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# Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 24, No. 1

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# *Pennsylvania* **FOLKLIFE**

AUTUMN 1974



*WIDOWS' HOUSE, BETHLEHEM*

# Contributors to this Issue

ALBERT F. JORDAN, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was trained as an engineer and was employed by Bethlehem Steel until retirement several years ago. Since then he has been engaged in volunteer work at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, translating the letters of Peter Boehler and researching the life of Bishop Spangenberg. His article in this issue contributes solidly to our knowledge of German building procedures in colonial Pennsylvania.

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*Widows' House, Bethlehem, as constructed. 1767.  
Photo circa 1890. Standing.*

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Courtship and Marriage**  
*(Inside back cover)*

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Illustrations by courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem. Not to be reproduced without permission of the Archives.

*Artist's rendition of the first house in Bethlehem. Building no longer remains.*

# Some Early Moravian Builders In America

By ALBERT F. JORDAN

Often a talented person leaves his mark in history, but to succeeding generations his memory is dim or his identity may even be lost. When this happens, such a person's life work becomes a monument of a period in history without the reflection of personal genius. The Moravians who were involved in constructing the buildings during their early settlement in America may easily be placed in this category. It is here purposed to bring some of these men back to mind for a new generation and an age that is suddenly concerned with historic values.

Of the Moravian Brethren who founded Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the nucleus consisted of those who accompanied Peter Boehler from Georgia in April 1740. These, while awaiting further instructions from Europe, agreed to construct a building for George Whitefield, as a school house, on a piece of land which he had recently purchased in Pennsylvania and later called Nazareth. When they first arrived on the Whitefield land, they camped under an oak tree which they cut down the following morning, stripped the trunk of its bark, split the larger sections so they could use them to build a frame which they then covered with the bark. This served as their first shelter. Then followed construction of a stable intended for the animals but into which the brethren moved until the completion

of a log house about eight weeks later and which is known to-day as the Gray Cottage.<sup>1</sup> These men had built similar shelters in Georgia,<sup>2</sup> and their skill may have been acquired of necessity. The school house was located and laid out by men Whitefield commissioned for this purpose (other than Moravians). The building was to be of stone, but weather conditions caused suspension of the work, and it was not completed until 1744.<sup>3</sup>

The Moravians then arranged for the purchase of a piece of land about ten miles from Whitefield's property, on which they later established their settlement named Bethlehem. There they built their first house of logs, according to early records, a portion being reserved for animals. It seems quite likely that the sequence of their construction matched that on the Whitefield property: a rough shelter first, then the log

<sup>1</sup>J. H. Miller reports (Memoir Box 4, 1782) the recollections of Anton Seiffert and Peter Boehler. The *Bethlehem Diary*, May 3, 1755, gives the same sequence of construction in a recollection by Boehler, but with a possible difference in time interval.

<sup>2</sup>Adelaide L. Fries, *Moravians in Georgia* (Raleigh, N.C., 1905), pp. 67, 69, 79. This states that a rough shelter was built, then a building 20' x 10' followed by one 34' x 18'.

<sup>3</sup>Boehler's letter to Zinzendorf, dated Dec. 16/27, 1743, in Library of Congress Rep. 14A No. 27; also referred to in *Transactions of the Moravian Society*, XXII, pt. 11 p. 133.

house usually thought of as the first house,<sup>4</sup> but intended eventually for the animals only, then the *Gemeinhaus*, often called the large house. This, generally speaking, would also have matched the order of construction in Georgia.

The log house on the Whitefield property was made of squared logs with the timbers dove-tailed at the corners with great skill.<sup>5</sup> The *Gemeinhaus* in Bethlehem was built in similar fashion though its dimensions were much larger and by the middle of September, 1742, an extension to it was already underway. However, an addition of fifty-seven people in June, 1742, provided sufficient manpower for this undertaking. The early Moravians placed much more importance on their spiritual relationship and congregation regulations than on physical skills, but it is fitting to mention some of these people with their trades. Among the early Moravian Brethren these names appear: *Gotthard Demuth*, cabinet maker; *George Waschke*, carpenter; *Michael Haberland*, carpenter; *George Haberland*, mason; *Friedrich Riedel*, mason; *Anton Seiffert*, carpenter; *David Zeisberger*, carpenter; *George Neisser*, wheelwright; *John Boehner*, carpenter; *David Nitschmann, Sr.*, wheelwright, carpenter; *Andrew Schober*, mason; *Carl Schulze*, mason; and *Tobias Hirte*, carpenter. These are just a few of those with building trades who came to the Moravian settlements in the early years and contributed their skills in the construction of the buildings. Others, whose abilities are more distinctive, will appear in the narrative associated with their chief accomplishments. These were men of various abilities, true pioneers moved by religious zeal. By May, 1755, when the cornerstone for Zinzendorf's house in Nazareth was laid, there were 1,034 Moravians in America.

Peter Boehler reported to Count Zinzendorf in 1743, that "over this summer we built a nice mill, a good milk house, a cabinet making building, an inn of shaped logs two stories high, forty feet long and twenty-six feet wide, a large horse stable for twenty-four horses, also a large hall for the inn. In Bethlehem, the tannery and forge shop were built; in Nazareth the large house is under roof and a large barn has been built."<sup>6</sup> The large house in Nazareth referred to here was the building which the brethren started to build for George Whitefield in 1740. This building was of stone, but all the other buildings mentioned were probably of log

<sup>4</sup>Levering suggests that the Brethren stayed with friends across the Lehigh River during the construction of the 40' x 20' log "First House." But this would have required crossing the river twice daily and therefore a temporary hut is more likely. The ferry was not launched until March 1743.

<sup>5</sup>For this type of construction as practiced by the Swedes, Finns and Germans, see C. A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America from Pioneer Days to the Present* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 340ff.

<sup>6</sup>Boehler's letter to Zinzendorf, dated Nov. 1, 1743, in the Library of Congress Rep. 14A No. 27.



*The Whitefield House, Nazareth. Begun 1740. Shown circa 1900, before addition was built.*

construction, with the inn mentioned specifically as having shaped logs. This inn was usually referred to as the inn or tavern across the Lehigh, though a record of 1755 names Gottfried Grabs as the inn keeper in the *Stern*.<sup>7</sup> It later became known as the Crown Inn and remained in service until 1858 when it was torn down.

#### HENRY ANTES

Henry Antes early became a friend and supporter of the Moravian cause. He belonged to a group that had banded together in an effort to improve the religious condition of the German-speaking people in Eastern Pennsylvania. Spangenberg, the early leader of the Moravians in Bethlehem, became acquainted with Antes because their interest in this respect was similar. When Peter Boehler made his exploratory visit to George Whitefield's property, Antes accompanied him. When Boehler showed interest in acquiring a piece of land for the Moravians, Antes directed him to Nathaniel Irish who was a land agent for William Allen. When the purchase was fully arranged, Antes agreed to have the title placed in his name. In later years the Moravian vessel *Irene* was also registered in Antes' name. Antes was a millwright and for more than seven years the early Moravians reaped the benefit of his skill. With help from his son Philip, he supervised the building of the first mill in Bethlehem (1743) on the Monocacy Creek, just down hill from the early building occupied by the Brethren.<sup>8</sup> This is the mill to which Boehler referred in his letter to Zinzendorf. Gotthard Demuth from Germantown assisted with this construction.<sup>9</sup> In May 1747 a combination saw mill and grist mill were begun under Antes' supervision, at the settlement

<sup>7</sup>The corner stone for Nazareth Hall contains a list of all the Moravians in America at that time and some of their occupations. This list is recorded in the *Bethlehem Diary*.

<sup>8</sup>J. Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1903), pp. 161, 195, 196, 250, 253, 256.

<sup>9</sup>For further reference to Demuth and mill construction, see *The Bethlehem Diary*, vol. I, 1742-1744, translated and edited by Kenneth G. Hamilton, pp. 146, 151, 199.

(Gnadenhütten) which the Moravians established for the Indians on the upper Lehigh River. In November 1747 a saw and grist mill were begun at Christian Spring. Three years later (1750) Antes built the largest mill at Friedensthal. This had two water wheels and two sets of stones. Antes moved to Bethlehem in 1745 and remained an active member of the congregation until September 5, 1750, when he returned to his farm property in Frederick Township, Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County.

Antes' construction ability was not limited to mill building. One may safely assume that his advice was sought for every major construction project from the very beginning of the Moravian settlements until he decided to return to his former home.

After the log house, sometimes called the large house or the *Gemeinhaus*, was completed, stone construction took over in the form of the first single brethren's house (50 ft. x 30 ft.). The location was determined as early as July 7, 1742. The corner stone was not laid until August 9, 1744, and the dedication took place on December 6, 1744. When a construction project was considered, one of the brethren might be designated to make a plan. This plan would then be considered in conference and altered or even remade several times until it satisfied all members. It is not clear whether the Lot<sup>10</sup> was always used to determine a final decision. Several of the brethren might be designated to supervise the construction. It is generally believed that this single brethren's house established the pattern of architecture for the early Moravian buildings which were of stone masonry. The early records do not state who made the plan or supervised the construction, however, the procedure used with regard to the second single brethren's house suggests that a similar procedure might have applied to the earlier house.

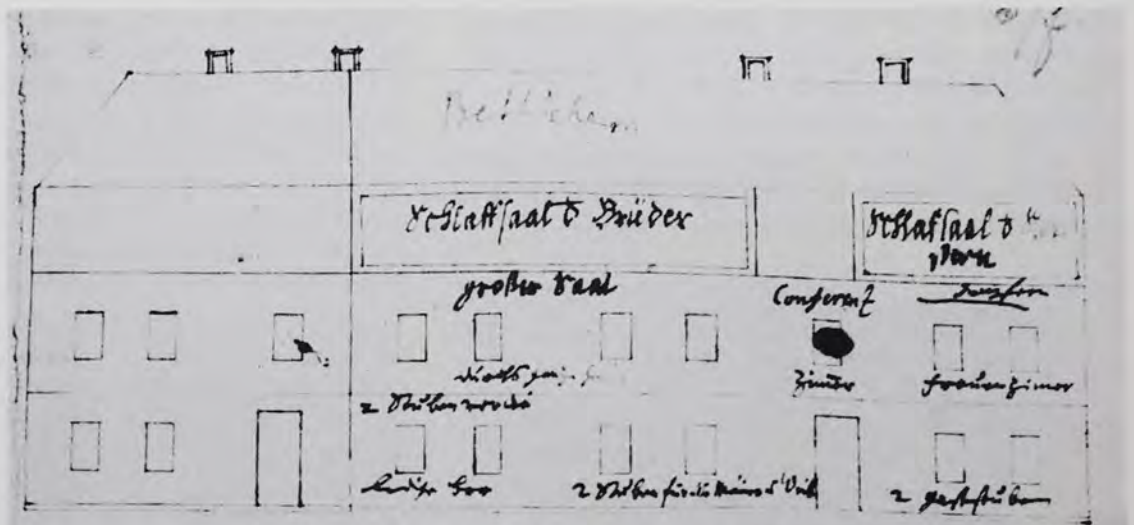
<sup>10</sup>The Lot, see Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 50ff.

It should here be pointed out that Antes' influence in the early building construction of the Moravians is emphasized when one recognizes that the brick arch over window and door openings, which is characteristic of these early stone buildings, also appears on the Henry Antes house in Frederick Township, built in 1735. But there are other examples of this detail of construction in Eastern Pennsylvania for this period and one may not associate its origin mainly with those who came from the Palatinate."

The second single brethren's house, the largest building undertaken up to that time, was intended to house the single brethren and the older boys. The Single Brethren's Diary tells us that on December 8/19, 1747, "The plan of the future single brethren's house was shown. This is the fourth plan and they can be complimented that they are making an effort to consider it and think about it. They are then to take their objections to the *Bau-Meister* [master builder or architect]." No record has been found which designates who the draftsman was. The cornerstone was laid 27 March/7 April 1748 and the dedication took place November 5/16, 1748. This cornerstone contained a lead box in which was placed the names of the 57 single brethren, 22 boys, also 33 boys who were candidates for the house. This document names Henrich Antes as "*Vorsteher and Bau Directoris*." Though Antes did not become a resident of Bethlehem until June, 1745, some of his activity was prior to that date as has already been mentioned. Because he was not a resident of Bethlehem at the time the first single brethren's house was built may be the reason his name was not included in the cornerstone for that structure, but it seems logical that both brethren's houses, as well as the Whitefield house, were built with his advice. A

"Richard S. Montgomery, "Houses of the Oley Valley," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, VI:3, shows the early German influence in the house of the first known settler in Oley, dated 1732.

*Gemeinhaus* in Bethlehem, built 1741. Disposition of rooms is shown. Present use: museum.



drawing<sup>12</sup> showing the south elevation and an end view of the second single brethren's house bears the name of Gottlieb Robins. This gives us its size as follows: "83 feet by 50 feet broad, 33 [feet] to the first eaves, 9 [feet] to the second, 10 [feet] to the top." This drawing bears no date. The name of Robins appears in the Single Brethren's Diary for the first time in July 25, 1747, when he and four other brethren "wrote for Communion." Under date of September 30, 1747, the Diary records that the Helper's Conference had named Robins as future baker in Bethlehem. With Okely he helped to rig the *Irene* prior to its first voyage and then returned to Bethlehem. His name remains in the Bethlehem records until September 14, 1749, when he and Peter Drews went to the *Irene* to help get it ready for another voyage.<sup>13</sup> Though he was not a member of the first crew of the *Irene*, it is likely that he was a member on other voyages.<sup>14</sup> At this point one can only speculate whether he learned to draw or paint from Nicolas Garrison, Jr., who was an artist as well as a seaman. It is probable that Robins had been a Quaker. (His sister, Esther, was married to one of the Brethren, Christopher Frölich.)



*Christiansbrunn (Christian Spring), near Nazareth. Shown circa 1760. All buildings demolished.*

The inn which Boehler mentions in his letter to Zinzendorf (1743), stating that it was built of shaped logs, was a very urgently needed building because of the constant flow of visitors. But every structure built by the Moravians had careful planning. "One must first

<sup>12</sup>This drawing is in Herrnhut, Germany, but the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem has a photograph of it. The size (83' x 50') is confirmed in the Single Brethren's Diary under date of January 10, 1748.

<sup>13</sup>Single Brethren's Diary, July 22/August 2, 1748. The *Irene* left on its first voyage September 8, 1748. Obviously, Robins was not a member of the crew on the first voyage as has been suggested.

<sup>14</sup>See also Daniel Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, (London, 1856), p. 168 for reference to Robins in 1744.

build in the air (and consider everything carefully) before one builds in the ground."<sup>15</sup> This does not mean that plans were always put on paper; it is probable that many structures built in the early period were built by the master workmen without reference to drawings. So it is not surprising that plans of this early inn have not come to light.

The Whitefield house (56 feet x 35 feet), which was begun in 1740, had only progressed partway when the unfavorable weather put an end to the masonry work. Late in 1743, a large number of Moravian colonists were scheduled to arrive in Bethlehem. This addition to their ranks would have taxed the facilities. Therefore, work was again begun on the Whitefield house in order to accommodate the expected arrivals. It is to be noted that Whitefield had sold the property to the Moravians. Favorable weather permitted the work to progress with the help of four men from Germantown. Though the work was begun in September it was possible to get the building under roof before bad weather set in. The group arrived on December 5, and several succeeding days. Carpenters and cabinet makers, possibly as many as 15 or 16 in number, immediately went to Nazareth to lay the floors and make the windows and doors. Soon after the beginning of the year 1744 the brothers and sisters moved in. Though Antes inspected the house during its construction, much of the responsibility was in the hands of Anton Seiffert as master carpenter, and also of the master mason.<sup>16</sup>

On September 5, 1750, Henry Antes moved back to his farm property in Frederick Township, as stated earlier. Living in Bethlehem was no longer acceptable to him, but he remained a friend of the Moravians until his death in 1755. However, he returned to the Bethlehem area in the spring of 1751 to see how the various mills were operating and to advise on some of the construction that was underway or just being planned. And when Spangenberg went to North Carolina in August 1752, Antes went with him. In January 1754 Spangenberg invited Antes to return to Bethlehem, but without success.<sup>17</sup>

#### J. C. CHRISTENSEN

With Antes no longer guiding the important construction of the Brethren, it was necessary to send brethren from Europe with the needed talents. Certainly a mill builder would be near the top of the list of those requested. In 1751, the *Irene* brought Johann Christopher Christensen to America. He arrived in Bethlehem September 28. Christensen was born February 7, 1716, in Schleswig-Holstein, and was a Lutheran.

<sup>15</sup>Bethlehem Helper's Conference, 1746-1749, under date December 8/19, 1747, item 6.

<sup>16</sup>The name of Anton [Seiffert] as master carpenter is given in *The Bethlehem Diary*, p. 165. Who the master mason was is not disclosed.

<sup>17</sup>Letter written by Spangenberg in Lancaster, January 22, 1754.





*Gnadenthal (Gracedale) and Christiansbrunn, near Nazareth. 1756. All buildings demolished.*

As a young man he had avoided service in the militia by getting employment in a mill in nearby Hadersleben. This mill served the king, and those who were employed there were free from conscription. Christensen's brother was working there at the time. In 1744 he accompanied a woman to the Brethren's settlement in Herrnhut and joined the congregation there in September of that year. In December, 1744, he and thirteen other brethren went to Neusaltz to help build that new settlement. He stayed there five years helping with the carpenter work. He was recalled to Herrnhut and then, in 1751, came to America, arriving in Bethlehem in September of that year. His experience as a carpenter is obvious, but his training in mill building is less clear. Some of his accomplishments in America can be taken from his memoir:<sup>18</sup>

My first work in this country was in the mill at Friedensthal—to make a new mill run; and this was the beginning of my future mill building work. After this I built the first oil mill along with a tan-bark and hemp mill. Then I made the beginning with the water works, which at that time was not a success because the pipes were not strong enough. In [October] 1754, I was sent to Carolina and built the grist and saw mill at Bethabara. I returned to Bethlehem in the fall of 1756. In February 1757 I went to Litiz with three helpers to build the mill there. [John Sebastian Graff directed the general construction, but the wood work waited for Christensen.] By November 11, we got the first mill run finished and by November of the following year [1758] the whole mill was finished, namely the grist mill and the saw mill.

After various repair jobs on our mills, I was

assigned, in 1761, to again take over building of the water works and which I completed in June 1762.<sup>19</sup>

In 1764 I rebuilt the oil mill [actually begun March 7, 1765] which had burned down on November 18, 1763. From May 1770 until March 1771, I built the mill at Hope, New Jersey.

But first he rebuilt the old mill which was on the property at Hope when it was acquired by the Brethren (1769).

Christensen died on September 15, 1776. He had gone to Litiz to rebuild the mill which had burned down. The year before, he had contracted a cold due to exposure, and though he had several relapses, he was able to complete the rebuilding of the Litiz mill before the end came.

In his memoir, Christensen certainly included what might be considered his major projects. But he also built other mills which should not be overlooked. The Single Brethren's Diary gives this information:

November 2, 1767, Christensen, Leinbach and Rauschenberger finished a hemp mill in Maguntsche [Macungie].

December 16, 1767, Christensen built a mill for Henry Funk in Allentown.

March 9, 1769, Arbo and Christensen signed a contract with Jacob Arndt to build a mill in Easton.

October 24, 1771, Christensen and Aeshly went to work for Mr. Heller for several weeks [in Hellertown].

<sup>19</sup>The Bethlehem Diaconate Conference minutes (October 1761) indicate that Christensen had urged that the new water works be built. But it was agreed that Br. Marschall should first confer with Christensen and perhaps with Hoeger before anything was decided.

<sup>18</sup>Christensen's Memoir in the Single Brethren's Diary.

April 10, 1774, Christensen was working on a mill for Patton near Reading.

May 16, 1774, Christensen, David Bischof and Hagen went to Arti Latemore to build him a saw mill.

October 4, 1774, Christensen began a grist mill for Sebastian Levant.

While in North Carolina, Christensen not only built the mill at Bethabara, but he assisted in the construction of the single brethren's house at that place<sup>20</sup> and in constructing palisades as protection against the Indians. However, the mill construction was his primary work.

About the time Christensen was instructed to return to Bethlehem, the Brethren appointed a mill inspector (Oct. 13, 1756). They may have felt the need for such a person because Christensen was to be away from Bethlehem for a time and was to be occupied with building the mill at Litiz. Though the reason is not clear, the fact is of interest: "Br. Abr. Andres will become our inspector of mills and no one will improve or change anything without his advance knowledge."<sup>21</sup> As time goes on, the status of Christensen as a mill builder becomes clearer. In the diary for the oil mill construction (Dec. 20, 1764) we find that Christensen was named "the mill builder in the single brethren's economy."<sup>22</sup> He had, however, been on a salary since April 12, 1762.

Though Christensen infers in his memoir that the first water works was not a success, and in spite of the fact that constant repairs were needed in the distribution system and eventually the whole works had to be rebuilt, the over-all concept was sound. Prior to the central water system, the water needed by the various living units and industrial units was carried from the large spring near the Monocacy Creek either by men or with the help of animals. Henry Antes had been asked to consider means for improving on this means of distribution, but it is not known whether he did anything in this matter.

A rather complete study of the early water works and its distribution system was made in the 19th Century by Robert Rau,<sup>23</sup> giving credit for important data to Gilbert Bischoff, a descendant of John David Bischoff who was apprenticed to Christensen. Some information regarding Bischoff should be of interest. John David Bischoff was born April 27, 1749. He was raised in the children's institutions in Bethlehem and Christian Spring, later coming to Bethlehem to learn the trade of wagon builder. After finishing this apprenticeship, he served for several years in the grist mill and then

<sup>20</sup>Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Publication of the N. C. Historical Commission, vol. I, 1752-1771, p. 130.

<sup>21</sup>Diaconate Conference minutes, 1758-1771.

<sup>22</sup>"From this date [December 10, 1764] Br. H. Christoph Christensen is the mill builder in the S. Brr. economy and has worked on the plan of the oil mill until the 15th."

<sup>23</sup>Robert Rau, *Historical Sketch of the Bethlehem Water Works*, (Bethlehem, 1877); Rau's original draft of this work is on loan to the Archives.

decided to learn mill building. He was married May 31, 1781.<sup>24</sup>

The pump of the first water works was tested on June 21, 1754. The Bethlehem diary contains this entry: "This evening, near 7 o'clock, we had the pleasure of seeing the water from our spring squirting as high as a house on the *Platz* in Bethlehem where it was tried for the first time." Since the *Platz* was close to the site of the water distribution tower one can consider this to have been a fair test. At the time of this test, John David Bischoff would have been five years of age and any information he might have furnished regarding this first pump could well be open to question. At the time the second water works was in operation (July 1762), he would have been only thirteen years of age and, therefore, any reliable information regarding this early project probably came from other sources.

It has also been thought that John Böhner, a missionary on the island of St. Thomas, made a model of a pump for Christensen to follow.<sup>25</sup> But since Böhner did not arrive in Bethlehem from St. Thomas until August 7, 1754 (about a month and a half after the testing of the pump), he could not have assisted Christensen with the first design. The early pumps (1754 and 1761) were powered by undershot water-wheels with water from the Monocacy Creek. The first pump probably had two cylinders of wood. Though the kind of wood used for this purpose is not mentioned in the records, it is not unreasonable to assume that one of the common hard woods in the area was used. Robert Rau reports that *lignum vitae* wood was used for the cylinders. This wood is native to the Caribbean Islands and it may have been used for a later replacement, possibly on Böhner's recommendation. The pump for the second water works (1761-1762) to which Christensen refers, was made with three cylinders of cast iron. The bored wooden pipes were unable to sustain the water pressure, and critical sections were later replaced with lead pipes, but eventually with cast iron pipes. The first pump was enclosed with a frame building 18 ft. x 14 ft. which was appraised at £40 for tax purposes in 1758.<sup>26</sup> The second pump was enclosed with a stone building two stories high, 30 ft. x 22 ft. The General Diacony Ledger 1762-1771, shows a cost of £522-16-7½ as of May 31, 1765, for the water works, including the building exclusive of the tile roof. Christensen also made small hand pumps to be used to bring water from outdoor tanks or wells to the kitchens or other places where water was needed. A record for May 1764, lists pump work for the tannery, sister's wash house, for soap making, for the house in Easton, the Sun Inn, for Hartman, Verdriess, Arbo,

<sup>24</sup>Memoir of John David Bischoff.

<sup>25</sup>Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pa.*, p. 289.

<sup>26</sup>See Specifications for Buildings, with the Extracts of Bethlehem Accounts, 1747-1765.



*Gemeinhaus interior, circa 1900.*

and Funck.<sup>27</sup> The Sun Inn had a well and likewise the house in Easton. A gift of 30 shillings was made to Christensen and a gift of 15 shillings was made to Demuth, his assistant, for their accomplishment in producing running water.<sup>28</sup> They had both been paid day wages, but Christensen was recommended to be special water works inspector (July 21, 1762) at £10 per year.<sup>29</sup> The ledger for this period does not record this amount so it may be that the suggestion was not acceptable. However, the ledger discloses that Christensen received a salary on the basis of £40 per year during the period April 12, 1762 to May 12, 1763, and on the basis of £50 per year from May 12, 1763. Under date of November 2, 1756, Spangenberg made him a gift of £10 "in consideration of his hard labor in building a grist and saw mill in Wachovia." On January 29, 1759, he "received a gratuity of £5 for building the mill in Litiz."

