical, astronomy and have no major entry with the word calendar.

One of the striking combinations of astronomy and religion in Walz's book is a Fraktur work by C. F. Egelmann. The importance of the work is emphasized since it is the frontispiece of the book (see Figure 4); The black circular disk probably simulates the field of view of a telescope trained on the night sky. In the field of view are stars of a wide range of brightness, the crescent moon, and the Milky Way. Surrounding the black circle are the signs of the zodiac, where the sun, moon, and planets must always be found. All of this is then placed over a radiant sun. The religious aspect is present because a portion of Psalm XIX.1 is found under the Fraktur drawing. The entire depiction is certainly consistent with the Christian idea that God is responsible for the creation and character of the universe.

#### RELIGIOUS SECTS

Both astronomy and astrology were incorporated to a significant degree in two of the early religious sects. These sects were the Pietists and the followers of Conrad Beissel, both of them flourishing in the early part of the 18th Century. The vast majority of the astronomy utilized by these groups involved sightings of the sun, moon, and planets, which were integrated into their astrology. Details of some of their specific involvements in astrology will be discussed in a later article in this series.

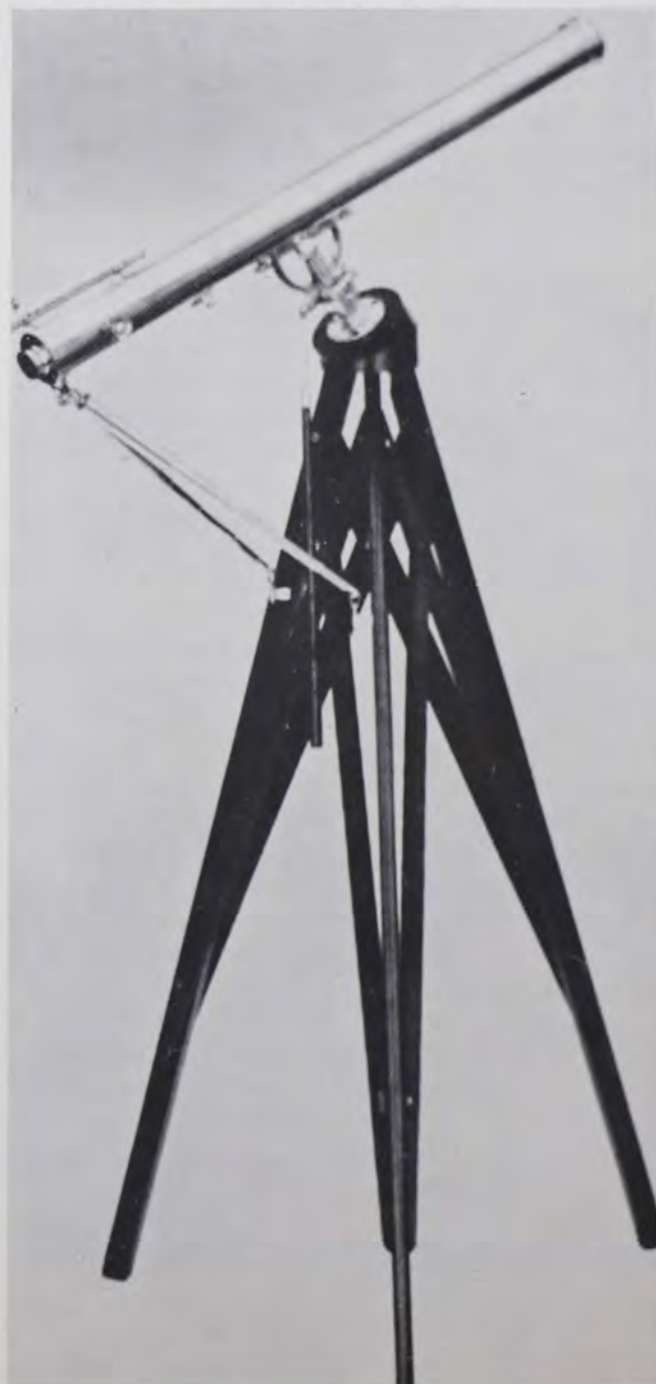
The person whose astronomical work stands out more than anyone else's is the Pietist Christopher Witt, whose interest in comets has been discussed in Article III of this series. He is reputed to have been one of the first clock-makers in America. Some of his clocks had the unique features of striking every fifteen minutes starting with the hour. At the time of Witt's death his estate included a telescope valued at £1 10 and three clocks valued at £45.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to note a striking similarity between the known astronomical involvements of Daniel Schumacher and Witt. Schumacher's interest in the comet of 1769 and unusual clocks has been discussed in Articles III and IV of the series. Schumacher is known also to have owned a telescope.

Precisely what telescopes were used for by the members of the religious sects is not clear. It was not neces-

sary to make observations of the planets, sun, and moon to identify them and measure their position because almanacs could be consulted. Telescopic observations of the surface features of the sun and moon probably wouldn't have aided them much either. Outside of satisfying their astronomical curiosity about the side-real universe the only objects that the telescopes could be used on were comets which were not visible to the unaided eye. Before 1759 the periodicity of some comets was unknown and as a result they all had to be discovered. Since comets were of importance in their religion they may have spent time searching for them with telescopes. A telescope believed to be used by the early Pietists is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Telescope used by early Pietists. From the collections of the American Philosophical Society.



<sup>3</sup>Sachse, *op. cit.*, p. 418.



# American Emigration from Baden-Durlach in the Years 1749-1751

By FRIEDRICH KREBS

Translated and Edited by Don Yoder

Along with other areas in Southwest Germany and Switzerland, the Protestant areas of Baden produced significant emigration to the New World in the 18th Century. Among these was the small duchy of Baden-Durlach in the vicinity of Karlsruhe. The Protocols of the Court Council and Revenue Office of Baden-Durlach (*Hofrats- und Rentkammerprotokolle*), in the Baden State Archives (*Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe*), contain many petitions for emigration from which the following list of emigrants to the New World, principally Pennsylvania, has been compiled.

