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**Authors**

Robert A. Barakat, Louis Winkler, Juliana Roth, Robert L. Dluge Jr., Werner Hacker, and Friedrich Krebs



# *Pennsylvania* FOLKLIFE

SUMMER 1972





## Contributors to this Issue

ROBERT A. BARAKAT, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is studying for the Ph.D. degree in the Graduate Folklore and Folklife Department, University of Pennsylvania. A native of Massachusetts, he has taught at Clark University, and has done extensive folk-cultural field work in Italy, Saudi Arabia, and Mexico. In the United States he has worked on traditional architecture and other aspects of material culture in New England as well as Pennsylvania. His article in this issue provides new analysis of two of Pennsylvania's earliest and most significant Germanic houses, the Herr House of Lancaster County and the Zeller House of Lebanon County.

DR. LOUIS WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, is a member of the Department of Astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania. In this issue he offers the second installment of his series on Pennsylvania German concepts of astronomy and astrology.

JULIANA ROTH, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is studying for the doctorate in the Graduate Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. Her article in this issue was done in connection with a seminar in Pennsylvania German history and ethnography.

ROBERT L. DLUGE, JR., Elysburg, Pennsylvania, is a recent graduate of Bloomsburg State College. His interview with a powwow doctor published in this issue was done in connection with a psychology course at the college. It is a welcome follow-up to other such interviews that have appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

WERNER HACKER, of Frankfurt, West Germany, is a director of the German Federal Railways. We are privileged in this issue to offer our readers a list of emigrants to America from his book, *Auswanderungen aus dem früheren Hochstift Speyer nach Südosteuropa und Uebersee im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Speyer, 1969). The volume is No. 28 in the series *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*, published by the Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern.

DR. FRIEDRICH KREBS, Speyer, West Germany, recently retired from his position as archivist at the Palatine State Archives in Speyer, has contributed a lengthy series of articles on 18th Century emigration to Pennsylvania and other colonies. His latest, in this issue, gives us details on emigrants from the former Duchy of Zweibrücken, the subject also of several of his earlier publications.



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### COVER:

*America's pictorial magazines of the 19th Century are a prolific source for folklife illustrations. Our cover picture, a haying scene showing every step of the process from whetting the scythe to hauling the load into the barn, comes from Gleason's Pictorial (Boston), June 17, 1854.*



# The HERR and

By ROBERT A. BARAKAT

## INTRODUCTION

Historical archaeology is a discipline yet to be clearly defined as regards its scope, aims, and methods. In this sense it is in somewhat the same situation as folklife studies to which it bears some remarkable resemblances, particularly their proposed aims and methods. What historical archaeology attempts to accomplish is the reconstruction of the past history of a town, village, or house—which is then related to the activities and behavior of those individuals and groups who inhabited them. Unfortunately, the historical archaeologist is called upon, more often than not, to perform a *salvage* operation to rescue some of the artifacts and other features from the bulldozer. In rare instances is he actually given the opportunity to study in detail the layout of towns, structural details

of buildings, and so on. Thus, if historical archaeology is to flourish as a discipline, those who are actively engaged in it must be supported with funds and staff for long-term projects, the only kind of project out of which meaningful data may be gleaned.

Folklife studies, on the other hand, attempts to study culture on a regional basis and from field work and subsequent analyses come to better understand that culture in all of its various aspects. Like historical archaeology, folklife studies brings to bear much the same data from pictorial sources, material aspects of culture such as house types, arrangements of farmsteads, written and printed sources such as diaries, journals, deeds, wills, and so on, and data from personal interviews with individuals about folk practices; whether those individuals be from higher or lower levels of soci-

*Plate 1 Front view of the Hans Herr House. Note the offset door, wood-framed windows and door, high pitched roof, central chimney, and holes in corners just left of and above south window.*





# ZELLER HOUSES

ety does not matter. The point is simply that each person has information about his regional culture which might prove to be of great value to the investigator.

Moreover, both disciplines deal with diachronic as well as synchronic reconstructions, a fact that seems to indicate their relationship to history, cultural anthropology, and to sociology. Indeed, it may be said with some definiteness that both historical archaeology and folk-life studies complement each other in a way that few other disciplines do. One may, for example, use the other's data and sources to fill in the gaps in knowledge and understanding, for it is only by applying conclusions from the other field that the conclusions of the other can have greater depth of insights into a way of life in a given area or segment of culture.

In only one major area do the two fields differ: that of excavating towns, villages, or houses, with the view in mind of reconstructing them as they existed in a given point in time, both primary methods and tools

for the historical archaeologist. Although the student of folklife observes such features on the cultural landscape as house and fence types, his method and aim is to type these traits, and by doing so better define the region in which he is working. However, the folklife student still uses data from the excavations and reconstructions made by the historical archaeologist to fill out his knowledge. It is, in fact, a requirement of any typology of material cultural traits not only to chart the distribution of extant items but also to consider what examples come to light as the result of the archaeologist's digging. As we shall see in this article, the historical archaeologist may draw heavily from the folklife student's corpus of knowledge of a particular culture or segment of culture, and, in essence, he must because the reconstruction of say, a house, means little if one cannot put people into it with an additional understanding of their activities and practices. Thus, one may see that there is a constant interchange be-

*Plate 15 A front view of the Zeller House. Several features of the house can be seen, including the offset front door with inscription, central chimney, dormers, wood-framed windows, high pitched roof, and the "kick" of the roof. A cement porch, added in the 1940's, is also shown with an iron fence around it.*





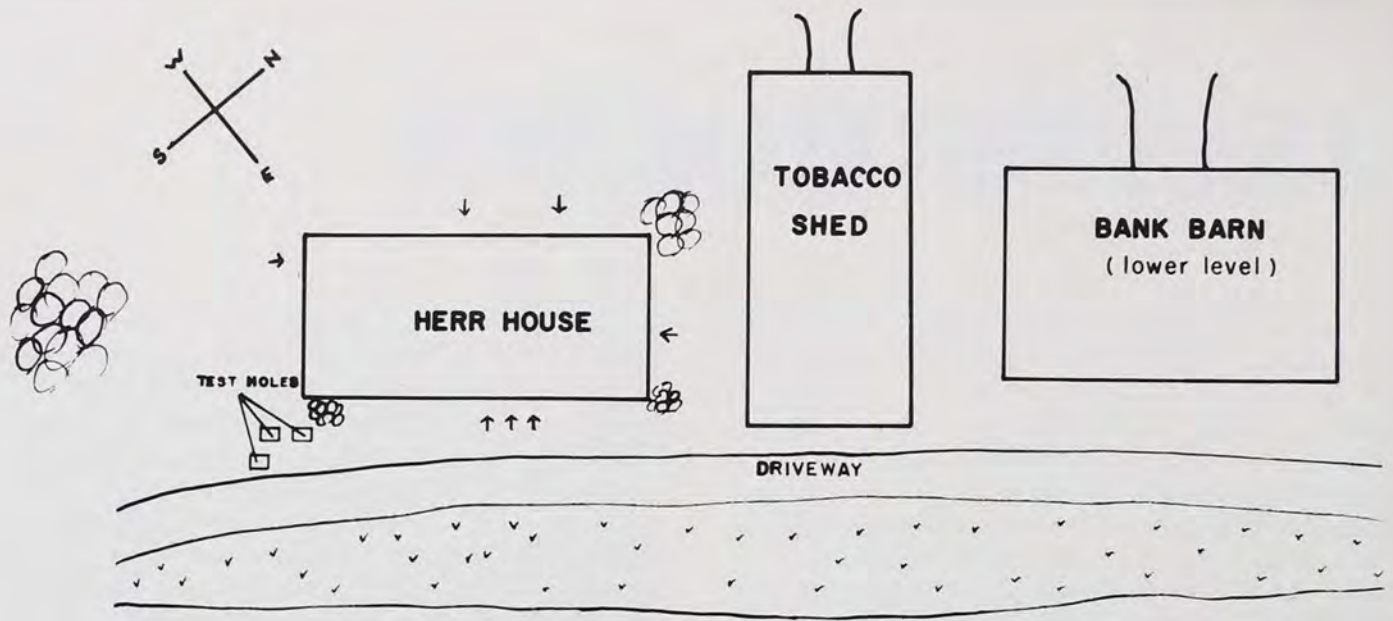


FIGURE 1 Although this drawing is not to scale, it shows several features of the Herr House site, including the proxemic relationship of the house to the tobacco shed and the remains of the bank barn. Excavations carried out recently are indicated by the arrows around the house.

tween the two fields, one seeking to fill the gaps in its own data by drawing relevant data from the other.

One other important task of the historical archaeologist, but in cooperation with architectural historians, is the preservation of buildings, either as single units or as complexes such as at Jamestown and Williamsburg, among other examples. By excavating sites of historical importance to an area or to a whole national group, the historical archaeologist and the architectural historian assist in the recreation of the past, linking the past with the present in such a way as to make the continuity of culture, regional and national aspirations more meaningful to the citizens or the participants of that culture or cultures. The task is, needless to say, a monumental undertaking simply because the investigator must carefully deal with the interested group's motives in calling for the work in the first place. In this sense, the historical archaeologist must be a tactful and diplomatic individual since his data oftentimes varies considerably from those which the group *thinks* it wants and needs in relation to the reconstruction and preservation of a building of historic significance. An example is begged at this point.

The so-called Hans Herr House just south of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, serves as an excellent example of a site ripe for all the conflicts to arise between an historical archaeologist, architect, and folklife scholar and the interest group. The house, built by Christian Herr, in 1719, is linked with the past of the original Mennonite settlers in the Pequea Creek area of Lancaster County. It was in this house, as tradition informs us, that the settlers gathered for their prayer meetings before meetinghouses were built to accommodate the individual groups of parishioners under Hans Herr, the first religious leader of the community. The Herr

House, then, is part of the traditions of the Mennonites and from it they draw strength and meaning to their present lives. By reconstructing it, they are reconstructing the past as it was in that part of Lancaster County, a noble endeavor to say the least.

However, in any such restoration one must carefully consider the motives of the group involved, for it is they who will ultimately determine how the project is to be completed and what features are to be included in, on and around the house. If they are concerned with the selective reconstruction of the past then one may be sure that a conflict will arise between the group and those hired to complete the project. One may note, for example, in Pennsylvania German buildings, the rather widespread use of protective devices, "hex" signs, crosses, amulets, magic formulae, and the like, for the protection of animals and men and the premises

Plate 2 View of Herr House from south showing southwest gable and relation of house to tobacco barn and driveway. Finely dressed cornering can be seen as well as stone-framed casement windows in southwest gable on the second and third levels. A small stone-framed window can be seen at lower left that leads into root cellar.





from evil spirits. These are usually cut or placed inside a barn or house as prophylaxes against harmful spirits, or, possibly over doorways or windows on the outsides of these buildings. Practices like these were common in Europe and continued to be common among many of the German settlers of Southeast Pennsylvania, including Lancaster County.\* Yet a representative, during an interview, denied that Mennonites ever engaged in such practices.

Now this is an important trait in the culture of the German settlers of Lancaster County who, it may be said, have frequently shown evidence of folk-religious beliefs along side their official forms of Protestant religion. Cases in the public courts of Pennsylvania indicate that the belief in such supernatural spirits and the need for protection against them has in the

studies that certain groups use space in different ways, organizing their farm buildings in such a manner that patterns can be perceived. Moreover, one may also note that these buildings, whether outbuildings or barn and house, were and are arranged so as to separate the duties of the men from the women. The smoke-house, for example, is sometimes placed to the rear of the house so that the women, who are responsible for smoking meat, can easily get to it. Other examples are the hog-pen and house, the barn and so on. By studying extant examples of farms in the area, one can better understand what might have been the plan of the Herr farm because certainly there was a plan. Thus, the historical archaeologist should set his sights not on one building but rather the whole site, for it is only by studying it that a realistic picture of life in those



*Plate 3 View of rear of Herr House with two stone-framed casement windows at ground level clearly shown. These open into the root cellar. Excavations at these points were made to expose the foundation and bedrock on which the house is built.*

past been strong. Significantly, since these amulets are sometimes placed on the outside of buildings, it is possible that the Herr House might have had them, as evidenced by one or two small holes on its frontside. Yet any such interpretation has been denied without discussion. Surely such questions must be considered by any researcher whether he be an historical archaeologist, architect, or folklife student.

Of significance also is the farm plan for the scholar who is to reconstruct the site. We know from detailed

early days can be obtained with insight and understanding.

Perhaps I have gone on a bit too long about the tasks of the historical archaeologist and folklife student but they are important not only to them but also to the interested parties who call for the project in the first place. All individuals and groups must be open-minded enough to grasp the significance of a total site even though in the process of researching it some of the less acceptable practices of the ancestors must come to light. Such practices are realities, parts of the web of culture that the group itself has woven, parts of the needs and wants that they have fulfilled in order to survive in an environment that is both hostile and unmerciful at times. Whether a group practiced such things as using "hex" signs and crosses to keep away evil spirits or whether they do not is important to any

\*For the European background of the practice of "protecting" houses and barns against occult influences, see the monograph, *Magischer Haus- und Stallschutz*, published in 1967 by the Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde in Basel, Switzerland. For evidence of the practice in Pennsylvania, see Richard H. Shaner, "Living Occult Practices in Dutch Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII:3 (Fall 1961), 62-63; and Don Yoder, "Witch Tales from Adams County," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII:4 (Summer 1962), 29-37, especially Nos. 3, 4, and 13.



modern scholar. Like any artifact, such practices are perpetuated because they fulfill a need on the part of the group, a need that arises from the group's own beliefs and practices, or behavior. Artifacts do speak about the past but so do all the other aspects of a group's culture. Ultimately, then, the task of the historical archaeologist is to reconstruct the whole life of a town, village, farm or house, and not just selected parts, a goal that is indeed awesome in scope but not impossible. If his work is to mean anything at all to the world at large, it must accomplish this; he cannot escape his responsibilities to the scientific pursuit of knowledge and to himself.

#### THE GERMANIC HOUSE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Although many features of Pennsylvania German culture have been studied in some detail through the past few decades, a great deal more is still to be learned about this culture as it is exhibited in Pennsylvania and its relation to antecedents in Germany and Switzerland. Of particular interest is their architectural styles and building methods, as well as farm plans and use of space both within buildings and on a farmstead. Some work has been initiated on these subjects in the form of articles and a book or two. Brumbaugh (1933), Landis (1939), Dornbusch (1958), Bucher (1961, 1962, 1968), and Glassie (1968), among others, have already begun a trend in folklife studies in the areas to which these early settlers came.<sup>1</sup> Research into house-types, kitchens, and the like, with reference to European antecedents, is now a reality among geographers, historical archaeologists and folklife students. Furthermore, some work is being done on certain practices, already alluded to in the introduction, that should throw some light

*Plate 4 View of Herr House root cellar with vaulted ceiling and windows on north side. Floor sills can also be seen running from side to side. A window at the far end has been closed off and thus cannot be seen.*



on particular features found in and on these buildings. Nonetheless, much field work is still to be done so that diffusion patterns and distribution, areal and temporal, of these traits can be plotted to define more closely the regional variations and culture area within which these peoples live.

Brumbaugh (1933) must be credited with first bringing to light the need to study architectural styles and building methods among the Pennsylvania Germans and the vast influences of German and Swiss cultures on them.<sup>2</sup> He traces, for example, many features of Pennsylvania German buildings to the medieval period in Europe. Further, he points out that since the German settlers came in such large numbers to the New World it was unlikely that they adopted English architectural styles but rather that they followed their own German and Swiss architectural heritages. As a distinct group, with distinct traditions, the Germans lived in groups in what we may term splendid isolation, apart from other groups who settled in Pennsylvania, a fact that indeed speaks for their need to be alone with their own kind. Although much has been made of English influences, perhaps erroneously, Brumbaugh

<sup>1</sup>C. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Lancaster, 1933), Pennsylvania German Society, XLI; Henry K. Landis, *Early Kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Norristown, 1939), Pennsylvania German Society, XLVII; Charles Dornbusch and John Heyl, *Pennsylvania German Barns* (Allentown, 1958), Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XXI; Robert C. Bucher, "Steep Roofs and Red Tiles," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII:2 (Summer 1961), 18-24; Robert C. Bucher, "The Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII:4 (Summer 1962), 14-19; Robert C. Bucher, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVIII:2 (Winter 1968), 2-11; Henry Glassie, "A Central Chimney Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVIII:2 (Winter 1968), 32-39; and Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>C. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Lancaster, 1933), Pennsylvania German Society, XLI.