Though Christensen has many projects to his credit, the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem has only the plans for the mill at Litiz. But it has photographs of plans of the Bethlehem oil mill, and of the second water works with a description of the latter. These photographs came from the Moravian Archives in Herrnhut, Germany.<sup>30</sup> On April 12, 1774, the governor of St. Croix visited Bethlehem, and at that time Christensen made him a present of the plans and description of the water works.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the authentic record was lost to Bethlehem. The water pump drawings (from which the photographs were made) were made about five years after the pump was put into operation. It is possible that these drawings were made by Johann Arbo, the warden of the Single Brethren in Bethlehem.

Christensen made a model of a threshing machine. If the Brethren approved this, he expected to begin its construction. One can well speculate whether Christensen followed models in his mill construction, but

<sup>27</sup>Haupt Buch of Christoph Christensen, mill builder, May 1, 1762 to May 28, 1764.

<sup>28</sup>General Diacony Ledger, 1762-1771, p. 160.

<sup>29</sup>Bethlehem Diaconate Conference minutes, 1758-1771.

<sup>30</sup>Photographs by Harry Rinker, etc.

<sup>31</sup>Single Brethren's Diary for April 12, 1774.

there is evidence that he made drawings for the oil mill in Bethlehem and for the mill at Hope, New Jersey.<sup>32</sup>

On April 20, 1754, those people who had made the recent journey from Europe on the *Irene*, arrived in Bethlehem. Among the passengers was August Gottlieb Spangenberg. He was in charge of the Moravian activities in America and was returning after having gone to Europe to report on the recently acquired land in North Carolina. It is thought that he brought with him the plans for a building in which the Moravian leader and patron, Count Zinzendorf, might live if his banishment would bring him to America. These plans were made by Friedrich Wilhelm von Marschall.<sup>33</sup> The building was intended for Nazareth. Marschall had been in charge of the reconstruction of Lindsey House, Zinzendorf's headquarters in Chelsea, England. He did not come to America until 1761. But the construction of Zinzendorf's house, subsequently called Nazareth Hall, followed other plans and the building was indeed much larger than the original plans indicated. (The Archives in Bethlehem recently acquired photographs of the actual plans that were used.) It was the largest building (98 ft. x 46 ft.) undertaken by the Moravians in that period. It is quite likely that the final plans were made by the Moravian architect, Sigismund von Gersdorf. He had been the architect for the alterations to Lindsey House. Nazareth Hall was similar in size and appearance to Lichtenburg, the temporary residence of Zinzendorf in Herrnhag, which was built in 1748.<sup>34</sup> It was customary for a master builder or architect, or an engineer, to conceive the general plan, but to leave the details of construction to the artisans. Therefore much of the construction detail was left to Tobias Hirte, the master carpenter, and to Carl Schulze, the master mason. Two different sites were staked out for this building, but the decision for the "upper place" was later confirmed by the Lot.<sup>35</sup> The Nazareth diary (Dec. 12, 1754) contains this entry: "Br. Nathanael, Gottlieb Bezold and Heckewaelder went to the site where the *Jünger-Haus* is to stand and actually staked it out together." The corner stone was placed on May 3, 1755, at a ceremony that began with trumpets waking the Brethren, followed by the morning blessing.<sup>36</sup> The building progressed in stages; the hall was dedicated November 13, 1756. Horsefield came to look at this building on September 24, 1755, and gave a lovefeast to the workers. It was found that

<sup>32</sup>Diary of the oil mill construction, and the Bethlehem Diaconate Conference minutes, 1758-1771.

<sup>33</sup>Spangenberg records Box II, folder III, August 9, 1753. The writing on the drawing in the Archives is not that of Marschall and therefore may be a copy.

<sup>34</sup>Wolf Marx, *Die Saalkirche der Deutschen Brudergemeine im 18 Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1931), Plate VI.

<sup>35</sup>Nazareth Diary for January 8, 1755.

<sup>36</sup>For a full report of the celebration, see the Nazareth Diary for this period.

the work involved brethren “from six different nations: English, French, Germans, Danes, Bohemians, and one from Guinea. They were also from twenty-four different countries and provinces.”<sup>37</sup> It was customary to name one or more brethren to supervise construction work. The Nazareth Hall construction was under the supervision of Gottlieb Bezold and Nathanael [Seidel].<sup>38</sup> However, by January 3, 1757, the interior work had not been completed. The Congregation Conference decided it should be completed with all “application.” Br. Gottlieb was designated to continue the supervision.

#### G. W. GOLKOWSKY

On September 14, 1753, a man with training as a carpenter arrived in Bethlehem. His name was George Wenzelaus Golkowsky (also spelled Golkovsky or Golkowvsky). He was born February 23, 1725, the son of a Polish officer. At the age of five his mother arranged for him and his brother and sister, who were older than he, to leave home secretly and go to an area where they would be safe from Catholic influence. Eventually, he got under the tutorship of one of the Brethren from the Moravian settlement of Herrnhut. In 1740 he became apprenticed to learn cabinet work or carpentry. Five years later he went to the new settlement of Neusalz to help with the construction. In 1750 he was sent to England to work on some of the construction work in Fulneck and Chelsea and then became part of the illfated mission to Labrador in which the captain and six others were murdered. (At the time of the murders, Golkowsky was erecting the build-

ing which was to house this new mission.) He got back to London and worked on the remodeling of Lindsey House. From there he was sent to America and reached Bethlehem September 14, 1753.<sup>39</sup> Golkowsky learned surveying and bookkeeping and did work in those areas in later years, but there is little doubt that he was sent to America because of his knowledge of building construction. (There is evidence of considerable surveying by Golkowsky.) The Archives in Bethlehem contain early original building plans, but none of them carries the name of the person who made them. Plans of settlements sometimes have the makers’ names. Golkowsky’s hand-writing was precise and neat, and from its characteristics one may conclude that the following building plans were made by him: a rifle barrel shop, a house for the saw miller, a barn, two floor plans for a possible brethren’s house, an addition to a fulling mill, and a boys’ institution. But there may have been many more buildings which Golkowsky planned until his death in 1813 though the evidence is lacking.

#### ANDREAS HOEGER

Another of the Brethren, Andreas Hoeger, arrived in Bethlehem April 20, 1754. He had journeyed from Europe on the *Irene* with Spangenberg, being one of six single brethren. He is variously designated as architect, master builder, surveyor, and building inspector; a “Return of the United Brethren of Bethlehem Township,” dated December 9, 1756, lists the name of Andreas Hoeger, “wholly employed as chief school master.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup>Nazareth *Diary* for this date.

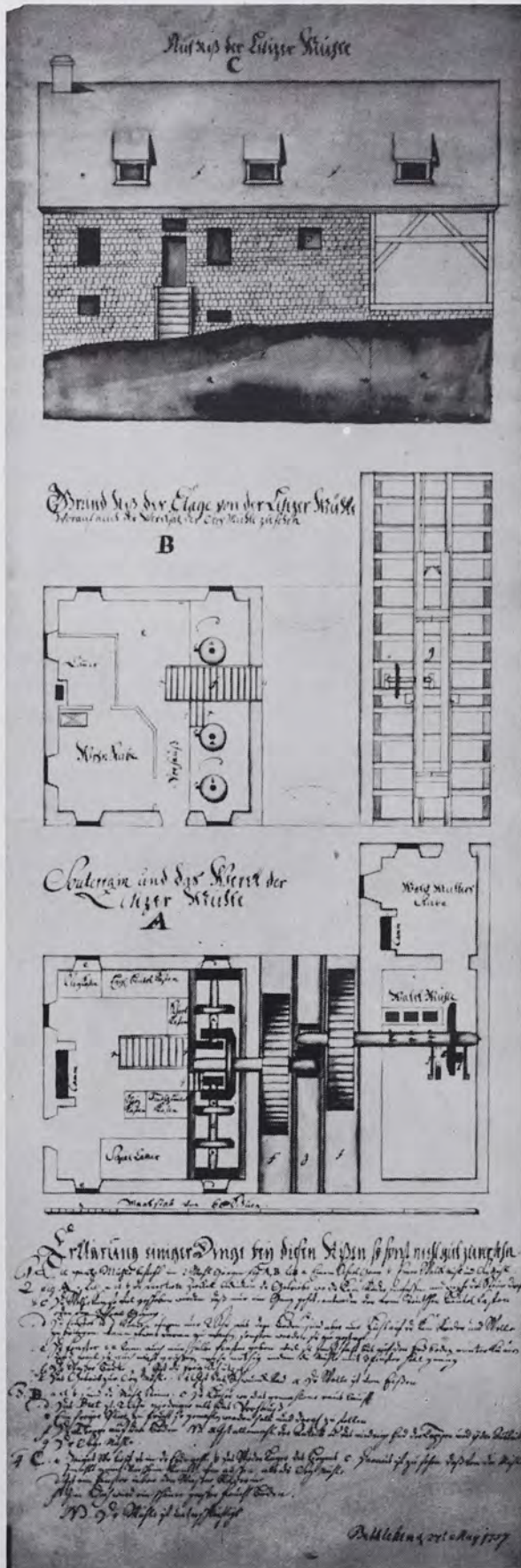
<sup>38</sup>Bethlehem *Diary*, December 7, 1754.

<sup>39</sup>Golkowsky’s Memoir (Box 1, 1813).

<sup>40</sup>Nazareth Records: Publica (Taxes, Services, etc.).



Brethren's House,  
Bethlehem. 1748.  
Gottlieb Robin's  
drawing. Standing.



Christensen. Lititz, Pennsylvania, mill. 1757. No longer standing.

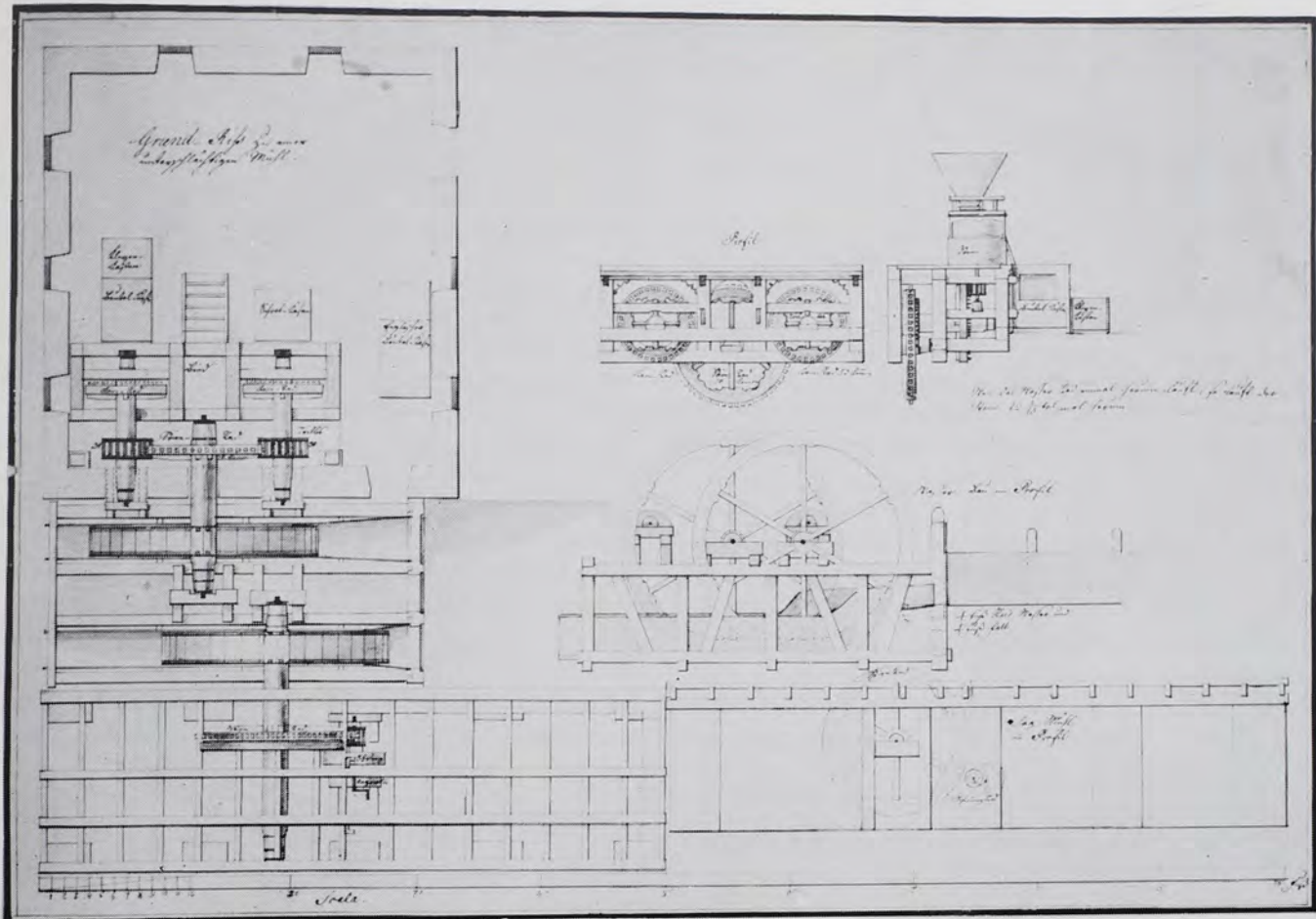
The Moravian Brethren had expanded their activities: new settlements were being established, new building facilities were needed and old ones needed expansion. A man of Hoeger's qualifications was certainly needed. Andreas Hoeger was born in Nürnberg, August 14, 1714, a member of the Lutheran faith. It has been recorded that he joined the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhag, Germany, in May 1742. Information regarding his early training and activities until he appeared in Bethlehem (1754) is not readily available. However, the records of the General Synod held by the Brethren in Marienborn in 1744, include the name of Andreas Hoeger and indicate the places where he had served, as Nürnberg, Neusalz, Herrnhag, Marienborn and Amsterdam. The records of the General Synod held in Zeyst in 1746, have Hoeger designated as "virtuoso." At an earlier synod (Hirschberg, 1743), he was designated as Henrich Müller's colleague, which, along with other evidence, suggests that he might have been on Zinzendorf's staff or in his circle of advisors. But everyone of the Brethren who came to America in this period came to fill a definite need, and this can also be said of Andreas Hoeger.

His first assignment after coming to Bethlehem, as recorded in the Single Brethren's Diary (May 23, 1754), was to go to Gnadenhütten and lay out that Indian settlement on the upper Lehigh River; he returned the following day. After that (June 19, 1754), the conference in Nazareth decided that he should "make a plan for a new house in the new settlement (Dorf). He must see the old plan and revise it. He should makè the plan for the whole settlement, approximately like Lincoln's Inn Fields, but not so large." This probably referred to a development around the new Zinzendorf house in Nazareth and suggests that Hoeger knew the Lincoln Inn area in London. We do not know what Hoeger developed, but Zinzendorf did not make Nazareth Hall his residence and the new settlement did not take form at this time.

One of the reasons for Hoeger's coming to America is soon apparent. In August 1754, he accompanied Peter Boehler to the newly acquired property in North Carolina.<sup>41</sup> His purpose was to lay out this large property, mainly into plots of 2,000 acres, retaining a large portion for the congregation. This took many days and required assistance from some of the brethren. He then made a map of the total plot of approximately 100,000 acres, leaving for Bethlehem November 18, 1754.<sup>42</sup> Jonas Paulus Weiss, who carried some of the financial responsibility for the Brethren, had discussed this project with Hoeger before he came to America. In a letter, dated November 7, 1754, he states "If Hoeger goes with

<sup>41</sup>Single Brethren's Diary for August 21, 1754.

<sup>42</sup>Publication of the N. C. Historical Commission, vol. I, p. 107.



Hoeger. Saw and Flour Mill. 1757. Not standing.

Boehler to measure off the lots, he is to think of the things I asked him to remember.”<sup>43</sup>

Though Hoeger’s name is only mentioned indirectly in connection with the proposed house for Zinzendorf, soon after his return from North Carolina he was with Lawatsch, Gottlieb and Johannes Bonn looking for a suitable place to quarry stone for that building and also looking at the building site by the “Gnadenthaler Wiese.”<sup>44</sup> Among the 1,034 names placed in the corner stone, there was also Andreas Hoeger, a single brother, but no specific occupation was given.

Though Hoeger must have come to America well recommended, the Brethren seemed to be overly cautious. “Brother Hoeger who has excellent gifts in this area was considered for building inspector under Lawatsch, only he has first to get acquainted with the practice here in this country and what we favor. He has foundation for it, only the brethren think he does not understand mill building.”<sup>45</sup> In January 1756 he

was named to go to Warwick—the location of the future Litiz—with several brethren who would then make recommendations. The following month he went with Gottlieb [Pezold] and Joseph to lay out the new cemetery in Nazareth, which was then dedicated on February 14, 1756.<sup>46</sup> Carl Schulze, the master mason, was to consult with Hoeger about the dam for the new saw mill.<sup>47</sup>

The Moravian Brethren were not always efficient in the use of individual talents, and the year 1756 shows Hoeger’s time divided between supervising the young boys who were learning to copy records that were later to be sent to other congregations, and advising the Brethren regarding Warwick, studying the new store project and laying out roads. He offered to teach drafting to the children. We find that he actually instructed or tutored James Noble for about two years for which he received a gratuity of £10 from the trustees of the Thomas Noble Estate, in recognition of this service.

<sup>43</sup>Wachovia Records, Box II, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

<sup>44</sup>Nazareth Diary for December 18, 1754.

<sup>45</sup>Bethlehem Conference, 1755-56 (November 3, 1755). From this quotation one can infer that construction practice in America was different from that in Europe.

<sup>46</sup>Single Brethren’s Diary for this date.

<sup>47</sup>Bethlehem Conference, 1755-1756 (February 17, 1756).

P. C. G. REUTER

On December 16, 1756, Philipp Christian Gottlieb Reuter arrived in Bethlehem. He was born in Michelstadt, Germany, on September 5, 1717.<sup>48</sup> His father, a surgeon, lost his wealth, after which he moved from place to place in an effort to support his family. As a young boy of fifteen years, Reuter was apprenticed to a surveyor and showed especial aptitude for this work. His first contact with the Moravian Brethren came through Herrnhag, but he was active in several other Moravian settlements before coming to Bethlehem. Reuter was a most valuable addition to the community. It was probably because of his surveying knowledge that it was intended he go to Wachovia, in North Carolina, but the Indian unrest kept him in the Bethlehem area until June, 1758, at which time he left for North Carolina. Reuter had done extensive surveying in Europe and had been building inspector in the Moravian settlement of Niesky in Germany (1752). In the Bethlehem area his work was mainly surveying. The maps that he made show great skill in this field, and the detail regarding plant growth must have been of great value to these early settlers. He taught Golkowsky the technique of surveying<sup>49</sup> and

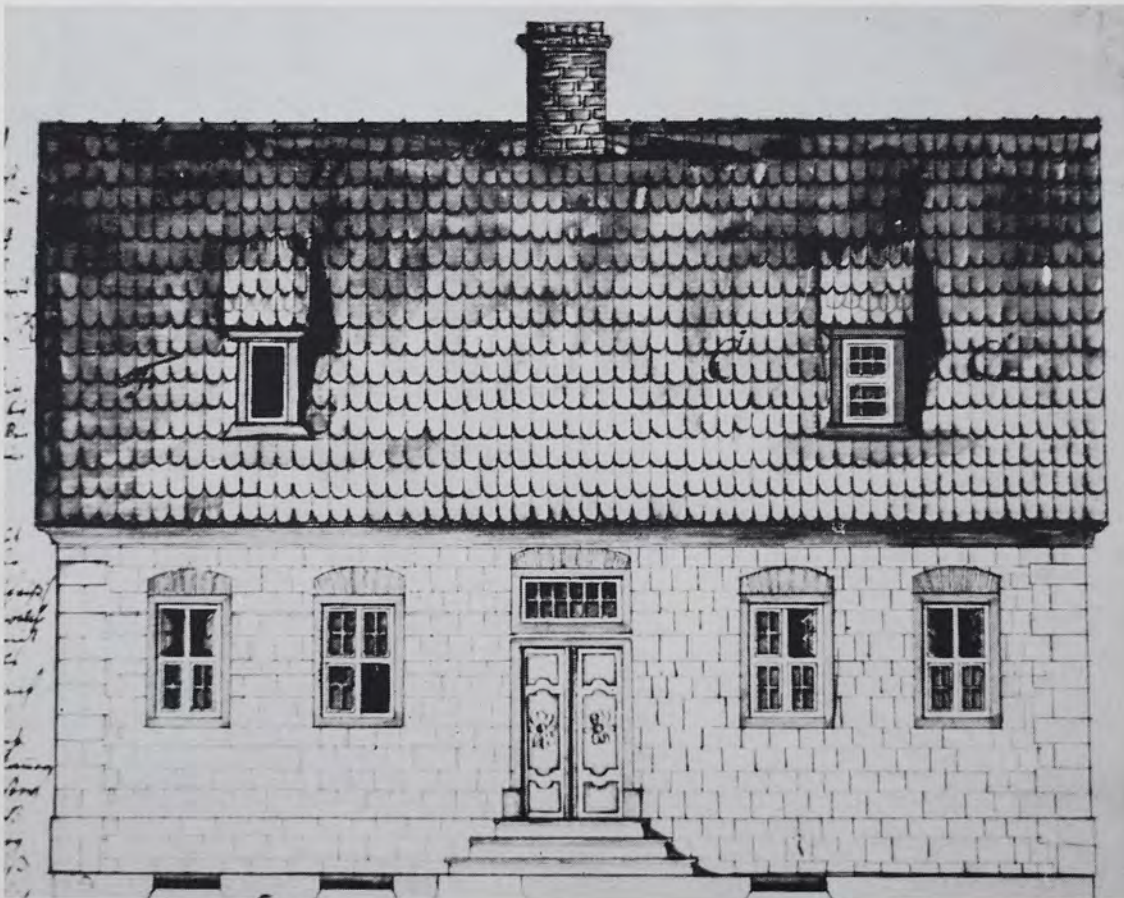
<sup>48</sup>Memoir of Reuter.

<sup>49</sup>Golkowsky's letter to his brother-in-law in Barby, November 5, 1757. (Nazareth Box: Letters, 1752-1784).

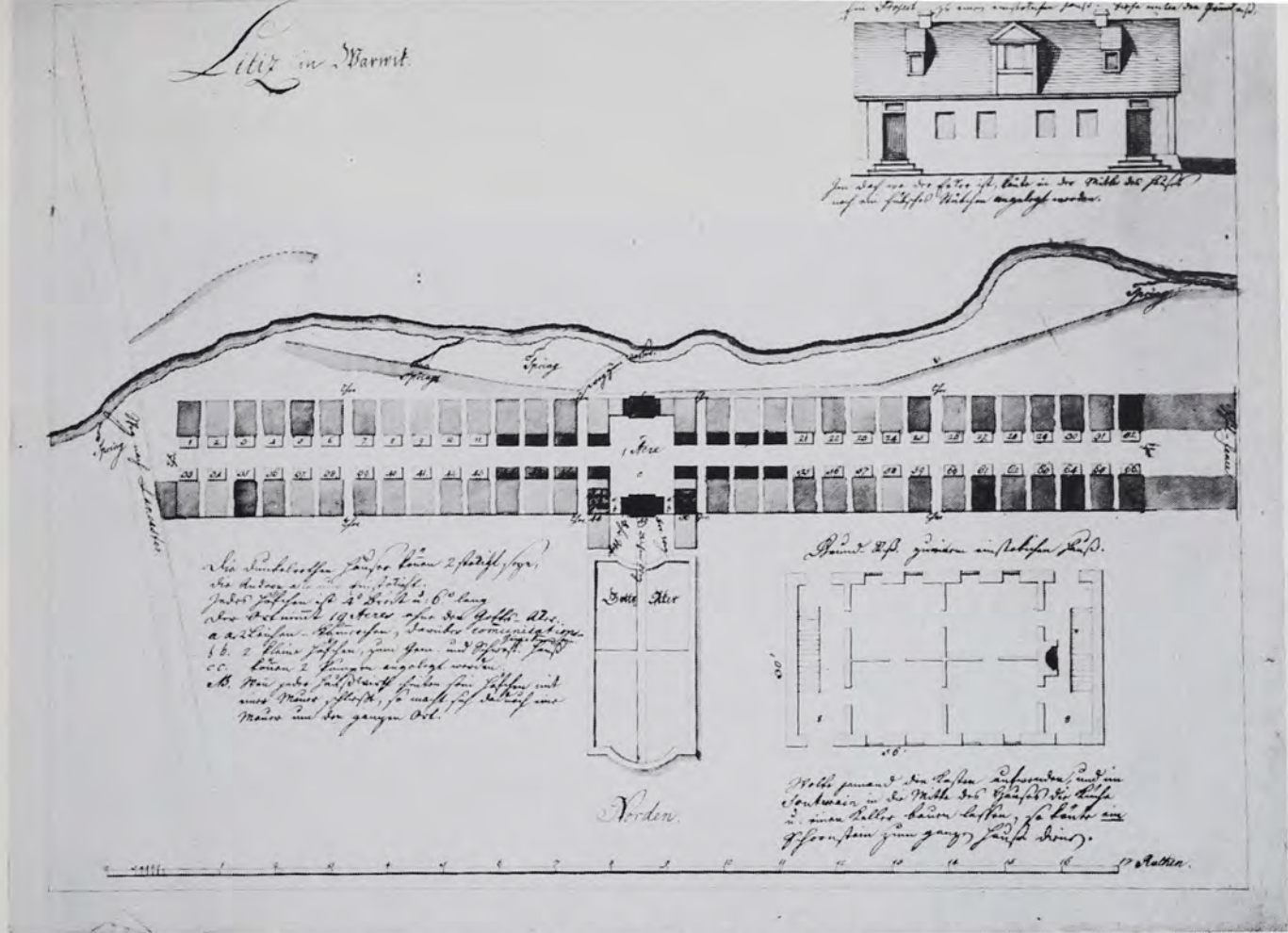
after he got to North Carolina his intention was to make a book of maps of the Moravian towns there, suggesting that Golkowsky do similarly of the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania using the same scale (1 inch=200 feet).<sup>50</sup> But on August 19, 1755, it had been decided to build an inn on the Bethlehem side of the Lehigh River. The need for this had been apparent for some time. Reuter seems to have made the first plans for this inn (1757) and they were then considered in conference. These plans are presently in the Archives and show changes suggested by various brethren. The final drawing for the new inn was made by Hoeger (1758). This is the drawing which, in modern times, hung in the Sun Inn and bore the label of "original." Projects sometimes moved slowly; however, on January 21, 1757, it was decided that "next week, if the weather is good, the *Fremden Logie* is to be staked off so the haulers can take the stones to the right place."<sup>51</sup> As questions developed regarding the inn, they were referred to Hoeger who quickly demonstrated his ability in architectural matters. Once the Brethren were satisfied that Hoeger was skilled in building matters, the conference concluded, "He is to be used in our build-

<sup>50</sup>Rinker film No. 18 (February 27, 1761).