The procedure for emigration was as follows. The petitioner appealed to the Court Council (*Hofrat*) for permission to emigrate, then his appeal was turned over to the Revenue Office (*Rentkammer*), which worked out the manumission taxes. When these were settled, manumission was proclaimed and the petitioner was free to leave, making his way down the Rhine to Rotterdam, from whence the emigrant ships sailed.

From the standpoint of the social history of the emigration, the reasons cited by the petitioners in Section 2 (1750), mostly bad economic conditions, are particularly valuable. The position taken by the authorities toward the emigration is also graphically portrayed. Allowed to leave were people of modest property, bad reputation, and those from villages already overpopulated. In particular cases even the personal decision of the margrave was invoked.

[The sources for this composite article are (1) "Amerika-Auswanderer aus Baden-Durlach im Jahre 1749," in *Badische Heimat*, XLII (1962), 133-134; and (2) "Studien zur Amerikaauswanderung aus Baden-Durlach für das Jahr 1751," in *Badische Heimat*, XXXVI (1956), 155-156. The emigrant list of 1750 is published here for the first time, although it is also scheduled to appear later this year in *Badische Heimat*. The 1749 list was also published, with some additional names from the Palatinate, in the article "Einige Amerika-Auswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts," in the *Senftenegger Monatsblatt für Genealogie und Heraldik*, V (1961), cols. 123-126. The 1751 emigrants were also published, without the protocol source references, and unfortunately without umlauts, under the too-inclusive title "Emigrants from Baden-Durlach to Pennsylvania, 1749-1755," in the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, XLV (1957), 30-31.

The list of petitioners for emigration in the year 1752 has already been published in the article "Pennsylvania Dutch Pioneers from Baden-Durlach: 1752," in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, VIII:4 (Summer-Fall 1957), 48.—EDITOR.]

## EMIGRANTS OF THE YEAR 1749

1. *Johannes Bischoff*, citizen and resident of Dietlingen, wanted to emigrate to Pennsylvania. The Oberamt Pforzheim had no objections to his proposal, because there was no lack of citizen residents in Dietlingen. He was therefore manumitted with his wife and two children by the Revenue Office (*Rentkammer*) on payment of 50 florins (Protocol 1319 No. 1185; Protocol 839 No. 724). Perhaps he is identical with the *Johannes Bischoff* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Duke of Wirtemberg*, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke List 176C).

2. *Margarethe Sturm*, widow of *Johannes Sturm*, of Unterwössingen, also was permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania, with her four children, on payment of 25 florins manumission tax. One *Johannes Storm* landed at Philadelphia on the Ship *Lydia*, October 19, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke List 142C). Perhaps he is a son of this family, since among the other passengers were Bastian, Bertsch, and Kautz (q.v.).

3. The widow of *Michael Höris*, onetime resident at Stein, was likewise permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania on payment of the taxes (Pr. 840 No. 910; Pr. 1320 No. 1660).

4. *Michael Bastian*, magistrate (*Beisitzer*) of Berghausen, wanted to go to Pennsylvania; he was manumitted with his wife and two children on payment of seven florins. Further, *Jacob Bertsch*, citizen and shoemaker at Göbrichen, was manumitted gratis on account of his propertyless status (Pr. 840 No. 915, 916; Pr. 1320 Nos. 1792, 1793). *Michael Bastian* and *Jacob Bertsch* took the oath of allegiance October 19, 1749, arriving at Philadelphia on the Ship *Lydia* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 142C).

5. *Ulrich Britz*, tenant of the sawmill at Russheim, wanted also to go to Pennsylvania, and was manumitted with his wife and five children on payment of 20 florins manumission tax (Pr. 1320 No. 1803).

6. *Adam Renker(t)*, of Opfingen, was likewise manumitted with wife and three children on payment of



20 florins (Pr. 1321 No. 2116). Possibly *G. Adam Renecker*, who took the oath of allegiance August 15, 1750, arriving at Philadelphia on the Ship *Royal Union* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 149C).

7. *Anna Maria Saltzer*, wife of the stonemason *Saltzer* of Müllheim, was manumitted with her husband on payment of 12 florins (Pr. 1321 No. 2115).

8. *Georg Adam Gorenflo*, inhabitant of Friedrichstal, with his wife, and *Isaac Friedrich Gorenflo*, and *Philipp Onofre Gorenflo* from Friedrichstal also applied for emigration; their goal was Philadelphia. *Jor Adam Goranslo* (so misread by Hinke) arrived at Philadelphia September 28, 1749, on the Ship *Ann* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 139C).<sup>1</sup>

9. *Adam Bentzlin (Benzle)* of Kleinsteinbach also wanted to go to Pennsylvania with his wife *Constantia*. Because of their propertyless status he had to pay only six florins emigration tax (Pr. 840 No. 912; Pr. 1320 No. 1790).

10. *Johan Georg Säemann*, subject at Diethausen, likewise applied for emigration to Pennsylvania (Pr. 840 No. 913). *Johan Georg Säman* is listed among the passengers on the Ship *Duke of Wirtemberg*, arriving at Philadelphia, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 176C).

11. In the case of *Jacob* and *Michael Kautz*, two unmarried brothers from Göbrichen (Pr. 840 No. 1036), there is, it is true, no goal of emigration given, but they are surely identical with the *Jacob* and *Michael Kautz* who landed at Philadelphia on the Ship *Lydia*, taking the oath of allegiance there on October 19, 1749. They were manumitted gratis on payment of doubled expedition taxes (Pr. 1320 No. 1835). In the ship's lists of the port of Philadelphia their names are given incorrectly as *Jacob* and *Michael Kantz* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 142C).