*Plate 5 Entrance to root cellar of Herr House. Like the Zeller House and other examples of the German Stone Cabin, the root cellar or spring room must be entered from the outside.*





points out, it is likely that the Georgian style of English architecture did play some role, particularly in Berks and Lebanon Counties, but then with some German influences and combinations of materials. Significantly, any ostentatious display of "grand architectural styles" was not allowed because of religious beliefs.

It is worth noting his impressions at this point about the buildings of early German Pennsylvania because they sum up much of what any one individual would doubtless observe: (a) the sturdiness of buildings; (b) their austere plainness; (c) red tiled roofs; (d) date-stones lettered in German script and decorated with hearts, tulips and poetry, usually Biblical in origin; (e) barns with decorations; (f) arches beneath the overhang (forebay) of barns; and (g) plain framed doorways of houses.<sup>3</sup> Brumbaugh then goes on to note some major features of more notable buildings, such as the Gemein Haus (1742) in Bethlehem, the Grey House at Nazareth (1739), and so on with other examples.<sup>4</sup> Of importance, at least as regards these houses, are several features that they have in common with the Hans Herr and Zeller Houses: (a) plain walls; (b) small windows; (c) two story plan; (d) steep roof; (e) plain framed doorways with moulded (diagonal) board doors; and (f) central chimney. In addition he notes the presence of a stairwell and stairs like that to be found in the Herr House and plastered ceilings between and flush with the beams, a feature to be discussed in more detail later. Pent roofs are also features of many of these early buildings. One point should be made here, and that is simply that many of these early buildings were of logs, including the examples presented above.

Let it be understood that Brumbaugh's work on German architectural styles was not the first, although he seems to have been the first to define his subject in scientific detail. The Reverend P. C. Croll, in 1895, set forth some interesting comments on architectural styles in Pennsylvania German territory. However, he mixes many types with others in such a way that confusion resulted in making clear just what his purpose was in compiling his data and his book.<sup>5</sup> Rosenberger attempts a brief view of old buildings but he too confuses the issue with too much speculation and a lack of knowledge of architecture.<sup>6</sup> Both Croll and Rosenberger were interested in covering many aspects of German culture and in a way that recalls the past with its many nostalgic associations, a problem for any present-day worker because such an approach could, and does, cause difficulties in interpretation of previous sources.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.

<sup>5</sup>P. C. Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley* (Philadelphia, 1895).

<sup>6</sup>Jesse L. Rosenberger, *In Pennsylvania German Land* (Chicago, 1929), pp. 12-25.



*Plate 6 The front door of the Herr House is shown here with wooden frame and inscription over the door.*

However, Rosenberger does define the possible stages of development for construction of buildings.<sup>7</sup> First, there was the log building,<sup>8</sup> then the stone building oftentimes modeled after the floor plan of the wooden structure,<sup>9</sup> and finally, the buildings of brick and stone. But once again one must consider Rosenberger's lack of a typology for these houses with relevant features such as chimney placement, and so on. Kuhns offers some comments on stone and log houses, particularly the order of their building.<sup>10</sup> His comments as regards buildings (houses) are pertinent here because they point up several features of the Herr and Zeller Houses:

These houses were generally built of stone (some of them with dressed corners), two stories high,

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 12-17.

<sup>8</sup>Glassie, "A Central Chimney Continental Log House."

<sup>9</sup>Brumbaugh, p. 30.

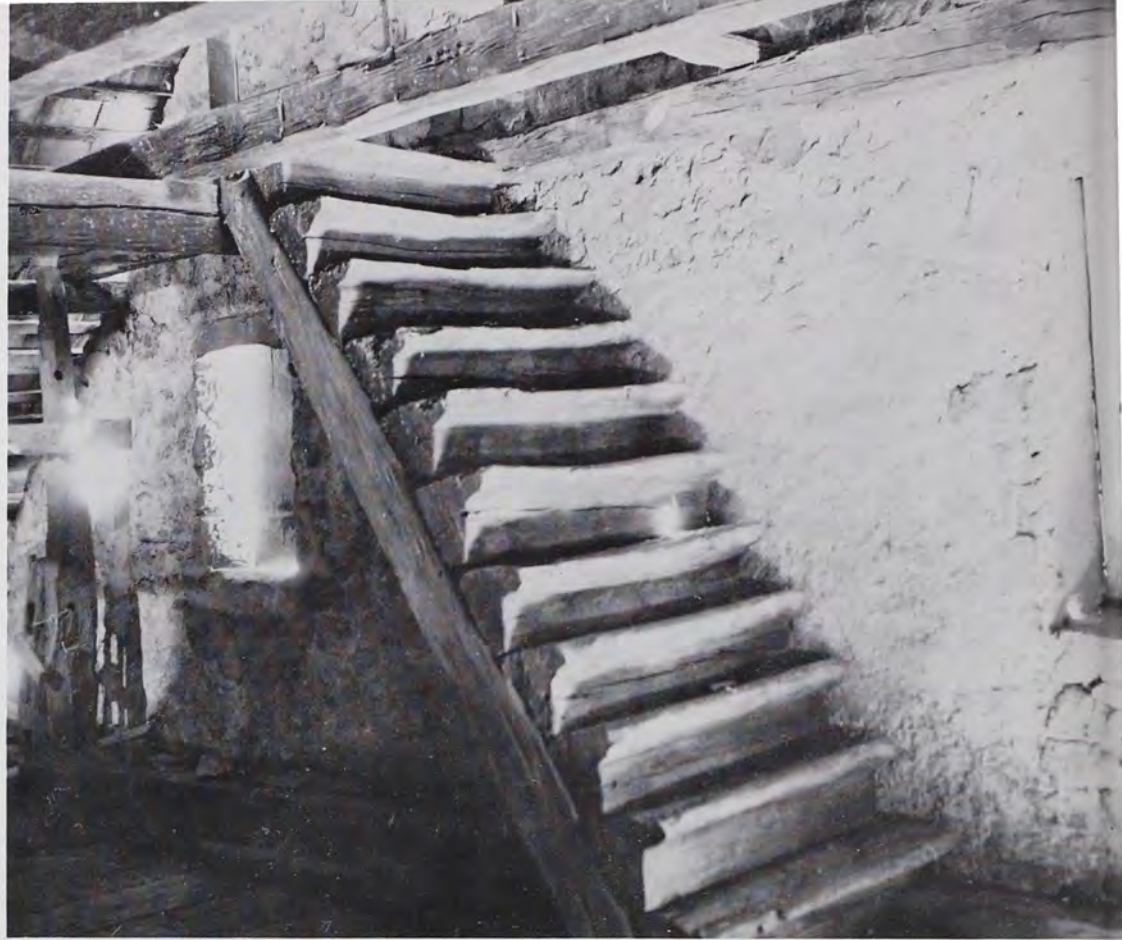
<sup>10</sup>Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1901), pp. 95-98.

*Plate 7 A close-up view of the inscription above the door of the Herr House. It reads 17 CHHR 19, the initials standing for Christian Herr, the builder of the house.*





Plate 8 Stairs leading to upper loft of the Herr House. Each stair is hewn from an individual log. Note casement window behind the stairs.



with pitched roof and with cornices run across the gables and around the first story. *A large chimney in the middle, if modelled after the German pattern (italics mine)*, or with a chimney at either gable-end, if built after the English or Scotch idea. Many were imposing structures having *arched cellars underneath (italics mine)*, spacious hallways with easy stairs, open fireplaces in most of the rooms, oak-panelled partitions, and windows hung in weight.

Kuhns throws further light on one important feature of many of the early buildings of the Pennsylvania Germans: the traditional inscription, usually placed high up on a gable wall, a practice that was common in the Palatinate, particularly among the various Protestant sects and usually consisting of a date when the house was built with the initials of the man and wife or their names, or proverbs and quotations from the Bible but in German.<sup>11</sup> He gives several examples of these inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Although neither the Herr nor the Zeller Houses have Biblical quotations they do have inscriptions over or next to the doorways with dates and names of builders.

Thus, one may see that, although much of the early scholarship on Pennsylvania German vernacular architecture is lacking in typologies and rigorous observations of features, a good deal of what we now know of these early buildings can be traced directly to these sources. Moreover, these men had the good sense to

photograph many of these buildings so that we now can draw on their insights for more disciplined research, particularly on house types in vernacular styles, as Bucher and Glassie have done. Also, we need to know a great deal more about activities in these buildings because we cannot hope to know *how* and *why* people did things in peculiar ways without a knowledge of the people themselves. Functional regional ethnographies are called for, for from these studies we can draw on the sources of our knowledge: people who live and create the cultures of which they are products. Rigorous observation of architectural styles and valid ethnographies are requirements of any project in a region such as Pennsylvania German country.

Typologies of buildings are necessary ingredients of any successful project in the study of vernacular architecture. Such groups help to define variations in style over time and place. They further help us to define the regions in which we are working.<sup>13</sup> Without them we would be prone to group many styles and thus confuse the pattern of diffusion and influences from other cultures. This holds true for German Pennsylvania as it does for any other culture area in any part of the world. Thus, rigorous study of individual house or building types must be carried out. From such studies, we can come to understand better how to type build-

<sup>11</sup>Kuhns, pp. 96-98.

<sup>12</sup>Kuhns, pp. 97-98.

<sup>13</sup>Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, LV (1965), 549-577.



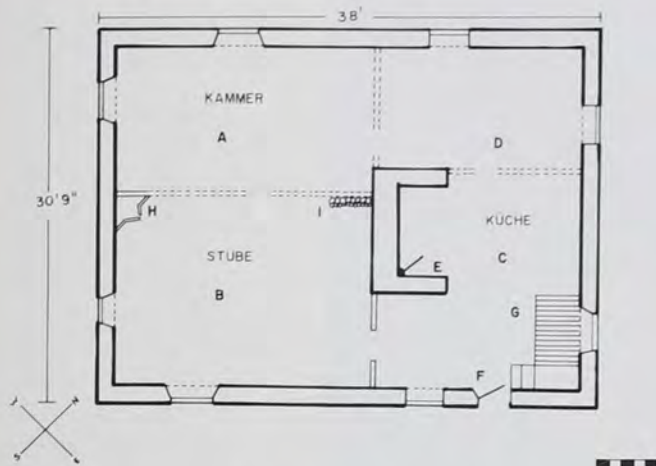


FIGURE 2 The basic floor plan of the Herr House consists of three rooms: (A) bedroom; (B) parlor; and (C) kitchen, the kitchen possibly being subdivided into a small (D) pantry. Other features of note are: (E) the large fireplace centrally placed; (F) off-center door; (G) stairwell leading up from the kitchen to the second level; (H) a cupboard in the parlor set along what was probably a partition running from the fireplace wall to the south gable; and (I) a course of stones which might have supported the partition. Also note the rather squarish plan of the house, a plan similar to some continental log houses with central chimneys.

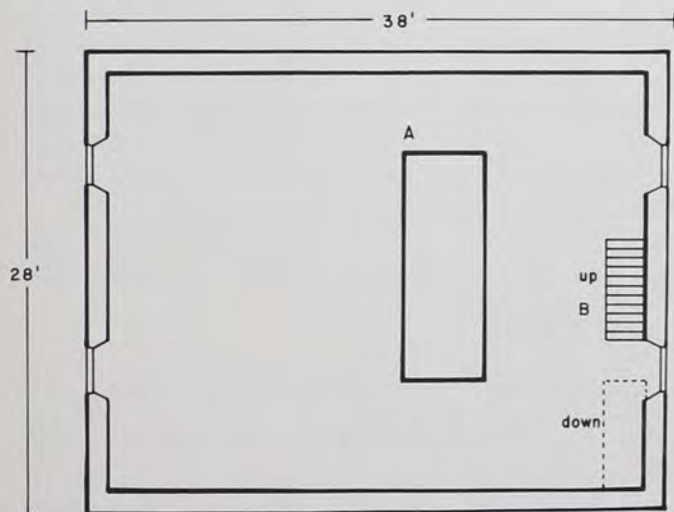


FIGURE 3 There are two important features of the second level of the Herr House: (A) chimney with a small fireplace cut out at one end; and (B) a log stairwell leading to what was a third level just beneath the roof peak. The third level is presently without a floor since the owner of the house used the second and third levels for curing tobacco.

ings according to certain features present in them. But simple observation and typing are not the only tools to be used; we can draw on modern techniques of science, such as factor analysis and clustering to determine which features can be found with others. Aerial photography is another technique that bears some real

consideration because by studying small scale photographs of sites we can visualize patterns of building arrangements. Other remote sensing devices can also be employed with little difficulty, as the pre-historic archaeologist has come to find out for the gathering of data on sites. In addition, we must get into the buildings to measure them, for accurate figures are necessary for any drawings of these buildings.

#### THE GERMANIC CABIN<sup>14</sup>

The various stages of development through which building styles passed in the German settlements of Pennsylvania may be clearly discerned. First, the early settlers built their houses of logs, then stone, and finally brick or combinations of wood, brick and stone. Although there is evidence to indicate that there was some overlapping among these stages, it is likely that the chronology is basically correct, as Brumbaugh has suggested.<sup>15</sup> The so-called "second era" of building concerns us here because it was during this phase that both the Herr and the Zeller Houses were constructed. Moreover, they not only represent fine examples of German cabins, they also serve as links between the first era of building, log, and the second one, stone. Indeed, both houses were doubtless preceded by log houses on the same sites. We know from tradition surrounding the Zeller House that Heinrich Zeller built a log house about fifty feet from the present stone house which was used as a meeting place for the early settlers from Schoharie.<sup>16</sup> A foundation can be seen on this site

<sup>14</sup>A "cabin" is here defined as a domestic structure having one story, or one story and a half.

<sup>15</sup>Brumbaugh, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup>Croll, p. 67.

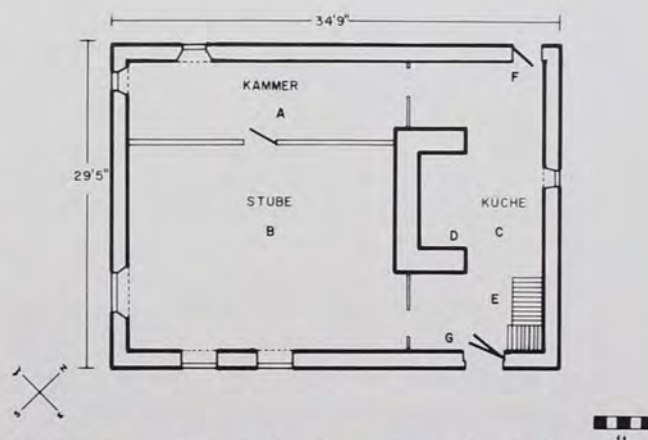


FIGURE 4 As with the Herr House, the Zeller House floor plan consists of three rooms: (A) bedroom; (B) parlor; and (C) kitchen. In addition, other features shared by this house and the Herr House are: (D) central fireplace; (E) stairwell leading to a second level; and (F, G) off-center doors on either side of the house. The double doors on the front (G) of the house are a notable feature of the house. The squarish dimensions of the Zeller House are like those of the Herr House.