<sup>51</sup>Bethlehem Conference Minutes: Diener Conference for this date.



Reuter. Drawing of Kassler house, Lititz, 1757. House apparently not constructed exactly as this plan.



Hoeger. Map of Litz, undated. With drawing of facade and floor plan of a one-story house.

ing work.<sup>52</sup> And he became a member of the building committee (*Handwerker Conference*).

It is here to be noted that Reuter was not generally involved in building design. However, the plans for the mill at Litz (dated May 27, 1757), which Christensen built, show some of the characteristics of Reuter's work. We also find that Reuter made plans for a horse stable, but the Brethren thought Lawatsch's plans were nicer looking and could be built more cheaply.<sup>53</sup> Reuter was also assigned the task of making a plan for a tannery incorporating the thoughts of Brother Geitner, the tanner, but such a plan is not presently at hand.<sup>54</sup>

The year 1757 and several succeeding years, were busy years for the Brethren who were involved in construction. As an illustration of the extent of this work, we find that Hoeger designed the machinery for a saw and flour mill (1757),<sup>55</sup> a proposed *Gemein-Haus* in Bethlehem (1758), possibly the single sister's house in Litz (1758), he made a plan of the town of Litz and

a typical house for that town, a proposed widows' house in Bethlehem (1760), a house in Easton (48 ft. x 30 ft.) (1760), several plans for a fulling mill and white tannery, a plan for a *Gemein-Haus* in Litz (1762), and several small house plans (one of these may have been for Geitner). He made an early plan for Salisbury, later called Emmaus, and staked out some of the lots with the help of Golkowsky. Hoeger had useful suggestions for the water works, proposing the use of brass cylinders and cast iron pipe.<sup>56</sup> In May 1760, the Diacony Conference requested that he make a "new plan for a water works." Though he proposed the use of cast iron pipes and discussed this matter with several iron makers, he seems to have been unable to bring them into use at that time. It should be noted that Hoeger and Christensen were always consulted when improvements in the water system were needed. (The Sun Inn was built in this period.)

That the skill of the Brethren in the early construction may have been inadequate is suggested by the problems that developed with leaking roofs and unsafe chimneys. When the *Saal* in the house for Zinzendorf in Nazareth was dedicated (November 13, 1756), a fire was kept burning in the fireplace all day.

<sup>52</sup>Economic Conference, Congregation Conference, October 6, 1757.

<sup>53</sup>Gemein Conference minutes, February 7, 1757.

<sup>54</sup>Minutes of the Economic Conference, Congregation Conference, July 6, 1757.

<sup>55</sup>This is the only drawing by Hoeger that is definitely identified as his work. Spangenberg wrote on the back of the drawing that it was Hoeger's, giving the date, 1757.

<sup>56</sup>Church Council minutes, November 28, 1757.





The following morning it was discovered that a beam which ran close by was badly charred. It was soon decided that all the fireplaces in the building were unsafe and they were ordered closed and tile stoves designated to be the source of heat. Hoeger was always a member of the committees that investigated troublesome chimneys. When a fire ordinance was needed, Hoeger was asked to draft it and then became a member of the committee to study it. Regarding the roofs, the *Gemein Saal* and single sisters' house had been originally covered with tiles, but the construction was not strong enough for the roof load, which resulted in a leaking roof in both cases. Hoeger was asked to look into this problem, but eventually the tiles were replaced by wood shingles.

Though Hoeger's superior knowledge of building planning and construction was generally accepted, one instance of friction appears in the records. On July 7, 1758, a committee (Bechtel, Weber, Schropp) called Hoeger and Schober before them to question them regarding their dispute over construction—Schober was the master-mason. The two brethren were questioned separately and two witnesses were also questioned. Schober claimed that Hoeger's lines were faulty, that an error in angle resulted in as much as a six-inch error. Hoeger claimed that  $\frac{1}{2}$ - or  $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch error was not important, but that Schober was intent on "prostituting" him and was looking for all sorts of opportunities to do so. Hoeger was reported to have used harsh language, accusing Schober of showing no sign of brotherliness and saying that it was hard to work with such a person with whom one could not talk.<sup>57</sup> After several days had passed, it was decided that the two brethren should remain in their offices, but they were to reconcile their differences. It was also concluded that Schober had indeed been the one in error. (The date of this controversy suggests that it might have involved the Sun Inn.)

Because Hoeger worked in so very many areas the Brethren thought it appropriate that he be married. The records indicate that his marriage to specific sisters was considered three times over the years. But marriage did not result; the reason is not clear.<sup>58</sup>

The communal system among the Brethren in America was coming to an end. Each brother was asked to sign a "Revers". This was a document in which a brother acknowledged that he was at liberty to earn his own living, that nothing was owed to him for work performed under the "Economy" and that any claims which the Brethren might have on an individual were hereby terminated. Hoeger signed such a document on February 27, 1762, likewise Golkowsky and Christ-

ensen, and for the Brethren it carried the signature of Andreas Weber and Johannes Arbo.<sup>59</sup> Thought was given to Hoeger's future: It was considered whether he should assist Okely with legal documents; whether he should move to Nazareth to teach the boys in the school. It has already been noted that Hoeger tutored James Noble for about two years. It was finally decided to make him Building Inspector. All construction was subject to his inspection. If an individual had permission to build a house for himself, he could count on having to meet the requirements of Hoeger's inspection. An exception appears: Br. Thomas Fisher wanted to build a house himself without Br. Hoeger's inspection, and the answer was, "We have nothing against either."<sup>60</sup> He also supervised the saw mill output and the brick and tile output. His records covered what was produced and for whom. The accounts under his name covered lumber, what would to-day be called mill work, shingles, bricks and tiles, nails, locks and other hardware, lime and hog's bristles. His salary was £40 per year (beginning April 12, 1762, when the free enterprise system began).<sup>61</sup> Under the "Economy" the Brethren received no pay, however, in recognition of special services, gifts to brethren were sometimes approved. In addition to the gift for tutoring James Noble (February 23, 1757), Hoeger was granted a gift of £5 by order of the general deacons on April 10, 1757, and another £5 March 21, 1759. On July 31, 1760, he received a gift of £10.<sup>62</sup> No reason was given for the gifts granted by the general deacons. He received his salary in installments. The increments varied in amounts and usually represented a month or six weeks salary. Out of this he paid for his room and board to the Single Brethren's account, paid his allotted amount to the town treasury (*Bürgerliche Casse*), and paid the Province Tax. He made liberal payments for benevolences (*Mitleidenheit*) and when an Indian was on trial in Easton, he contributed for his defense.

Hoeger was mainly involved with building and settlement planning. But he was also consulted about the new bridge over the Monocacy and he probably developed the rope system by means of which the ferry moved across the Lehigh River using the flow of the stream as its source of power. His design of the mill machinery which is on file in the Archives, is a measure of his skill in this area. But when one considers the number of buildings that came into existence in the growing Moravian communities in Pennsylvania, all of which had to be maintained, one gets a better understanding of the scope of the work placed on the Building Inspector. In 1758, the number of buildings was as follows: Bethlehem 76, Nazareth 17, Gnadenhütten

<sup>57</sup>Single Brethren's Diary; also Individual Agreements.

<sup>58</sup>On August 31, 1757, to C. or P. (in Europe) whichever came over first; on May 7, 1759, to Betty Sommers; on November 17, 1761 to Sister Brownfield.

<sup>59</sup>Bethlehem Diacony Conference minutes, December 29, 1762.

<sup>60</sup>General Ledger "D," p. 52.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*

13, Friedenthal 5, Rose 5, Christian Spring 16.<sup>63</sup> This number must have been increased by the time Hoeger took over the inspection.

F. W. VON MARSCHALL

On October 23, 1761, there was another important addition to the Moravian talent in America. This was the arrival of Friedrich Wilhelm von Marschall. He was born in Dresden on February 5, 1721. His father was George Rudolph Marschall von Herrn Gosserstaedt. His parents expected his future to be in court or military service and his training was in that direction. At age 17 he went to the university in Leipzig which his brother already attended. It was in Leipzig that he came into relationship with the Moravians. He later went to Herrnhut, and to Herrnhaag where he assisted with the tutoring of Christian Renuus von Zinzendorf. He also assisted with the building construction at Herrnhaag. He became a member of Zinzendorf's staff, recording the minutes of the various conferences. Marschall attended to the alterations of Lindsey House in London and when Peter Boehler left England for America in 1753, he took Boehler's place in London.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup>Bethlehem Accounts, 1747-1765; Building Specifications, 1758.

<sup>64</sup>von Marschall's Memoir.

As mentioned earlier, he made the first plans for the building intended for Zinzendorf in Nazareth. Marschall came to America to be *Vorsteher* (superintendent) of the Brethren's congregation, taking the place of Lawatsch, and *Senior Civilis*. His importance was quickly accepted and his arrival was even anticipated. While Christensen was urging the construction of the new water works, the Congregation Conference suggested, "Perhaps we should wait with the whole construction of the water works until Br. Marschall comes, because he is a mechanic and presumably has more insight in this matter than we do. But the matter is too urgent . . ." (May 28, 1761). Later in the year (October 1761) "Christensen again urged the building of the waterworks. The conference thinks Marschall should first confer with him and Hoeger about it" (Diacony Conference Minutes 1758—1771). When the construction of a congregation house in Litiz was being considered, Hoeger was instructed to make such a plan subject to Marschall's inspection (December 14, 1761).<sup>65</sup> Hoeger and Marschall were often members of the same committees and it soon becomes evident that Hoeger was subordinate to Marschall in the area of construction.

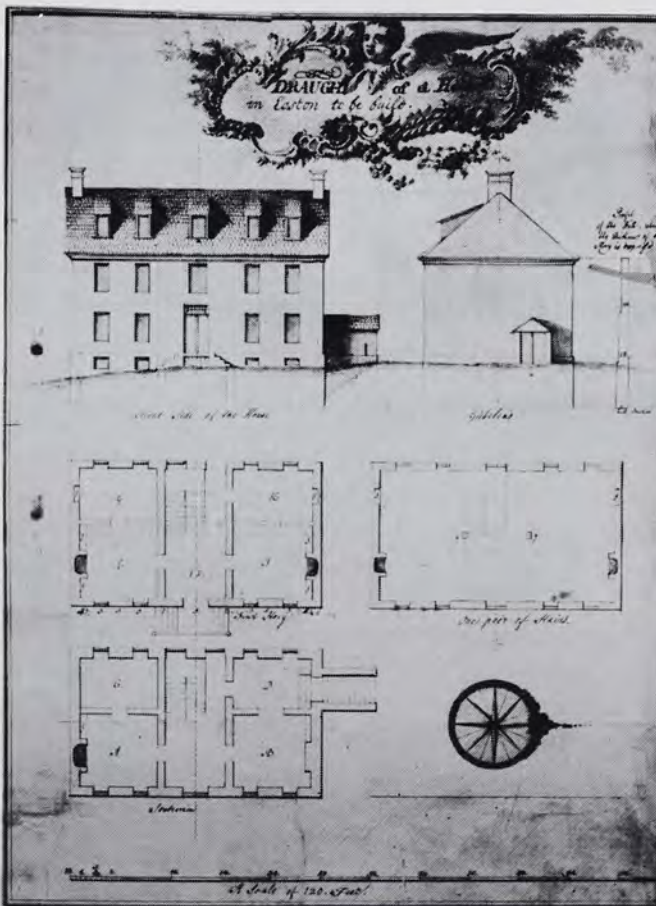
Hoeger's name suddenly is lacking in the records and we finally find this entry in the Single Brethren's Diary:

On September 17, 1764, the brethren were informed that Andr. Hoeger, who journeyed from here on the 4th of this month with the announced intention of looking for a tile man [Ziegler], reported to Br. Arbo in a letter without date or place, that he would not come here again, and sought him to change into money the things he left behind, without reporting further as to why he had left or where he intended to go.

For the present, it has not been possible to determine his location and activities subsequent to this announcement. The account book entered his last salary increment to September 5, 1764. On that date Johannes Becker began the entries in the building material records. He entered the statement on September 17, 1764, "I, Johannes Becker, took over the care of the building materials." And he also took over the office of building inspector. In this abrupt manner Hoeger's service to the Moravian Brethren in America over a period exceeding ten years, came to an end.

We can only speculate as to why Hoeger left. On October 9, 1764, Marschall left for North Carolina to look for a suitable location for the new settlement of Salem on the Wachovia land, and did not return to Bethlehem again until March 13, 1765. The following year (1766) he went to Europe, arriving in Zeyst December 22, 1766, and from there he went to Herrnhut. He returned again to Wachovia in February 1768.

<sup>65</sup>Elders' Conference, 1753-1764.



Hoeger. House in Easton, ca. 1760. Not standing.

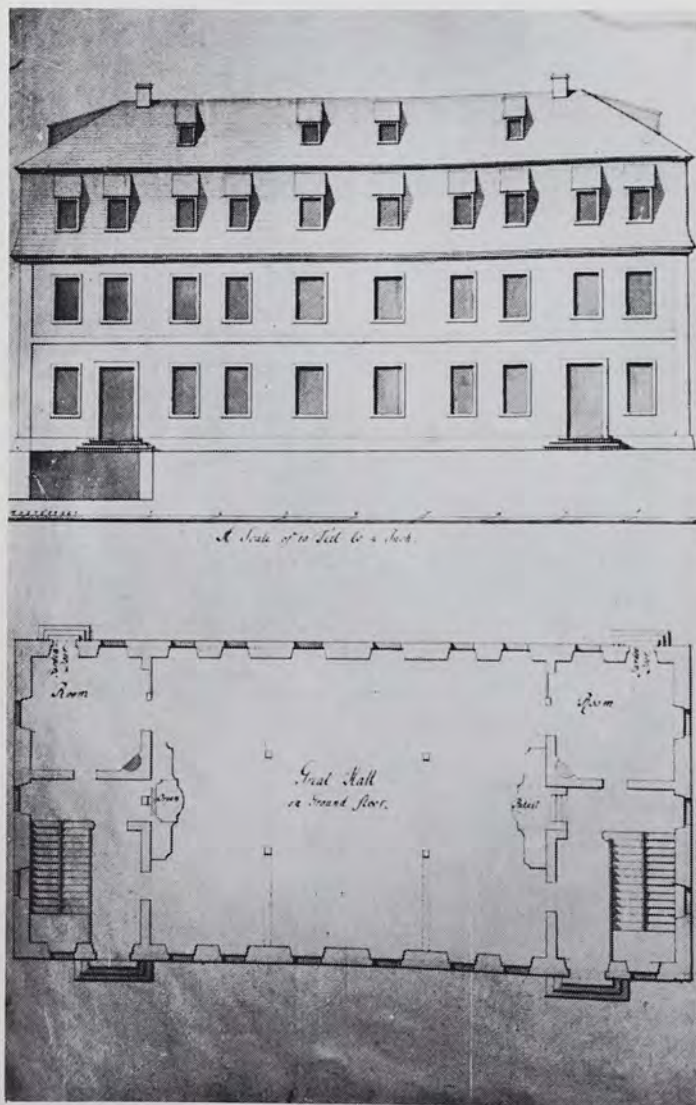
## FORMS OF CONSTRUCTION

It may be of interest to point out some of the forms of construction that were used by the Brethren. The list of buildings referred to earlier (1758), indicates that the buildings were stone, frame (*Bindwerk*), or log. The first buildings were of log construction, but as the settlement progressed, the buildings that were to have a long useful life, were built of stone. The end use may have determined a more permanent or fire-resistant material, that is, for the smithy, pottery, water works and tannery. Later, as private houses were built, some of these were built of stone, possibly indicating a personal preference. But it is also probable that available artisans or material determined the type of construction.

The roof material was usually shingles, mainly of pine, oak or cedar. The cedar shingles were bought in Philadelphia, the other material was prepared by the brethren. The name pine probably applied to all conifers. In time, flat tile was used on the roofs with rounded ones for the ridge. Experimental use of roof slates (1757) is indicated, but there is no evidence of extensive use of slate in this early period. Robert Rau reports the use of shingles as a replacement for the thatched roof of the horse stable, but thatch was not commonly used by the Brethren. In what may be Arbo's writing, we find this information: Cedar shingles were 18 inches long and 6 inches wide, oak shingles were 3 inches wide and lasted only a third as long as cedar. The second single brethren's house probably had pine shingles.<sup>66</sup> The oil mill had white pine shingles and some of the horse chestnut. Nazareth Hall had oak shingles.<sup>67</sup> The *Saal* and the single sisters' house had tile roofs that were a constant source of trouble. On March 15, 1756, the report was that "The tile roofs are to be removed from the sisters' house and *Gemein Saal* and replaced with shingles. Some of the tiles can be used for the saw mill which is built strong enough so it can take the load."<sup>68</sup> The change in the roof of the sisters' house was made by the end of March. But regarding the *Saal*, we read at a later date: "The tile of the *Saal* are to be replaced with shingles. The tiles can be used on the tannery."<sup>69</sup> There is little doubt that the Sun Inn was among those buildings having a tile roof,<sup>70</sup> as well as the houses for Okely, Fisher, the nail smith's house and the smith shop. The records of the building inspector (March 21, 1765) show 8,600 tiles in stock debited to the "*Saal Inventar*." From this record it is obvious that the tiles from the *Saal* were not used

for the tannery. The brick and tile plant records show (February 18, 1763) that 2,509 flat tiles and 30 hollow tiles were made for the water works. The Brethren seemed to have difficulty finding suitable tile makers, which may be a reason for the incomplete records in this area. Peter Boehler wrote to Spangenberg (July 23, 1761), "The tile plant must be well manned, for we need very many tiles for the horse stable, Geitner's house, the nail forge, etc. If it were possible, some help might be given in the Nazareth tile plant, or H. Müller from Gnadenthal might be able to help here in the tile plant for a couple of months. There are only a couple of months time in which to make tiles."

It is not the purpose of this writing to reach further into the details of the building construction since other authors have worked in this area, but to bring to the front the names of some of the men who were important in the construction of this period.



Nazareth Hall, facade and ground floor. Building constructed 1755. Standing, but altered.

<sup>66</sup>Single Brethren's Diary for October 24, 1747.

<sup>67</sup>Bethlehem Conference, 1755-1756 (July 14, 1755).

<sup>68</sup>Helper's Conference, 1755-1761 and 1767.

<sup>69</sup>Diacony Conference minutes, under date January 22, 1761 (Book 1758-1771).

<sup>70</sup>For a study of tile roofs in early Pennsylvania, see *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII:2 (Summer 1961), "Steep Roofs and Red Tiles" by Robert C. Bucher.

# OLD ORDER MENNONITE FAMILY LIFE IN THE EAST PENN VALLEY

By THEODORE W. JENTSCH

## 1. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

It all begins around the age of sixteen when the girl's increasing physical maturity signals the time to relinquish the pig-tails of her childhood and pin her hair up in a soft bun and begin wearing the black bonnet. For the boy it marks the time when he has evidenced enough reliability and judgment to have his own buggy. Now the Saturday night singings become an all-important part in the lives of the young people of the community.

From eight to twelve in the evening the teenagers meet in one of the homes of the community, alternating meeting places at the invitation of the families involved. The first two hours, with parents and younger children of the host family present, are spent in singing hymns, gospel songs, and popular folk ditties. This singing is done a cappella, in four parts, the parts being given via pitch pipe in the hands of the most proficient singer. Great pride is taken in proper intonation and phrasing, good balance of voices and pleasing tonal quality.

The singing completed, parents and younger children retire and the teenagers are left to their games. These games are of two kinds, (1) that which is known in the outside world as square dancing and (2) a variety of chair games. Note that the square dancing is never referred to as "dancing" but always as "games." (The word dancing smacks too much of that worldly, intimate, cheek-to-cheek activity engaged in by members of the surrounding culture.) Instructions for the squares are called out and musical accompaniment is provided by a mouth organ (harmonica).

Chair games take several forms, all requiring strenuous physical activity. A simple form is a circle of chairs, one less than the people participating, with each participant assigned a number. The person without a chair takes his or her place in the center of the circle and calls out several numbers. This is the signal for the holders of those numbers to exchange places and the person originally in the center of the circle attempting to occupy one of those places. One person is always left with no place to sit and becomes the one to call the next set of numbers and try to occupy a vacated chair.

A variation of this game has the girls only seated in a circle, each girl assigned a number which, at the beginning of the game is unknown to the boy standing

behind her. The extra girl in the center of the circle calls several numbers. The girls must now attempt to exchange places while the boys standing behind them try to prevent this.

"Grab the Cup" is a game which occasionally gets rather rough. All participants are seated in a circle around a cup which has been placed on the floor. Numbers are assigned and when too or more numbers are called these participants must try to "grab the cup" and bring it back to the chair while the other person or persons try to wrestle the cup away.

There is no set pattern to the number of singings per month or to how they are spaced over the months during the winter. Occasionally the Saturday night pattern is altered by holding a weekday singing to accommodate visitors from other communities. Sometime during each singing a simple treat is shared; potato chips, hard candy, orange drink, perhaps cupcakes and coffee.

Summer singings are held in the schoolhouse, on alternate Saturday nights, from the closing of classes in spring to the resumption of classes in the fall. These singings are identical in format to those held in the homes except that the two-hour singing period is also an instruction period during which an adult gives the teenagers assistance in note reading and attaining proper pitch.

Singings lead to dating which usually begins at seventeen or eighteen years of age. The initial date is most often requested, at a singing, through an intermediary. Boy A asks boy B to ask girl whether or not boy A can call on her. Dating invariably consists of the boy calling on the girl in her home on a Sunday night from seven until midnight. Going to a singing is not considered a date nor does the boy call for his girl friend to take her to the singing. Transportation to the singings is always primarily a matter of convenience with near neighbors going together whether or not they are dating.

The dating couple meets every Sunday night, the boy calling on the girl in her home. He enters the front (the parlor) door which in the ordinary routine of daily life is never used. He sees the parents during these visits only if they happen to be in sight when he pulls up in his buggy. The parents do not make a special point of greeting him when he arrives and they are already in bed when he leaves.

The girl greets the boy at the door. They sit in the

parlor, talk, play games such as checkers or Parcheesie, sing some hymns or folk songs. During the evening the couple may be subject to an activity called "scouting." Scouting is carried on by boys of dating age but who do not have a girl friend. As many as seven or eight, sometimes ten or twelve, of these boys "scout" the house where a date is in progress, peer in the windows, and finally pound on the parlor door demanding admittance and a treat. If the door is not opened the couple can expect some harassment. Ordinarily the boys are admitted. They sit for a while with the daters, enjoy a snack and then go their way on another scouting expedition. At best scouting provides date-less boys the opportunity of learning "how nice it is to have a nice girl friend."<sup>1</sup> At worst scouting provides a vehicle for some institutionalized rowdiness.