<sup>1</sup>The Goranflo family is well documented in the volume by Oskar Hornung, *Friedrichstal: Geschichte einer Hugenotten-gemeinde zur 250-Jahrfeier* (Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller, 1949). The town, a short distance north of Karlsruhe, was founded in 1699 for French Protestant refugees, some of them Walloons from the French-speaking provinces of the Spanish (later Austrian) Netherlands. *Jacques Gorenflo* was the mayor of Friedrichstal, 1699-1710; he was also schoolmaster and the acknowledged leader of the colonists (p. 223). His sons, *Pierre* and *Jacques*, settled about 1710 on the Karlsbacher Hof near the village (p. 222 ff.), returning to Friedrichstal in 1721 (p. 231). *Georg Adam Gorenflo* was born April 12, 1720, son of *Pierre* and *Anna Katharina (Pierrot) Gorenflo*, and grandson of the pioneer *Jacques* (p. 230). While *Georg Adam Gorenflo* did emigrate, it appears that the other two members of the family who applied for emigration at the same time, remained in Friedrichstal. *Philipp Onofre Gorenflo* became a citizen in 1754 (p. 157), and in 1785, "old *Isaac Friedrich Gorenflo*" was listed as living in the Hirschgasse in the town (p. 313). The book lists at least twenty-five members of the Gorenflo family who emigrated to America in the 19th Century, from 1834 to 1894 (pp. 215-216). The family name, which has achieved a fantastic number of variant spellings (see p. 194), may derive from the French place-name *Gorenflos*, between Abbeville and Amiens in the Department of the Somme (p. 176).—EDITOR.

12. Permission to emigrate to Pennsylvania was also requested by three residents of Blankenloch, *Theobald Nagel*, *Hans Georg Schauffler*, and *Michael Lehmann* (Pr. 842 No. 2792), who also were manumitted (Pr. 1324 Nos. 4855, 4856, and 4857). *Dewalt Nagel* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Phoenix*, August 28, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 154C); *Hs. Georg Schauffler* on the *Brotherhood*, November 3, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 159C); *Michael Lehman* on the *Phoenix*, August 28, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 154C).

13. *Maria Magdalena*, widow of *Andreas Souz*, inhabitant at Friedrichstal, was permitted finally to go to Pennsylvania, with her seven minor children (Pr. 840 No. 1956). Perhaps *Johan Jacob Sutz*, who arrived on the Ship *Ann*, landing at Philadelphia September 28, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 139C), was a son of this family.<sup>2</sup>

14. *Caspar Tieffenbach (Diefenbacher)*, who was manumitted for his four children, on payment of six florins, was able to emigrate to Pennsylvania. *Caspar Dieffenbacher* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Edinburgh*, August 13, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 148C), although there was a *Caspar Derffenbecher* who arrived in 1749 (List 139C).<sup>3</sup>

15. *Margaretha Elsser*, *Barbara Schmied*, and *Catharina Zimmermann*, three widows from Russheim, who wanted urgently to get to Pennsylvania, were quickly dispatched (Pr. 1319 No. 841; Pr. 1320 Nos. 1696, 1697, 1698). While in most ship lists women were not listed, it may be significant that on the Ship *Ann*, arriving at Philadelphia September 28, 1749, there was a *Petter Elser* listed with three *Zimmermans*, and *Gorenflo* and *Souz (Sutz)*, q.v. (Strassburger-Hinke, List 139C).

16. *Johann Michael Jung*, blacksmith by trade, from Dietlingen, was in 1749, by personal decision of the Margrave, graciously repatriated as citizen in his home village of Dietlingen. As a sixteen-year-old youth he had gone in 1744 with his parents *Johann Philipp Jung* and his brothers and sisters to Pennsylvania. On the way he had lost both parents and some of his brothers and sisters and along with the passengers of two ships had fallen into the hands of Spanish pirates. After liberation by the English he was provided with passes and traveling money for Holland. He finally asked to

<sup>2</sup>*Andres Souz* is listed among the junior citizens (*jeune bourgeois*) of Friedrichstal in 1718 (Hornung, *op. cit.*, p. 156), and as having contributed two gulden toward building the town church in 1725 (p. 88). Five members of the *Sutz* family emigrated to North America in the period 1880-1903, all of them farmers (p. 220).—EDITOR.

<sup>3</sup>The wife of *Caspar Tieffenbach* followed with her children in the year 1752. According to the protocols, they were so poor that the community declared itself ready to advance the travel money (Pr. 853 No. 952, Pr. 1336 No. 1055). See "Pennsylvania Dutch Pioneers from Baden-Durlach: 1752," by Friedrich Krebs, translated by Don Yoder, in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, VIII:4 (Summer-Fall 1957), 48.—EDITOR.





Air view of Friedrichstal, Huguenot settlement in Baden, from which several families emigrated to Pennsylvania. From Oskar Hornung, "Friedrichstal: Geschichte einer Huguenotengemeinde zur 250-Jahrfeier" (Karlsruhe, 1949).

be taken back in his home village as citizen and to be able to practice his trade. This was granted him in light of the fact that he had followed his parents against their will. Such was one emigrant's fate in the 18th Century (Pr. 842, No. 2740).

#### EMIGRANTS OF THE YEAR 1750

17. *Johannes Reuschle (Reuschlin)* of Blankenloch, vassal subject, with wife and two children, was permitted to go away to Pennsylvania on payment of a tax of 15 florins (Pr. 845 No. 35, Pr. 1325 No. 208).

18. *Simon Merckle (Mercklin)* with wife and children, *Jacob Merckle (Mercklin)*, and *Jacob Wentz, Jr.*, all of Graben, were permitted to leave for Pennsylvania on payment of a manumission tax of 12, 24, and 14 florins respectively (Pr. 845 No. 268, Pr. 1325 Nos. 723-725). *Jacob Merckle*, *Simon Merckle*, and *Jacob Wentz* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Edinburgh*, August 13, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 148C).