Plate 9 Ceiling of the Herr House with view of the hand-hewn joists and slats wrapped with straw and mud. These are fastened between the joists and then covered over with plaster.

which may very well be the remains of that log house, although it has yet to be fully exposed. Evidence for a log house being constructed on the Herr property is less reliable but Smith does find some evidence for one before Christian Herr built the present stone house in 1719.<sup>17</sup>

The "German stone cabin," as Brumbaugh would call the type, bears some remarkable resemblances to the continental log house as identified by Bucher and Glassie. Doubtless the builders of these stone buildings incorporated many features of their log counterpart, including a massive central chimney, floor plan with one, one and a-half, two, three, or four rooms, off-center door or doors on either side of the gable kitchen and open fireplace,<sup>18</sup> features that can be found on both the Herr and Zeller Houses. Glassie further lists the defining characteristics of the continental log house, and his list is worthy of note here because it enumerates many of the features notably present on both houses as well as others of similar type: ". . . the deep fireplace opening into the kitchen, the central chimney, the off-center front door, the asymmetrical layout of the first floor including a deeper than wide kitchen and at least one room behind the chimney which is wider than the kitchen, and the squarish proportions of the plan . . ." <sup>19</sup>The Herr House (Fig. 2) has many of these features including the basic plan, squarish proportions, off-center door, central chimney, and a deep fireplace, among others. The Zeller House, on the other hand, while it incorporates many of these features, has two opposing off-center doors on both the front and back of the house leading into the kitchen. Its plan (Fig. 3) is essentially the same as that of the Herr House and other buildings of log construction

<sup>17</sup>C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (Norristown, 1929). Pennsylvania German Society XXXV.

<sup>18</sup>Glassie, "A Central Chimney Continental Log House," p. 38.

<sup>19</sup>Glassie, *loc cit.*

such as the Bertolet House now on the Boone Homestead.

Other features which can be considered as features of not only the German cabin but also of other types as well in Pennsylvania German country are the cellar, or spring room, steeply pitched roof, and the orientation of the buildings. These cellars, as Brumbaugh points out, can be either vaulted or with the ceiling beam filled over a false floor with clay and straw.<sup>20</sup> Christian Herr built his house with a vaulted cellar while Zeller constructed the second type. They differ in other ways too: the Herr cellar is placed on the northeast gable while the one in the Zeller House is beneath the southwest gable (Fig. 8). In addition, the Zeller House is built over a spring that flows into a trough in the cellar while the Herr House seems not have been built over a spring, at least excavations have

<sup>20</sup>Brumbaugh, p. 31.

Plate 10 Another view of the ceiling in the main room of the Herr House. Lime plaster covers the slats between the joists and is almost flush with the joists. The top of a large cabinet can be seen to the left.





not revealed one to date. One might speculate that a spring might have flowed near the house since so many are present in the general area of the building; springs have been known to meander at times, popping up a few yards away from one small section where it might have flowed for years. However this might be, the Herr House as well as the Zeller House have cellars built into them so that perishable foods could be stored in them for long periods of time.

It is also worth noting that both examples have no interior entrances to these cellars. They can only be entered through gable doors set into the walls beneath the ground level (Fig. 8). This feature can be found on both the Bertolet House and the Boone Homestead, as well as numerous other examples throughout Pennsylvania. However, one does on occasion find a house with an inside door leading to the cellar, as was apparently the case with the Bertolet House.<sup>21</sup> More fieldwork would doubtless reveal a great many other examples in Pennsylvania.

As regards the orientation of the houses, both the Herr and the Zeller Houses front to the south, although the orientation is not exact in both instances. This is a common practice among farmers because such an orientation allows the house to soak up the warmth of the sun during the periods of extreme cold. Moreover, one may also observe that many barns have their forebays oriented in the same direction mainly for the same reason. Such an orientation is interesting because it means that the roof lines of the barn and the house are oftentimes the same, creating a linear arrangement of the buildings (Fig. 1) with outbuildings arranged

<sup>21</sup>Glassie, p. 39.

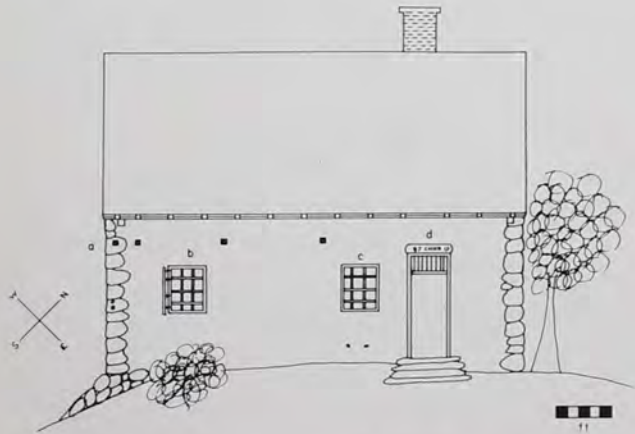


FIGURE 5 There are several features of interest on the front side of the Herr House: (a) square holes along the front and two small round ones down the southeast corner which might have been used to support a large grape arbor; (b, c) double-hung wood-framed windows which replaced stone-framed ones; and (d) the off-center door with an inscription above it. Also note the central chimney of brick and joists just beneath the eaves.

in a given pattern. It is also significant that a great many houses in Southeastern and Central Pennsylvania have grape arbors attached on the south face of the houses. The Zeller House had one but it is no longer in place, as one may note from one of Brumbaugh's photographs (Plate 19). The Herr House might have had one too since there are two holes on the southwest corner and several square holes just beneath the eaves which might have served to support an arbor (Fig. 4A). Brumbaugh shows several examples, namely the Fisher Home in Oley Valley (Plate 22) and a stone cabin on the Moravian Seminary grounds in Bethlehem (Plate 20)<sup>22</sup>.

While there are many different characteristics of the continental log house, it can be seen that many features of it were "translated" into stone houses of the type discussed above. Of course, one major difference between the two building types is the steeply pitched roof which allows for an extra story and a half, as in the Herr and Zeller Houses. Evidence indicates that the Herr House also had a loft since there is a stairwell leading up to the roof peak with a window on either gable of the house (Fig. 2A). If it did exist, and it doubtless was part of the original plan, it is now no longer there since the former owner of the house has used the upper stories for curing tobacco. To fit his "rails" into the house he had to remove the floor of upper loft, an unfortunate alteration.

#### THE HERR HOUSE

The Christian Herr House, sometimes referred to as the Hans Herr House, was built in 1719 by Christian Herr, one of the five sons of Hans Herr, the early spiritual leader of the original Mennonite settlers south of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and west of Lampeter,

<sup>22</sup>On the grounds of the Ephrata Cloister, in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, two buildings have grape arbors similarly arranged on the fronts of them with arbor supports on one corner and across the front just beneath the eaves.

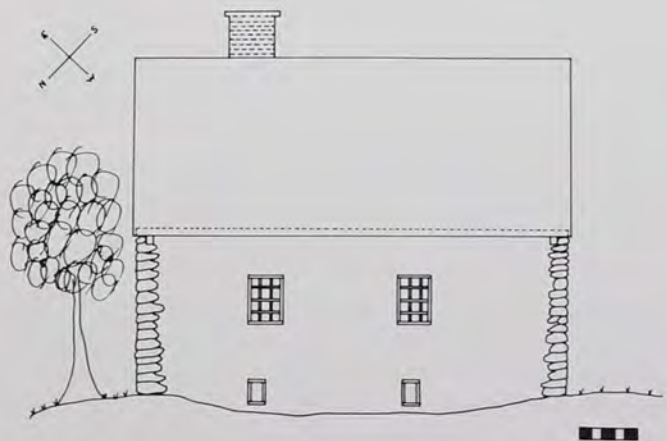


FIGURE 6 This rear elevation of the Herr House shows the two stone-framed windows which lead into the root cellar as well as the windows on the first level. Joists are indicated at either corner just at the eaves.



along the Conestoga Road just north of the Pequea Creek.<sup>23</sup> It is situated on property originally granted to twelve men, two of whom were Hans Herr and his son, Christian. Of the ten thousand acres granted to them in October of 1710, Christian Herr received a grant of 530 acres on which he built his house.

Geologic studies have determined that the house's foundations rest on exposed bedrock of Conestoga Limestone, a choice of sites that Christian might have made because he could place a cellar beneath the northeast gable at which point the bedrock slopes.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, his choice of this site may have been governed by more critical factors such as the need to raise the house above any waters that could have seeped into the building, and also that he could use the limestone for building the house's walls and foundation. Since there is a

<sup>23</sup>For Hans and Christian Herr, and the debate about the origins of the Herr House, see "Hans Herr and His Descendants," *The Pennsylvania German*, X:3 (1909), 116-117; "Report on the First Regular Settlement in Lancaster County," *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, XIV (1910), 29-31; "Seeing Lancaster County from a Trolley Window," *The Pennsylvania German*, X:9 (1910), 413-434; Martin Brackbill, "New Light on Hans Herr and Martin Kendig," *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, XXXIX (1935), 73-102; "An Industrial Home and School," *Proceedings of the First Meeting Held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 27, 1895 (Hans Herr Memorial)*; Alex[ander]. Harris, *A Biographical History of Lancaster County*, (Lancaster, 1872); Theodore W. Herr, *Genealogical Record of Rev. Hans Herr and His Lineal Descendants* (Lancaster, 1908); W. Fred Kinsey, "Report: Excavations at the Hans Herr House," (typescript); C. H. Martin, "The Emigration of Hans Herr," *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, XXIX (1925), 77-82; and J. I. Mombert, *An Authentic History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1869).

<sup>24</sup>W. Fred Kinsey, "Report: Excavations at the Hans Herr House" (Typescript), p. 4.

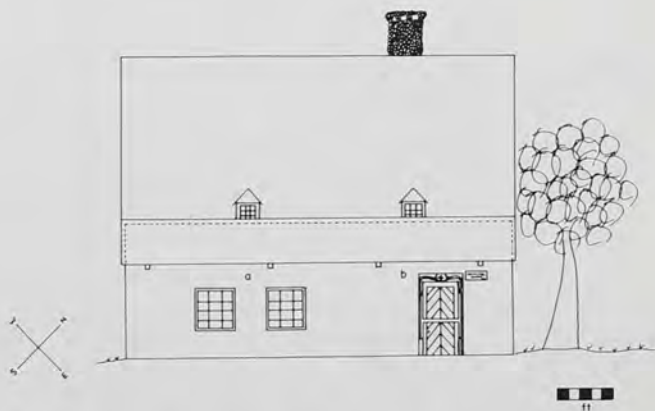


FIGURE 7 Although the Zeller House shares many similar features with the Herr House, it has some unique ones. Of these, the front door is most notable for its stone framing and double wooden door. The inscription is set off to one side of the door rather than above it as with the Herr House. The (a) two front windows are closer together than on the Herr House. In addition, the chimney is of stone, and there are dormers on both the front and the back of the house. One significant feature is the "kick" of the roof.

good deal of water, in the form of springs and streams, in the area this would seem to be a likely interpretation. By placing the cellar on the northeast corner, Herr was also able to take advantage of the cold and dampness so necessary for storing perishable goods.

The plan of the house is similar to that type already discussed above, i.e., the continental log house, with nearly square proportions, 30 ft. 9 in. on either gable end and 38 ft. on both front and back sides, proportions that are like those of the Zeller House (Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). Situated in the northeast gable is the kitchen (*Küche*) with a massive fireplace measuring nearly twelve (12) feet in length and five feet two inches in width with a large log lintel over the opening.<sup>25</sup> A stair-well is located in the southeast corner of the kitchen that leads up to a second level. Two windows are situated in the northeast gable, one three and one-half feet from the northeast corner and the other six-feet four-inches from the southeast corner directly in front of the stair-well. Another window is placed almost opposite the front door on the north side of the kitchen. The front door itself is placed about seven feet from the southeast corner and measures two feet ten inches in width with an inscribed tablet over it with the name "CHHR" on it bounded by the date of the house, 1719. More will be said of the windows and inscription later in this paper.

<sup>25</sup>Landis' measurements of the Herr fireplace are as follows: outside width: 12 feet; inside width: 9 feet 10 inches; height of opening: 6 feet 2 inches; outside depth: 4 feet 10 inches; inside depth: 2 feet 10 inches; balk: 12½ inches high, 12½ inches wide on top; 3 inches on bottom. In addition, Landis notes that the kitchen had a brick hearth floor and in the back of it an opening to fit a five-plate stove, shaped like a "D" lying on its side. The lugpole is placed in the left corner of the fireplace with a wooden crane having a four-foot swing. Although the stove is no longer in place, the lug pole and crane are still visible (Landis, pp. 55-57).

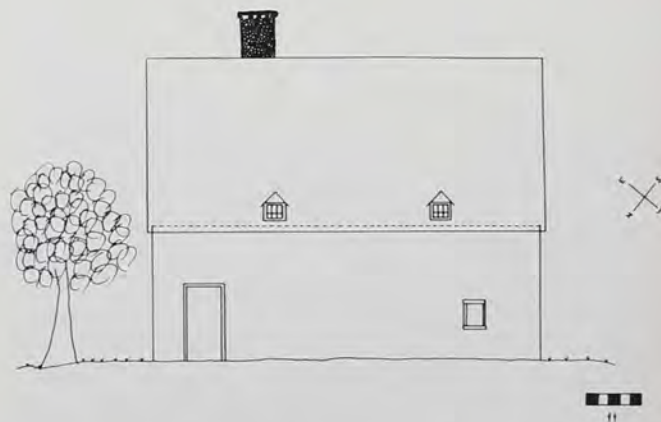


FIGURE 8 This rear elevation of the Zeller House, when compared with that of the Herr House, shows one major difference: the Zeller House has an off-center door on the rear while the Herr House does not. Of interest also is the fact that the Zeller House has but one window on the rear.



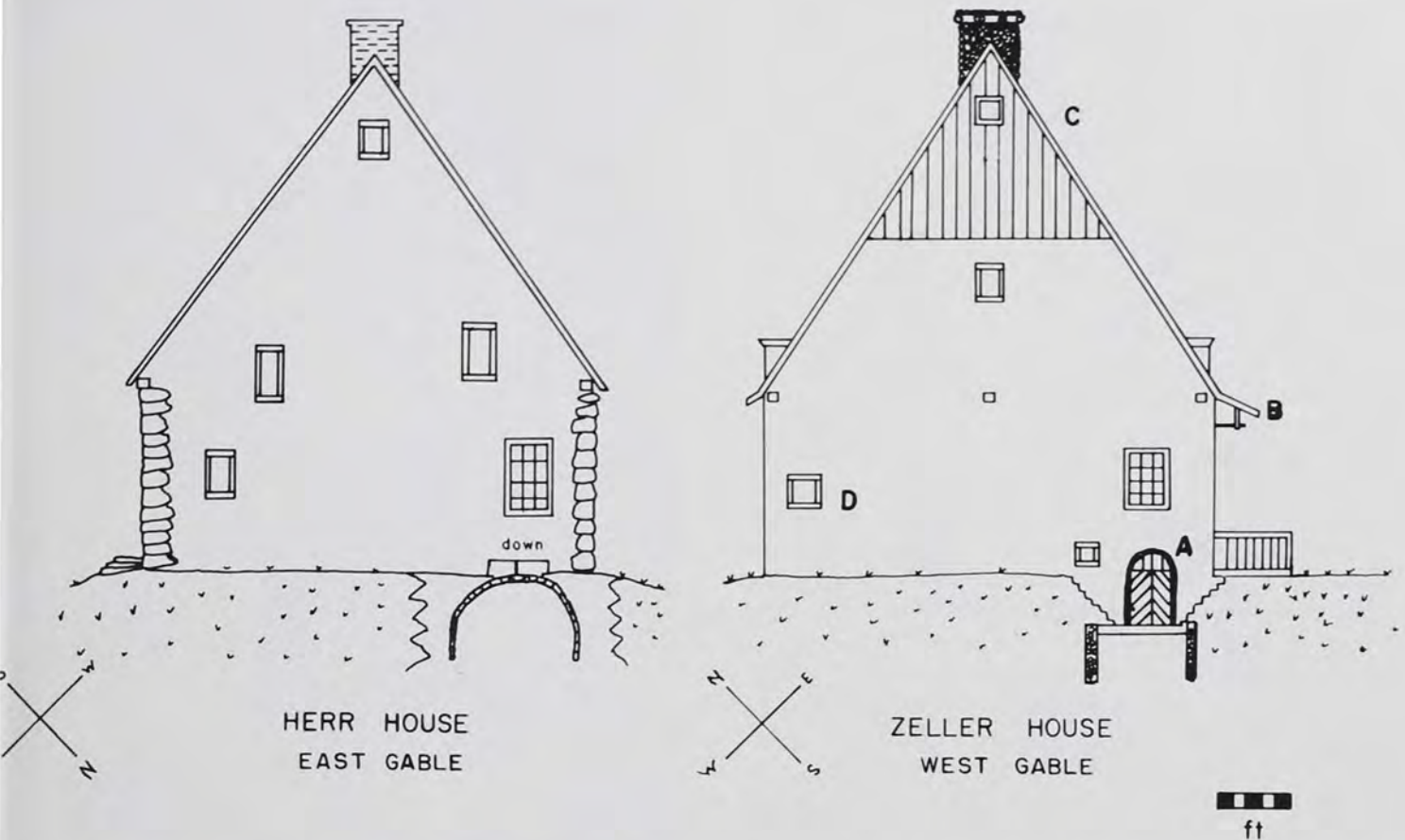


FIGURE 9 These gable elevations demonstrate the relative placement of the cellars of both the Herr and the Zeller Houses. The cellar in the Herr House must be entered from the outside as is true for the Zeller House, although in the former the cellar must be entered down a deep flight of stairs, while on the latter one simply can walk in at ground level. The cellar on the Herr House was used for storing perishable produce and it is unlikely that a spring was associated with it. However, the spring room (A) on the Zeller House incorporates both a spring and a storage area for foods, although this small area is not visible now except for the outline of it on the wall behind the spring trough.