It is to be noted that dating always begins after the person has started going to singings. It is also to be noted that one does not date several boys friends or girl friends at the same time. Dating is always "going steady." The field has been carefully surveyed at the singings, the choice narrowed down. The dating period is one in which the couple earnestly explores their compatibility. There seems to be little stigma attached to a dating couple deciding that they are not meant for each other, and thus beginning to date other partners. This is, however, an exceptional situation. The singings offer ample opportunity for preliminary appraisal. Once one begins dating this is a rather sure sign that there are serious intentions. There seems to be little overt parental influence in these matters. In response to this investigator's question about parental guidance in the choice of marriage partners one informant responded, "We don't have much to say about that. We leave it to a higher hand."<sup>2</sup>

There is no formal engagement period and, with the ban on jewelry, no engagement ring. When the decision is made to marry (20 or 21 is the usual marrying age)<sup>3</sup> the young man presents his intended with a wooden shelf clock that chimes the hours. This is usually given on Christmas or Easter or, if it occurs at an appropriate time of the year, the girl's birthday. The time of year is important as the wedding season ordinarily covers the late fall months, October and November, and December<sup>4</sup> and the wedding takes place within six months to a year of the presentation of the clock.

Throughout their dating period the couple has been together only at the girl's home or at the singings. Now, closer to the time of the wedding, the pair may go shopping for household needs or attend auction sales to secure needed furniture.

In anticipation of her wedding the girl has been

accumulating items for a number of years. Somewhere between the ages of fifteen and seventeen every girl receives a hope chest from her parents. These chests are never purchased new at a furniture store but are either homemade by a member of the family or acquired at an auction sale. The chief purpose of the hope chest is to serve as a repository for the many quilts given to the girl by her mother and sisters. Every girl can expect to amass a supply of from six to nine of these hand-stitched covers painstakingly assembled into many intricate designs from hundreds of swatches of colored cloth. Some girls receive even more. One of my informants expects eight from her mother alone. This mother has set as her goal eight quilts for each of her five daughters. These forty quilts not only represent many hundreds of hours of work for this mother but also afford the opportunity for sociability with other women in the community as quilting is a major form of social activity for the Mennonites. The girl uses the chest to store, in addition to quilts, sheets, towels, pillowcases and small personal items such as mirror and comb dresser sets.

Two or three weeks before the wedding the intentions of the couple are "published" at a Sunday service. Two such announcements are required, at least one in the home community of each of the parties involved. The announcement consists simply of the information that, "[———] the son of [———] and [———] the daughter of [———] intend to marry." There is no request for prayers on their behalf nor is information sought concerning possible impediments to the marriage. "If anything would be wrong we know about it soon enough and they would never get to this stage."<sup>5</sup> The couple does not attend the service the Sundays of the publishing. They, in fact, do not attend a Sunday service again until after the wedding. These Sunday mornings the young man visits his bride-to-be in her home while the rest of her family is attending the service. This is probably the first time in a long courtship that the couple is truly alone with each other.

The announcement of intention to marry is the signal to extend invitations; to members of the immediate community by word of mouth and to relatives and friends in more distant communities by means of hand-written postcards. It is at the time of invitation that gift receivers, seaters, attendants, cooks and servers are asked to perform their specific duties at the forthcoming wedding.

By nine o'clock the morning of the wedding, always a Tuesday or a Thursday in the bride's home, the guests have arrived. It is not unusual to have 150 people attending a wedding. More often there are close to 200 and never less than 100. The cooks have already been hard at work for some hours and the time has come to seat the people. In the days preceeding the

<sup>5</sup>Informant G.

<sup>1</sup>Informant V.

<sup>2</sup>Informant AA.

<sup>3</sup>See Table 5.

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix F.

wedding the furniture has been moved to the barn and benches have been borrowed from the neighbors to accommodate the crowd.

The unmarried young people along with recently married and yet childless couples have been, since their arrival, visiting upstairs with the bride and groom-to-be. They have brought their gifts, practical items for household use, and handed them to the gift receivers to be placed on display on a bed, table and dresser in one of the bedrooms. There are always two gift receivers, either a boy and a girl or two girls, who have been asked to serve in this capacity at the time of their invitation.

Just prior to the seating, two couples, who have also been selected at the time of their invitation, serve the guests cookies and wine that have been provided by the bride's family. Because of the large number of guests the wine glasses necessary to serve them are borrowed from members of the community.

The young people are called downstairs and seated in the largest room in the house, most often the kitchen, where the ceremony itself takes place. Dating couples sit together. Then the younger and older married couples are seated in the remaining rooms. Young children attending are distributed among older siblings and parents as convenient. Seating is directed by two men usually from the bride's family.

Three of the twenty-six available stanzas of the hymn "Schicket Euch, ihr Lieben Gäste, zu des Lammes Hochzeits Fest" (Prepare Yourself, dear Guests, for the Lamb's Wedding Feast) are lined out by one of the ministers or deacons present during which the bride and groom and two couples who serve as attendants come downstairs and are seated in front of the young people.

There follows at least two hours of sermons by the bishop and minister or ministers invited to attend. The sermons are based on verses of Scripture relating to marriage with special emphasis on the marital state as a reflection of Christ's relationship to His church:

"Wives, be subject to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church. . . . As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave Himself up for her. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Practical advice is given concerning the ingredients of the Christian married life and warning is issued against divorce. The couple is urged to undertake their new life together with the willingness to act in all things as the Holy Spirit leads them.

Now the couple stands before the bishop who asks them a series of questions. (The reader must understand that the entire proceedings are in the Pennsylvania German dialect and that what follows is the English

approximation as worked out between the bishop and the author.)

"Do you believe that your marriage is a holy thing, and have you asked in prayer that this marriage is the Lord's will?" Both answer, "Yes."

The groom is asked if he is free to marry. He says, "Yes." The bride is asked if she is free to marry. She says, "Yes."

The groom is asked, "Are you willing to receive \_\_\_\_\_ as your bride and our sister in faith as your wife? Will you love her, support her, care for her through time of illness or in need or whatever the good Lord will permit to come over her? Will you take upon yourself the greater responsibility in all things? Will you be an example in Christian living and will you not leave her until death part you?" The grooms answers, "Yes."

The bride is asked a similar series of questions with, however, these significant differences: she is asked to assume the lesser share of responsibility and in place of the phrase, "Will you be an example of Christian living . . ." she is asked, "Will you be obedient to your husband. . . ." The bride answers, "Yes."

The bishop then proclaims "The Lord has heard," tells the couple to join their right hands, holds their hands in his and says, "The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob be with you, bring you together and bestow upon you His blessings. Go henceforth as husband and wife. Fear God and keep His commandments and God will be with you to lead you and guide you safely through this life to eternity." Then with a few personal words wishing the newlyweds God's blessings the bishop asks them to be seated.

The ministers and deacon then offer their testimonies, supporting what has been said and done and adding their seal of approval. The people then kneel for an audible prayer and the Lord's Prayer spoken by the bishop.

Another lined hymn, three stanzas of "Gnad, Fried und Reichen Segen" (Grace, Peace and Rich Blessings) concludes this portion of the day's activities. During this hymn the newlyweds go upstairs and the young people follow them to add their congratulations.

It is at their wedding that both bride and groom first wear the clothing which is from that time on the mark of their new status. For the bride a light grey dress and apron are worn for the first time. This grey dress does not become her sole uniform during her married life. Other colors are permitted, sometimes rather vivid greens and blues, occasionally even a quiet print, but grey is the official mark of the married woman. However, for the groom the suit he wears at his wedding becomes his new and only style. Especially tailored in Lancaster County, the black coat with no collar, no outside pockets, no lapels, provided with six buttons down the front is worn only by married men and coupled with a round, wide-brimmed black hat easily identifies his status.

Tables and benches are now placed in the rooms

<sup>6</sup>Ephesians 5:22-25.

and the feast begins. The large number of people in attendance requires a number of sittings at each table with twelve teenaged girls setting the various tables, passing and filling dishes and cleaning off for the next sitting. These girls and the cooks eat at the last sitting. The first sitting is reserved for the newlyweds, the bishop and his wife, and the members of the immediate families of bride and groom. At the end of one table sit the newlyweds. Bishop and wife sit at the other end with parents and grandparents and other close relatives occupying the remaining places. At all tables at this and subsequent sittings married couples sit along one side of the table facing young people sitting across from them. Seating is also arranged to attempt to have a minister or deacon at each general sitting although the great number of people involved often makes this impossible.

A typical menu would include a roast meat or several roast meats such as turkey, duck, goose, ham and meat loaf; mashed potatoes and noodles; a vegetable or several vegetables such as peas, corn and beans; pickles, chow chow and potato salad; bread, butter, jellies, cheese, pretzels and coffee; milk pudding, fruit tapioca, both chocolate and white cake and fruit salad. By two or three o'clock the meal has been served and the afternoon activities begin.

Everyone is seated as for the morning service, that is, separated according to age and marital status with the newlyweds, however, remaining as before with the young people. An hour is spent in singing both traditional German hymns and more evangelistic English hymns. Following this period of singing the parents and younger children start home leaving unmarried young people and recently married and, therefore, yet childless couples behind for a few more hours of visiting including a supper of cold meat and pickles and perhaps a warm vegetable, bread, coffee and dessert. By ten o'clock these guests have also left and the newlyweds retire to the room set aside as theirs until they move into their own home in the spring of the year.

In addition to the day full of sermons, singing, feasting and visiting the newlyweds have had to submit to some pranks of long-standing custom among the Mennonites. Sometime during the day the groom must look forward to being captured by his unmarried male friends and, after a brief struggle, being thrown over a fence to the married men waiting to catch him on the other side. The bride may be tricked into stepping over a broom hidden in some unusual place or thrust into her path. Both these customs seem to be symbolic of the change of status from the single to the married state with their attendant responsibilities. No longer may the groom be associated with the unmarried males in his social activities. He has attended his last singing. He is now "over the fence" sharing the life of the married men. The bride has been tricked by the broom.

It has exerted its power over her, symbolic of the house-keeping functions that are now the major part of the bride's life. Of more recent origin is the whisking of the bride into a bedroom by her female friends to be stood on her head. This fate may also await some of the more unwary older dating girls who happen on the scene. According to my informants the significance behind this seeming horseplay is the shaking of all those old frivolous girlish concerns out of the new bride's head to make room for the more serious matters which must now take precedence. Sexual connotations seem to be ruled out as I am informed that during this upside-down episode skirts are held tightly to legs thus preventing any untoward exposure.

The day following the wedding the newlyweds share the chores of returning borrowed dishes, glasses, utensils and benches to the neighbors and replacing the furniture that had been removed from the house. There is no honeymoon in the modern sense of taking a trip somewhere to be alone, separated from family and friends.

The period between the wedding and occupying their own home in the spring is spent living and working on the farm of the bride's parents. This interim period is, however, the time for a special and important activity; visiting at the farms of relatives. In the case of nearby relatives the visit may simply be for a Saturday or Sunday evening meal. The visit to a more distant place may be overnight or even for a weekend. The newly married couple can expect to receive more gifts during these visits such as bolts of cloth and kitchen utensils or other practical items.

Courtship and marriage customs within the community serve as a powerful force negating any possible trend, such as that current in the outside world, toward the nuclear family system. Activities ranging from dating to nuptial night are carried on not independent from but firmly enmeshed within the existing kinship system. Religious values have strong impact in moulding the new family unit. God's will is paramount, including the injunction that the male be dominant in decision making and that his wife be obedient to him. Such conformity is a major dimension in the overall pattern of social stability evidenced by the East Penn Valley community.

## 2. THE HOME

If religion is the core value around which the life of the East Penn Valley community revolves, the home is the central location in which this value is worked out. Birth, dating, marriage, social activities, death and funeral occur within its confines. The home is in some way directly associated with all the important events in the lives of the people of the community. They spend most of their time at home. The men, being farmers, work within sight of the house and eat three meals a day in the kitchen surrounded by family. The woman's



work is in and around the house. Children are home at night, not at youth meetings or public affairs. "This is a great strength for us and we would not have it any other way." The implications of this for social stability are manifest. "We keep our children home so they won't be spoiled by the outside world. We try to keep them as much as possible from mischief and being ruined by worldly things."<sup>8</sup>

Of wooden or stone structure, the Mennonite farmhouse is one of several buildings in the farm complex which includes barn, tobacco shed and other outbuildings. There are no bells or knockers at the door. Members of the community need not seek formal entry and there are enough children and dogs to herald the approach of other visitors.

The focal point of family activity is the kitchen, often the largest room in the house: a coal stove for warmth, an easy chair or sofa for relaxation between chores, sink, cabinets and working area for food preparation, a large table with long benches to accommodate the family at mealtime and multitudinous hooks for hats and outerwear. Central heating is not common although on the increase through the installation of furnace and ductwork. The kitchen stove and parlor space heater are the major sources of heat in most homes.

Conspicuous on the walls of the kitchen are the number of calendars, far exceeding necessity. It is not unusual to have eight or ten calendars, each with its vivid and colorful picture of an animal or a pastoral scene. When this writer questioned the utility of such an abundance of calendars in the homes of the community the responses were, "Everybody likes to have their home a little bit brightened up and I guess a calendar would be an easy way to do this," and, "You get them for nothing, I guess."<sup>9</sup>

Framed pictures are rarely seen. Photographs of family and friends are nonexistent because of the ban on picture-taking. Religious mottos are very much in evidence. Walls may also sometimes be adorned with hand-written witticisms or moralistic sayings such as:

"We have a house full of willing people. Some are willing to work and the rest are willing to let them."

"It is better to think a good thought about a bad man than to think a bad thought about a good man."

A number of potted plants and a clock complete the decor of most kitchens.

The parlor, mostly unheated and behind closed doors, is rarely used, being reserved for only special occasions such as dating, weddings, funerals, or special entertaining. A few prized possessions may be on display: the family Bible with the family record, needle

<sup>8</sup>Informant UA.

<sup>9</sup>Informant V.

<sup>9</sup>Informants U and UX.

work, a knitted afghan or embroidered cover. A sofa, a few chairs, table and sideboard are the usual furnishings.

Father and mother sleep in a double bed in their own bedroom shared, however, with the newest baby. The rest of the bedrooms are crowded with sometimes five or six in each, boys in one and girls in another. The space problem is compounded when newlyweds occupy a room in the bride's home for several months following the wedding.

In none of the homes visited during this investigation has the writer seen furniture that he would classify as new. Home furnishings are generally handed down within the family or purchased at auction sales and the Mennonites are very alert to bargains attainable at such sales.

### 3. FAMILY LIFE

At their wedding the groom promises to assume the "greater share of the responsibility in all things" and the bride promises obedience to her husband. This set of obligations establishes the rhythm of family life among the Mennonites. Patriarchal in nature, the role of the husband/father is to make the family's major decisions. He approves and disapproves, suggests, directs and, when necessary, disciplines.

Children are ordinarily obedient and a word or gesture is usually enough to elicit a proper response. This writer has never observed a disciplinary measure involving force such as striking or pulling or pushing. My informants do reveal that a recalcitrant child may be spanked. But a spanking is never a beating. There appears to be no child abuse in the community. This would be a violation of the essentially nonviolent posture of the group. To this observer child rearing practices seem very permissive with few "noes" being spoken. Children at play are not interfered with by their parents. Younger children snuggle in their fathers' arms and are treated with great tenderness by parents and older siblings alike.

The naïve observer might interpret the father's decision making function as prideful or selfish and the acquiescence of the rest of the family to him as leading to sullenness and hostility. The writer does not view family life among the Mennonites in this light.

The father has not chosen to be dominant. The leadership role had been thrust upon him by tradition and Scripture. He exercises his leadership to accomplish what is best for his family within the framework of the community's value system. The behavior he expects from his family reflects the basic values of the community as a whole. The father takes seriously the scriptural injunction to "Train up a child in the way he should go (so that) when he is old he will not depart from it."<sup>10</sup> He believes with Paul that ". . .

<sup>10</sup>Proverbs 22:6.

the head of every man is Christ and the head of a woman is her husband. . . ."<sup>11</sup> Both wife's and children's response to him is also generated by Scripture and the tradition based on it. It is God pleasing for wife to be subject to husband and child to be obedient to parent as commanded in Scripture.<sup>12</sup>

For the wife this arrangement provides a security and well-being available in no other way. Rather than rebel under what might seem to some observers to be an extreme form of paternalism Mennonite children seem to find a satisfaction in this kind of family life that makes them reject the independence-oriented value of the outside world. Mennonite children are not "chafing at the bit" to leave the family and strike out on their own.

This study again reveals striking evidence of a culture trait reinforcing and sustaining stability as over against change. The Mennonite child is subject to a homogeneity of cultural conditioning. The sentiments, beliefs, attitudes and values transmitted to him through the family as the earliest and chief agent of the community offer only a narrow range in terms of choice. Subsequent socializing experiences within peer group and school support rather than contradict the influence of the family. The Mennonite child is largely spared the conflicting socializing experiences of the outside world in which divergent choices are offered and the freedom to choose is advocated.

Multiple choices and the individuality that such choices make possible are not part of the Mennonite state of mind. Obedience is the prime requisite: obedience first to God and obedience to the church community as the true stage upon which God's will is worked out and obedience to parents as God's chosen representatives.

Parents are concerned about shaping their children's thinking and actions so that they correspond with the "right way." Styles of hair and garment, mode of travel, use of the dialect—all are constant reminders of the Mennonite way of life. So strong is this socialization process in personality development that it is typical for the older Mennonite to reject items of the outside culture with which he comes into contact; for example, my informant who had absolutely no desire to own a radio even though she had been exposed to radio during the months she worked in a local factory and another informant who found one of the most distressing aspects about his confinement in the hospital with a broken leg to be the television in the room which his roommate watched regularly.<sup>13</sup>

Mealtime is family time. And members of the family, hard working as they are, develop hearty appetites. A typical breakfast consists, in addition to the bread (often home baked), butter and coffee served at all

meals, of fried corn mush with syrup, eggs, several varieties of cold cereal and a hot cereal served with sugar and milk. Meat is seldom served at breakfast. Both noon and evening meals are hot meals with meat or fowl, vegetables, potato and/or noodles, cheese, pretzels, cake or cookies, milk pudding or tapioca. Fruit is not deemed an important part of the diet. Very often a soup is the first dish.

A single plate is used, most often a large soup dish, and all food is eaten from this one plate. After the soup and main portion of the meal is eaten the dessert is served on the same plate. There is no wasted food. One eats everything put on the plate to make room for what comes next.

Mealtime is a time of good fellowship and lively conversation. It is a time spent in the bosom of the family, not in the company of strangers and thus exposed to alien values.

#### 4. RECREATION

Leisure-time activities among the Mennonites of the East Penn Valley are essentially group oriented. Writing a poem or drawing a picture on a scrapbook page is not primarily intended to express one's own artistic bent but is, rather, for the benefit of the sick member of the community to whom the accumulated pages will be presented. Even reading, which one might view as basically an individual activity is not done curled up in some private corner alone with one's dreams. The kitchen is the reading room and the reader is surrounded by family.

By far the most important, and from the sociological point of view the most significant, leisure-time activity is "visiting" a pattern of social interaction which contributes heavily to the maintenance of strong kinship ties so essential to the cohesion of the community and hence its survival. Parents attempt to visit their children, children their parents, siblings their siblings as often as possible. Sunday afternoon is the most frequent visiting time. As many as a dozen or more families gather for an afternoon meal. The men and children are served first after which the men retire to the porch in summer, the parlor or other room in winter, while the women take to the kitchen for their meal and an afternoon of "women talk." The chief topic of conversation among the men is farming and the many facets of this way of life: equipment, plowing, planting, harvesting, yield; the barn that needs repair, the advantages or disadvantages of tomatoes as over against tobacco as a cash crop, how to raise pigs more profitably.

Teenaged youth often leave these visits to their elders and younger brothers and sisters while they are off on someone else's farm engaged in an afternoon of singing or spirited softball, the boys playing the game under the admiring scrutiny of the girls. Occasionally teenaged boys, never the girls, will swim in an abandoned quarry that exists within the confines of the community.

<sup>11</sup>I Corinthians 11:3.

<sup>12</sup>Ephesians 5:22 and 6:1.

<sup>13</sup>Informants K and Q.

The chief source of year-round recreation for the teenagers are the singings which are described in detail earlier in this chapter.

The men and women of the community find quiltings and attendance at household auctions or farm sales satisfying leisure-time activities.

A typical quilting begins at about seven in the evening with six or seven women seated at the frame with needle and thread and their husbands off in the kitchen soon to be engrossed in a discussion of religion, farming, or the high cost of living including what is deemed excessive taxation to support people in the outside world "too lazy to work." At about nine o'clock refreshments are served; cookies, cupcakes, coffee and orange drink for the children who might have been brought along and by 9:30 the group disperses.

Some quiltings are "ladies only" affairs. Father gets his "time out with the boys" at farm sales where he can often purchase used equipment he needs at very good prices. Farm sales are also often the occasion for a highly organized group activity, the only such activity that approaches that of a spectator sport, "corner ball."

Requiring great agility and speed by the two teams of six men each, the game is played in an area approximately 25 feet square, the corners of which are marked by 2" by 4" planks laid flat on the ground. One team is "at corner" and the other team is "in mush." Four men of the team at corner station themselves behind the planks at the corners. Two men from the team in mush enter the square. A handmade ball about three inches in diameter, fashioned from a hard center (perhaps a metal nut), wound around with bailing twine, wrapped in cloth (perhaps the toe portion of an old sock), covered finally with a loosely-stitched piece of leather, is thrown from corner to corner at least three times before it is aimed at the men in the square. The ball may be thrown back and forth ten or twenty times very quickly to scatter and confuse the men in mush, but it must be exchanged at least three times before it is "hot" and therefore able to be aimed at the men in mush. If a man in mush is hit by a deliberately aimed ball he is "out." The team at corner thus scores a point and the team in mush must send in a man to replace the man hit. If the deliberately aimed ball misses, the thrower must leave his corner to be replaced by another of his team's six members.

Through this process of elimination the number of eligible men on each side is depleted. When all men on a side have been used the sides change places; the team in mush now becoming the team at corner and thus able to gain points. When each team has been at corner an "inning" is completed. Normally three innings constitute a game unless after two innings one team is more than six points ahead, thus being out of

reach of the trailing team since no more than six points can be scored by any team in an inning. A tie score at the end of the third inning requires a fourth inning, and so forth, until one team wins.

There are no umpires to determine whether or not a man has been hit, the honesty of the players being relied upon, and the players trusting the judgment of the spectators in the event of a close play. My informants indicate that the game is played for the sake of the game and that arguments as to whether a man has been hit or not simply do not occur or in the event of a question, the word of the spectator with the clearest path of vision is decisive. An informant also reveals that games played at a farm sale between rival Amish and Mennonite teams that have met at previous sales may draw considerable men away from the sale itself.

The men and older boys of the community also enjoy hunting, for the most part small game such as rabbit, pheasant and squirrel. Occasionally several men will be driven by a Horning Mennonite neighbor to one of the wilder parts of the state for a day of deer hunting. None of the community members fish although several creeks and streams flow through the area.

Ice skating is a favorite sport for the whole family and frozen fields and streams are quickly the scene of much activity especially as the winter season affords more available free time. The young people do not play football or basketball. Some older youth enjoy horseback riding.

Indoor activities involve checkers, Parcheesie, marble games and other commercially secured items such as pull toys and dolls for the younger children. Card games such as pinochle, bridge or poker are prohibited and chess is not played. Toy guns are not among the children's playthings. Many of the farmyards of the community have a little complex of miniature buildings: barn, house, silo, windmill, at which young children at play begin to become socialized into their expected roles.

Members of the community do not attend movies, listen to the radio, or watch television. Nor do they make use of other forms of commercial entertainment such as bowling alleys, sporting events, or carnivals.

Older girls of the community do some crocheting and knitting and much embroidery of aprons, pillow tops, towels and furniture scarves. Hobbies purely for hobby's sake are unknown. One young woman has begun upholstering, self-taught, out of personal interest and possible profit. Several others have begun painting scenes on dishes and offering them for sale. Another young woman does needlework on buggy blankets in intricate and colorful designs both for fun and profit. There are no collectors of stamps, seashells, or rocks.

In summary it is to be noted that recreation in the

East Penn Valley community is group-oriented rather than engaged in primarily for personal benefit, reward, or satisfaction. Thus even recreation is a continuity-maintaining device rather than a source of personal pride of attainment which might lead to a feeling of individuality possibly destructive of group cohesion.