19. From the same town (Graben) were also released to go to Pennsylvania *Peter Lind's* two eldest daughters, *Eva Elisabetha Lind* and *Margaretha Lind* (Pr. 845 No. 409, Pr. 1326 No. 1011).

20. Finally also from Graben *Johannes Hafner* (on payment of 25 florins tax), *Michael Heile (Heinle)* (on payment of 25 florins tax), and *Wendel Renninger* (on payment of 34 florins tax). These were, according to a report of the Oberamt "all such, of whom we can well be rid" [*solche insgesamt, deren man wohl ent-übrigt werden könne*] (Pr. 845 No. 488, Pr. 1326 Nos. 1114-1116). *Johannes Haffner*, *Wendel Renninger*, and *Michael Heinle* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Edinburgh*, August 13, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 148C).

21. *Jacob Koch* of Berghausen was manumitted for 17 florins, to go to Pennsylvania (Pr. 845 No. 406, Pr. 1326 No. 1010). He arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Edinburgh*, August 13, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 148C).

22. Of *Georg Ludwig Pallmer*, the single barber (*Bader*) of Linkenheim, who likewise wanted to go to Pennsylvania, and whose request was recommended by Oberamt and Hofrat, I could find nothing either in the Revenue Office Protocols or in the Ship Lists of the Port of Philadelphia.

23. *Michael Krämer*, the 65-year-old citizen of Singen, who wanted to go to Pennsylvania with his 66-year-old wife *Margaretha*, was not manumitted, because he decided to stay in the country (Pr. 845 No. 315, Pr. 1325 No. 701).

24. *Johann Georg Reyling (Raylin)* of Singen, was allowed to go to Pennsylvania with his wife and 17-year-old stepdaughter *Anna Maria Farr*, upon payment of 30 florins manumission tax.

25. *Michael Moll*, inhabitant of Niefern, who was in debt and had not acquired the reputation of a good manager, was able to go to Pennsylvania on payment of the manumission tax of 17 florins (Pr. 845 No. 546, Pr. 1326 No. 1191).

26. In the case of *Matthäus Eurich*, vassal citizen's son of Dürren, on whose departure the government had agreed, because his property consisted of only 50 florins (Pr. 845 No. 447), I could find nothing on manumission in the Revenue Office Protocols, but he appears to have landed in Philadelphia in 1750 on the Ship *Royal Union* as *Matheas Eyrich* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 149C).

27. *Adam Reichenbacher*, citizen at Söllingen, likewise wanted to go to the "new land" (America); his property amounted to 265 florins after taxes. However, he did not want to leave with his wife, since he lived with her in a constant state of altercation. According to the report of the Oberamt Durlach he was "not of the best house, consequently little benefit is to be expected of him for the Margrave, and still less for the community" [*nicht zum besten Hause, folglich wenig Nutzen vor Serenissimum noch weniger aber vor die Comune von ihm zu hoffen seye*]. After clar-



ification of his marital affairs before the marriage court, and dissolution of the marriage, it was agreed that he could be manumitted on payment of 27 florins (Pr. 845 No. 408, Pr. 1326 No. 1649).

28. There were great difficulties in the case of *Hans Georg Dillmann* and *Florian Brunn*, inhabitants of Deutschnereut, who likewise wanted to leave for Pennsylvania. The authorities were unwilling to let them leave on account of their considerable property. The former wanted to leave in spite of the Oberamt's advice to the contrary, "because he can no longer support himself with his family" [*weil er sich mit seiner Familie nicht mehr nähren könne*]. The latter gave the same reason for emigration, that after yearly duties and payment of shepherds to avert damage from wild game, hardly anything was left over for him to live on. Both requests were finally denied by decision of the Margrave (*resolutio Serenissimi*), because they had wanted to force emigration through neglect of their economy and partial sale of their properties (Pr. 845 Nos. 542, 568, and 641, Pr. 846 No. 694). Nevertheless *Hans Georg Dillman* landed at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers* in 1751, where he took the oath of allegiance on September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

29. Also on account of high property valuation the emigration request for Pennsylvania of *Melchior Geiser* of Wolfartsweier was refused to begin with by the Margrave (*resolutio Serenissimi*). The Oberamt Durlach was in favor of emigration, however, because "as farmer he had already pretty much diminished his considerable property through all kinds of inconsiderate and slovenly transactions" [*als Bauersmann sein considerable anzusehen gewesenes Vermögen bereits durch allerhand unbedachtsame liederliche Händel ziemlich verringert habe*]. The government's conclusion was that "like a member of human society resembling an unfruitful branch, no further hindrance should be laid in his way or indeed in the way of other such members" [*einem unfruchtbaren Ast gleichendes Mitglied der menschlichen Societet ihm oder wohl gar mehreren Membris im Wege nicht länger gelassen werden möchte*]. When in the same year the community of Wolfartsweier presented the petition to permit his emigration, since he was not in condition to support his family—and the fear was expressed that he would, with his wife and children, become a burden to the community after the wasting of his property—he was finally manumitted, on payment of 50 florins (Pr. 845 No. 615, Pr. 846 No. 693, and No. 848, Pr. 1326 No. 1650). He landed at Philadelphia as *Melchior Geissert* on the Ship *Brotherhood*, November 3, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 159C).<sup>4</sup>

30. *Georg Huber* of Niefern was permitted to leave for Pennsylvania on payment of 19 florins (Pr. 846

No. 778, Pr. 1326 No. 1609). Possibly the *Johann Georg Huber* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Two Brothers*, August 28, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 153C).