Other features of interest are: (B) the "kick" of the roof on the Zeller House; (C) the vertical sheathing on the Zeller House, a feature not present on the Herr House; and (D) a small window leading into the bedroom, one which might have served as a spirit window. In addition, the summer beam can be clearly seen on the Zeller House, while it cannot on the Herr House. Note also that the placement of windows varies slightly on each house.

Behind the kitchen, taking up most of the remaining plan, are two additional rooms, a large parlor (*Stube*) and a smaller bedroom (*Kammer*). The dotted lines in Fig. 2H are placed to indicate the partition that probably separated one room from the other, the lines being determined from the beam that runs to the gable with mortised slots for receiving a tenoned head of stringers from the floor. Next to this line is a small course of stones that runs from in front of the fireplace wall that might have been used to rest the partition on in earlier days (Fig. 2I). On the southwest wall, nearly at the center of the gable is a large cabinet dating from the late 18th Century that is still in its original place. Two windows are placed in both the front and back sides of the house, and two others in the gable wall, one at the southwest corner leading into the bedroom and the other into the parlor.

The floor of the main part of the house has several sills that run from front to back with notches in their heads. These meet a second series of smaller sills leading from the bedroom area at about the same position of the probable partition. These rest directly on the dirt floor and were covered with floor boards that run from the fireplace wall to the southwest gable. These boards are grooved to fit the rounded edges of the opposing boards. Some of the boards have been removed to expose the sills and the floor.

Something should be said about the stairwell in the southeast corner of the house because its particular construction is quite typical of American 18th Century construction, and one which continued into the 20th Century in the Upland South.<sup>26</sup> The stairs are enclosed

<sup>26</sup>Glassie, "A Central Chimney Continental Log House," p. 36.



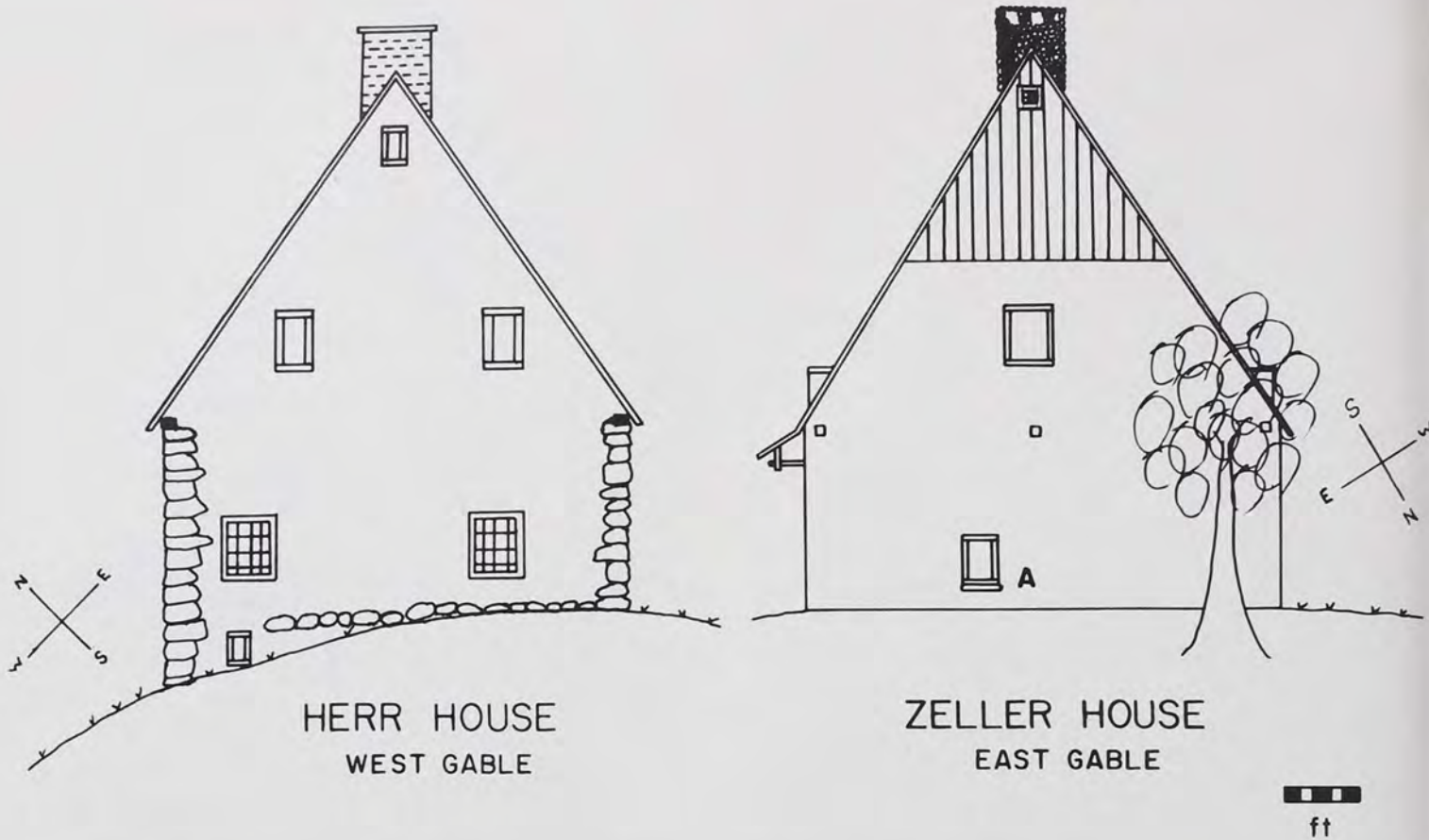


FIGURE 10 This figure shows the placement of windows on both houses. Note that they both have windows in their upper lofts. However, the Zeller House has but one on its second level, while the Herr House has two, features that are shown on the gable elevations illustrated in Figure 8. One notable feature (A) on the Zeller House, but not present on the Herr House, is the window opening into the kitchen. It is stone-framed but has an opening just below it and a stone shelf which doubtless served as a wash shelf or opening from which water might be thrown to the outside. The window on the lower left corner of the Herr House opens into the root cellar but is now closed off.

with planks that are fitted into each other and reach to the ceiling of the kitchen. Its placement is quite interesting as well because it was apparently common to have them in the kitchen so that easy access could be had to the second story. Examples that have a similar pattern are the Zeller House, and the Bertolet House.

The inside walls are of stone covered with a very light surface of plaster of lime. They are nearly white in color with an exception here or there where the plaster has changed color. As regards the ceiling of the house, it has ceiling joists running lengthwise and which are filled between with hand-split laths that run from back to front. Plaster composed of straw and clay, finished with lime are used to fill the spaces between the joists. This plaster is made flush with the bottoms of the joists, a feature that can be found on the Zeller House as well.

Leading up to the second story is the stairwell already described. The second level itself is in rather sad condition because, as already noted, it was used to

cure tobacco and consequently has the necessary poles and supports to hold the tobacco laths. A particularly interesting feature is the chimney as it reaches up to the roof. At the second floor point it has two round openings on either side of it to take stove-pipes and a large rectangular recess on its north side, probably acting as a fireplace at one time. A beam runs lengthwise from gable to gable and passes directly through the chimney and is most likely the summer beam used to support the upper loft floor. Indeed, like the two plates that are placed at the eaves, this beam probably is composed of two sections joined at the middle. Unfortunately, the joint is within the chimney and cannot be seen. In addition, the chimney walls are covered with a light covering of lime and are thus white. The floor is shakily boarded with twelve-inch planks.

Directly above the lower stairs is a second set that leads to the upper loft. These represent one of the original features of the Herr House. They are cut from oak logs into individual stairs with flat tops while the fronts taper down slightly so that the front of the upper





*Plate 11 Stone-framed casement windows on the south gable of the Herr House are shown in this photograph. Rabbets for a shutter can be seen in the lower window.*

surfaces protrude about two or so inches. The stairwell itself is supported from behind with two large hand-hewn timbers. These individual stairs total eleven. Moreover, they are set flush against the wall with a window to the right of them as one faces the stairs. Although the roof framing seems to be quite sturdy, and similar to that in other houses in the area, I do not feel competent to comment on it here. Brumbaugh (Plate 48) offers an excellent example of similar framing in the Kaufman House near Pleasantville, Berks County, Pennsylvania.

Some of the more notable features of the Herr House are to be found on the outside of the structure, namely the finely dressed corners, the nearly black limestone stairs leading up to the front door, and the windows. It is in fact this latter feature that bears some discussion because of the two types of windows present on the house. All around the first story there

are eight windows with double-hung frames of wood, two on each gable and two on each side. These are not part of the original structure and were no doubt fitted into the original stone frames in the late 18th Century. Moreover, each of the windows shows evidence of once having had paneled shutters to cover the windows themselves<sup>27</sup>. These double-hung window frames of the first level must have replaced the more common medieval German stone-framed casement windows of which there are several on the Herr House, three on the southwest gable, four on the opposite gable, all leading to the second level or to the upper loft. In addition, there are three smaller stone-framed casement windows set into the lower sections of the house, two of which open into the cellar from the rear of the house and one other that is set into the southwest corner and now closed off with stones and cement. Each of these windows measures one foot across on the outside by two feet in height, while on the inside they are about thirty inches across. Similarly constructed windows in the east gable leading into the kitchen (one) and the second level are a bit larger averaging around three feet in width by four and one-half feet in height. Nearly all the stone-framed casement windows leading to the second level have rabbets for taking shutters but only on one side. This would seem to indicate that the type of shutter used was originally the type that swung open from only one side of the frame. A shutter of this type can be found in the second story of the Zeller House as well as the stone-framed casement windows. The double-hung windows average about three feet in width by nearly five feet in height (Figs. 4B, C).

On the front of the house just above and to the left of the left-most window (while facing the house) is a series of square-cut holes on which much speculation has arisen. Although only two are visible, old photographs clearly show several more that run directly across the front of the house just above the two windows and door. These might represent the remains of a pent roof spread across the front to protect the house from dripping water from the main roof, the holes simply being used to hold the posts. Indeed, it was a common practice among the inhabitants of Southeastern and Central Pennsylvania to construct such roofs either on the front or all the way round the house, as several photographs in Brumbaugh's and Croll's books indicate.

Another possibility is that the holes served to support a porch of some sort, although this seems unlikely since no other supporting features are present on the front. In addition, just below the exposed holes on the southeast corner immediately to the left of the windows are two other holes, one on top of the other. We have

<sup>27</sup>Brumbaugh, p. 35; Smith, plate opposite p. 288.



noted in an earlier section that these might have been used to support poles from which a grape arbor might have been suspended. All of the evidence for such an interpretation is to be found on other houses, particularly the position of the arbor. The Zeller House, for example, had a grape arbor suspended from the southeast corner at one time as did other houses. By drawing on these traditions we might be able to safely guess that such a grape arbor was there at one time, just when one cannot be certain.

In addition to these mysterious features, there is one other on the front side of the Herr House that bears some comment. Immediately in front of the house, between and below the two front windows are two or three other holes but not cut so deeply as the others. These do not look as though they were cut out of the stones but rather as though they might have been the result of either weathering or quarrying. Furthermore, one might guess that these represent holes into which

*Plate 12 A view of the front side window on the Herr House with remains of a shutter. Note that the original stone frame is in place with wooden frame set into it.*



amulets, magic formulae or squares, potions, or the like were placed to protect the house and its inhabitants from evil spirits. Such practices as cutting x's into beams in barns and houses to protect the inhabitants and buildings are not unusual among the Germans in Pennsylvania. Some of this writer's own observations would lead him to believe that one cannot summarily dismiss the possibility that these particular holes were used for such things, although once again caution must



*Plate 13 A view of the south corner of the Herr House with its finely dressed limestone quoins. Note the holes on the upper stone; these may have been used to hold supports for a pent roof. The lower ones may have been used to support a grape arbor.*

be observed lest the interpretation be taken as fact. Certainly, this possibility bears some attention.<sup>28</sup>

Once more at the front of the house, directly against the foundation, is a series of square holes in the limestone. Just what purpose these served is not clear but several interpretations are possible. Kinsey sets forth these possibilities in his report on the house.<sup>29</sup> They are quoted here in full.

A. - A means of breaking up the bedrock by the freezing and thawing action of water.

<sup>28</sup>Kuhns, pp. 101-109.

<sup>29</sup>Kinsey, pp. 6-7.



*Plate 14 Excavations at the front of the house have exposed a series of square holes that are open to several explanations. Just above the ground are several others that are also open to question.*



- B. – Storage caches for precious objects.
- C. – Animal feeding troughs.
- D. – Sockets for construction timbers during the process of erecting the roof.
- E. – Foundation sockets for a porch or a terrace-like structure.
- F. – Sockets for holding topsoil for seed, herbs, or flower beds.
- G. – Other possible uses.

Kinsey then proposes that item D is the most likely as he sees the problem and that E could be verified by removing the stone steps in front of the door.<sup>20</sup> Personally, the present writer opts for item A because of the nature of the fracturing of the limestone bedrock at the site in front of the house. Item D seems to be improbable because no further evidence can be found on either gable or in the rear of such square holes. Certainly, if these were used to support scaffolding other holes might be present at other points around the house. Items B, C, and F are unlikely interpretations simply because little tradition can be found to support them. Of the items listed by Kinsey, A and E seem to be the most acceptable. More research on the subject will obviously have to be carried out before any decisions can be made with any real value because, as Kinsey himself says, “speculation is not the way to solve a historical problem”.<sup>21</sup>

Beneath the northwest corner of the house is the cellar, which itself is of great interest because of its

<sup>20</sup>Kinsey, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid*, loc. cit.

magnificent vaulted arch. The cellar must be entered through a cellar door leading down a rather steep set of stone stairs. To the right (on the north side of the house) are two stone-framed casement windows narrowing down to slits on the outside. At the furthest end of the cellar is another window of similar construction but filled in with stone and cement. The cellar takes up nearly half of the house’s total width and measures twelve feet and one-half in width while the distance from floor to vault measures six feet seven inches. The exposed floor is of dirt with several wood sills still in it. A concrete floor has been taken up to expose this floor from which some artifacts have been taken.

To the left of the door, about six feet, is a large column of stone. It is situated just beneath the fireplace on the first floor. Just what its purpose is is not clear. Perhaps it was built to support the fireplace or as a fireplace itself, since many houses in the area had fireplaces built into the root cellars. The cellar is of stone covered with a light surface of lime plaster, the same as the walls on the first level. One has to enter the cellar from the outside as in the Zeller House, although trap doors leading into cellars were built into the first level on some examples in other areas.

Before going on to a discussion of the Zeller House, there are three features of the Herr House that deserve some attention: the roof, the chimney, and the inscription over the doorway. The roof is of riven singles and is not the original roof. Just what the original roof was made of is not certain nor perhaps will it ever be. The

Plate 16 A view of the rear of the Zeller House with its offset rear door, stone-framed casement windows, vertical sheathing on the gable and a slight “kick” of the roof.