#### 5. SICKNESS AND DEATH

One of the practical skills the Mennonite woman must learn is the care of the sick. The medical practitioner is called upon only as a last resort, when it is evident that home treatment and home remedies are not proving effective. Every home has its well-worn medical book, a supply of patent or homemade medicines and some knowledge of their application. Home remedies, passed on from generation to generation, provide much of the health care in the community; a honey, lemon, and ginger mixture for coughs, plain black licorice for sore throat, lard for burns, a poultice of beet greens for abscesses, a dab of cow manure for an infected cut, a tea made from peach leaves for nervousness. Sometimes the remedies are a bit more complicated. For boils a mixture of linseed oil, beeswax, camphor, and red lead makes a fine drawing agent although my informant acknowledged that many could not stand the mixture on their skin. Fevers can be broken by wrapping the patient in a blanket, placing his feet in a bucket or tub with a ginger and water mixture and gradually adding hotter and hotter water until "they work up a good sweat."<sup>14</sup> Patent medicines, herb teas and ointments are often ordered through mail order catalogs or purchased from a traveling "health man" who operates a stand each week at one of the local farmers' markets.

It is not to be implied that members of the community do not rely at all on modern medical science. It is, however, true that many of the ailments, pains and problems brought immediately to the doctor by a resident of the outside culture are left, by members of the East Penn Valley community, to a natural healing process. God knows. God will provide. All is in His hands.

One area in which medical aid is always sought is in child-bearing. Although the overwhelming majority of births occur at home a physician is always in attendance. Of course, this requires finding a doctor who is still willing to make home deliveries. This will become an increasingly difficult search. Most of these home deliveries are attended by a single Kutztown practitioner. There is also a lone physician in the neighboring town of Fleetwood who will still take care of a home birth.

Other hospitalization is reserved for extreme illness or emergency cases: a serious accident, fractures, suspected cancer, or miscarriage. The length of hospital stay is kept to the absolute minimum. Persons with

terminal illnesses are brought home to be cared for. People with chronic illnesses are also cared for at home. The family is the context for birth, sickness and death. Minimal use of the world is the norm in this as in other aspects of the community's life. This lesser reliance on technology is, within Nisbet's framework, a force impeding social change. For, according to Nisbet, reliance on a broad technological base encourages innovation which in turn enhances the environment for and promotes change.<sup>15</sup>

Death, while surely bringing sadness, does not result in despair. Nor is it seen as a destroyer, something to be feared. It is, rather, interpreted as God's final decision for the individual, the end of a pilgrim journey and the entrance into that "land of pure delight," that "place of flowing fountains filled with everlasting love" so often anticipated in the singings. Members of the community have a great source of comfort in sorrow as they turn to their faith in time of bereavement. There appears to be no doubt that God has called the deceased person home, that the deceased is better off and that one day there will be a reunion. There seems to be little remorse or bitterness even at the death of a young person. Death is always viewed as God's wise decision and to be possessive in this regard would be to deny God His prerogative of granting the deceased the peace and joy of heaven which is the ultimate goal of all believers. The length of the span of earthly life is of little consequence in the long-range divine plan. So goes the reasoning of the Mennonite mind.

At death the body is handed over to a local mortician for embalming. The corpse is then wrapped in a white shroud provided by a member of the community: for the male a shirt-like garment, for the female a dress-like garment with a cape, and for the woman, in death as in life, the prayer cap. No suit or dress is worn beneath this shroud.

The body is placed in a coffin quite unlike the casket used in the surrounding culture. Sometimes handmade, or manufactured at a Lancaster Country sawmill, the coffin is of ancient European design with a hinged top that when opened reveals only that portion of the body from head to chest. The shape would best be described as elongated hexagonal with the widest span at the chest, tapering off toward each end. There are no handles. The coffin is supplied with a flat white pillow and simple white cloth lining. The exterior is stained a dark brown.

The day before the funeral the coffin is brought to the house, opened, and placed on wooden saw horses in the room in which the service will be conducted. There are no flowers. Bishop, minister, friends, neighbors come to offer condolences, make arrangements for

<sup>15</sup>See above, p. 21 and Robert A. Nisbet's *The Social Bond* (New York, 1970), p. 378 f.

<sup>14</sup>Informant V.

the service the next day (such as which texts and hymns are to be used) and make last minute preparations for the meal which will be served following the interment and services at the church.

By one o'clock in the afternoon of the day of the funeral those who will be attending the services in the home (usually only close relatives) have gathered and had their buggies arranged in a circle around the house by neighbor boys. The service in the home is very simple and conducted by only one of the four ministers who will ultimately be participating in the day's activities.<sup>16</sup> A Scripture text, chosen by the family, is read by the minister. He then preaches a short sermon, from fifteen to thirty minutes in length, governed chiefly by the distance from house to cemetery. Following the sermon the minister reads a hymn chosen, most often, by the family. All kneel for audible prayer. The people are then seated for the reading of the obituary: name of deceased, dates of birth and death, exact age in years, months and days. The minister announces (and this is the exact wording used at every funeral), "We now turn the proceedings over to the undertaker." The reader is to understand, of course, that all portions of the funeral service are conducted in the dialect, except for an occasional text read in English during the services conducted in the church house.

The coffin is closed, the pall bearers summoned (usually four men chosen by the family) and the body carried to the enclosed, curtain-sided, horse-drawn hearse which is the property of the community and stored, between funerals, on the farm of one of its members.

The hearse proceeds to the cemetery with the buggies of those who attended the service in the house in procession behind it. The cemetery occupies a portion of the property on which the church house stands. At the cemetery the coffin is again placed on saw horses and opened for the benefit of those who did not come to the house. The entire assemblage views the body, filing past on both sides of the coffin, men and boys on one side, women and girls on the other. After the family has made its final viewing the coffin is closed.

The pall bearers carry the coffin to the grave which has been dug, by hand, by neighbors. It is lowered into the grave on canvas straps provided by the undertaker. The grave has already had placed in it the rough wooden box in which the coffin was transported from its place of manufacture. The usual concrete vault insisted upon by members of the outside society and required by commercial cemeteries is not utilized by the Mennonites. This wooden box has a cover which is now put in place by the pall bearers.

<sup>16</sup>For simplicity's sake I will refer to all the clergy as "ministers" although one of the four is usually the bishop if he is not out of the community at the time. All ministers participate by invitation.

The graveside service, conducted by the second of the four ministers, begins immediately with a short (fifteen to twenty minute) sermon. No Scripture text is read at this time but the sermon always includes a hymn read by the preacher. As this hymn is being read some of the verses may be sung spontaneously by the mourners. It is during this time that the grave is closed by the janitor of the meetinghouse and a helper chosen by him, using shovels, without any attempt to muffle the sound of earth clods striking wood.

The people now enter the meetinghouse for another hour and a half or two hours of services conducted by the remaining two ministers. (It is to be noted that on occasion five ministers may be invited to participate in a funeral. In this case there will be three instead of the two sermons as indicated in the description that follows.) A sermon is preached during which a hymn is read by the preacher. A second sermon is preached, this on a text chosen by the family. The congregation kneels for an audible prayer and the Lord's Prayer and stands for the blessing as at a Sunday morning service. The obituary is then read in exactly the same form as it had been read earlier in the day at the house. Following the reading of the obituary one of the ministers expresses the thanks of the family for all the help extended by the members of the community during the time of illness and death. A statement is also made concerning the willingness on the part of the family to return these kindnesses in like circumstances. This overt offer is an interesting example, to this writer, of George Homans' propositions concerning the relationship between reciprocity in interpersonal affairs and social control.<sup>17</sup> A hymn is then read, some of the verses sung spontaneously and led by the men seated at the singing table. The congregation is dismissed as on Sundays with a word of comfort and courage.

The immediate family, along with special friends, close neighbors, other relatives and people who have come long distances for the funeral return to the house for a meal which has been prepared by neighbor women: potatoes, cold meat, vegetables, bread, butter, buns, cheese, pretzels, fruit and sometimes cake. There are no specified seating arrangements for this meal.

As soon as possible a simple headstone is placed at the grave. Oblong, with rounded top, the headstone has no ornamentation and has inscribed on it only the name of the deceased, the dates of birth and death and sometimes the names of parents.

Obituary and memorial poems written by family and friends become an important source of comfort in the days following the death and funeral. These are very detailed works, almost resembling folk ballads typical of the early Western United States frontier culture.

<sup>17</sup>For the development of this idea see George Homans, *The Human Group* (New York, 1950), Ch. 11.

They tell of circumstances leading to the death, perhaps some details of the deceased's life and always some sentiments of hope and comfort. These poems are given to the closest surviving relative to be kept in a notebook or family Bible and frequently referred to as evidence of the mutual concern that unites the members of the community. The writer of such a poem may choose to publish it in the *Budget* as a sign of love for the deceased and as evidence of the faith of the writer, sending it along with the obituary notice or, in its memorial form, to be printed on the anniversary of a death. Every issue of the *Budget* contains several of these poems, a few examples of which, gleaned from recent issues follow and thus conclude this chapter.

An obituary poem for an infant daughter:

Dear baby how can  
We miss you so much,  
Longing to see you,  
Once more to touch.

Our home seems so lonely,  
With the crib you don't use.  
But Jesus wanted you, too,  
How could we refuse?

Our wondering thoughts were,  
"Are you alright?"  
But you were our Angel  
In heaven that night.

So baby, we know,  
Though longing for you,  
You're cared for much better  
Than we could do.

Often we can't see  
The why of God's way.  
But precious little ones  
Are buds in His bouquet.

'Tis sad, and yet glad,  
Lord, heal our sorrow.  
Give us patience and guidance,  
For each tomorrow.

No worries for their souls,  
For in heaven they'll stay.  
Lord, help us to live,  
So we'll meet them someday.

#### THE FAMILY

An obituary poem for an 84-year-old man, preceded in death by his parents, one brother and five sisters and survived by two brothers and four sisters. This man was a bachelor, living alone. His life style was most atypical but the obituary poem is not.

'Twas the thirteenth day of July,  
We were not there to say "Good Bye."  
By himself he lived but not alone,  
When God called him to His Throne.

That morn a niece came to his door,  
But her call was answered no more.  
On his rocking chair he sat,  
On the table lay his hat.

God watched him as he suffered,  
And knew he had his share.  
He gently closed his weary eyes,  
And took him in His care.

Leaving the cares of earth far behind,  
Forsaking forever the region of time,  
His life days are ended, long had it been.  
The Master was calling, his soul fled to Him.  
THE SISTERS

A memorial poem for parents deceased in 1963 and 1967.

Eight years have passed  
Since we have seen father last.  
It brings back many memories  
Of the good old days that have been passed.

'Twas hard to see him leave this world,  
As mother and I beside his bed did stand.  
'Twas on a cold December morn,  
When Jesus called him away from us all.

It was in July, in the year 1967,  
When mother to the hospital did go,  
With breathing so hard she was afraid  
she might suffocate.  
But God called her away so peacefully and calm.

It makes my heart ache to think of the days  
As a boy beside the old stove I did lay.  
So warm and contented, she made us all then,  
As about her work, a pleasure she did go.

Many a tear I know they must have shed,  
To teach their children the right way to go.  
How glad I am, I came to their side,  
Hoping to meet them in Heaven some day.

#### A SON AND FAMILY

An obituary poem for a 47-year-old woman, preceded in death by her parents and one son; survived by her husband, six sons, three daughters, two brothers and five sisters.

Quick and sudden came the call,  
Her sudden going shocked us all,  
A sudden change so quickly fell,  
Without a chance to say farewell.

It was on a Tuesday morning,  
They came and told us mother had died.  
So I hurried and got ready,  
To be at her side.

When we came to her bed,  
Father, brothers and sisters,  
Sat there crying and weeping,  
And mother was peacefully sleeping.

It was on a cold and stormy day,  
As we followed mother to the graveyard  
Not far away.  
But we hope to meet her there someday.

Why, in her bloom of years did He take her so?  
And sadden so many hearts.  
But as we know, "Thy will be done."  
For God decided this part.

#### A DAUGHTER AND FAMILY

# HISTORIC YELLOW SPRINGS:

## *The Restoration Of An American Spa*

By CAROL SHIELS ROARK



*An artist's rendition of the present Yellow Springs grounds.*

*In Fontem Flavulum, Pikelianum, Pennsylvanorum.  
Quaereret si quis, socios, amicos  
Unde sanaret vacuos salute;  
Flavulos fontes adeant salubres  
Fontis ad undas.<sup>1</sup>*

Yellow Springs, Pikeland, Pennsylvania.  
If anyone should ask, comrades, friends  
Where he could heal those without health;  
They should go to the wholesome yellow springs  
To the waters of the spring.

In "The 8th hour, 1st. of Sept., A.D. 1810, in the home of J. Boni, Horseman."<sup>2</sup> James Ross wrote the above poem in Latin for his friend, Ashbel Green.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ross wrote on to extol the beauty of woodland,

<sup>1</sup>*American Republican*, July 25, 1826.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Ashbel Green was to become the eighth president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1812.

meadowgrass, and hill, and the excellence of the waters at Yellow Springs to restore the body and keep ill fates away. Three mineral springs, one of iron, one of sulphur, and one of magnesium, plus two springs of pure drinking water, still emerge, as they did long ago, from the ground in a rural setting in the northern part of Chester County, Pennsylvania.<sup>4</sup> Buildings erected to house the springs and to lodge the many visitors to the springs still stand much as they did in the mid-1800's. This property reflects a significant phase of the social and medical life, as well as the history, of the United States from colonial times to the Civil War. Realizing the importance of this tract, in February of

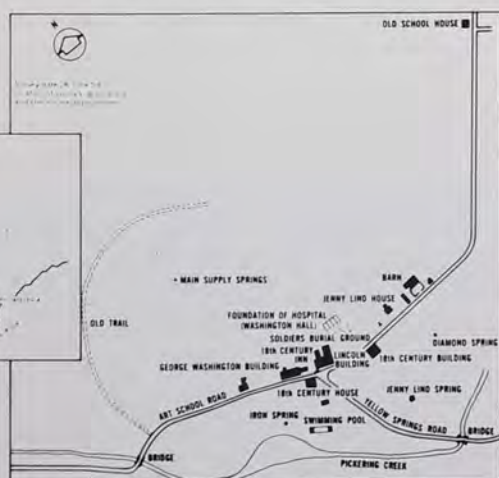
<sup>4</sup>The name Yellow Springs was officially changed to Chester Springs, April 5, 1827, because of Yellow Springs, Huntingdon County, Pa. Unofficially, the name Yellow Springs is still commonly used.

this year, the Yellow Springs Foundation, a non-profit organization, purchased the 145-acre area with a three-fold purpose in mind. The Foundation plans to preserve the architectural heritage, to maintain the open space, and to encourage the study and enjoyment of history, art, and nature at the Yellow Springs property.

Yellow Springs represents an early American interpretation of the interest man has always shown in the use of mineral waters for body care and the many ways man has devised to make the "taking of the waters" a pleasurable experience. Early Egyptians made baths a part of their medical arts. The Greeks used the waters of thermal springs as medications, built gymnasiums around the waters, and dedicated the whole to Hercules, the god of strength. It was the Romans who introduced the building of vast edifices of pleasure about mineral springs and, in the Greek fashion, the buildings were often dedicated to Gods such as Minerva. As the Romans conquered Europe, they sought out and established baths such as Aix in Savoy and Bath in England. Charlemagne had constructed a place for his family to bathe at the mineral waters of Aix le Chapelle. In 1326 the Belgium town of Spa was founded by Collin le Loup who was reportedly cured by the chalybeate or iron springs there. It is from the town Spa that the word spa derived its meaning: "a town, locality or resort possessing a mineral spring or springs; a watering place of this kind."<sup>5</sup> Dr. Edmund Dean, an English physician, wrote *Spadacrene Anglica or the English Spaw* in 1626.<sup>6</sup> Spas flourished on the continent and especially in England from the 1600's on as medical, social, and spiritual resorts.

<sup>5</sup>*The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933), XII, 495.  
<sup>6</sup>Archaic spellings of spa include *spau*, *spaw*, and *spawe*.

#### Maps of area and Yellow Springs (Chester Springs).



#### YELLOW SPRINGS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION 1722—1775

The American colonist brought with him a long history of the use of waters and so it is quite natural that, seeking out health and pleasure, he should find the mineral waters in the colonies and construct resorts around them. Beginning in the early 1700's springs became popular in Virginia, in the Boston area, and in the Philadelphia area. Yellow Springs were known as early as 1722 as shown by this letter of inquiry printed in the *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia:

A Letter came to us last Post, dated from Hemstead Harbour Long Island, requesting a particular Account of the New Bath or Mineral Water found in the Great Valley about 30 Miles Westward of this City, for the Satisfaction of the *Publick* in general, and of several Gentlemen in particular who are inclined to come to it from those Parts for Relief; though we have by us several Instances of remarkable Cures done by the said Water, we are obliged to defer answering the Gentleman's Letter till another Paper, when we hope to give a true and demonstrative Account of its Virtues and Cures.<sup>7</sup>

By 1750 roads into the springs were being constructed. The first record of a building to serve those who came to the springs is the following petition presented to the Court of Quarter Sessions, County of Chester, August 28, 1750, for a house of entertainment. It reads in part:

The Petition of Robert Prichard Humbly Sheweth That Your Petitioner is in Possession of a Farm in the Township of Pikeland in the Said County on which is that Medicinal Water Called the Yellow Spring Unto which there is Frequently a Great Concourse of People on Account of Health and also many others *Traviling* about their Occasions on a *Publick* Road Laid out and Opened Near the Same and Also another Road is Ordered to be Laid from Uwchlan which may Cross the above Said Road near Said Spring All which Occurrences Render it Necessary to Procure Accommodations for Such as have Occasion to Come to the Said Place. . .<sup>8</sup>

The petition was "allowed" to Robert Prichard. On the last Tuesday of August, 1762, James Martin petitioned the Court of Quarter Sessions, Chester, in part as follows:

That Your Petitioner has Lately Purchased the Right of a Plantation in the Township aforesaid Commonly known by the name of the Yellow Springs and where A *Publick* house of Entertainment has been kept for several Years Past to the Satisfaction and Ease of the *neighbours* in General as a Vast Concourse of People *Dayly* frequent the said Springs for their Health from Philadelphia and all Parts of this Country as well as from the West Indies and other *forenparts*:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>*American Weekly Mercury*, May 31, 1722.

<sup>8</sup>Chester County Historical Society.

<sup>9</sup>Chester County Historical Society.





*The Revolutionary War Hospital which burned in 1902. Yellow Springs Foundation.*

However, if the inn was a pleasure to many people, it was an annoyance to the Society of Friends in nearby Uwchlan. The minutes of their meeting on August 8, 1765 include this statement:

We believe some amongst us are desirous to avoid Excess on all Occasions, and that our Moderation may be conspicuous in all our Conduct but some late Instances manifest that all are not so careful as they ought to be herein. — and further, the Yellow Spring being a Place of promiscuous resort, and at this time of year, in particular is made a Place of Diversion, we fear some Friends Children not belonging to our Meeting, as well as some that do, are suffered to go there without any real Necessity, which may be very hurtful to them in a religious sense, we desire the same may become the Concern of the Quarterly Meeting.<sup>10</sup>

One Quaker lady from Philadelphia took pleasure in Yellow Springs. Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her Journal on August 23, 1771: "Forded Schuylkill, then went to ye Yellow Springs; dined there, and took a walk to a spring in the meadow. H.D., H.S. and myself took a duck in the Bath."<sup>11</sup>

Tavern, medicinal spring, or promiscuous resort, Yellow Springs was now a colonial spa of note. The baths were described in an advertisement when the Yellow Springs Plantation is again for sale, by Public Venue, at the London Coffee-House in Philadelphia on March 21, 1770:

There are three bathing springs, which can be emptied or filled in a very little time, by opening or shutting a sluice; two of them are inclosed by a good new frame house, 35 feet front, and 16 feet deep. Each bath has a drawing-room, and one a fire place in it; the buildings are neat, and make an elegant appearance, having glass windows front and back, and walks, with rows of shady trees, up to the dwelling house.<sup>12</sup>

Mineral waters were taken externally or internally. Reactions to each of these processes are taken from letters. The first letter, written in August, 1767, is from Hannah S. Skelton to Dr. John Morgan and the

letter told of Hannah's reaction to bathing at Yellow Springs:

I have been in the springs several times and feel very comfortably after I come out. It made me very sick the first morning I went in . . . and the water being so cold it proved too strong for me and I sunk down to the bottom and the first I felt was my head against the gravel . . . Had it not been for a resolute young woman bin with me, I believe I should without doubt drowned, but she had the presance of mind and ran down the steps and pulled me out. . .<sup>13</sup>

Another visitor in 1770 wrote of the taste of mineral waters: "That night we got to the Yellow Springs. We brought some of the water away with us, but Sally complains that it makes her eyes smart, so that I believe She will not use it any more."<sup>14</sup>

The interest in mineral waters as treatment of diseases by colonial physicians is seen in this address read by Dr. Benjamin Rush to the American Philosophical Society on June 18, 1773, in Philadelphia. Colonial American society, according to Dr. Rush, was now more complex and so were their diseases:

The different stages of society, like the different ages of the human body, have their peculiar diseases. In the infancy of all societies, diseases are simple and few in number, but in proportion as they advance in arts and opulance, which always bring along with the refinements of luxury, diseases multiply, and are complicated in such a manner, as to require more powerful aids than the simple preparations of plants and metals. These aids have been sought for from a variety of sources, but from none oftener than mineral waters. These waters, which have flowed for many years, unnoticed by our ancestors, have, of late, attracted the attention of the public, and have now become a very important part of the materia medica.<sup>15</sup>

After writing of the uses of mineral water as a cure for various diseases, Dr. Rush analyzed the content

<sup>10</sup>Igho Kornbluh and George Morris Piersol, "The Vanishing Spas of Pennsylvania (An Historical Review)," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* (August 1953), p. 70, from the Chester County Historical Society.

<sup>11</sup>Dickinson Family, Logan Papers, Vol. VIII, p. 68, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>12</sup>Benjamin Rush, *Experiments and Observations on the Mineral Waters of Philadelphia, Abington, and Bristol in the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1773), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

<sup>11</sup>*Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker, 1759-1807*, Henry D. Biddle, ed. (Philadelphia, 1889), p. 30.

<sup>12</sup>*Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, Vol. IV, No. 7, March 5-12, 1770.

of several local springs and he concluded his paper with a warning:

After all that has been said upon this subject, we must acknowledge that mineral waters, like most of our medicines, are only substitutes for temperance and exercise in chronic disease. An angel must descend from heaven, and trouble these chalybeate pools, before we can expect any extraordinary effects from their use alone.<sup>16</sup>

In 1774 Yellow Springs was purchased by a local physician, Dr. Samuel Kennedy. In attempting to lease the property, Dr. Kennedy wrote of the number of people who traveled to Yellow Springs: "The advantage of these Baths is well known to the public, an incontestable proof of which is the great concourse of people—from four to six-hundred persons have convened there on one day—in the summer season."<sup>17</sup> Yellow Springs held a prominent place in the social and medical life of colonial Pennsylvania.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Dr. Rush related the interest in mineral water to the society of the time. Now, Yellow Springs was again to reflect the American society, this time the Revolutionary War. In mid-January, 1776, Dr. Kennedy, owner of the property, was commissioned Surgeon of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Anthony Wayne. Parts of the Yellow Springs property were loaned by Dr. Kennedy to the Continental Congress for official hospital use. In mid-September of 1777 the tavern was the center of an encampment which included the commander in chief of the Continental Army, George Washington. In December of 1777 a military hospital was established at Yellow Springs and in 1778 an additional building was completed. This building was the only official hospital constructed during the war. The Rev. James Sproat, a Presbyterian army chaplain, noted in his Journal on Sunday, April 26, 1778: "This hospital seems to be very neat and the sick comfortably provided for—tho Wickedness I understand prevails among the Conval-

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup>*Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2355, February 9, 1774.

*The present ruins of the Revolutionary War Hospital and an area of the burial grounds. Yellow Springs Foundation.*



cents."<sup>18</sup> On June 12, 1778, Rev. Sproat wrote: "Rode 6 or 7 miles to the Yellow Springs, lit at Dr. Kennedy's, poor gentleman very sick . . . after dinner preached in the Hospital[.] tis New and Airy, but not finished. Smoked a pipe, took a little, and then preached to another number in an adjacent Barn. Many sick here."<sup>19</sup> On June 17, 1778, Dr. Kennedy died of a putrid fever contracted while he was attending the troops. Many of the soldier patients also died at Yellow Springs and are buried in unmarked graves around the hospital building. Dr. Bodo Otto took over the hospital and ran it until it was closed in September, 1781.

#### YELLOW SPRINGS, 1783 - 1830

Alexander McCarragher reopened the Inn at Yellow Springs in 1783. In an advertisement in 1785 the innkeeper wrote:

The subscriber begs leave to inform the public, that he has repaired the Baths and Bathing-Houses, and put them into compleat order, for the reception of those who may chuse to visit them for the benefit of their health.

The many cures that have been performed by these waters, as can be attested by a number of persons in Philadelphia, the West Indies and elsewhere, render it needless to say any thing in their praise, especially as they are so universally known.