31. *Anton Hauer* of Blankenloch was permitted to leave for Pennsylvania (Pr. 848 No. 2475, Pr. 1329 No. 4482). Probably *Anthony Hauer*, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

32. *Jacob Lehmann* of Blankenloch was permitted to leave for Pennsylvania (Pr. 848 No. 2476, Pr. 1329 No. 4483). *Jacob Lehmann* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

33. *Friedrich Kloppey*, citizen and cabinetmaker at Weiler near Pforzheim, who according to the report of the Oberamt Pforzheim was a bad manager, on whose departure the village would lose nothing, was permitted to leave for Pennsylvania (Pr. 848 No. 2539, Pr. 1329 No. 4484). *Friedrich Kloppeyn* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Two Brothers*, September 21, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 170C).

34. *Adam Pfisterer* of Bauschlott, with wife and five children, requested release from vassalage. According to the report of the Oberamt Pforzheim he possessed only 43 florins and "is in the category of those whom we can well do without" [*von der Gattung dererjenigen seye, die man wohl entbehren könne*] (Pr. 846 No. 859). Although his intended goal of emigration is not indicated, and I could find no evidence of manumission, he is probably identical with the *Hans Adam Pfisterer* who landed at Philadelphia in 1750 on the Ship *Two Brothers* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 153C).

35. *Christoph Peter Zechiel* and *Jacob Schwarz* of Auerbach were finally, in spite of their not inconsiderable property, permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania and that by decision of the Margrave. Even the Oberamt Durlach had no objection, "because the place is already overpopulated anyhow" [*weil der Ort sowieso schon mit Leuten übersetzt sei*] (Pr. 848 Nos. 2575-2576, 2683-2684).

#### EMIGRANTS OF THE YEAR 1751

36. *Matthäus Hunold*, Reformed, charcoal-burner, from Weiler (near Pforzheim), was permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania with his wife and child (Pr. 849 No. 26; Pr. 1330 Nos. 432, 690; Pr. 1331 No. 1003). *Mattheis Hunolt*, accompanied by a *Wilhelm Hunolt*, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Two*

<sup>4</sup>It would appear that Melchior Geiser prospered in the new world; at least he achieved centenarian status. The Reverend John William Runkel, Reformed minister in Frederick, Maryland, records in his journal for 1799 "having buried, on the 11th of January, Melchoir Geisser, of Middletown, aged 110 years" (Henry Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America*, second edition, II (1872), 297.—EDITOR.





*Stutensee, hunting castle of the margraves of Baden-Durlach, at Friedrichstal. From Hornung's history of Friedrichstal, 1949.*

*Brothers*, September 21, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 170C).

37. *Georg Löble* of Wössingen, who was at that time over seventy years old, was also permitted to go to Pennsylvania with his wife, to join his four children who were already living in Pennsylvania (Pr. 849 No. 581; Pr. 1331 No. 1037). Possibly the *Görg Aadam Löble* and *Wilhelm Löble* who arrived on the Ship *Lydia*, October 19, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 142C) were sons of his family; others from the vicinity (Unterwössingen) appear among the passengers.

38. *Samuel Winther*, likewise from Wössingen, who also wanted to go to Pennsylvania with wife and children, was permitted to emigrate (Pr. 849 No. 582; Pr. 1331 No. 1036).

39. *Georg Schickle, Jr.*, from Bauschlott, was likewise permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania, with wife and four children (Pr. 849 No. 583; Pr. 1331 No. 1035).

40. *Gabriel Rössle* of Wössingen was permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania, with wife and three children (Pr. 849 No. 584; Pr. 1331 No. 1038). *Gabriel Rössler* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Shirley*, September 5, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 163C).

41. *Johann Georg Dürr*, single, cooper, from Nöttingen, was permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania (Pr. 849 No. 429; Pr. 1331 No. 1077). *Johan Georg Dürr* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Duke of Wirtenberg*, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 176C).

42. *Rudolph Schmelzle*, *Jacob Wildemann*, and *Hans Jerg Meyer*, all from Obermutschelbach, the last-named with wife and four children, were manumitted for emigration to Pennsylvania (Pr. 849, Nos. 663, 664, 666, 667; Pr. 1331 Nos. 1386, 1387, 1385). *Johann George Mayer* and *Jacob Wildemann* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Duke of Wirtenberg*, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 176C).

43. *Michael Wörlich*, nailsmith, at Stein, was permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania (Pr. 1331 No. 1384). *Michael Währlich* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Janet*, October 7, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 175C).

44. *Jacob Heyd* and *Jacob Frantz*, the latter single and a citizen's son, both from Grötzingen, further *Sebastian Nagel* and *Elisabetha Hemperl* of Blankenloch, received permission to emigrate to Pennsylvania (Pr. 849 No. 647; Pr. 1331 Nos. 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405; Pr. 1332 Nos. 1686, 1687). *Sebastian Nagel*, *Jacob Heit*, and *Jacob Frantz* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

45. *Jacob Gröner (Kröner), Jr.*, from Bauschlott, was likewise permitted to go to the New Land (Pr. 849 Nos. 734, 585; Pr. 1332 No. 1885).

46. Likewise the four single children of *Abraham Augenstein*, widower, citizen of Auerbach, named *Christian*, *Anna Maria*, *Caspar*, and *Hanss Georg Augen-*



stein, were permitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania (Pr. 849 No. 428; Pr. 1331 No. 1079). *Caspar Augenstein* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Two Brothers*, September 21, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 170C); *Hans Georg Augenstein*, with a *Johannes Augenstein*, arrived on the Ship *Duke of Wirtenberg*, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 176C).

47. In the case of *Bernhardt* and *Christoph Hauer* of Blankenloch, who likewise were manumitted (Pr. 849 No. 391; Pr. 1331 No. 779), no goal of emigration is given, but they are surely identical with the *Christoph Hauer* and *Bernhart Hauer* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, and took the oath of allegiance there on September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

48. In the case of *Mattheus Reich*, citizen of Singen, who likewise was manumitted (Pr. 849 Nos. 488, 767; Pr. 1332 No. 1690), the goal of emigration is given as Pennsylvania. *Mattheus Reich* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Duke of Wirtenberg*, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 176C).