Plate 17 A view of the south gable of the Zeller House with its spring room and stream running from that room. The window above the door is not part of the original building but the window to the left is. The stone walls on either side of the stream were added during the 1940's. Note also the vertical sheathing and nicely finished door frame.

chimney is made of new-style bricks probably dating from the first two decades of the 20th Century, although once again some old-style bricks have been discovered during the excavations carried out around the house leading one to guess that they might have come from the original chimney or the kitchen floor. Smith's photograph shows the house with the chimney partially broken away,<sup>32</sup> while Brumbaugh's photograph of the Herr House (Plate 35) shows it completely redone, thus allowing one to assume that the newer chimney was added between 1929 and 1933, although once more we do not know exactly when the photographs were taken by either author.

Finally, the inscription over the door of the Herr House, which was placed there by the builder, Christian Herr, in 1719. It reads "17 CHHR 19," the number 1 in the 17 having a curving line run through it producing two nearly perfect half circles on either side of the number as follows:  $\text{J}7$ . One of several inter-

<sup>32</sup>Plate opposite p. 288).

pretations may be offered here as to the purpose of this motif on the number. If one turns the number on its side (top to the left) an *a* is produced, while if left on its bottom a lower case *d* can be seen. Given these two possibilities, then, the *a* and the *d* might represent *anno domini*:  $\text{A} \text{J}$ .

There is ample evidence for this interpretation on many of the gravestones in Southeastern and Central Pennsylvania. Barba offers numerous examples in his book titled *Pennsylvania German Tombstones*.<sup>33</sup> We may note some examples here: (a)  $\text{J}705$  (Maria Cattarina Becker stone in Stouchsburg, Berks County; page 33); (b)  $\text{J}691$  (Johan Leonhard Rith stone near Stouchsburg, Berks County; page 47); (c)  $\text{J}7$  (SR stone, The Trappe, Montgomery County; page 79); and (d)  $\text{J}769$  (Philip Henrich Seller stone, Montgomery County; page 99). Of the four inscriptions, the third most obviously is a lower case *d*, while the others may simply be folk motifs, although we have noted gravestones with an *anno* inscribed on the upper part of the stone and a number one with a half circle on its lower left side to represent a *d* thus completing the sequence. On the one hand, then, this part of the inscription may simply be a motif from German folk art or, on the other hand, it may represent a *d* (Fig. 4D).

In keeping with the tradition of the Pennsylvania Germans, Christian Herr placed an inscription over his door way to identify the builder and the date of the house. In addition, note that all of the inscriptions have the first number one inscribed in such a manner, perhaps adding to the possibility that the design was from the repertoire of folk art motifs.

#### THE ZELLER HOUSE

The Heinrich Zeller House, or more popularly, Fort Zeller, stands near Womelsdorf, on the banks of Mill

<sup>33</sup>Preston A. Barba, *Pennsylvania German Tombstones* (Allentown, 1953), Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XVIII.



Plate 18 A view of the rear of the Zeller House and its north gable. The window at the center, near the ground, opens into the kitchen. Like the one above it, it too is stone-framed.



Creek.<sup>31</sup> It was built in 1745 by a Huguenot emigrant who is said to have Germanized his name from Henri Zellaire. Previous to this particular building, a log building was supposed to have been constructed about fifty feet from the present site of the Zeller House in 1723 by the same man. It is no longer there but a foundation, partially exposed by the present owner, offers evidence that one was there.

Like the Herr House, this building is a fine example of a Germanic stone cabin with nearly the same plan as the Herr House. It is 34 feet six inches in length and 29 feet five inches in width with two-foot-thick walls, a central chimney, high pitched roof, off-center doors, two windows in front, a spring room beneath the house, a second level and an upper loft. In addition, it is oriented to the south as is the case with the Herr House and other examples. However, its basic floor plan is most characteristic of the house type (Fig. 3).

The kitchen has a large fireplace with an oak lintel over it and a stairwell that leads to the second level from the southeast corner, the same placement as the Herr House. In addition to the kitchen (*Küche*) the main part of the house is divided into two rooms, the parlor (*Stube*) on the front side of the house and a bedroom (*Kammer*) at its rear. Next to the kitchen,

<sup>31</sup>For the Zeller House, in addition to Brumbaugh, *op. cit.*, see the early descriptions by P. C. Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley* (Philadelphia, 1895); and Julius F. Sachse, "A Photographic Ramble in the Millbach Valley," *American Journal of Photography*, 1896, 1-15. For the Zeller family, its origins and genealogy, see John F. Valentine, "Zeller Family Revision," *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, XXVII (1971), 92-103.

Plate 22 This photograph of the Zeller House shows the "outriders" that support the "kick" of the roof on the front of the house.



Plate 19 A view of the front door of the Zeller House with its finely dressed casement and decorative escutcheon over the door. An inscription is to the right of the upper section of the door. Note also the diagonal board door with its two halves which can be opened separately.



Plate 20 A close-up view of the escutcheon over the door of the Zeller House. Like the rest of the house, it is fashioned from limestone.

on its north side behind the fireplace, is a small room that might have served as a pantry or storage room of some sort. The stairway is sheathed as is the one in the Herr House, a practice already discussed earlier in this paper. There is but one window in the kitchen, and that is stone-framed with a small slit beneath it through which water could be poured. The doors are opposite one another, one on the front and the other on the rear portion of the house. Both measure three feet three inches by six feet eight inches.

The parlor has a partition running down it from near the north end of the fireplace wall to the west wall with a door in it. Three windows are placed in the parlor, one in the west wall and two on the front. All three seem to have been added at a later date because, like the Herr House, they have double-hung wooden frames and are much larger than the other stone-framed casements which were apparently the original type built



into the house. These double-hung windows measure over three feet across and about four and one-half feet in height (Fig. 6A).

The first floor bedroom has two stone-framed windows in it, each measuring about one foot across by two feet in height. In addition, all of the stone-framed windows are larger on the inside than on the outside, a feature that this house has in common with the Herr House. Four other stone-framed windows are placed on either gable end, one in the upper loft of each gable and one on the first second level on the east gable with a small one next to the entrance to the spring room. A second story window still has its original paneled shutter still in place, a shutter that opens into the house and not out on one set of hinges. A fireplace can also be found on this second level, for this level was used as sleeping quarters.

Like the Herr House, the walls in the Zeller House are quite thick, nearly two feet, and of stone. The inside walls are made of daub and wattle, except that the vertical sticks are not woven together with horizontal sticks. The daub is made of mud and straw while the whole of the inside walls are covered with a light surface of lime making them off-white in color. A small section in the parlor has been exposed to show the construction of the inside walls.

Of particular interest on the outside of the Zeller House are the doors on both the west gable and the front side. Both are fine examples of diagonally mounted boards with moulded joints surrounded by frames of rails and stiles. Forming a pattern is a series of round, wooden pegs that hold the doors together. The door to the spring room and the front door differ only in one respect: the front door is composed of two parts, the upper part can be opened while the lower part is left closed. The spring room door does not have this feature. A similar door is to be found at Bethlehem on the grounds of the Moravian Seminary building, the Gemein Haus (Brumbaugh, Plates 74, 78). These doors are considered to be parts of the original building (Figs. 6B, 8A).

The front door itself is worth some discussion because it is unique in its design but also traditional in its construction. It has two large door posts of limestone with some linear designs incised in them. The lintel over the doorway has a family crest composed of a cross with equally spaced vertical and horizontal lines. The cross is surrounded by features on both sides and bottom. Immediately to the right of this crest is the date-stone with the name Heinrich Zeller, except that it is spelled "HENRICH ZELER." It is dated 1749 with the initial one having a curlicue on its lower end, similar to the ones discussed on gravestones. In addition, the inscription bears the initials "S W H" in the lower right hand corner. To whom these refer is not yet determined (Fig. 6B).



Plate 21 The builder's inscription on the Zeller House is shown here. It reads HENRICH ZELER 1749. The letters in the lower right corner read S W H but their significance is not known at present.

In the west gable the spring room is located. From it issues a cold spring still used by the present owner and which was formerly used to keep perishable goods in cold storage, a small trough being used for this purpose. Behind the spring trough is the outline of an arch which apparently was the entrance to a small storage area or root cellar; it unfortunately has been covered up. Just outside the diagonal board door, and to the left, is a small stone-framed casement window which opens into the cellar itself. Above the door is a double-hung wooden frame window that was added to the building, perhaps to replace a smaller stone-framed window. The cold spring runs from beneath the door into a pool which was built in the 1940's by



Plate 24 This view shows the diagonal board door that leads into the spring room of the Zeller House. It is framed in dressed limestone.



*Plate 23 The window shown in this view is on the lower part of the north gable and opens into the kitchen of the Zeller House. It is typical of the stone-framed windows on this house, except that it has an opening at its lower section. The opening is used as a drain-board.*



the owner of the house. This walled-in pool replaced a simple earth-banked pool that led into the nearby meadow where cattle now graze. Stairs of stone lead down from either side of the house onto a wooden platform under which the water runs (Fig. 8A).

Another interesting feature of the Zeller House is the vertical board sheathing on the upper sections of both gables (Fig. 8C). There is an upper window, stone-framed in the peak of each gable, which leads into the upper loft section of the house. Just beneath the sheathing on the east gable is a central stone-framed window that opens into the second level just above the summer beam. There is not a counterpart in the opposite gable, at least not in the center of the second level.

Like the Herr House, the Zeller House has a steeply pitched roof with a central chimney protruding from it. One major difference is the "kick" of the roof at the front of the house on the Zeller House. Four large "outriders" hold this kick in place at about eight feet from the ground level. This kick serves to protect the front of the house from water or snow (Fig. 8B). The roof itself is covered with a metal roof. What originally covered it cannot be determined but perhaps red tiles were used by Zeller when he built the house. Unlike the Herr House, however, is the chimney which is made of round stones held together with cement or concrete. Moreover, it has vents on its uppermost sections through which the smoke could pour but rain could not get in, a not unusual feature on such houses.

Early pictures of the house show a grape arbor growing on the southwest corner of the house, leading one to guess that this was not unusual in that part of Pennsylvania since other examples are to be found. In addition, the Zeller House has four dormers protruding from the second level just above the eaves, two on the north side and two on the south side. These were ap-

parently additions made to the house at a later date than the dated construction.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have attempted to show in this paper some of the major features of the Germanic cabin as it was built in Southeastern and Central Pennsylvania. We have not tried to plot the distribution of the type; much more fieldwork needs to be done before this can be accomplished. Moreover, we have shown that the plan of this type of house was probably modeled after the continental log house as it was constructed in Pennsylvania.

As regards the restoration of the Herr House, we would caution any engaged in the project to carefully examine the living traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans before attempting to complete the work, for it is only by studying traditions as they were and are practiced that the restoration can mean anything at all. Moreover, we must also remember that not Hans Herr but Christian Herr built the house and should be given every consideration in any historical reconstruction. If the project is to be a success it must place people in the house and demonstrate their activities, not just religious ones but all that would help in allowing us to understand better how they lived, for like people, the Herr House can speak of the past. In addition, a search must be made for any of the out-buildings so that the plan of the farm can be recreated, for this too represents a cultural pattern of importance. Aerial photographs should be taken to determine if any of the foundations of these buildings are still present. Comparative studies of similar farms and houses should be undertaken as well. Such studies can assist by bringing to light what we know of past and present behavior and activities of the people who lived on them. Indeed, much still remains to be done.

*Plate 25 This is a view of the exposed floor in the parlor of the Herr House. The sills run from side to side and their heads have been trimmed. It is likely that these sills came from another building rather than being a part of the original features of the Herr House.*





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Plate 26 A view of the second level of the Herr House showing the roof construction (framing) and the alterations made to cure tobacco. The summer beam runs directly across the photograph.





# Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology II: The Moon

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## INTRODUCTION

The moon played a varied and important role in the life of the early Pennsylvania Germans. Its uses included the determination of time, astrological interpretations, and esthetic and symbolic depictions.

The reasons for these varied uses are related to the unique and complex set of characteristics possessed by the moon. It is the only celestial object which can be seen very often both day and night. Aside from the sun no celestial object is as bright or exhibits an illuminated area. The stars and planets are much fainter and are only point sources of light. The moon is the only object which goes through varying geometrical illuminated portions which are visible to the unaided eye. Lunar motion is interesting too since the moon appears to move through the twelve signs of the zodiac and above and below the ecliptic.

## PRACTICAL USES OF THE MOON

The practical value of the moon to the early Pennsylvania German settler is difficult for the modern person to understand. This arises since the modern person has little practical encounter with the moon. He tends to consider the moon either as an esthetic object or a body which some national governments are expending large sums of money to explore. To the early settler, however, the involvement was considerably more direct. Involvements ranged from the farmer's determination of time from the moon to his use of moonlight as a substitute for sunlight.

Undoubtedly the most valuable property of the moon was its predictable positions relative to the stars and horizon. With this information one could determine the day of the year or the time of the day. It must be remembered that until the 20th Century celestial objects were virtually the only means for acquiring time since there were no radios, telephones, or television sets. A need to determine these times was likely since it was not difficult for a busy farmer to lose track of the days or to have his timepiece run down.

The procedure for determining the date or time of day involved an almanac. The date could be determined by noting in the almanac the day of the month

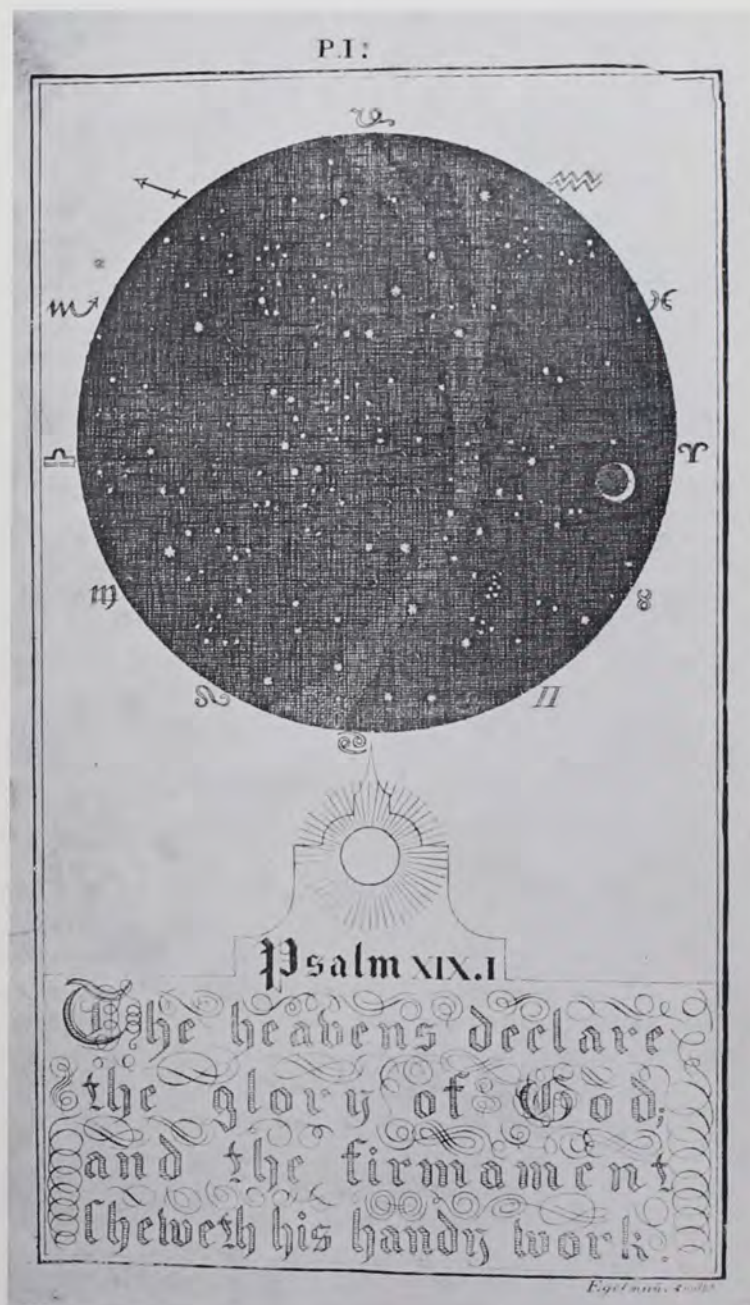


Figure 1. Frontispiece of the heavens with moon, from Walz's treatise on astronomy (Reading, 1830). Engraving by Egelmann.



the moon entered a particular sign, achieved a phase or even the time of day it rose or set. The procedure for determining the time of day to within a few minutes, however, was a bit more complicated. By noting in the almanac the time the moon rose or set or passed over a bright star the apparent solar time of the event could be determined. Then by adding or subtracting the number of minutes listed in the "equation of time" sections of the almanac an accurate determination of mean civil time could be made.