The waters are a very strong chalybeate; perhaps the most so of any ever discovered on the continent.<sup>20</sup>

The enthusiasms of the innkeeper are first brought under close scientific scrutiny by a chemist, M., who was on a mineralogical tour through the United States in 1806. M. conducted a series of nine experiments on the mineral waters of Yellow Springs. The chemist concluded from his work:

From the above experiment it will appear, that this water is of that class which are called simple carbonated chalybeates; that is, a water in which a small quantity of iron is held in solution by the carbonic acid gas. In other respects it will also appear, that it is nearly perfectly pure, containing scarcely any other foreign ingredients.<sup>21</sup>

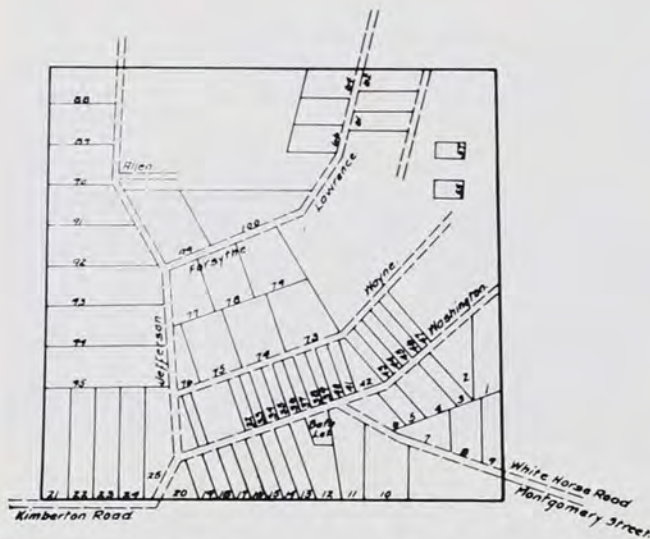
It is doubtful whether this analysis has any effect at all upon those people going to Yellow Springs. Far more likely to be read was a description of the Yellow Springs found in a series on American Scenery in *The Port Folio* in 1810. The writer began: "Of the various watering places and rural retreats which invite the languid, the listless, or the laborious citizen to invigorate his system, to relax from the fatigues of business, or to restore his declining health, none certainly com-

<sup>18</sup>James Sproat, *Journal*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>*Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1785.

<sup>21</sup>"Mineralogical and Chemical Account of the Yellow Springs, in the County of Chester in Pennsylvania Communicated to the Editor, by a Gentleman now on a Mineralogical Tour through the United States," Benjamin Smith Barton, ed., *Third Supplement to the Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal* (Philadelphia, 1809), p. 214.



Map of "The Town of Bath". Chester County Historical Society.

bines so many advantages as this delightful spot."<sup>22</sup> *The Port Folio* writer suggested that the resort is still in a crude state: "The farm in which they (waters) rise, having never yet been in the possession of a person of taste and fortune, is still in a rude, unimproved state."<sup>23</sup> The principal lodging on the grounds *The Port Folio* article noted: "was erected for and occupied as a military hospital during the revolutionary war; it has since been plastered and rendered a comfortable dwelling."<sup>24</sup>

Colonel James Bones, the proprietor of Yellow Springs after 1806, may not have been a man of taste and fortune, but James Bones was an enterprising individual. In 1814 he changed the name of Yellow Springs to "The Town of Bath," undoubtedly with the fame of its English namesake firmly in mind. He divided the town into one hundred lots and put the lots up for sale at two hundred and fifty dollars apiece. Streets were laid out and named for famous people such as Washington, Jefferson, Montgomery, and Wayne. The Old Yellow Spring Bath Lot was reserved for the use of all purchasers. Less than half of the lots were sold and on April 15, 1815, the Yellow Springs Tavern was put up for sale by Colonel Bones. The town of Bath never left the plan on paper and in time many of the lot owners sold their land. About 1820 Colonel Bones was to reopen a tavern in Yellow Springs.

A new innkeeper, Margaret Holman,<sup>25</sup> petitioned the Court of General Quarter Sessions, County of Chester, on April 30, 1821, to run an inn that had belonged to her husband. Her petition read:

That she continues to occupy that old Established House of Entertainment—Known by the name of

<sup>22</sup>"American Scenery—For the Port Folio—Description of the Yellow Springs," *The Port Folio*, Vol. LV, No. 1, July 1810 (Philadelphia, 1810), p. 44.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>25</sup>The name is also spelled Hallman and Halman. Holman will be used in this paper.

the "Yellow Springs" in The Township of Pikeland lately owned and kept by Frederick Hallman lately deceased—That the License for said House is nearly expired—She therefore prays your Honor to grant her a renewal thereof—

And she will pray &c

The petition was "allowed" and Margaret Holman was to run her inn as competition to Colonel Bones during a grand era of Yellow Springs.

The competition between Colonel Bones and Mrs. Holman expressed itself in new buildings in Yellow Springs. First, on July 2, 1823, in a Philadelphia newspaper, Mr. Bones advertised his new additions:

An additional Chalybeate Bath for the exclusive use of the ladies is in preparation, and an easy and convenient road has been cut from his house to the hill in the rear, where Summer Houses and Benches are placed, and a fine view is had of the beautifully romantic country in front.<sup>27</sup>

Six days later, July 8, 1823, Mrs. Holman placed her advertisement in the same paper:

Mrs. Holman, of the Yellow Springs Hotel, has erected a large three story House, containing 20 rooms, which is completely finished and furnished with new furniture, and now open for company. It is connected with her former buildings, by a Piazza, but is in other respects separate, and is entirely free from all culinary and family concerns.

The flattering encouragement which she received last season, she trusts will be extended to her in future: and she is particularly grateful to those friends of delicate health and retired habits, who have heretofore endured the noise of the youthful and gay rather than withdraw their patronage from her. For such her new building is particularly calculated; and she can now promise the most quiet accommodations to those who may prefer them, with liberty to partake more or less of the amusement of the place.<sup>28</sup>

The clientele at Yellow Springs were also enthusiastic. The following is taken from a letter written at Yellow Springs on July 14, 1824:

She has an excellent dining and ball room, capable of accommodating more than a hundred persons. The company at her house is generally lively and respectable, and dances are frequent; at least two or three times a week.

Mrs. HOLMAN has exerted herself to provide every comfort and convenience for her visitors. The sleeping rooms are generally and a dressing room for the ladies exclusively has been attached to the bath thus rendering that separate and select, which was before common and unpleasant to the better part of creation. . . .

In a word no place in this country possesses in itself more attractions or advantages, as a resort for the invalid or devotee to pleasure, than the Yellow Springs: and I am gratified to find that it is steadily growing in public favor, and that its society is improving with its popularity.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Chester County Historical Society.

<sup>27</sup>*National Gazette and Literary Register*, July 2, 1823.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, July 8, 1823.

<sup>29</sup>*American Republican*, July 28, 1824, extracted from *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*.

The hard work of the innkeepers was paying off and in 1825 a social note in a West Chester paper reported: "Col. BONES' and Mrs. HOLMAN'S spacious and comfortable mansions are full . . . and the keepers of these rival Mansions are unremittingly assiduous to please."<sup>30</sup>

Transportation to Yellow Springs during this period was usually accomplished by horseback or by coach. Several coach lines ran from Philadelphia and from Norristown to Yellow Springs during the summer season. The trip from Philadelphia took one day in "The Yellow Springs Stage" with the passengers stopping to dine as advertised: "Passengers will dine at Wm. Rogers' Boarding School-Inn, Kimberton."<sup>31</sup> The stage advertisement concluded: "Careful drivers and excellent horses with changes on the road every ten miles, are provided, and every attention will be given to accommodate passengers. All baggage at the risk of owners."<sup>32</sup>

Another method of transportation from Philadelphia was by packet boat from the Fair Mount Water Works on the Schuylkill to Norristown and then by stage to Yellow Springs. The Packet Comet advertised:

. . . the Packet Comet, has been repaired and refitted in a superior manner, with accommodation and beauty united, offering at once entertainment and comfort to the inland voyagers, that patronize her zealous proprietor, The cabins have been altered so that the ladies' and gentlemen's apartments are entirely separated from each other . . . The bar is well furnished with choice liquors.<sup>33</sup>

When the guests at Yellow Springs were not drinking the mineral waters or bathing in the mineral waters, what was provided for their pleasure? First to be thought of are the obvious joys of the table. Colonel Bones wrote: "—the subscriber pledges himself to the public, that he will at all times be supplied with choice liquors of all kinds, and the best necessaries of life, which the markets and the country afford."<sup>34</sup> Mrs. Holman advertised: "She has laid in a stock of good Wines and other liquors, and will at all times have a supply of the delicacies of the season . . . Waiters will be obtained from Philadelphia."<sup>35</sup> It appears that the seeker of pleasure rather than the seeker of health was appealed to in the dining rooms.

Holidays and special days were celebrated at Yellow Springs. "Yellow Springs Harvest Celebrations" is the title of this advertisement which read:

Mrs. Halman respectfully informs those who wish to partake in the usual harvest celebrations, that she has employed the best musicians, and intends procuring the best liquors, &c. that she is determined nothing shall be wanting to render

every accommodation desirable. From the abundance of the present harvest, she has reason to expect that the celebrations will be numerous attended, and is making preparations accordingly. The days of celebration are, as heretofore, the last Saturday in July, and 2d, and 3d Saturdays in August.<sup>36</sup>

There were also more strenuous activities. Alexander McCarraher, innkeeper, wrote: "Those who could wish to exercise themselves on horseback may be furnished with horses; there is also excellent fishing and fowling for those who may chuse to amuse themselves in that way."<sup>37</sup>

Spa life did not neglect the mind. A newspaper, *The Literary Casket and General Intelligencer*, was established in Yellow Springs in March, 1829. The paper was, according to the banner: "A Family Newspaper Devoted to Literature, Agriculture, Mechanic Arts, Internal Improvements and the Intellectual and Moral Improvement of Society Generally." The paper advertised a reading room:

The Editors of the Literary Casket, in order to accommodate the literary visitors at this place, have opened a Reading Room at their Office. They receive a large number of newspapers, from various parts of the United States, the use of which is respectfully offered to their Reading Room subscribers. Reading hours, from nine o'clock, A.M. until five o'clock, P.M.—No subscription received for a less term than one week. Terms, fifty cents in advance.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately, the newspaper had a short life span at Yellow Springs and it was moved to West Chester in February, 1830.

Shopping could be done at Yellow Springs. Abraham Olwine advertised some of the goods for sale at his Yellow Springs Store: "GROCERIES and LIQUORS of the best quality, and very low—Hardware and Cutlery, Liverpool, Glass, China, Tin and Cedar ware . . . Ready made Clothing, &c. Sole and Upper Leather, Calf Skin, Morocco, Sheep and Lining Skins, &c."<sup>39</sup> Mr. Olwine provided for those who did not have cash: "Country Produce and old Iron Castings taken in exchange for Goods."<sup>40</sup> After numerous testimonials printed in the *Literary Casket* for Columbian Syrup, N. Siegfried wrote: "The above Medicine for sale by N. SIEGFRIED, Yellow Springs. where numerous highly respectable certificates of cures may be seen. Price Three Dollars per bottle."<sup>41</sup>

Finally, the pleasure of being seen and of seeing was enjoyed at Yellow Springs. A local poet, Polydore, wrote:

Pray tell us now, old Mr. Polydore,  
What led you to the Yellow Springs that day?

<sup>30</sup>*Village Record*, July 3, 1825.

<sup>31</sup>*Saturday Evening Post*, June 25, 1825.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1827.

<sup>34</sup>*Central Aurora Advertiser*, August 23, 1806.

<sup>35</sup>*Village Record*, May 23, 1823.

<sup>36</sup>*American Republican*, July 27, 1819.

<sup>37</sup>*Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1785.

<sup>38</sup>*Literary Casket and General Intelligencer*, July 21, 1829.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, June 30, 1829.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

In terse I'll tell you (for it is my way,)  
I left my room, and passing through the entry,  
Set out determined to the Springs to stray;  
And came, (pray ladies, pardon my effrontery)  
To see if girls were prettier in the country.<sup>42</sup>

YELLOW SPRINGS,  
1830 - 1860

Medical science in the United States remained interested in the use of mineral waters. A physician, John Bell, compiled a volume in 1831 which traced the history of the use of mineral waters, told how to use the waters, and then presented a guide to the various watering places available in the United States. His warnings on the use of the Yellow Springs are of interest:

The Yellow Springs, from their readiness of access by the inhabitants of Philadelphia, are much resorted to in the summer months. . . . The vulgar and prevalent notions about the tonic power of the cold bath—a desire to try novel impressions—indolence—and imitation, have severally induced many visitors to bathe in the water of the Yellow Spring. The results are often such as might have been expected; relapse and aggravation of prior maladies, or the supervening of new ones, bearing no small proportion to the benefits and cures by the practice . . .

If visitors, in general, would be content with obtaining the unquestionable benefits from change of air and scene, and free exercise over hill and dale, with perhaps an occasional draught of the chalybeate water of the Yellow Spring, it would be a much more rational course than idly to use the cold bath, and gamble away their health, when the chances are so greatly against them.<sup>43</sup>

Colonel James Bones, in 1831, deeded his property to his son-in-law, Anthony Wayne Olwine, who ran the hotel for a few years. An end to the rivalry between the two houses is seen in a letter of 1835. A visitor, who had come from Philadelphia to Norristown by train<sup>44</sup> and then went to Yellow Springs by stage, wrote:

On the day we came over, there were three coaches, with four horses each, waiting the arrival of the locomotive train, . . . The old animosity between the two houses, much to the credit of both; appears to have subsided. It is a remarkable fact that the drivers and agents of the opposition coaches, from the railroad over, get along without exchanging a single shot.<sup>45</sup>

Entertainment from the outside came to Yellow Springs. Mrs. Holman presented Chang and Eng Bunker, Siamese twins, who were born in Maklong, Siam on May 11, 1811, at her hotel on December 31, 1836. Local tradition holds that Jenny Lind sang at

<sup>42</sup>Village Record, August 28, 1822.

<sup>43</sup>John Bell, *On Baths and Mineral Waters* (Philadelphia, 1831), pp. 473-474.

<sup>44</sup>The Reading Railroad went directly to Yellow Springs starting about 1842.

<sup>45</sup>American Republican, August 18, 1835.

## Packet Boat COMET,

OF NORRISTOWN,



And Norristown and Yellow  
Springs Stage.



THE public are respectfully informed that the above line has commenced its route for the Summer Season, starting with the boat from Fair Mount Water Works, on the east side of the River Schuylkill, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at half past 6 o'clock in the morning, and arrive at Mrs. Webb's, Sign of Washington, Norristown, at 11 o'clock, where the passengers will dine; good Stages, careful and obliging drivers, will convey them to Mrs. Holman's, Yellow Springs, Chester county; returning, will leave Mrs. Holman's every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 9 o'clock in the morning, dine at Mrs. Webb's, Norristown, and then the boat or stage, as may be most convenient to the passengers, will convey them to Philadelphia.

The Boat will leave Norristown every Saturday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, and arrive at Fair Mount Water Works at 6 o'clock the same evening.

On Sundays, the Boat will start from Fair Mount Dam, on the east side of the River Schuylkill, at 6 o'clock in the morning, for Norristown, returning the same evening.

Also, the Boat will leave Fair Mount Dam every Monday morning, at 6 o'clock, and return the same evening.

The Bar on board the Boat, will be furnished with the best Liquors and refreshments.

Comfortable Stages and good drivers are provided to carry the passengers from the City to the Boat, and from the Boat to the City.

Fare, to Norristown, 87½ cents, from thence to the Springs, \$1.

For seats, apply at Robert Evans' Inn, No. 138 Race-street, between Fourth and Fifth-streets, Philadelphia, where a regular book will be kept for registering passengers names, or, on board the Boat, at Fair Mount Dam, Mrs. Webb's, Norristown, or, Mrs. Holman's, Yellow Springs.

All baggage at the risk of the owners.

ROBERT EVANS,  
Agent, Philadelphia.  
JAMES H. WEBB,  
Agent, Norristown.  
FREDERICK HOLMAN,  
Agent, Yellow Springs.

July 3d, 1826

A transportation advertisement from The Norristown Herald and Weekly Advertiser, July 5, 1826. Montgomery County Historical Society.

### THE SIAMESE TWINS

Arrived here on Sunday, and intending to remain until Thursday morning. Here they go to Downingtown, from there to the Yellow Springs, and from thence to Phoenixville. They are interesting, intelligent, and well worth seeing. The people of Chester county generally will lose so favorable an opportunity of seeing them.



### Siamese Twins

FOR THREE DAYS ONLY

CHANG ENG, the Siamese Twin Brothers, very respectfully acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of West Chester, that they are now in the borough, and will remain here until tomorrow, Tuesday and Wednesday, and will receive visitors on those days at Holman's CHESTER COUNTY HOTEL. The hours of admission, to their room will be from 10 to 12 at noon, and from 7 to 9 in the evening.

Admittance 25 Cents.

Pamphlets containing an account of the Twins with a portrait, can be purchased at their room. Dec 27

The Twins have also made arrangements to visit the under-mentioned places and receive visitors at the hours specified, viz:

At Downingtown, West's Tavern, Thursday and Friday 29th & 30th. Hours from 10 to 12 at noon, and 7 to 9 in the evening.

At the Yellow Springs, Mrs. Holman's, Saturday the 31st of December. Hours from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, and from 7 to 9 in the evening.

At Phoenixville, Mr. Connor's Hotel, Monday and Tuesday, the 2d and 3d of January 1827. Hours—from 2 to 4 in the afternoon and from 7 to 9 in the evening.

An advertisement for the appearance of Siamese twins from The American Republican, Dec. 27, 1836. Chester County Historical Society. (Original in Chester County Historical Society, entertainment file)

Yellow Springs and both a bath house and a residence are named in honor of Miss Lind.<sup>46</sup>

Mrs. Holman became the owner of the entire Yellow Springs property by 1838. She continued to improve the premises as told in this letter by a visitor from Philadelphia: "(Mrs. Holman) will have completed, by the first of June, one of the handsomest and most extensive bathing establishments probably in the U. States. The building, the plan of which was furnished by Mr. Hugh Walters,<sup>47</sup> of this city, is 85 feet in length by 25 feet deep, divided into separate apartments, comprising shower, warm, moderate and cold baths."<sup>48</sup>

All of the visitors were not complimentary to the resort. One wonders if the area had indeed deteriorated by the writing of this letter on July 6, 1843, or if the writer, English actress, Fanny Kemble, was accustomed to grander surroundings. Miss Kemble wrote:

Before me stretches as far as it can about a quarter of an acre of degraded uneven ground, enclosed in a dilapidated whitewashed wooden paling, and clothed, except in several mangy bare patches, with rank weedy grass, untended unwholesome shrubs, and untidy neglected trees. . . . Behind me is a whitewashed room about fifteen feet by twelve, containing a rickety, black horse-hair sofa, all worn and torn into prickly ridges; . . . Briefly I am sitting on the piazza (so-called) of one of a group of tumble down lodging-houses and hotels, which, embosomed in a beautiful valley in Pennsylvania, and having in the midst of them an exquisite spring of mineral water, rejoice in the title of the "Yellow Springs."<sup>49</sup>

However, Miss Kemble did enjoy the bath: "Into this lucid liquid gem I gave my chickens and myself, overhead, three breathless dips."<sup>50</sup>

Yellow Springs entered a new era on January 25, 1845, when Margaret Holman sold all of her holdings to Dr. George Lingen, late of Philadelphia, for \$22,030. Two partners, Captain Henry Neef and Dr. Charles F. Hoffendahl, soon joined Dr. Lingen in this enterprise. As seen in the broadside, the plan was to run part of the establishment year round for patients to receive homeopathic or hydropathic treatment and retain the other part of the establishment as a resort. First, Dr. Lingen ran into difficulty from his more conservative neighbors when he tried to obtain a liquor license. Shades of the Quakers of Uwchlan are seen in this letter from Dr. Lingen to his lawyer, William Darlington, written on March 24, 1846:

<sup>46</sup>Only a ticket to a concert given by Jenny Lind in May, 1854, verifies this as fact at this time.

<sup>47</sup>This bath house is traditionally believed to have been designed by Thomas Hugh Walter, prominent Philadelphia architect. There is nothing in the Walter's papers to verify this as fact and it is now believed that Mr. Hugh Walter is another individual.

<sup>48</sup>*Register and Examiner*, April 23, 1839.

<sup>49</sup>Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of Later Life* (New York, 1882), p. 389.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 390.



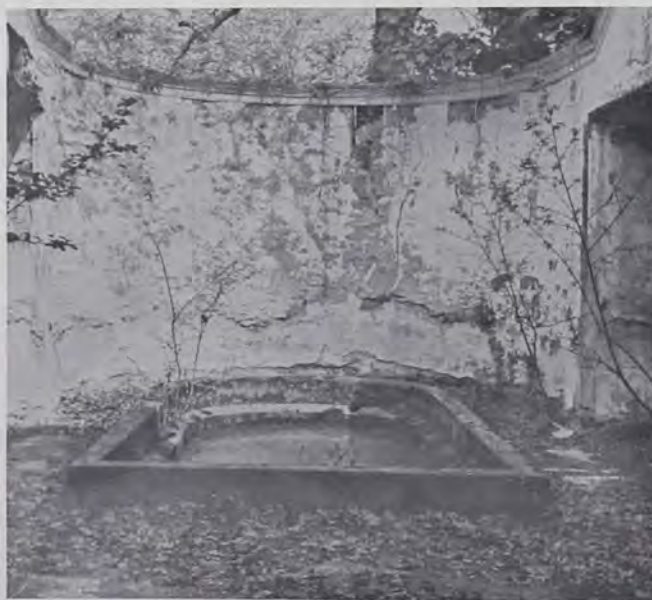
Victorian gazebo surrounding the yellow or iron spring. Yellow Springs Foundation.

Your maturer reflection considering how much I have at stake by having made very extensive improvements to this place which have cost a vast amount of money; and furthermore as temperance people rarely ever patronise watering-places and since the anti license law does not include all watering-places of this country; I should think there might be reason to exempt this place from the restriction of the present law *at least for the three months of the bathing season.*<sup>51</sup>

The old hospital building was refurbished to serve patients. What kind of treatment did the Spa offer to the patient? One patient, John Knight, wrote to his wife from Yellow Springs on July 19, 1847:

As usual I was "packed" in wet sheets early this morning for about two hours, when I perspired freely, under the warm influences of sundry blankets comforts and a feather bed,—all pressed and

<sup>51</sup>Chester County Historical Society.



The present interior of the Jenny Lind Bathhouse. Yellow Springs Foundation.



View of Yellow Springs, Pa. (Chester & Phila.)

7. Hotel,  
8. Bath,  
9. Cottage,  
10. Restaurant,  
11. Pharmacy.

**YELLOW SPRINGS, OR CHESTER SPRINGS,**

**CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 32 MILES FROM PHILA.**

\* One Hour  
of Rest  
of Refreshment  
of Pleasant  
of Pure Air,  
of Light.

This Watering Place will be ready to receive visitors after the Fifteenth of May, Inst. The Proprietor having added a spacious dining room, and otherwise enlarged and improved his Establishment, has also engaged an experienced gentleman as Superintendent, and secured the services of the best cooks, Confectioners and Servants, by which efforts he hopes to render his Establishment both agreeable and stylish.

This place, so long celebrated for its Chalybeate Baths, unrivaled in the cure of Chronic Disease, was selected by General Washington as an Army Station, for its healthfulness and beauty, and teems with historical recollections. It is Dr. Lingens' intention, after the first of September to appropriate part of the Establishment (which will be open during the whole year) to patients under Homeopathic or Hydropathic treatment, the variety of waters being eminently adapted to the latter purpose. Besides being a Post Office station, there are facilities for arrival and departure twice a day by the Reading, Columbia and Norristown Rail Roads. Letters to the Proprietor (post paid) are to be addressed to

**DR. GEORGE LINGEN,**  
Chester Springs, Chester Co., Pa.

*A broadside advertising the establishment of a hospital for water cures at Yellow Springs in 1846. Chester County Historical Society.*

squeezed tight and close around me. Upon rising, or rather upon being raised up from this vapour bath, I walk to a deep very cold plunge bath,—when I suddenly am stripped of my blankets, and then instantly jump into the water, head foremost;—and then take one or two more plunges and then step out and I am rubbed well and thoroughly dry and warm. Then I dress and walk a mile or so and back.—in the mean time drinking a glass of cold water every half hour until within about an hour of breakfast time.<sup>52</sup>

Diet was also part of the cure. John Knight wrote on August 10, 1847:

My appetite was never better; and I indulge it very liberally with stale brown bread, rice and boiled mutton only; and to these I have most rigidly adhered ever since I came here. I have not touched coffee or any vegetable whatever, but rice. I do sometimes substitute roast beef for boiled mutton, when the latter is not tender and well flavored.<sup>53</sup>

Local tradition relates that it was Mrs. Lingen who discovered the Diamond (magnesium) Springs and Dr. Lingen who had built the bath house around the springs.<sup>54</sup> Despite the addition of a new mineral spring and perhaps because of local opposition or because of the "cure," Dr. Lingen did not make Yellow Springs a successful venture and he sold out his part of the holdings in 1848 and departed.

<sup>52</sup>John Knight letters, Perkins Library, Duke University.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup>*Phoenixville Messenger*, March 25, 1882.