49. *Joachim Nagel*, a former grenadier, born at Blankenloch, likewise was granted manumission for himself and his wife, in order to emigrate to Pennsylvania (Pr. 850 No. 819; Pr. 1332 No. 1688; Pr. 1331 No. 1503). *Joachim Nagel* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

50. *Michael Bossert*, single, citizen's son from Bauschlott, was manumitted to go to Pennsylvania on payment of manumission taxes (Pr. 850 No. 1143, Pr. 1332 No. 1937). *Michael Bossert* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Phoenix*, September 25, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 173C).

51. *Michael Kaucher*, single, citizen's son from Göbbrichen, was manumitted gratis for emigration to America. *Michael Kaucher* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Phoenix*, September 25, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 173C).

52. *Jacob Kaucher, Jr.*, of Göbbrichen, was manumitted with his wife and children to go to Pennsylvania (Pr. 1332 Nos. 1855, 1936). *Jacob Kauher* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Phoenix*, September 25, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 173C).

53. *Philipp Jacob Wörner*, citizen at Wössingen, who likewise wanted to go to Pennsylvania (Pr. 849 No. 586), is identifiable as *Philipp Jacob Werner*, among the passengers of the Ship *Duke of Wirtenberg* which landed at Philadelphia, October 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 176C).

54. *Michel Hauss* of Knielingen was manumitted with his wife to go to Pennsylvania (Pr. 1331 No. 1561). *Johann Michael Haus* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, taking the oath of allegiance on September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

55. *Johannes Hauss* of Knielingen, who wanted to emigrate to Pennsylvania with wife and children, is mentioned only in the court council protocols (Pr. 850 No. 972); i.e., there is no proof of manumission. However, a *Johanes House*, accompanied by *Philip House*, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Anderson*, August 25, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 161C).

56. *Ludwig Schlicker* of Knielingen requested emigration to the New Land with wife and stepson. Permission was recommended by the court council (Pr. 850, Nos. 928, 978). While no indication of manumission could be located, *Lutwig Schlücker* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

57. *David Mussnug*, citizen of Grötzingen, requested permission to go to Pennsylvania (Pr. 850 No. 886). While no papers relative to his manumission could be located, *Davit Mussnug* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

58. *Johann Jacob Decker*, single, citizen's son of Weissenstein, was permitted to go to America (Pr. 850 No. 814; Pr. 1331 No. 1505). Possibly the *Johann Jacob Decker* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Ketty*, October 16, 1752 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 189C).

59. *Georg Dillman*, inhabitant at Teutschneureut, and *Martin Meinzer* of Knielingen, were permitted to emigrate to America (Pr. 849 Nos. 773, 790; Pr. 1332, Nos. 1621, 1818). *Hans Georg Dillmann* and *Martin Maintzer* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

60. *Barbara Graf*, single, subject of Ispringen, was also permitted to emigrate to America (Pr. 850 No. 1047; Pr. 1332 No. 1846).

61. *Johannes Meinzer* of Hagsfelden was permitted to emigrate to America with wife and two children (Pr. 849 No. 375; Pr. 1330 No. 1167). *Johanes Maintzer* arrived on the Ship *Brothers*, September 16, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 169C).

62. *Matthias Schwarz* of Auerbach, and *Michael Mayer* and *Jacob Binder*, both from Bauschlott, were permitted to emigrate to America (Pr. 849 Nos. 604, 605; Pr. 1331 Nos. 1094, 1093). Schwarz does not appear in Strassburger-Hinke. Two *Michael Mayers* emigrated in 1751 (Lists 173C, 174C); it is impossible to identify this particular emigrant. One *Hans Jacob Binder* emigrated in 1750 (List 157C).

63. *Dieterich Löffler*, non-citizen (*Hintersass*) from Brötzingen, was permitted to emigrate to America with his wife and children (Pr. 849 Nos. 515, 587; Pr. 1331 No. 1095). *Dieterich Löffler* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Phoenix*, September 25, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 173C).



# THE HOUSE: EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ORIENTATION

## *Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 29*



*Cedar Spring Farm in Juniata County, Pennsylvania, 1877.*

The house is the focus of everyday life, of family life, of folklife. While traditional life involves one's immediate "little community" and the wider periphery of neighboring cultures plus the dominant culture of the "great community," and folklife studies involves research in the interrelations between all these phenomena, the house can provide a kind of ultimate focus for our understanding of folklife in Pennsylvania settings. In this questionnaire we wish to look in detail at the Pennsylvania house, in particular the Pennsylvania farmhouse, to determine its traditional orientation both external and internal. Will our readers share with us their memories of the houses in which they grew up, or are most familiar with? If drawings or diagrams are possible, they should be added to the written descriptions.

1. External Orientation of the House. *In which direction did the house face? How was this orientation determined? What effect did the actual geographical site, the roads, the other buildings have upon the orientation of the house? Usually, while a house is said to "face" in a certain direction, it has other orientations. Describe these additional or secondary orientations, which usually center about the back or side entrances.*

2. External Features of the House. *Did the house have a porch or porches? Where were they located?*

*What were their functions? If the house had a double-decker porch on the kitchen wing, what was the function of the lower and the upper porch? Did the house have one or two front doors? If two, what was the reason for having two front doors? What other entrances existed? When was the front door used? When were back or side entrances used? Did the house have shutters on its windows? Were they functional, i.e., did you actually use them in winter or summer? Do you know the expression "bowing the shutters"? Did the shutters on the upper story differ in color or construction from those on the ground floor? How were the shutters painted? Did the house have more than one chimney? If so, where were the chimneys located? Did the house have lightning rods? Were there other external features which can be described?*

3. Internal Orientation of the House: I. *European houses have been widely studied relative to their internal orientation. For instance, in European houses in the Catholic areas of Central Europe, there is a so-called "holy corner" (German Kuldecke, Herrgottswinkel), where devotional pictures of the deity and of the saints are kept. The room, and the house, is oriented toward that corner, which is often located above the dining table, in the house corner, between windows. Did Pennsylvania farmhouses have any such identifiable center or centers, whether religious or secular? Was there a central room or main room of*



the house, in which the family felt most at home, winter and summer? What was the focus of this room? Was there any portion of the house which had a "sacred" character, either expressing religion in some outward form, or expressing the cult of the dead? Where, for instance, in the 19th Century, were the crayon portraits of Grandfather and Grandmother usually hung? Was that particular room in a sense devoted at least in part to the memory and cult of the dead?