After thinking about this procedure one might wonder why other celestial bodies could not be used. Actually the brighter stars, planets, and sun could be used in a somewhat similar fashion but with less facility. These useful stars and planets are visible only during certain times of the year and the sun can only be used near the horizon since it would otherwise provide for too much glare. The moon, however, is nearly always visible and exhibits no glare.

The relationship between the moon and time is still quite evident in some of our words. Monday (or "Moonday"), the second day of the week, is named in honor of the moon. The fact that the twelve major divisions of the year are called months (or "moonths") refers to the fact that there are almost twelve complete lunar phase cycles in a year.

It is interesting to note that at least as late as the late 18th Century there is evidence that farmers could tell time more accurately with their almanacs than city folks could with their watches. In a 1786 almanac article by Dr. N. Low he writes: "Twenty gentlemen in company will hardly be able, by the help of their thirty-guinea watches, to guess within two hours of the true time of night. One says it is nine o'clock, another half after eight, a third, half after ten; whilst the poor peasant, who never saw a watch, will tell the time to a fraction, by the rising and setting of the moon, and some particular stars, which he learns from his almanack."<sup>3</sup>

Employment of the moon in timekeeping activities was not the only widespread practical involvement. Another use was the light it could provide at night. According to some of the literature found in early almanacs moonlight was used for aiding farmers in their outdoor work as well as for holding outdoor parties. With modern artificial lighting, however, it is no longer necessary to depend on the moon for lighting at night.

A maximum amount of moonlight is received on earth when the moon is full. Around the time of full moon the sun and moon are in approximately opposite parts of the sky. Thus around the time of the full moons occurring around the first day of fall or spring the sun

<sup>3</sup>From *Astronomical Diary: Or Almanack* (1786), cited in M. Drake, compiler, *Almanacs of the United States* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962), introduction.

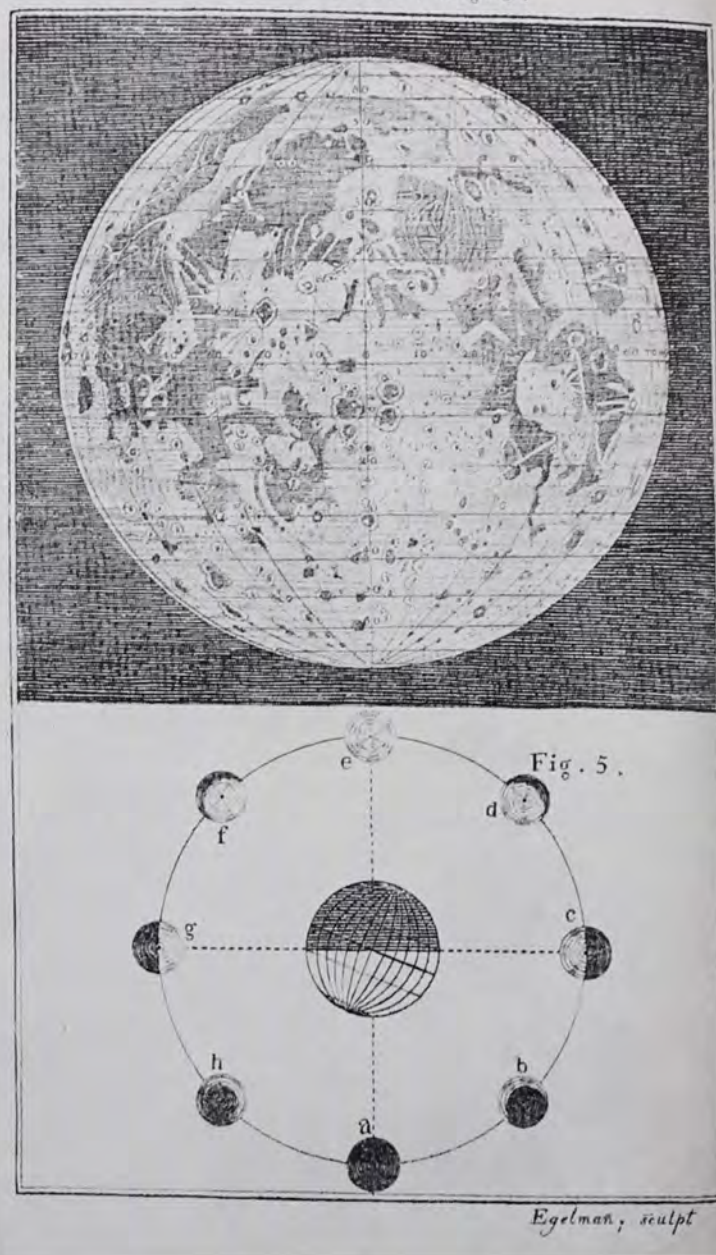


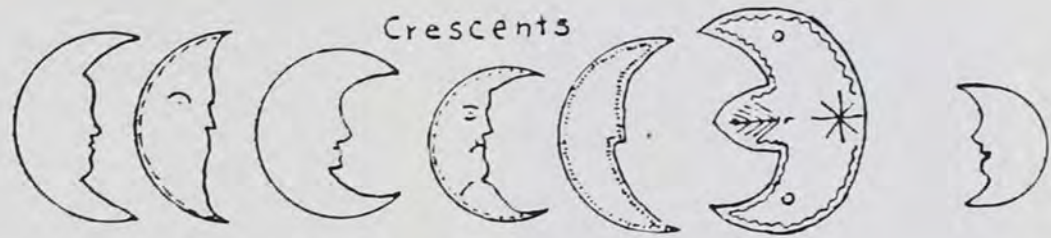
Figure 2. Egelmann engraving, from Walz (1830), showing surface of the moon (above), and phases of the moon (below).

sets when the moon rises. This synchronous phenomenon was useful to the farmer since he could continue his farming after sunset.

Since the full moon nearest to the first day of fall occurs around harvest time it is appropriately called the "harvest moon." Actually, the full moons around the harvest moon can be used almost as well and in the same way as the harvest moon. Often the full moon just after the harvest moon is called the "hunter's



Figure 3. Crescent moon designs from rifle stocks. From the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, IX (1944).



moon." This fall moon could be used to hunt game just after the sun sets. Because of the celestial mechanics of the sun and moon the full moons around the first day of spring also tend to rise when the sun sets. While this full moon does not appear to have a particular name in the literature it is used at least by some farmers much as the harvest moon is used to harvest. This writer has seen modern Pennsylvania German farmers as well as other farmers in Pennsylvania employing the full moon in the spring to plow their fields.

Still another practical use of the moon occurred in connection with the large loaded sailing vessels. Because the water line was so high in many cases loaded vessels could only enter and leave port at high tide. Since the tides are principally governed by the moon's position relative to the horizon, knowledge of the lunar ephemeris indicates the time of high tides. Thus the almanac was the natural place for tidal tables. With the tidal information the Pennsylvania German farmer could estimate the time of day large vessels would be entering or leaving the Philadelphia and New York ports. The particular date of arrival or departure of the vessels could be found in the newspapers.

#### ASTROLOGICAL USES OF THE MOON

The astrological uses of the moon are countless. The origins of these astrologies go far back into antiquity to unknown sources and are found on a worldwide basis. From an extensive study made by this writer it appears that the Pennsylvania Germans have one of the most highly developed lunar astrologies. While there are a variety of written sources of lunar astrology the richest source is collected oral traditions. In spite of the fact that the complex lunar astrologies have been passed down through many generations by word of mouth surprisingly few contradictions or meaningless ideas emerge. The reason for this, as we will see, is that there is a logic to the astrology.

A fairly common feature of the lunar astrologies is that certain astronomical characteristics influence situations here on earth in some way. The influences stem from the phases of the moon or its position relative to the horizon, stars, or ecliptic. The curiousness of the ideas can only be appreciated by examining some in detail.

The Pennsylvania German culture associated certain persons, animals, or objects with the twelve signs of the zodiac which the moon passes through. These associations are given in many almanacs as well as numerous other written sources. When the moon passes through each of these signs properties of the sign are associated with phenomena here on earth. Two examples of oral traditions concerned with water are as follows: "Don't buy rubber boots in the sign of Aquarius (the water-boy); they will leak even though there is no hole or no rip" (collected by V. C. Dieffenbach)<sup>2</sup>; "Never go visiting in the sign of Pisces (fish) as it always rains then" (collected by E. M. Fogel)<sup>3</sup>. This writer can not help speculating that these undesirable effects on earth are somehow connected with man's oldest known stories concerning devastating deluges. Aquarius and Pisces are just two constellations of a large group called the "watery constellations" which are associated with ancient deluges.

Another class of lunar astrology is concerned with the phases of the moon. An example collected by Frederick Starr is as follows: "When the moon is increasing, things grow well; hence, hair should be cut . . . corns should be cut with a decreasing moon."<sup>4</sup> This is a particularly interesting lunar astrological item since, in this writer's mind, it reveals the rationale that was used in including crescent moons on so many outhouses. Since the cusps of the crescent moon on outhouses almost always point to the right as one approaches it, the phase depicted is a decreasing one. Thus, the elimination of human wastes appears to be thought of as are the removal of corns in that there is a note of good riddance.

Still another class of lunar astrology is concerned with the position of the moon relative to the ecliptic. Another quotation from Starr illustrates this connection: "When the moon is on its back (i.e., below the ecliptic), plant corn, beans, and vegetables that grow upward.

<sup>2</sup>Victor C. Dieffenbach, "Weather Signs and Calendar Lore from the 'Dumb Quarter,'" *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII:1 (Autumn 1967), 26-30, No. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Edwin Miller Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1915), No. 1273.

<sup>4</sup>Frederick Starr, "Some Pennsylvania German Folk-Lore," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, IV (1891), 321-326.



When it points downward plant radishes, turnips, potatoes, etc., set posts, and spread manure.” Thus the direction in which the cusps point emphasizes the direction in which some things should tend on earth. Although it takes a very knowledgeable observer to determine whether the moon is above or below the ecliptic from visual sighting, anyone can determine the “aboveness” or “belowness” by consulting the almanac.

Some of the oral traditions also relate to the effects of moonlight *per se*. Fogel records these items: “You will go crazy if the moon shines on you in bed,” and “If the moon shines on fish, they will spoil.” The idea in the latter quote is so well ingrained in man’s mind that it even appeared in the 1825 issue of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*. This was one of the prestigious scientific periodicals of the time.

#### DECORATIVE USES OF THE MOON

The crescent or full moon is often depicted in folk art for decorative or symbolic purposes. Some of the more interesting examples from Pennsylvania German rifles, Fraktur works, tombstones, and astrological manuscripts will be discussed.

One of the fairly common places for the depiction of the moon, as well as other astronomical objects, was on the stocks of rifles. A few of the more complex depictions are shown in Fig. 3.<sup>8</sup> Just what the purpose of the astronomical objects was is not clear to this writer since both waxing and waning crescent moons are found. Perhaps in some way the celestial depictions enhance the good luck of the hunter.

An unusual depiction of the crescent moon is found in the Fraktur stipple drawing by C. F. Egelmann shown in Fig 1<sup>9</sup>. The depiction not only appears as the frontispiece of the astronomical 1830 text written by E. L. Walz but also in an almanac around that time. The unusual feature is that although the moon is crescent the remainder of the disk is faintly illuminated. The fainter section is light reflected to the earth and then back from the moon, rather than just from the moon. One of the reasons for the rarity of this depiction is that it occurred before the advent of photography. The stipple technique of course lent itself well to this subtle depiction.

Another complex Fraktur astronomical depiction by Daniel Schumacher is shown in “Pastor Schumacher’s Admonition” in Fig. 4.<sup>10</sup> The moon is again crescent

<sup>8</sup>Starr, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, No. 1253.

<sup>10</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, No. 1262.

<sup>8</sup>From Henry K. Landis and George D. Landis, “Lancaster Rifle Accessories,” *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, IX (1944).

<sup>9</sup>E. L. Walz, *Vollständige Erklärung des Calenders* (Reading: Johann Ritter, 1830). For title-page and discussion of this volume, see No. I in this series, in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXI:3 (Spring 1972).

<sup>10</sup>From John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Folk Art: An Interpretation*, *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XXVIII (1966).

and waning, and with a sombre face. A waning moon and the sombre face are appropriate to the concept of death. The simultaneous depiction of the sun, moon, and stars on a clock are all appropriate to the depiction of time.

The association of death with astronomical objects and particularly the waning moon is an ancient one. It is not surprising then to find waning moons on numerous tombstones, a sample of which is shown in Fig. 5.<sup>11</sup> In nearly all cases the moon’s cusps point to the right or downward as one faces the depiction. Since a face is included on all of these crescent moons the overall depiction is fictitious rather than realistic. While it is true that there is a realistic crescent image of a “man in the moon” formed by the topographical features of the moon, the crescent image never agrees with the illuminated crescent. This is illustrated in Fig. 6. The moon as well as other celestial objects

<sup>11</sup>From Preston A. and Eleanor Barba, *Pennsylvania German Tombstones: A Study in Folk Art*, *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XVIII (1953).



Figure 4. Fraktur admonition by Daniel Schumacher, Lutheran pastor of the 18th Century. From John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania Folk Art* (Allentown, 1948).



are perhaps associated with the deceased so as to help them in their after life. The celestial objects were thought to have immortal characteristics since they almost always appeared the same way. The sun and stars would always rise and set the same way in the course of a year. The planets would nearly always move in the zodiacal belt with the same speed and direction. The sun would rise every day, and the moon would always pass through its phases in about 29.5 days and through its signs in about 27.3 days.

While the moon is a satellite of the earth it is often referred to as a planet in astrological discussions or depictions. The moon is of importance in horoscopes because it is a ruling planet for people born when the sun appears to be passing through the sign of Cancer. According to some astrological sources people born under Cancer exhibit a personality which is changeable and moody. Not only is the moon the most changeable celestial object but temperament is frequently associated with the moon. For some time it was thought that the moon had great effects on the psychological stability of people. This idea is related to the etymology of the word lunatic (or lunartic).

Some of the early Pennsylvania German settlers formed two most interesting religious sects which involved astronomical and astrological principles to a significant degree. These were the Wissahickon Mystics and the followers of Conrad Beissel.

Evidently the followers of Beissel thought the moon had considerable influence here on earth. This is seen for example in a quotation from a manuscript written at Ephrata in connection with a ritual performed to prevent unwanted fires. The pertinent sentence goes: "Friday in the waning of the moon between the hours of 11 and 12 at night, it required the use of a new quill, plucked from a goose at night during the lunar decline."<sup>12</sup> The ritual is reminiscent of some of the nu-

<sup>12</sup>Julius F. Sachse, "Exorcism of Fire, Ephrata Cloister," *Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, VII, 92.



*Fig. 5 Moon and stars from a Lancaster County tombstone. From Barba's Pennsylvania German Tombstones (Allentown, 1953).*



*Figure 6. Topographical and true crescent moons.*

merous home remedies for human and animal ailments that could be found in home remedy texts.

#### CONCLUSION

The basis of the information in this article includes material collected in a study which was concerned with the Pennsylvania Germans before the Civil War. Just what the extent of their astrological beliefs, and practical and decorative uses of the moon is today has not been studied. Since there are still many astrological sources existing today, in particular the oral tradition, astrological beliefs concerning the moon may not have diminished much. The former practical use of the moon for time-keeping is probably non-existent now because of the availability of low cost and accurate time-pieces and the modern communications media. The use of moonlight still exists for outdoor work but undoubtedly not as much as previously because of the availability of artificial lighting. The employment of the moon for decorative purposes still exists but perhaps not in the same spirit.