Mrs. Neef became the new hostess and it is written: "that the place has never looked more inviting than at this moment. Mrs. Neef, backed by a score of able bodied men and women, has completely renovated the buildings and improved the grounds."<sup>55</sup> A letter writer from Yellow Springs in 1855 stated:

It may astonish some who believe in the absolute perfection of Saratoga and Newport, but we think it is a remark that experience will prove to be true, viz: that there is not on the American continent a watering place where pleasure is so closely connected with the health-giving appliances and where the visitor can more truly enjoy himself than at the Yellow Springs.<sup>56</sup>

However, the days of Yellow Springs as a spa were fast drawing to close as was spa life in other areas of the United States.

**FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE PRESENT,  
1860—1974**

After Mrs. Neef, Yellow Springs was to have one more innkeeper, Susan Snyder, who purchased the property in 1860. The buildings at Yellow Springs were again used as a hospital during the Civil War and then, in 1869, the property became Chester Springs Soldiers' Orphans School and Literary Institute. The area was purchased by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1916 and used as a summer school until it was sold in 1952 to a film making company, Good News Productions. The Yellow Springs Foundations purchased the property from Good News Productions. The latter functions of the property as a school, an art school, and a film producer are also under consideration by the Yellow Springs Foundation. At present, the area is still rural, the air is still fresh, the springs still flow, and the buildings still stand. Perhaps again Historic Yellow Springs, when reconstructed, will serve medical and social and artistic functions and, as it was written in the conclusion of the poem by James Ross in 1810, it will be written again:

*Ergo (nec mirum) veniunt frequentes.  
Conjuges carae, juvenes, mariti,  
Et senes, sponsae, pueri et puellae  
Dulce canentes.  
Interim mites, hilaresque laeti  
Accubant mensis; dapibusque pleni,  
Quas Bonus struxit; redeunt refecti  
Viribus intus.<sup>57</sup>*

Therefore (no wonder) crowds come.  
Beloved wives, children, husbands,  
And the aged, brides, boys and girls  
Singing sweetly.  
Meanwhile the quiet ones, the merry and the  
joyful ones  
Recline at the tables; and filled with the feast,  
Which God has provided; refreshed, they return  
With strength inside.

<sup>55</sup>*Register and Examiner*, June 24, 1854.

<sup>56</sup>*American Republican*, July 10, 1855, extracted from the *Argus*.

<sup>57</sup>*American Republican*, July 25, 1826.

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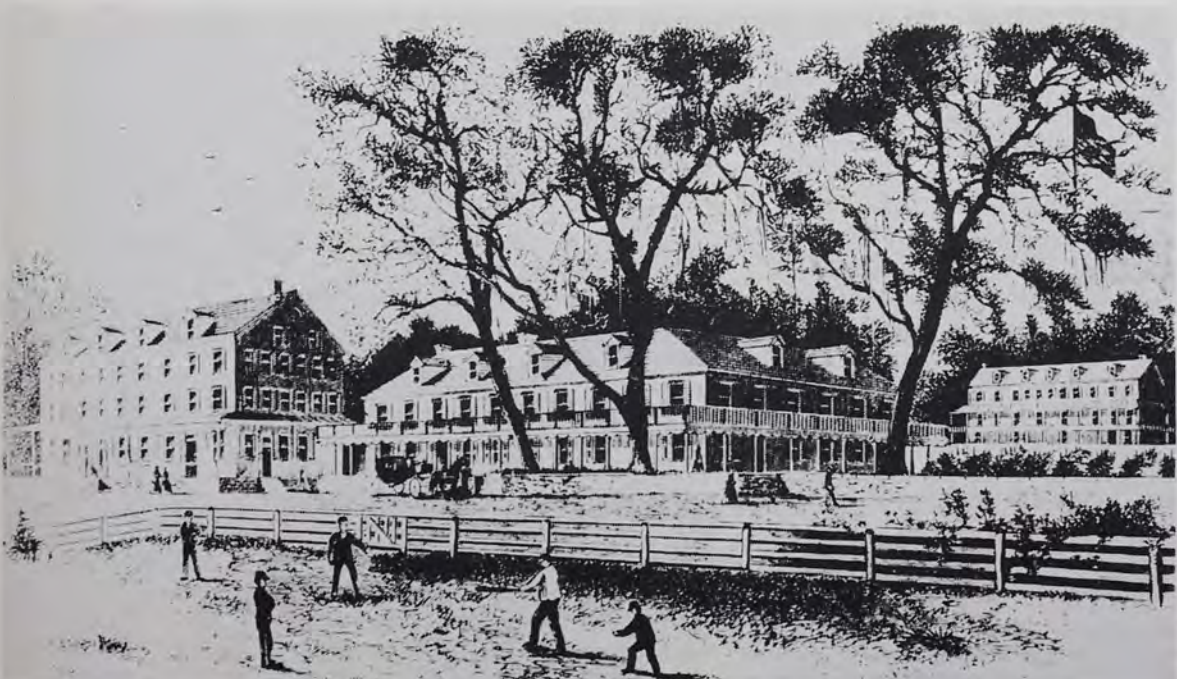
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A drawing of Yellow Springs published in 1876. Chester County Historical Society. (This is from a series of illustrations in Pennsylvania's Soldiers' Orphans Schools)





*The Yellow Springs Hotel as it appears today. Yellow Springs Foundation.*

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# THE USE OF SPEECH AT TWO AUCTIONS

By SUZANNE COX

Popular characterizations of national, ethnic, and occupational groups depend in large part on the fact that speech habits vary immensely from social group to social group. The casual observer at a weekly market in rural Pennsylvania would readily notice what to him might be peculiarities of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, and he would probably be able to describe these distinctive characteristics without much trouble. But if he were asked to comment on the importance of speech in social interaction among these farmers of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry, he would find it difficult to generalize from seemingly contradictory instances of behavior. An auction of livestock, and an auction of miscellaneous used items, housewares, hardware, and vegetables are the two main foci of activity in the market grounds. In the livestock barn, spectators sit in silence, absorbed in the fast-moving transactions taking place in the central ring; bidders indicate their interest with unobtrusive gestures; the auctioneer impersonally records bids and announces sales in a steady, unvaried verbal stream. Next door, the mood is entirely different. Attention is divided between spontaneous conversations with people in neighboring seats, and joking exchanges with the auctioneer and his helpers.



*Livestock drivers draw close to the auctioneer for a private conference on the price at which bidding should be opened. Bidders and spectators have no part in the exchange.*

In the first context, an outsider gets the impression that people are taciturn. At the housewares, hardware, and vegetable auction, on the other hand, he immediately notices a tendency to openly express humor and social relationships through verbal channels. Any generalized stereotype of this community's social use of speech would fail to recognize the variation that follows from differences of social context.

This is an attempt to describe differences in the use of speech within a specific group of Pennsylvania farming people, and to relate the observed differences in speaking to the social context of use. The group studied is made up of regular participants in two auctions held at the Green Dragon, a weekly country fair and farmers' market that takes place a few miles from Ephrata, Pennsylvania. Most of the people at the market raise field corn, fruit, vegetables, dairy cattle, pigs, and chickens on small farms within fifty miles of the market grounds. Substantial parts of their products other than milk are for personal consumption, but the Green Dragon is an important outlet for small surpluses of fruits and vegetables, baked goods, and home crafts. More importantly, dairy cattle are bought and sold at the market in limited numbers. The Green Dragon is the place where farmers of the area go to exchange one or two cows from their herds for others in order to improve



*During the auction of household and miscellaneous items, the auctioneer directly accepts a bid from the back row, while one helper listens to the humorous dialogue, and two other helpers cooperate in selecting the next item for sale.*

their breeding stock. The weekly market is a recreational event, as well as an economic one. Visiting and exchange of news go on along with buying and selling at open stands, and in the covered market building. Both sexes, and all except for the very oldest and very youngest members of the population are represented. Most of the people present are from farming families of Pennsylvania Dutch extraction. There are small numbers of Amish and Mennonites, and also a few tourists whose chief interest is local color. The tourists buy produce from vendors, but they do not participate in the auctions. The crowd at the Green Dragon is in some ways a heterogeneous one. Grounds for defining it as a single, integral group appropriate as a context for the study of the uses of speech to carry out a social activity are given in the following section on method.

#### METHOD

Study of linguistic behavior in terms of social patterns of use has been called "the ethnography of speaking"<sup>1</sup> This approach has stressed the writing of rules for the use of speech within bounded communication units that Hymes calls "speech events." These discrete exchanges between two or more people can be described in terms of the component factors of the speaking context—Ervin-Tripp uses setting, participants, topic, function, and form.<sup>2</sup> Rules of speaking are then structured relationships among the components. Changes in one or more of the components are observed to cause changes in one or more of the others. The analogy of a phonemic system<sup>3</sup> is applicable: the occurrence of any given phoneme(s) defines an environment that in turn determines which other phonemes may occur. In the same article mentioned above, Ervin-Tripp makes the point that alternations of speech event components can be assigned specific determinants only when all components but the one in question are held constant. She also recognizes that this presents a major difficulty in ethnographic studies of naturally-occurring speech:

... the drawback of such studies is that normally there is so much variation at once that we can find descriptive information about distributions but little definitive knowledge of which of the co-varying features may be effective.<sup>4</sup>

This paper departs in two major ways from the method of studying speech events outlined by Hymes and Ervin-Tripp. First, the emphasis is not on sorting out causal relationships among the co-varying components of context, so the difficulty mentioned by Ervin-Tripp is avoided. The basic principle that speech is

patterned according to context, however, is taken for granted and used as a basis for relating speech to the kind of personal interaction that is dominant in a specific context. Categories of context like those suggested in the articles mentioned above are used here as common terms in which to describe the personal interaction and uses of speech that were observed at the two auctions. The heuristic divisions used here are setting, pattern of participant interaction, range of topic, and use of speech. The second way in which this paper differs from the rule-oriented studies is in the unit of observation and description. A desire to state structural regularities within a system of speaking requires that the unit of study be one in which every instance of speech activity can be identified, and every aspect of context clearly delimited. Concepts such as "speech event" and "encounter"<sup>5</sup> set these requirements. Because this paper deals with general differences in ways of speaking and social context that distinguish two speech situations from each other, and not with predictive rules within a single speech situation, a broader concept than speech event is called for. Speech situation, as used by Hymes,<sup>6</sup> will serve to describe the auctions as units of sociolinguistic description. The speech situation studied include non-verbal as well as verbal exchanges, and have more than one exchange between individuals or groups of individuals taking place simultaneously.

The method of comparing the speech behavior exhibited at the two auctions has been adopted in hopes that the presence of differences in both ways of speaking and social patterning is a convincing argument for the close interrelationship of speech and social matrix. Differences are shown to exist in spite of great outward similarity in the situations' settings, participants, and structures. One similarity between the two auctions is that the people attending both, except for a small number of visitors who remain in the background, belong to a single speech community in terms of common locality and primary interaction.<sup>7</sup> Since the same people return week after week, everyone knows everyone else by sight, with few exceptions. The presence of several groups (Old Order Amish, Mennonites, non-sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch) whose cultural orientations may differ to a greater or lesser extent did not affect the patterns observed. Another similarity is that both auctions are recreational situations for members of both sexes, and all age groups. Because they are scheduled alternately, it is possible to attend both, and about three-quarters of the people do. Certain structural aspects of the auction situations are also similar. In both cases, the auctioneer (who

<sup>1</sup>Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking," in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (The Hague, Netherlands, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>Susan Ervin-Tripp, "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listeners," in John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.), *The Ethnography of Communication* (Washington, D.C., 1964).

<sup>3</sup>Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking."

<sup>4</sup>Ervin-Tripp, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup>Erving Goffman, *Encounters* (New York, 1961).

<sup>6</sup>Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking."

<sup>7</sup>John Gumperz, "Types of Linguistic Communities," *Anthropological Linguistics*, IV:1 (1962).

is the same individual in both cases) is spatially distant from the rest of the participants, uses a microphone, and interacts with two other Green Dragon employees. This comparison of the way speech is used in two seemingly similar activities within a designated social group is evidence that the form and importance of speech vary from context to context within speech communities.

This paper is based on observations carried out during visits to the Green Dragon on four successive Fridays. The first time, I arrived in mid-afternoon and stayed until the evening odds-and-ends auction was over at eight P.M. My second visit lasted from nine A.M. to eight P.M.; my third, from ten A.M. to nine P.M. The last time, I stayed only for the morning livestock auction. This period of field study included approximately sixteen hours of auction observation divided equally between the livestock barn and the building where the miscellaneous items' auction takes place. The most useful field method proved to be listening and watching from different vantage points within the spatial setting of each auction. In the odds-and-ends auction, people spoke to me readily, drawing me into the characteristic pattern of verbal exchange by my second visit. This situation was an excellent one for asking questions about the auctioning of livestock that could not comfortably be asked during auctions in the livestock barn. Three people served as informants outside the context of the auction situation: Mr. John Fischer, the auctioneer; Mrs. Mary Glassmeier, the cashier in the manager's office; and Mr. Claude Oldt, an elderly farmer and personal acquaintance. All questioning was done through casual conversation. No special inventory of direct questions was used, because although the extent to which speech is used in each context, by whom, and to whom are matters of common knowledge, the few direct questions on the subject I posed early in the study evoked answers like "We just talk to visit and such," and "No, we don't talk too much, we just look." Conversations with the individuals mentioned above provided data mainly on products, prices, and peoples' frequency of attendance. Patterns of speaking, and the associated social contexts were determined mostly by observation and participation during the speech situations themselves.

#### DESCRIPTION OF A SPEECH SITUATION: THE LIVESTOCK AUCTION

##### *Setting*

The livestock barn is the largest structure at the Green Dragon, and it is located exactly in the center of the market grounds. Here auctions take place twice on market days from ten A.M. to noon, and again from two to four P.M. Most of the space inside the barn is taken up by stalls and pens where animals to be auctioned are displayed. The only access to the auction

ring, other than that from an outside loading platform, is past rows of tethered cows. The dirt floor of the ring is surrounded on three sides by wooden bleachers. People enter and leave the three-sided room through the open end, and animals are usually brought in and out through roped-off aisles on this same side of the auction room. Except for some faded farm calendars dated 1967 and 1970, the room is without decoration. The livestock barn is not heated. When asked what happens in the barn, people say something like "Some [people] buy cows, some go to watch."

##### *Participant Interaction*

The participants in the livestock auction are 1) the *auctioneer*, 2) the *drivers* (my term), 3) the *bidders*, and 4) the *spectators*. The auctioneer is a man of about thirty-five years of age. He has attended auctions at the Green Dragon since childhood, and been employed as auctioneer by the management for three years. A dairy farmer himself, he occasionally attends livestock auctions at another market forty miles away that is held on a different day of the week. *Driver* is a convenient term I have chosen to describe a man employed by the Green Dragon to drive stock in and out of the ring, and, I suspect, to drive the price as high as possible. There are two men so employed at the livestock auction, and both of them were usually in the ring at the same time. Indirect inquiry revealed that one of the two holds a similar position at another weekly farm auction, and works as a caretaker on a farm not far from the Green Dragon. The other is both a farmer and a general repairman, as well as a driver. Both men attend at least one of the miscellaneous items auctions each market day. Bidders are those people who consistently sit in the first two rows of the bleachers, and who frequently bid. At any one time, between ten and twenty bidders may be present. Of this number, the maximum number of women ever observed was three. Bidders come and go while the auction is in progress, but not so much as the spectators. The spectators occupy the top several rows of seats. Men, women, and children are, on the average, evenly represented here. There is a somewhat more marked moving in and out of the auction room among this group. The total number of spectators ranges from twenty (usually in mid-morning) to one hundred and fifty or so in the mid-afternoon. These numbers reflect the fact that there are fewer people at the market in the morning, and that many of the people who are present are busy buying fresh produce from vendors.

One way of relating speaking to social context is to identify participants as senders and receivers of messages in the speech situation.<sup>8</sup> The auctioneer's intricate verbal call lets everyone in the room know when each

<sup>8</sup>Ervin-Tripp.

successive five-dollar raise in the price is met by a bidder. When the price offered comes close enough to the owner's expectations (which have been communicated in advance only to the drivers), the drivers signal the auctioneer with a cryptic "All right" or "That's good" and the end of bidding is announced with a bang of the gavel. Although the auctioneer sends messages in these ways to everyone present, he receives messages only from the drivers. These are intermediaries between bidders and potential bidders, and the auctioneer. After driving each new cow into the ring, the drivers perform a few standardized acts intended to demonstrate the fine qualities of the animal. They press their hands against the cows' sides and squeeze the udders, sending a stream of milk onto the floor of the ring. Then, speaking over the auctioneer's call, they encourage bids from people seated in the lower two rows. To indicate that he will pay the price being droned at that moment by the auctioneer, a bidder signals a driver with an unobtrusive gesture. The driver announces to the auctioneer that a bid has been made by shouting, or gesturing with the bamboo pole he carries. The auctioneer raises by five dollars the price that figures so importantly in his verbal spiel. Occasionally, a driver exchanges a few words with a person who is considering making a bid. He stands at the edge of the ring, directly in front of, and only a few inches away from the potential bidder. The conversation that ensues is inaudible to everyone else. Whether the driver is supplying additional information about the animal, or identifying the owner, or telling the bidder the owner's asking price could not be determined. At the end of the conference, the driver may or may not indicate to the auctioneer that the individual has bid.

Bidders sit alone, spacing themselves three or more feet apart. Conversation between bidders is extremely rare. When someone does address a comment to his neighbor, the reply is always a nod, a shrug, or a monosyllable. Bidders entering the auction room together do not sit together, even when the nearest empty space could accommodate more than one person. The only observed exception to this seating pattern is made by Amish bidders, who often sit in twos or threes, leaving a little less space between themselves than the general rule dictates. Amish bidders do interact individually with the drivers in making bids. Bids are made with undemonstrative hand or facial gestures. A refusal to renew a bid, however, is usually made with a more readily perceptible shake of the head. Only in instances of conference with a driver is speech used at all in bidding. Bidders' interaction with each other takes the form of competitive bidding on the same animal. This interaction is indirect, since each bidder communicates his wish to pay five dollars more,

or to stop bidding, to the driver standing nearest him. Individuals bidding simultaneously on the same animal do not look at each other, but outwardly confine their attention to the auction ring.

Spectators are informed of the course of events by the auctioneer's call, and by observable messages between bidders and drivers, and between drivers and the auctioneer. They do not send messages that function in the auction activity. Like the bidders, they refrain almost completely from conversation among themselves, listening and watching the progress of the auction with great attention. Children under the age of about fourteen sometimes represent an exception by talking together and ignoring the auction. If they make any distracting noise, however, an adult sitting close by effectively silences them, for the time being, with a low word or two. On two occasions, spectators were observed to leave the auction room proper before entering into personal conversation. It is important to note that the auctioneer's and drivers' speech, although clearly audible in all parts of the room, is not loud enough to make conversation within the room impossible.

#### *Range of Topic*

All communication, both verbal and non-verbal, is concerned with the buying and selling of dairy cattle, a commodity of considerable economic importance to individual dairy farmers, and to the community as a whole. The auctioneer's call deals almost entirely with price. During the period of observation, cows sold for between four hundred, and six hundred dollars. The drivers' speech concerns the cattle's positive qualities and the need for a buyer willing to pay a fair price. Bidders express desire to buy or not to buy. Spectators, expressing by their presence an interest in the livestock and the means by which it changes hands, introduce no subjects unrelated to the auctioning activity itself.

#### *Use of Speech in the Livestock Auction*

In this situation, communication between participants makes minimal use of speech. The auctioneer's incessant verbal stream does not really supply any information necessary to the interaction among bidders, or between bidders and drivers. When a driver announces that a bid has been made, everyone receives the message. The auctioneer's speech serves only as a narrow record of price. The position of the auctioneer on the periphery of the central interacting space is consistent with the limited importance of his speech to the auction process. Bidding, an important element of interaction, is done without any speech at all. Both the auctioneer's and the drivers' speech exhibit what, by Bernstein's definition, is a "restricted code".<sup>9</sup> Their speech is marked

<sup>9</sup>Basil Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences," in John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.), *The Ethnography of Communication* (Washington, D.C., 1964).

by a narrowed range of syntactic alternatives and a number of lexical items much smaller than that used in normal speech. The auctioneer's call is the rapid repetition of a small number of expressions having to do with the price of the cow on the floor. Drivers have set phrases that they use over and over to praise an animal, and other unvarying expressions intended to draw bids ("Hey, look at this girl, she'll give more than you can carry," "Here's a milk cow, fine girl," and "Aren't no more cows with any milk for that price"). Several expressions like these are used thirty or forty times in a single two-hour session. Finally, any speech other than the auctioneer's call, the drivers' ritualized verbal expressions, and occasional whispered conferences between drivers and bidders is considered inappropriate in this situation.

#### DESCRIPTION OF A SPEECH SITUATION: THE AUCTION OF MISCELLANEOUS, USED ITEMS, ETC.

##### *Setting*

The auction of miscellaneous items takes place in a converted garage to one side of the livestock barn. This structure is several times smaller than the barn. Auctions go on here from noon to two P.M., and from six to eight P.M. on market days. The single, large room is crowded with wooden chairs placed in orderly rows facing the auctioneer's platform, which occupies the wall away from the doors. The platform is built like a narrow stage running across the entire width of the room. The area along the side walls is occupied by booths offering for sale a range of items that includes hand-sewn quilts, knitted goods, china figurines, used and new books, and hardware. An oil-burning stove heats the room in cold weather. More than just auctioning occurs in this setting. When people at the Green Dragon are asked what goes on in this building, they usually mention the auction, the assorted vendors' stands, and the chairs and stove ("It's a good, warm place to sit and rest," and "They sell all kinds of old stuff—auction, too").

##### *Participant Interaction*

This auction has a cast of participants analogous to that described for the livestock auction. The same auctioneer presides. There are two *helpers* (my term), an elderly couple paid by the Green Dragon to inspect all merchandise offered for auction, to place merchandise on the auctioneer's platform for his attention, to deliver items to buyers in the audience, and to collect money. The helpers have worked for the market in this capacity for fifteen years. There is no spatial or role separation of bidders and spectators within the audience. Bidding is done by nearly everyone at one time or another, either in earnest, or in jest. Although people sit with friends and neighbors when seats are plentiful, the auction is almost always crowded, and

people sit or stand wherever they can find room. The ratio of women to men to children at the daytime auction is about 3:2:1. In the evening, these three groups are about evenly represented. The total number of people present ranges anywhere from fifty to two-hundred, there being fewer present in the daytime than in the evening.

Interaction among participants occurs along the following lines: The auctioneer is more involved in the total interaction pattern than he is at the livestock auction. All of the chairs in the room face the platform, from which the auctioneer speaks directly to individuals in the audience, to the helpers, and to the assembled group as a whole. He may be interrupted by questions or comments from the floor. Both men and women initiate direct verbal exchange with the auctioneer, but children usually do not. The helpers often assume the auctioneer's duties from the floor in front of the platform if the auctioneer is engaged in conversation with someone in the audience for more than a minute or two. Like the auctioneer, they often exchange comments with individuals in the audience. A potential buyer may by-pass the helpers by coming to the front to inspect an item; buyers sometimes come to the front to claim their purchases, rather than wait for the helper to distribute them. Interaction between participants in the form of competition for a single item was not observed to occur. The first person to express a desire for an item is usually allowed to buy it unchallenged. Spontaneous conversation occurs between people in neighboring seats, whether or not they are acquainted. At times, a conversation on a topic unrelated to the auctioning process may spread to include helpers, auctioneer, and a number of individuals in various parts of the room. In summary, the network of message sending and receiving is more complex here than in the livestock auction. Although the auctioneer dominates the situation by describing objects to the group, by soliciting and receiving bids, and by his role as a target figure for remarks from the crowd, anyone present may be a sender or receiver with respect to anyone else. There are also more numerous foci of interaction occurring simultaneously in this setting than in the livestock auction room. People buying and selling at the booths along the wall are part of the auction audience, laughing at remarks made to or by the auctioneer, and initiating conversation with any of the other auction participants.

##### *Range of Topic*

The items being sold by auction are a central topic for discussion. Because the range of items presented for sale at any one auction is enormous, the auctioneer's statements about the condition or possible use of the objects cover a lot of territory. One salient characteristic of this auction that extends the range of topic sig-

nificantly is the emphasis on humor. Recurrent themes of the auctioneer's jokes are that an owner offering a shabby item for sale is "moneygrubbing" (the owner is not usually identified), and that the audience is stingy for not bidding higher on an item. Remarks about an item's dilapidated condition are very common on everyone's part. Fruit and vegetables are repeatedly described as "ready for the pigs." Price is a major subject of conversation, but joking about an object's not being worth a certain price, and about reluctance to pay is more important than establishing the price itself. The audience makes a great many playfully insulting remarks about the auctioneer's habit of tasting any fruits or vegetables that come across the platform. The auctioneer intersperses his calling for bids with greetings and personal comments directed at friends or regular auction attenders. Conversations among members of the audience may center on products bought or needed, or on personal subjects unrelated to the auction. In these ways, the range of topic in a speech situation formally defined as one of economic exchange is expanded to include personality traits of individuals known to the group, local news, gossip, family affairs, *ad infinitum*.