4. Internal Orientation of the House: II. European scholars have also studied house orientation from the structural standpoint of male-female relationships as expressed in the house itself. In recalling your old home, what were the parts which "belonged" to and in a sense were reserved for the men, and which were the parts which belonged to the women? Were there rooms or parts of rooms which could be so designated? Was this sex division of the house reflected also in an age division, i.e., on the "men's side" of the house, was there a special place of honor, a chair perhaps, which was reserved for Father or for Grandfather? for Mother or for Grandmother? What parts of the house were free range for the children, for their play sessions? Where were they not allowed to play? Could the house be divided also into ritual and non-ritual areas, i.e., was there a formal dining room for special dinners as at holiday time, was there a special "parlor" or sitting room" for visiting at special times of the week or year? Were there special times when the parlor was used—Sundays, holidays, funerals? If funerals were held in the house, as was normally the case in the 19th Century, describe the arrangements—what rooms were involved and how were the funeral guests seated?

5. Internal Features of the House. Describe the internal layout of the house, with details on its main features—cellar, first floor, second floor, attic (garret). Some farmhouses had two kitchens, a winter kitchen on the first floor, a summer kitchen in the basement or in a separate structure. Describe the arrangement of the staircase or staircases. If the house had a front and a back stairs, when were the front stairs used, when were the back or kitchen stairs used? Describe the "sanitary facilities" of the farmhouse. When were toilet and bathroom installed? (Usually this did not take place until the 20th Century). Where were baths taken in the days before internal bathrooms? How were they taken and how often were they taken? Describe the toilet arrangements in the days before the interior toilet. Describe the attic (garret) of the house. What were its uses?

6. The Grandfather's House. Was there on the farm that you are describing, as was the case on so many Pennsylvania farms (particularly but not exclusively in the Mennonite areas), a second farmhouse, usually smaller, which was dedicated to the parents or

grandparents of the farm family? If so, describe it. On what conditions did the parents surrender their farm to one of their sons and move into the second house? Which of the sons usually got the home farm? How were the daughters provided for? If there was no separate house for grandparents, was there perhaps a special section of the farmhouse devoted to the grandparents? Did they maintain a separate kitchen and table?

7. The Tenant House. If there were hired hands, a separate house was sometimes provided for them. If this was the case in your farm background, describe the house. What relation did the tenants or hired help have to the farmer's family? If hired help lived in the farmhouse with the family, where did they sleep, where did they eat? Was there ever a social distinction made, at table or in other regards, between family and hired help?

8. The Yard. Describe the yard of the farmhouse. How was it planted, how was it kept, how was it fenced? Who looked after the yard? Was there a kitchen garden? Were there flowers and ornamental shrubs? Was there a grape arbor? What other buildings besides the house were actually enclosed by the yard fence?

9. The House and the Family. We live today, most of us, in a radically different social setup, in smaller, often apartment-size quarters, isolated from our environment. Can you sum up your opinion of the advantages, and the disadvantages, of the Pennsylvania farmer's way of life in the big farmhouses of the 19th Century?

10. Village and City Dwellings. If you grew up in a Pennsylvania town or city, describe the orientation and features of the house you grew up in or are most familiar with, using the approach outlined above.

11. Lore of the House. Write down any rhymes, proverbs, songs, or other lore relating to the house and its function in our traditional culture. An example: "No house is big enough for two families".

12. Orientation of Contemporary Houses. Just for fun, send us your ideas on how contemporary houses and apartments are oriented. Has the TV replaced the European "holy corner" or are there vestiges of the "sacred" and the cult of the dead even in contemporary quarters? Are there sections of even the tiniest apartment which are specifically reserved for the "man of the house" and others which are reserved for the "woman of the house," or is everything now, as with some trends in dress, a unisex combination? If so, how do you account for the radical shift away from the rigid areal divisions of the 19th Century house?

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder  
Box 36 College Hall  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19174



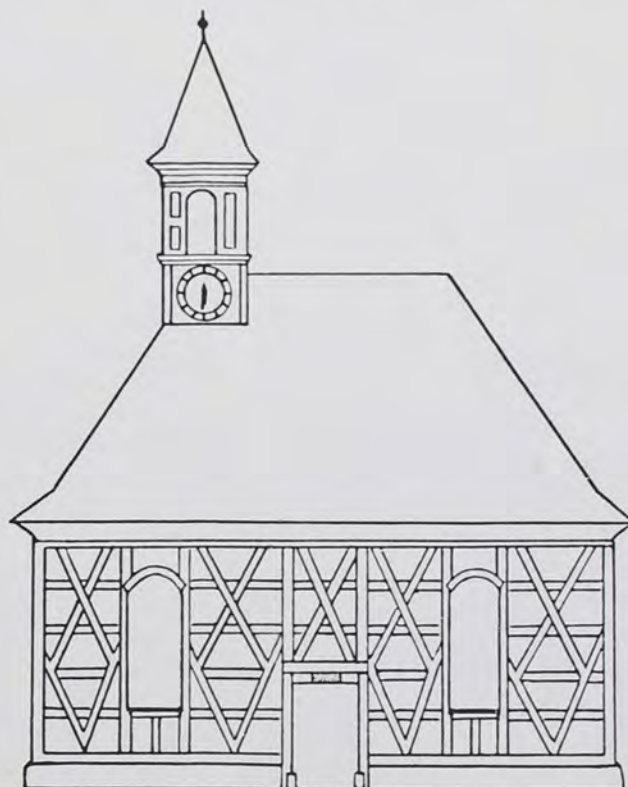
# Pennsylvania Emigrants from Friedrichstal