Historians of science as well as other persons have suggested that with increasing education people tend to believe less in astrology. This writer sees no definite evidence of this either in the Pennsylvania German society or any other society. If anything there appears to be a current revival in interest in astrology in some sectors of the whole United States society. It may be that as in the past both astronomical and astrological interests are stimulated whenever some outstanding astronomical event occurs. In the past these events have usually been comets or meteor showers. Most recently the stimulus appears to be man's landing on the moon. In any event the nature of astrology in any society is at best only moderately studied and understood.



# Travel Journals as a Folklife Research Tool: Impressions of the Pennsylvania Germans

By JULIANA ROTH

Folklore studies in the United States have historically been restricted to oral and ideational traditions. With a broadening of the definition of folklore to folklife it is necessary to consider the European concept of the total life ways of the people. In Sigurd Erixon's vision, folklife studies should include the total range of folk-cultural phenomena, material as well as oral, with the object of attaining a deeper knowledge and understanding of man.<sup>1</sup> Hence, in the European folk-cultural scholarship an historical orientation has long been important and in their museums traditional phenomena "are investigated not only in their present form, but also in their historical development in order to establish their traditional continuity."<sup>2</sup> The study of travel journals and diaries, in this case describing the life ways of the Pennsylvania Germans, is an important facet of the historical approach to folklife studies.

There are numerous travel journals which include information on the Pennsylvania Germans. The journals included here are comprised of both the more well known ones and some of the more obscure as well. They were selected with an eye toward availability as well as toward content. This is intended as a sampling which surveys the types of folklife materials which may be found in journals, with rather extensive illustration.

Before sampling some travel journals it is wise to get some idea of the attitudes of our travelers towards the Pennsylvania Germans as this tends to influence what they report. They show tremendous capacity for getting things wrong and an instinct for automatic praise or censure, depending on their preconceptions. Two general outlooks appear to be operating: 1) the theory that men, plants, and animals in America were degenerate forms of Old World species; and 2) the theory that American Indians and colonists were robust and long-lived.<sup>3</sup> The attitudes of the travelers towards the Pennsylvanians also varied from the haughty scorn of the English aristocrat, to a general admiration for the industry of the people and the richness of the country.

The naturalist Peter Kalm shows an admirable neutrality towards what he saw, and records all with a

somewhat scientific detachment. Noting the failure of local weather prognostication in Wilmington, for example, he says:

Late at night a great Halo appeared round the moon. The people said it prognosticated either a storm, or rain, or both together. The smaller the ring is, or the nearer it comes to the moon, the sooner this weather sets in. But this time neither of these changes happened, and the halo had foretold a coldness in the air.<sup>4</sup>

He approaches everything he sees from plant to animal to man to landscape with all-encompassing interest which Forster, translator of the English edition, unfortunately saw fit to edit, omitting "some trifling circumstances, viz, the way of eating oysters, the art of making apple dumplings, and some more of the same nature, which struck the Swedish gentleman with their novelty."<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Anburey, a lieutenant in the Army of General Burgoyne in 1778 is generally favorable and is impressed with how Pennsylvanians got along with their diversity of religions. To this ability to maintain peace and harmony among diversity he attributes the prosperity of the province around Lancaster.<sup>6</sup>

Hessian soldiers during the American Revolution feel that all the people in the vicinity of Philadelphia where both air and water are unwholesome are mad, "a sort of mental aberration caused by a compression rather than a heating of the blood."<sup>7</sup> Part of the mental aberration is attributed to the fact that the food is not as nutritive as it is in Germany which harks back to the theory of New World inferiority.

Thomas Ashe, an Englishman writing in 1808, is absolutely the most insulting of all travelers, listing the leading stereotypes of the day including the "liberal English" and the "proud German". His sentiments on religious diversity, in contrast to Anburey's, are less than complimentary. He feels that in America "religious worship is expressed by every vagary that can enter into a disturbed mind."<sup>8</sup> His American traveling companion in the vicinity of Pittsburgh explains to

<sup>1</sup>Sigurd Erixon, "Regional European Ethnology." *Folkliiv* (1937), 39-107; (1938), 263-294.

<sup>2</sup>Norbert F. Riedl, "Folklore and the Study of Material Aspects of Folk Culture." *Journal of American Folklore*, LXXIX (1966), 557-563.

<sup>3</sup>Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1600-1800* (Berkeley, California, 1962).

<sup>4</sup>Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, I, 154.

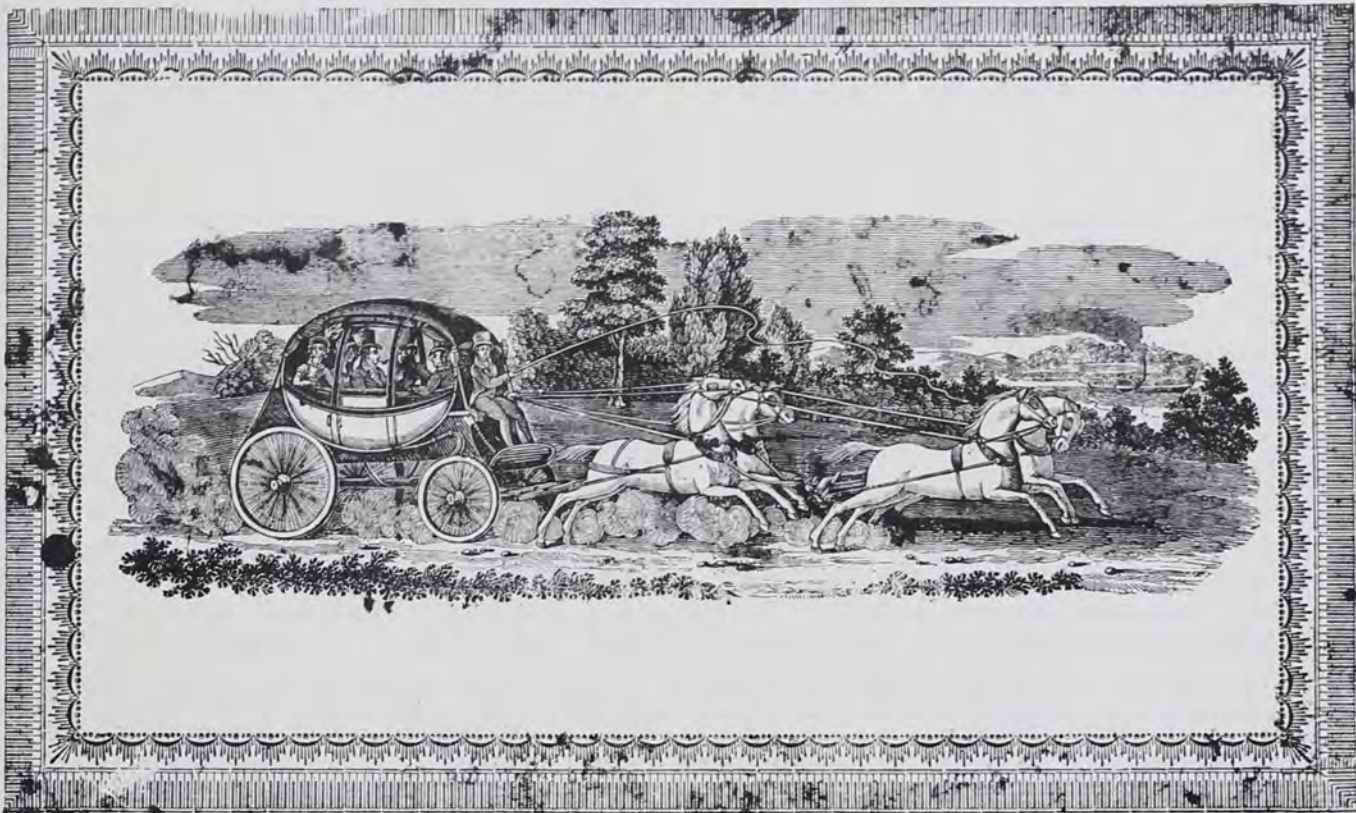
<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup>Wm. L. Stone, *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution*, p. 215.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America*, p. 28.





*Tourists and travelers in early America used the stage system which connected the cities before the railroad era.*

him, according to Ashe, that the strange creature in an immense cloak and a flat hat whom he meets along the way is:

. . . a Mennonite, 'a harmless creature,' continued he, 'belonging to a sect who never inhabit towns, nor ever cut their beard, hair or nails; wash or clean themselves; and whose dress, habits and general mode of life are at variance with those of the rest of mankind'.<sup>9</sup>

He feels that the influence of Irish of good society upon Pittsburgh have kept "the vicious propensities of the genuine American character" from being established.

Theophile Cazenove who traveled as an agent of the Holland Land Company to search out investment possibilities for European banks is most concerned with the production possibilities of the area though he does rue the lack of conveniences at the country inns for himself, his coach and four, his extra saddle horse, a valet, coachman, and postillion! Cazenove certainly traveled in the most comfortable way possible for the era. He is impressed with German productiveness, their neat and prosperous farms, and the possibilities of transporting this produce to market in Philadelphia via canal. The German frugality, for all its merits, could be taken to the point of stinginess, especially since they were unwilling to give their land for the canal way which to the merchant was so very important.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup>Theophile Cazenove, *Journal*, p. 46.

Fortescue Cuming, an Englishman whose tour was mostly of the Western Country, commented on his way through Pennsylvania that the Germans were frugal and industrious, good farmers, and consequently a wealthy people.<sup>11</sup> This could be influenced by the fact that he walked from Philadelphia to Lancaster on the pike, passing through some of the wealthiest farmland of the state, owned by the Mennonite farmers in the neighborhood of the town.

The journal of the nineteen-year-old Margaret Van Horn Dwight from the "sophisticated" town of New Haven through the "wilderness" of Pennsylvania in 1810 is illustrative on an American's sentiment about the Germans. She consistently refers to the Germans in the neighborhood of Bethlehem as wretches, either wicked or dissolute and vicious, and certainly not the sort of people with whom a proper young lady finds it appropriate to pass the Sabbath.<sup>12</sup> She claims on the one hand that she understands not a word of German, but on the other that the Germans swear continuously, a conclusion she draws from their talk and laughter in the inns. The farther west she goes, the less time she has to think of Dutchmen, for the intrusion of the rough, bad-mannered waggoners is quite overwhelming, but in the last analysis, when speaking of her marriage

<sup>11</sup>Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches*, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup>Margaret Van Horn Dwight, ed. Max Farrand, *A Journey to Ohio in 1810*, pp. 15-16.



prospects she ranks Dutchmen as first among her cast offs and waggoners second.<sup>13</sup>

Of the Englishmen writing around 1820, neither Faux<sup>14</sup> nor Welby<sup>15</sup> is very complimentary to American life and manners, but both find it within them to admire the prosperous German community of New Harmony, Indiana. The ideals on which the community were founded, however, are another story.

We have, therefore, a split image of the Dutchman. On the one hand he is considered both frugal and dumb and on the other hand he is admired for his supposedly superior methods of farming and animal husbandry, and his magnificent barns.

With this brief glimpse of some of the basic attitudes of our travelers, we can examine the folkways that were of particular interest to them. Most frequently described are the material aspects of the people and places seen. Travelers comment on houses, barns, fences, crops, and scenery. Also important to them are foodways (mostly as seen in the many inns along the road), dress customs, language, medicine, weather, recreations, and the distinctive sectarian groups.

Most foreign travelers begin their account of their stay in Pennsylvania with an account of Philadelphia which seems to have impressed them very much. Philadelphia had a very diverse population, far from being confined to Germans, but it was frequently the visitors' introduction to settled Germans or the shiploads of immigrants arriving to swell the German settlements. Physically the city must have been impressive. As a religious, economic, cultural, and governmental center Philadelphia, ". . . exceeded in population and in quality of its buildings most other cities in the western world in 1776."<sup>16</sup>

When Peter Kalm arrived in Philadelphia in 1748, officially to collect plants in America and to see which of them might grow in the climate of Sweden, he described the town in detail as the second largest town in America (Boston being first).<sup>16</sup> At that time the town was one mile long and one-half mile wide between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers with houses of brick or stone several stories high. The houses were shingled with white cedar, a practice which the conservation-minded Kalm noted at the time had almost destroyed the tree in the immediate area. Worthy of detailed description are the numerous churches, twelve in all, with separate cemeteries for each and an extra cemetery for negroes outside the town.<sup>17</sup> Other notable buildings in town are the Town-Hall, the Library, and the Court House around which the market was held two days a week and every day in the summer. He

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup>Wm. Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, and Adlard Welby, *Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a Winter Residence at Philadelphia*.

<sup>15</sup>Source mislaid. This was of course a commonly repeated idea in the 18th Century travel books.

<sup>16</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 30-36.

cites the "good and clear water" as one of the city's great advantages.<sup>18</sup> (Times have changed.)

Foreign visitors in the early 19th Century also mention the library founded by Franklin, the hospital, the prisons, and Peale's museum which boasted the entire skeleton of a mammoth.<sup>19</sup>

Shortly after the Revolution, Francisco de Miranda, the Venezuelan patriot who was instrumental in securing that country's independence from Spain, came to the United States as an official visitor of the government of Spain. He was wined and dined royally wherever he went, and while admiring the other parts of the country he saw, from South Carolina to New York, he was most impressed with Philadelphia, which he describes as free and enterprising and without doubt the most beautiful city on the entire continent. The two things that interested him most were, however, the public lighting system and the police force with its regular uniforms which prompted him to write: "Philadelphia is one of the most pleasant and orderly cities of the world."<sup>20</sup> Miranda, however, seems to have taken little note of the German population in Pennsylvania, his time being taken up with the political figures of the day and the active group of expatriates from Latin America who were trying to foment revolution through pamphleteering and the support of the United States government. No other Spanish travelers to the area during this period were discovered.

Kalm, arriving in Philadelphia in 1748 mentions that there were immigrants on the same ship with him, but makes no remarks about their condition. He does note that not only the poor who were unable to pay their passage indentured themselves, but also:

Many of the Germans who come hither bring money enough with them to pay their passage, but rather suffer themselves to be sold, with a view that during their servitude they may get some knowledge of the language and the quality of the country, and the like, that they may better be able to consider what they should do when they have got their liberty.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 36. Churches listed were: 1) English established Church—Christ Church; 2) Swedish church; 3) German Lutheran with preacher also serving Germantown; 4 and 5) two Presbyterian churches—old and new; 6) Old German Reformed; 7) New Reformed; 8 and 9) Quaker meetings; 10) Baptists; 11) Roman Catholics—a house with an organ; and 12) Moravian Brethren—a great house with services both in German and English.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 47.

<sup>19</sup>Edouard de Montule, *Travels in America, 1816-1817*, p. 27; Henry Fearon, *Sketches of America*, pp. 154-159. Francisco de Miranda's *Journal*, p. 29, mentions Peale's collection in 1789 as being 100 portraits of individuals who had greatly contributed to the Revolution. He makes no mention of the mammoth skeleton which so impressed later visitors.

<sup>20</sup>Francisco de Miranda, *Journal*, p. 29. Later on, in the early 19th Century, there was some controversy on this point. Henry Fearon commented in 1817 on the cleanliness and solidity of Philadelphia while his countryman Adlard Welby in 1819 was troubled by the stench in summer which he claimed was worse than New York.

<sup>21</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 388.



Fearon, in 1817, however, is appalled at the miserable conditions of the immigrant ships. The ship *Bubona*, whose advertisement he quoted from the newspaper, held 500 passengers of whom 80 died during the voyage. He describes the pathetically eager attempts of the ship's passengers to indenture themselves with their meagre knowledge of English. His listing of the occupations aboard ship (aside from women and children) point up the fact, that while there were many immigrant farmers, there were just as many or more skilled laborers in this period. The *Bubona* carried "13 farmers, 2 bakers, 2 butchers, 8 weavers, 3 taylors, 1 gardner, 3 masons, 1 mill-sawyer, 1 white-smith, 2 shoe-makers, 3 cabinet-makers, 1 coal-burner, 1 barber, 1 carpenter, 1 stocking-weaver, 1 cooper, 1 wheelwright, 1 brewer, and 1 locksmith."<sup>22</sup>

Most visitors soon left Philadelphia and struck out west along the Lancaster Pike, and in later times on towards Pittsburgh and the west. Some, such as Cazenove, made a circular tour entering Pennsylvania at Easton and taking a turn through the Moravian settlements at Nazareth and Bethlehem. Almost without exception the travelers commented on the well built and well stocked barns of the Pennsylvania Germans as has been admirably documented elsewhere, making it unnecessary to deal with it in detail here.<sup>23</sup> Suffice it to illustrate that even the young lady who refers to Dutchmen as dissolute, vicious wretches has to admit that the barns in the vicinity of "Klutztown" were very elegant.