*Use of Speech in the Miscellaneous,  
Used Items Auction*

Speech is the main channel of social interaction at this auction. Bids are requested, offered, and received by the use of questions and answers between participants. The stereotyped auctioneer's call, with its limited content, and narrow, repetitive structure is used only momentarily when an item is introduced, and a minimum price is suggested. Its intended effects in this situation appear to be getting the crowd's attention, lending a dramatic element to the auctioneer's performance, and entertaining. Humor, one of the participants' major concerns, is expressed verbally through insults, narrated incidents, and puns. Some particularly large eggs presented for auction elicited the following exchange.

"You have some big eggs there, John"—from a middle-aged woman in the audience.

"Duck eggs!"—from a young man about twenty years of age.

"I'll duck you in the water!"—from the auctioneer.

Laughter from the audience and the helpers.

The use of speech is not restricted to interaction between auctioneer and audience or helpers, but occurs throughout the room in personal conversations, and in buying and selling at the vending booths as well.

#### CONCLUSION

This description of two speech situations within a speech community defined as those individuals who regularly attend the weekly Green Dragon market points out that, in each case, differences in speaking

behavior accompany differences in the scope and structure of social activity. In the livestock auction, the coincidence of a setting with a narrowly-defined function, proscribed lines of communication, and limited topic make interaction possible with minimal exploitation of the denotative and productive properties of speech. Interaction in the other situation, where these components of context are less narrowly defined, is more verbal.

A consideration of the function of the auctions in a social context wider than that of the weekly market may explain the speech differences further. The livestock auction has real economic importance to the farming community. Spending or collecting five hundred dollars for a cow is considered serious business. Humor, and the exchange of personal information, which in the other auction are topics of verbal expression, are absent. One reason bidders avoid speech and use almost imperceptible gestures may be a desire to conceal their intentions from competing bidders. Although the auction of assorted and sundry objects is also a place of economic exchange, the limited value of the items bought and sold makes the items themselves a less serious, and less central concern. Here some individuals may compete with the auctioneer in making jokes, but there is no economically important competition. A latent, that is, unrecognized, unintended function of this auction may be the reinforcing or widening of social relationships; social interaction (visiting, exchanging news, joking) may be the most positively valued end in this situation. In this light, an unrestricted speech code and an extensive use of speech make sense in that they intensify and expand interaction.

The ways of speaking described here can not be assigned distinct causes, because speech is itself an element of social context, complexly interrelated with other such elements. The natural speech activity has thus not been reduced to rules, but the appropriateness of speech and its importance to the social activity going on in each situation have been established here. This paper has tried to illustrate the interdependence of speaking and the context of use within a specific speech community.

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# Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology IX: Johann Friederich Schmidt

By LOUIS WINKLER

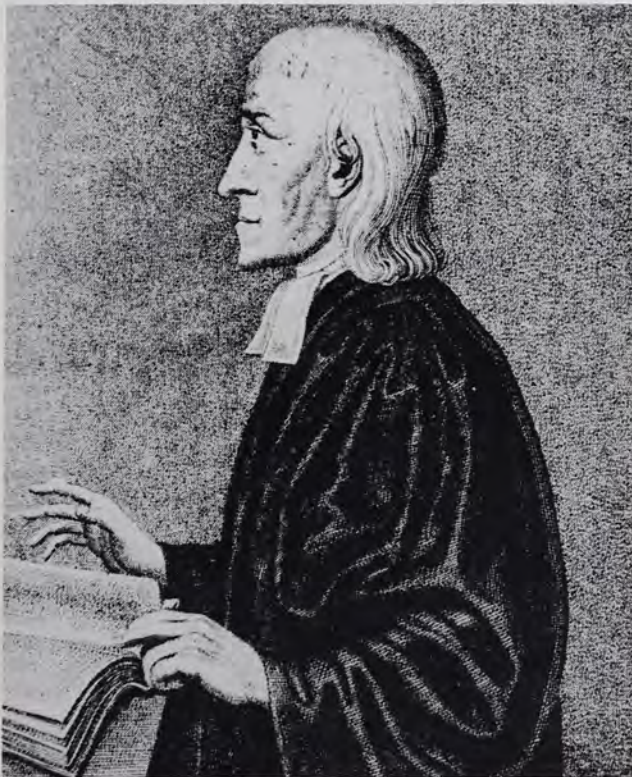
## INTRODUCTION

While Johann Friederich Schmidt was quite prominent in his time, this writer has only located three accounts of Schmidt's life. These include a sketch by Zentler,<sup>1</sup> another by Mayer,<sup>2</sup> and a biography by Nolan.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Conrad Zentler, "Kurze Anzeige der Lebensumstände und seligen Abschieds des Herrn Pastor Johann Friedrich Schmidt's," *Evangelisches Magazin*, II, 1813, i-viii.

<sup>2</sup>Philip F. Mayer, in *Annals of the American Pulpit*, IX (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 45-47.

<sup>3</sup>J. Bennett Nolan, *The Smith Family of Pennsylvania: Johann Friederich Schmidt, 1746-1812*, which was published by the family in 1932 at the Reading Eagle Press.



Johann Friederich Schmidt (1746-1812). The engraving appeared in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, I (1812). It was from a painting, now lost, by the Philadelphia artist Johann Eckstein, and engraved by the artist himself.

In all of these accounts the astronomical contributions of Schmidt are only touched upon lightly.

Schmidt was born on September 1, 1746, in Central Germany in the village of Frose in Sachsen-Anhalt. His father, Johann Gottfried Schmidt, was a farmer and architect who had a liking for mathematics. The son was educated at the Lutheran Seminary at Halle until 1759 and then at the University of Halle. As a student at the university he ranked highest in his classes, and studied mathematics and astronomy. Upon receiving his academic and theological certificates (Figures 1 and 2, respectively) in 1765 he stayed on at Halle as an instructor until 1768.

After his scholastic career at Halle he sailed for America to arrive in Philadelphia in the spring of 1769. He resided until 1785 in Germantown, where he devoted a great deal of his time to the Lutheran Church. In 1785 he moved to Philadelphia where he rose in the church hierarchy. Once in Philadelphia it appears that he became interested in almanac calculations and renewed his interests in academic matters which included perhaps the instruction of astronomy at the University of Pennsylvania.

Pastor Schmidt's primary contribution to society was as a Lutheran clergyman as well as the propagator of the Smith family which had no small part in the development of Pennsylvania. However, the Pastor's astronomical contributions as a member of the Pennsylvania community appear to be rather unique and quite sophisticated.

## ACADEMIC WORK

The only known extant work of Schmidt's is his primer<sup>4</sup> of 1792, printed by Michael Billmeyer of Germantown. In spite of the lack of the existence of any other of Schmidt's works it is nevertheless possible to make a number of interesting conclusions regarding the nature of his work. When Schmidt died on May 16, 1812, he left behind a number of astronomical

<sup>4</sup>Entitled, *Ein wohl eingerichtetes deutsches ABC Buchstabil-und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch deutscher Schulen*.





Figure 1. Schmidt's academic certificate of 1765. Courtesy Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.

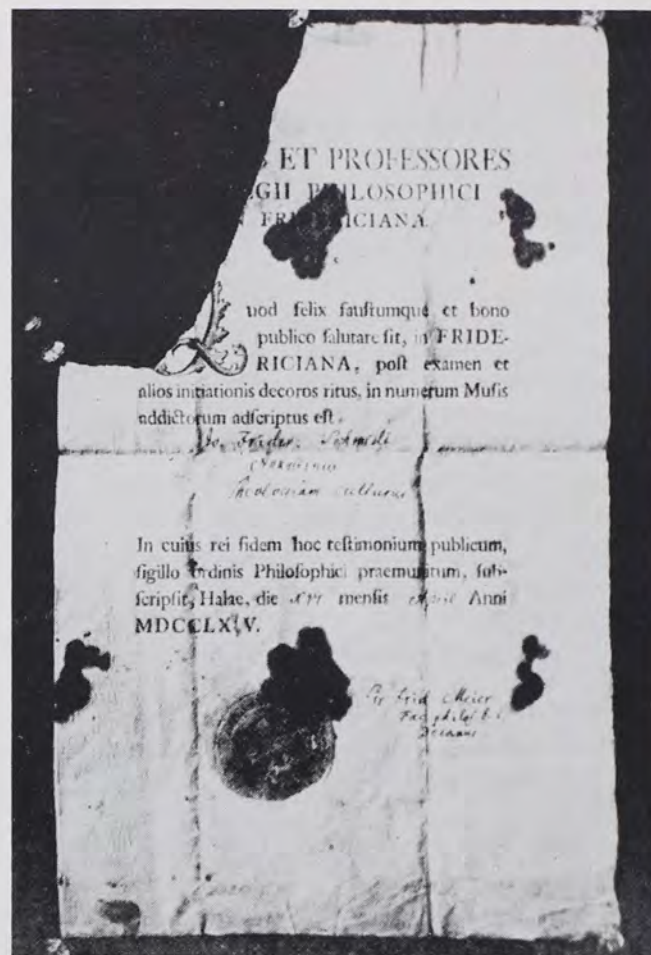


Figure 2. Schmidt's theological certificate from the University of Halle, Courtesy Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.

items. His will<sup>5</sup> included the provision: "and I wish that my astronomical books, my written tables and calculations and globes may remain in the families of my children as they may be of some use for one or another of my grandchildren."

Schmidt's biographer, J. Bennett Nolan, a descendant, suggested that these same books and tables were still within the family in Reading.<sup>6</sup> However, this writer is only able to find a listing of his astronomical manuscripts which are as follows:<sup>7</sup>

1. Tabellen der schiefen Ascension in rechter Zeit für die nordliche Breite von 32°42'.  
N. B. Diese Tabellen Können ebenfalls zur schiefen Descension gebraucht werden.
2. Regeln zur Calender Berechnung.
3. Bemerkungen Über Meyers Sonnen-Tabellen.
4. Ditto über Meyers Mond-Tabellen.
5. Art, Zu irgend einer Zeit, des Mondes Breite zu finden.
6. Art, auf eine Kurze Weise die geocentric Länge und geocentrische Breite der Planeten Jupiter und Venus zu finden.

<sup>5</sup>Nolan, 101.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Zentler, vii and viii.

7. Eine Tabelle und Regeln, um die Ascension, die Mittagshöhe, und Descension die Sonne, des Mondes, der Planeten und fixirten Sterne für 40 Grade nörderlicher Breite zu finden.
8. Eine leichte Art, Sonn-und-Mond-Finsternisse zu berechnen.
9. Tabelle, die Bewegung der Sonne zu finden, in Minuten.  
Tabelle, die Bewegung der Sonne zu finden, in Stunden.  
Tabelle, die Bewegung des Mondes, in Minuten.  
Tabelle, die Bewegung des Mondes, in Stunden.
10. Tabellen der schiefen Ascension und Descension für den 40sten Grad nordlicher Breite, von 0 bis 7 Grade auf der nördlichen u. südlichen Breite der Sonne, des Mondes und der Planeten, und wie diese Tabellen zu gebrauchen.
11. Eine Tabelle der geraden Ascension der Mittagshöhe für jeden Grad, in gleichem Verhältnis mit der Höhe des 90stens Grades und mit dem 90sten Grade in der Ecliptik, für 40 Grade nördlicher Breite. Diese Tabelle ist von grossem Nutzen, um des Mondes Parallaxin in Länge und Breite zu finden, die Sonnen-Finsternisse zu berechnen, und wie sie zu gebrauchen.

12. *Eine Tabelle von der Breite des Mondes und seines Abnehmens in Finsternissen.*
13. *Eine Tabelle der stündlichen Bewegungen, der Halb-Durchmesser, und der Horizontal Parallaxen der Sonne und des Mondes.*
14. *Tabelle der Entfernung, oder Bewegung des Mondes, von der wahren Conjunction bis zur grössten Verfinsternung.*
15. *Tabellen um die geocentrische hänge eines jeden Planeten zu finden; nebst manchen andern astronomischen Tabellen u Versuchen.*

All fifteen of these manuscripts deal with celestial mechanics which was in the forefront of the field of astronomy during the 18th and 19th Centuries. In order to obtain a feeling for the nature and complexity of these celestial mechanical computations the reader might examine the two extant works<sup>8</sup> of John Christopher Kunze, who was also a Lutheran clergyman and intimate friend of Pastor Schmidt. Kunze's works were read to the American Philosophical Society and published in 1806 and concerned eclipses.

Zentler<sup>9</sup> the publisher of the *Evangelisches Magazin*, makes a comment about manuscript No. 10: "Diese Tabellen wurden von dem seligen Manne mit grosser Mühe und zum Erstaunen der Astronomer ausgerechnet." He is referring to the complex mathematical expressions of celestial mechanics used for the computations to describe the nonuniform and irregular motions of the sun, moon and planets.

Pastor Schmidt's astronomical contributions appear to be unique and highly technical even when compared to the work of such people as E. L. Walz, C. F. Egelmann, and David Rittenhouse. The astronomical work of these Pennsylvania German community members have been discussed in Articles I, VII and VIII respectively of this series. Schmidt's work appears to be much more mathematical and specialized than Walz's descriptive astronomy text. While Egelmann's almanac work was perhaps as technical as Schmidt's it did not include as many topics. The great contributions of Rittenhouse are more difficult to compare since his work was of such a different nature. Rittenhouse's astronomical contributions include administrative duties, apparatus construction, observations, and a few original, theoretical papers.

While there is no record of Schmidt being on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, considerable circumstantial evidence exists for this. In this writer's opinion the manuscripts of the list were sufficiently sophisticated to serve as lecture notes at the university level during Schmidt's time. Schmidt's scholarly com-

<sup>8</sup>Entitled, "A new method of calculating all the lunar and solar eclipses and new and full moons, from the creation of the world, grounded upon Scripture chronology," and "A Table of a new construction for calculating the great eclipse expected to happen on the 16th of June, 1806." Both published in New York by T. and J. Swords.

<sup>9</sup>*Op. cit.*, vii.

petence is verified by the fact that the University of Pennsylvania awarded him an honorary M. A. in 1789 for his astronomical work, and also honored him for his linguistic achievements. Further, a recommendation by Schmidt appears in a computational text<sup>10</sup> by Carl Kessler in 1807 and published by Johann Ritter at Reading, as well as in his own text (see Figure 3).

It was not unusual for the University of Pennsylvania to employ Lutheran clergymen on the faculty at that time since both Pastors Kunze and Helmuth, who were intimate friends of Schmidt's, were members. Associations between the University of Pennsylvania and Pastor Schmidt even extended to their utilizing one another's facilities. On a number of occasions the University used the Zion Church and St. Michael's, where Schmidt

<sup>10</sup>*Anfangsgründe der Rechenkunst, zum Gebrauch der Deutschen Schulen in den Vereinigten Staaten von America und besonders in Pennsylvania.*

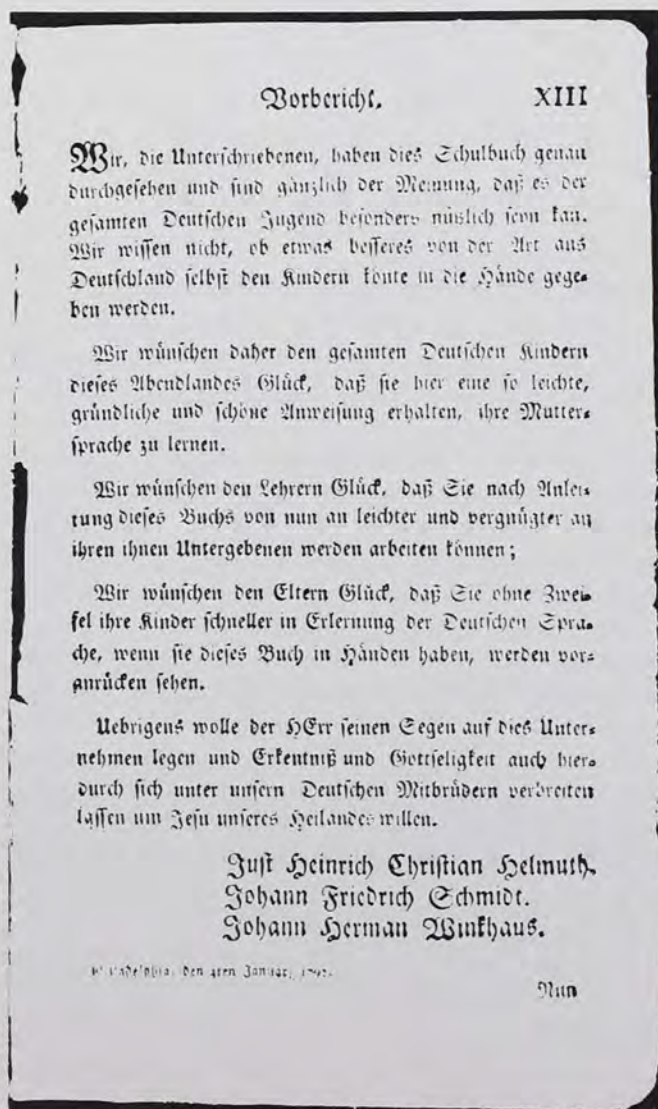


Figure 3. Page from Schmidt's copy book with recommendation. Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society.

preached, for commencement purposes. When the Zion church burned down in 1795, Schmidt used the facilities of the University to meet his congregation.

#### ALMANACS

Unfortunately Schmidt's name has not been found by this writer on almanacs published during Schmidt's life in America. However there is evidence that he made calculations for a number of almanacs. In Moyer's letter<sup>11</sup> of 1852 he wrote that "for many years, he (Schmidt) made all Astronomical calculations for the German Almanacs that were published in Philadelphia." In eight letters<sup>12</sup> written by Schmidt to his oldest son Frederick from 1799-1807 numerous references are made to almanac printers with which the father dealt. From Schmidt's numerous references to calculations sent in the mail or unpaid services for calculations and Drake's<sup>13</sup> listings it is reasonable to believe that Schmidt at least made computations for the following almanacs: *Neuer Hauswirthschafts Calender* for 1799-1801, 1803, and 1808;; *Vereinigten Staaten Calender and Americanischer Stadt und Land Calender*, for 1800; *Neue Allgemein-Nützliche Volks-Calender* for 1802; *Gemeinüzige Americanische Calender* for 1803 and 1806; and the *Neue Americanische Landwirthschafts Calender* for 1806, 1808 and 1811. Of these almanacs only the *Vereinigten Staaten Calender* and *Americanischer Stadt und Land Calender* were published in Philadelphia. All the others were published in Reading except for the *Neue Americanische Landwirthschafts Calender* which was published in Lancaster.

It is interesting to note that some or all of each of the previously mentioned manuscripts had computations which relate to almanacs. This is particularly evident from the title of manuscript 2. If these manuscripts could be recovered they probably would contain invaluable information regarding specific methods used by early American almanac calculators. Among Schmidt's letters<sup>14</sup> however there are some valuable bits of information regarding the intimate aspects of almanac calculations. In his January 15, 1800, letter Schmidt indicated that "printers" assured him that they were not giving his calculations to anybody. Schmidt indicated that the cost for a set of calculations was \$12 for the years 1806, 1808 and 1811. Nolan<sup>15</sup> suggests that Schmidt was motivated to make almanac calculations to supplement his meager ministerial stipend. Among the eight printers<sup>16</sup> mentioned by Schmidt in his

<sup>11</sup>*Op. cit.*, 46.

<sup>12</sup>Translated letters in the possession of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia dated October 28, 1799; January 15, 1800; January 26, 1802; February 15, 1802(?); May 4, 1802; April 2, 1805; April 15, 1807; and November 9, 1809.

<sup>13</sup>M. Drake, *Almanacs of the United States* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962).

<sup>14</sup>See reference 12.

<sup>15</sup>Nolan 38.

<sup>16</sup>Hütter, Jungmann, Kammerer, Kessler, List (probably means Cist), Ritter, Schneider and Schweitzer.



Figure 4. Spangler's pocket almanac of 1778, with notations. From the Nolan biography.

various letters, Jungmann of Reading was delinquent in his payment for calculations received in 1799, 1801, and 1802, while Hütter of Lancaster requested calculations but never picked them up. In Schmidt's letter of October 28, 1799, he indicated that he received "nautical almanacs" up to 1803. This statement of Schmidt's is consistent with the assertion made by this writer in Article VII of this series that early American almanac calculators employed the British Nautical Almanac to make their computations.

One of the more remarkable items in the general field of almanacs is found in an almanac of the Smith family. This item is the hand written entry of George Spangler (alias George Lamb, alias George Leaf) regarding his trial, conviction and execution dates as a traitor (see Figure 4). The entry<sup>17</sup> reads

Tried by a genl. Court martial August 1d. Condemned the 4th. Informed the of Execution—6th and to Dye the on Friday the 14th. God have mercy on me I humbly pray.

Spangler was a Tory and was executed as a traitor in 1778. Spangler's daughter, Catherine Leaf, married Schmidt's oldest son, Frederick.

The format of the almanac shows that it is of the pocket type. An examination of the month of September in 1778 of the Gregorian calender verifies the year of the calender as 1778. While Drake<sup>18</sup> lists five pocket almanacs published for 1778 in Pennsylvania, only *Poor Will's Pocket Almanack*, published by J. Crukschank, was published in Philadelphia where Spangler lived and was held prisoner. Spangler's entry is vivid testimony of the utility of the almanac in the lives of people.

<sup>17</sup>Nolan, 18.

<sup>18</sup>Drake, *Almanacs of the United States*.

## *Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 36:*

# COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Marriage, as one of the so-called "rites of passage" that most individuals are involved with in moving through life, is universally honored in every society by ritual and ceremony. The purpose of this questionnaire is to elicit information on how courtship and marriage were carried on and celebrated in the various Pennsylvania ethnic and religious groups.

1. *Courtship Practices.* At what age was courtship expected to begin? How was it carried on? How did courting couples meet in the first place, i.e., what institutions were available in the community where young people could meet and get to know one another? How was engagement arranged in earlier days? Was there an engagement ring?

2. *Bundling.* In the histories of Pennsylvania we hear much of the earlier practice of bundling, in which the courting couple retired to the girl's bedroom for courting. This appears to have been a universal custom among the Pennsylvania Germans (not just the Amish, about whose bundling practices so much has been written). Will readers be specific on what they know on bundling from their own families. Just what was the practice? What were the limits imposed? We know of course that bundling was an accepted practice in many peasant cultures of Europe, and in Pennsylvania it had its good reasons for existing. The kitchen was usually the only heated room of the farmhouse, the entire family was gathered there in the evening, and privacy was impossible. The custom was of course permitted by the parents and community and controlled by the parents' knowledge and consent.

3. *Wedding Ceremony.* Will readers describe the wedding ceremonies they participated in or heard about from earlier generations of their families. Where was the wedding held - church, home, or elsewhere? What times were weddings usually scheduled - morning, noon, afternoon? What times of year were favorites for weddings? What sort of wedding reception or wedding meal was involved? How were people invited to the wedding? What taboos existed before the actual wedding ceremony on the separation of the bride and groom?

4. *Wedding Costume.* Were special costumes worn for the wedding ceremony, as today? If so, what was done with the bride's wedding dress after the wedding? Was it worn during her lifetime?

5. *Honeymoon.* Was the "honeymoon" or wedding trip a usual part of a Pennsylvania wedding in earlier times? If

so, what did it consist of? Was it a visit to relatives who lived at a distance from home?

6. *Wedding Symbols.* Today married couples often wear wedding rings as symbols of their union. Was this universally the custom in the past? The plain sects, for example, do not use wedding rings. Were wedding certificates always made out by the pastor and given to the couple? Were wedding photographs taken in earlier days as today? In what sense was the family Bible a wedding symbol?

7. *Dowry.* In earlier days a dowry was part of the wedding settlement between the two families which were united through the ceremony. This was the portion of the household goods and moneys which the bride brought from her side of the transaction into the new household. What do you know of the practice? What was a "dower chest" and what was its connection with the wedding? What is the Pennsylvania German term for dowry?

8. *The New Home.* What arrangements were made for the young married couple by the parents? Where did the couple live until they could manage a farm of their own? Who usually inherited the family farm, the oldest or the youngest son?

9. *Deviation from Marriage.* How common in your opinion was illegitimacy among Pennsylvania's ethnic and religious groups? How was it dealt with in the community? What happened in the community when a marriage went to pieces, when marriage vows were broken by husband or wife? How common was separation? Lastly, what proportion of the community did not get married, and what was the function of bachelors and old maids in the rural world of Pennsylvania?

10. *Lore and Dialectology of Courtship and Marriage.* Will readers share with us any rhymes, verses, songs, jokes or tales that they recall from the past dealing with courtship and marriage. Will speakers of the Pennsylvania German dialect, or other non-English languages in Pennsylvania, list terms used by their communities for all the terms we have mentioned.

Send your replies to:

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





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