Friedrichstal in Baden is a town founded in the year 1699 by the margrave of Baden-Durlach, specifically for Huguenot refugees. The town history by Oskar Hornung, *Friedrichstal: Geschichte einer Hugenottengemeinde zur 250-Jahrfeier* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1949), contains detailed information on most of the founding families. Some of these, like the Gorenflos, are treated in the article by Dr. Friedrich Krebs in this issue. In addition, there came to America from Friedrichstal in the 18th Century the following emigrants: (1) *Philipp Bouquet*, farmer, and family, 1725, to the "New Land"; (2) *Augustin leRoy*, and family, 1725, to North America; (3) *Jacques Bonnet*, farmer, and family, 1734, to the "New Land"; (4) *Jean Corbeau*, farmer, and family, 1738, to Pennsylvania; and (5) *Jean Bonnet*, farmer, and family, 1739, to Pennsylvania. Detailed information on several of these is available in the Strassburger-Hinke ship lists, which begin in 1727. For example, *Jacques (Jacob) Bonnet*, spelled *Bonet* and *Bunett* in the lists, appears in List 30 A-C, on the ship *Elizabeth*, arriving at Philadelphia on August 27, 1733. According to the captain's list (A), *Jacques Bonnet (Jacob Bunett)* was 32 years old, had a wife *Mary* aged 32, and brought four children along: (1) *Margret* (aged 8), (2) *Susanna* (aged 4, listed as dead on the voyage), (3) *Christina* (aged 2, also listed as dead), and (4) *Johan Simon* (aged 9 months). *Jean Corbeau* appears as *Jean Corbo* and *Johan Carbo* on the Ship *Townsend*, arriving at Philadelphia, October 5, 1737, List 48 A-C. Possibly the *Johan Peter Bonnet* who appears in the same list is of the Friedrichstal family as well. - EDITOR.

*Title page of Friedrichstal History.*



*Interior view of Reformed Church, Friedrichstal, 1949.*



*The original Huguenot Church, 1728. From a sketch in the Baden State Archives at Karlsruhe.*

*Half-timbered village house, Friedrichstal, formerly the Lutheran Schoolhouse.*







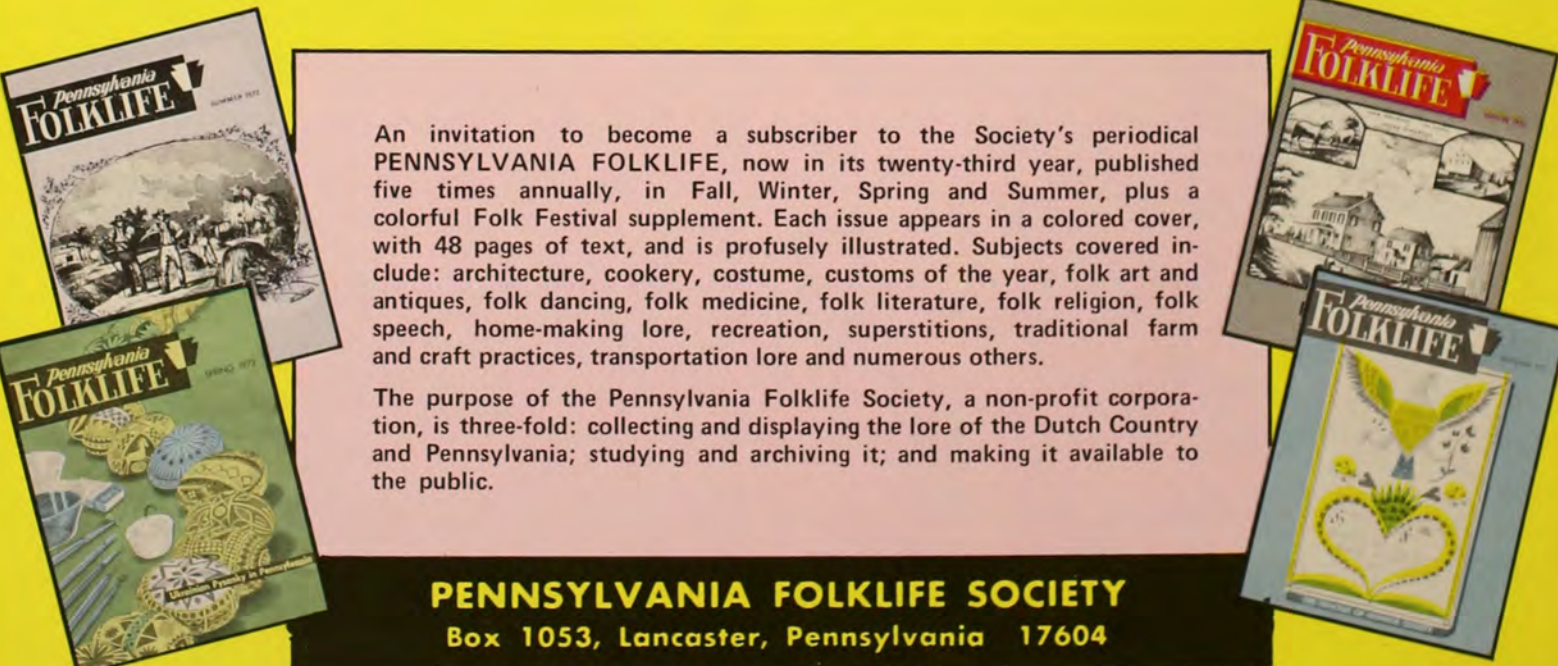
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