I imagine the dutch pride themselves on building good barns, for a great many of them are very elegant—they are 3 and 4 stories high, have windows and one or 2 I saw with blinds—They are larger and handsomer than most of the houses.<sup>24</sup>

Lancaster was almost invariably the second stop after Philadelphia, and was usually described as the largest inland town in America. It was far enough from Philadelphia to have a separate market, yet near enough to permit easy transportation of goods. The town struck most as well built, and bustling, but lacking in the "refinements of culture"—the classic complaint of the European in America, both then and now. Cazenove, the wealthy Dutchman, describes the girls of Lancaster as well dressed, of good figure, with beautiful teeth, but lacking in grace, easy manners, and refinement. Not forgetting entirely his business mission despite the good figures, he also admires the beauty and fertility of the surrounding countryside with its pattern of alternation between fields and forest, the farmers' houses being set in shallow valleys formed by the slopes of 3 or 4 wide hills, cultivated to the top.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Fearon, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>23</sup>Don Yoder, "Through the traveler's eye." In A. L. Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn*, pp. 12-21.

<sup>24</sup>Farrand, ed., for Margaret van Horn Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup>Cazenove, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Anburey in 1778 noticed the well stocked market and excellent "cyder" of Lancaster, things for which it is still noted today, and claims that the organ in the Lutheran church is the largest and best in America.<sup>26</sup> Even Thomas Ashe, who is generally as derogatory as anyone could be, had to admit that Lancaster was large, clean, and well built. Henry Fearon in 1817 was so impressed by the "great Valley" around Lancaster that he puts it "fairly in competition with Old England."<sup>27</sup> The supreme compliment!

The passing view of the fertile and well kept farms near Lancaster seems to have contributed greatly to the almost universal stereotype of the German as a superior and prosperous farmer. Lemon disputes this stereotype, maintaining that the Quakers and the Mennonites were the most prosperous and forward looking groups, the one English and the other German. He points out that in 1782, according to tax records of the sixty most wealthy Germans in the county of Lancaster, 60% were Mennonites while Mennonites accounted for only one-quarter of the population.<sup>28</sup> Since the county was almost entirely inhabited by Germans, that means that there were many German farmers who were not actually so well off as the travelers seemed to think. The extravagant praise of the prestigious Dr. Rush's *Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (1789) seemed to combine with the view of prosperous Mennonite farms to cement the stereotype of the superior German farmer in the minds of both Americans and foreigners.

#### FOODWAYS

Though the journals here cited do not by any means provide a complete picture of Pennsylvania German eating habits in this period, they do point out the items that struck the Europeans as noteworthy, e.g. an abundance of fruits and vegetables and the use of other grain preparations instead of bread on the frontier.

That the apple was important to the "Dutch" economy is shown by the impressed and extensive comments of the travelers. Kalm even tells us that when a man bought land his first act was to plant young apple trees so they would mature all the sooner and bear fruit. Next he built his house, and lastly cleared and planted his fields.<sup>29</sup> The making of cider and applebutter in Pennsylvania was commented upon by many travelers, though we miss Peter Kalm's remarks due to his over-conscientious translator. Thomas Anburey noticed that on every farm in the vicinity of Lancaster there was a cider mill consisting of a wooden wheel drawn by a

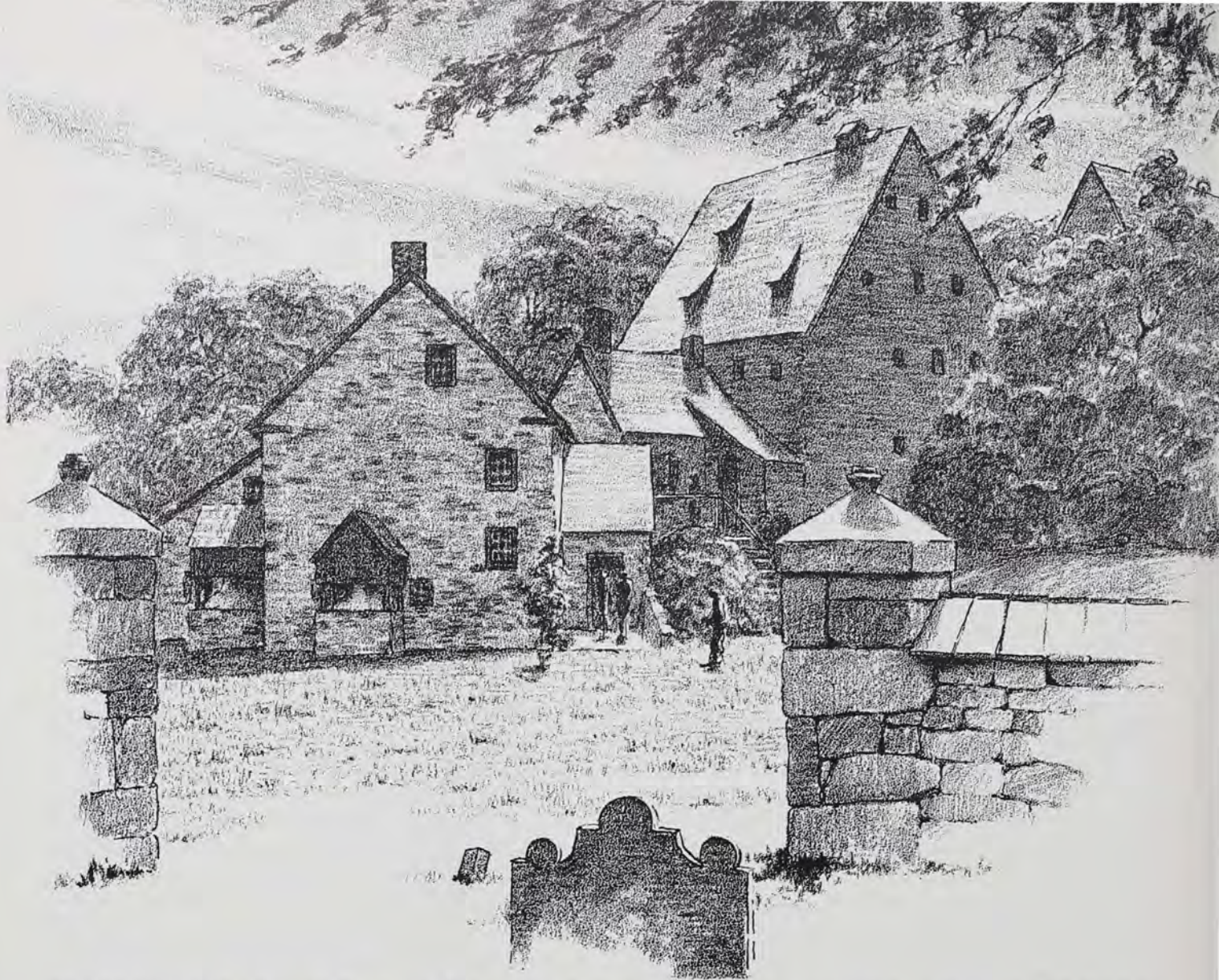
<sup>26</sup>Anburey, *op. cit.*, p. 175; and Cuming, *op. cit.*, p. 31, on organ.

<sup>27</sup>Fearon, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>28</sup>James T. Lemon, "The agricultural practices of National Groups in eighteenth-century southeastern Pennsylvania." *The Geographical Review*, LVI (1966), 467-496.

<sup>29</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 164.





*The Cloister of the Seventh-Dayers at Ephrata in Lancaster County was commented on by most 18th Century travelers in Pennsylvania. Drawing by Ralph Dunkelberger.*

horse.<sup>30</sup> Cazenove liked the Moravian cider at Nazareth so well that he ordered a hogshead of it to be sent him at Christmas. Johannes Schweitzer, a Swiss immigrant in 1820 noticed the applebutter making as he walked along the turnpike from Philadelphia to Lancaster.<sup>31</sup>

Kalm marvels at the quantity of fruit trees in America, especially peaches, apples, pears, and cherries. He goes into great detail describing how peaches and apples are pitted, cut into four quarters, and dried by alternately hanging them in the sun and placing them in the ovens in which bread had been baked.<sup>32</sup> This method of drying fruit is still in use today as described by Hostetler in his account of contemporary Amish society in Pennsylvania.<sup>33</sup> Kalm's journal gives us detailed descriptions of fruit wine making. Of the berries and

fruits used for winemaking he mentions: white and red currants, strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, cherries, and in Maryland, wild grapes.<sup>34</sup> Persimmons were either made into wine or put on the table as a sweetmeat. All in all, Kalm seems more impressed by the abundant fruits in America and their preservation and usage than any other foodstuff. He notes that in Europe peaches are rare so that in Sweden only the rich could taste them.<sup>35</sup> It is little wonder that he was struck by the abundance of fruit in America.

The question of vegetables cultivated by the Pennsylvania Germans is a difficult one. Dr. Rush in his *Account* gives the Germans credit for introducing vegetables into the diet of Pennsylvania, and claims that his German neighbors eat more vegetables, but less meat than do the English.<sup>36</sup> Cazenove in 1794, however, traveling in the vicinity of Allen's Town, sees few vegetables

<sup>30</sup>Anburey, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>31</sup>Robert Billigmeier, and Frederick Picard, editors, *The Old Land and The New*, Minneapolis, 1965.

<sup>32</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 72.

<sup>33</sup>John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, p. 170.

<sup>34</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 85.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 72.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 72.



besides cabbage, potatoes, and turnips.<sup>37</sup> He notes that the Germans live on potatoes and buckwheat cakes instead of bread.<sup>38</sup> A French traveler, Edouard de Montule in 1817 also notes the lack of bread in the inns, "but they quickly make you a sort of small cake out of corn or wheat flour, and butter."<sup>39</sup> These cakes, he claims, are tasty, but a bit heavy on the stomach! John Flint, describing the Philadelphia market in 1819 claims that it sells the most vegetables in the world.<sup>40</sup> These differences of opinion are probably influenced to some extent by Rush. The travelers may also be reporting regional differences in vegetable cultivation within Pennsylvania itself. Certainly in 1748 when Peter Kalm was observing, years before Rush ever wrote his essay, there seem to be plenty of vegetables, okra, asparagus, guinea peppers, cucumbers and sweet potatoes being specifically mentioned.

In the line of meats for the table, much wild fowl and bear seems to have been hunted as well as squirrels. The squirrels, while a problem because in large numbers they could destroy a maize field in one night, were also a blessing in that they were eaten "and reckoned a dainty."<sup>41</sup> The raccoon was also eaten and found tasty, and oysters, which were for sale in the market in Philadelphia, were considered a great dainty.

The diaries of Moravian missionaries on their trip from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1752 and of a visiting bishop traveling the same route twenty-eight years later give us an idea from the German point of view of what was eaten, though admittedly the traveling situation would limit the sorts of foods possible. Rather than a preponderance of vegetables over meat as Rush suggests, the party of 15 men on the road to North Carolina mention meat and dumplings, chicken, wild turkey shot along the way, and a hog they buy and butcher.<sup>42</sup> For breakfast, which is usually taken between four and five a.m., they have pumpkin broth. As a welcome gift from the neighbors when they arrive at the new settlement area in mid-November, the Moravian brethren receive a wagon load of pumpkins and several bushels of turnips to hold them through the winter. Twenty-eight years later in 1780 when Bishop and Mrs. Reichel and their company travel the same route they do not face the same rigors of the road. Breakfast is generally somewhat later, around 6 a.m., and they frequently stay with Germans along the way who give them food. Their beverages sound very modern: coffee in the morning, beer for lunch, and tea

in the afternoon. One unlucky morning they write: "our chocolate fell into the fire twice."<sup>43</sup> The life of the traveler seems to have become much more luxurious and leisurely in the intervening years between the two journeys along the same road.

#### SICKNESS AND DISEASE

Closely related to the interest in food is the interest in sickness and disease and the relation of foods to it. By far the most commonly mentioned disease in the journals is "feaver," generally associated with stagnant water. Peter Kalm, with his usual completeness, lists the most commonly fatal diseases as "consumptions, fevers, convulsions, pleurisies, haemorrhages, and dropsies,"<sup>44</sup> but devotes several discussions to the problem of fever in particular. He notices that the Germans generally associate the prevalence of malaria with stagnant water while the English associate it with eating watermelon in particular, and too much fruit in general.<sup>45</sup>

In investigating the plants of America he lists their medicinal properties and is hence a goldmine of information on the non-magical cures of the time. Most frequent of the cures mentioned are those for toothache and diarrhea which are extremely varied. One of the subjects he ponders at length is why the Americans or the immigrants to America lose their teeth. He concludes that it must be because they drink so much hot tea and always eat hot food.<sup>46</sup> Kalm concludes that native Americans are weaker than Europeans because they die younger, and the women do not bear children as long as in Sweden. Even the cattle from Europe degenerate and become smaller according to him. The Englishman Henry Fearon, years later in 1818 is still concerned with the loss of teeth and early deaths of the Americans. He attributes this to early marriage and too much liquor and tobacco.<sup>47</sup>

The German soldiers writing letters home during the Revolution are convinced that the people around Philadelphia haven't a healthy color because of unwholesome air and bad water.<sup>48</sup> They also feel that the yearly fevers and "itch" come about because the food is not as nutritive as in Germany and the animals and vegetables grew to only half their size. Whether this impression that things in America grow to an inferior size and that living things are smaller than in Europe is due to an innate prejudice against the New World or whether it is true is difficult to tell. Certainly in the frontier situation people might be poorly nourished and die young, but in the cities and long established areas there is no reason to suspect that the people were any less healthy than their European counterparts. Another

<sup>37</sup>Cazenove, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup>Edouard de Montule, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>40</sup>James Flint, *Letters from America*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>41</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, oysters, I, 115, 172; squirrel, I, 96; raccoon hunting, I, 97.

<sup>42</sup>Diary of a Journey of Moravians from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to Bethabara in Wachovia, North Carolina, 1753," in Newton D. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 339.

<sup>43</sup>Travel Diary of Bishop and Mrs. Reichel, in Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

<sup>44</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 57.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 368.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 361-364.

<sup>47</sup>Fearon, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>48</sup>Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 215.



factor which may have been operating here is the privations brought on by the war.

#### THE SECTARIAN COMMUNITIES

Visitors and American travelers as well were particularly interested in the various community experiments in Pennsylvania such as Ephrata, the Moravian communities of Bethlehem and Nazareth, and the communities of George Rapp at Harmony and Economy. Thomas Anburey during the Revolutionary war gives us an extended account of Ephrata, a community of 500 according to him. He calls the sect behind the community the "Dumplers," rather than the more common nickname of "Dunkards" received from the practice of baptising by "dunking" people three times in a river.<sup>49</sup> He notes that the brethren practice celibacy, are vegetarians, have a communistic system, like to preach about humility, temperance, and charity, practice adult baptism and baptism for the dead, and spend their whole lives in labor, prayer, or sleep.<sup>50</sup> He approaches the community from the point of view that it is an interesting experiment. Dr. Thomas Walker, while exploring the Kentucky territory in 1750 stayed with an offshoot of the Ephrata community located near Blacksburg, Montgomery County, Virginia. He was there very soon after the founding for he reports that though the group didn't believe in eating flesh, it hadn't been there long enough to have a supply of other foods necessary to make such a practice possible.<sup>51</sup>

The Moravian communities interested many travelers for their neatness, industry, and musicality. Peter Kalm, while never reporting a visit to the Moravians, did mention that their leader Count Sinzendorf (*sic*) had visited America in December of the year 1741 and remained until spring. It must have been an impressive visit to be talked about seven years later. Indeed, Kalm reports that Zinzendorf's "uncommon behaviour persuaded many Englishmen of rank, that he was disordered in his head."<sup>52</sup> Cazenove was quite impressed with Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and described it in detail. In 1794 during his visit each farmer gave 1/3 of his income to the Congregation showing that the Moravians were not completely communistic by this time and people were paid something for their work. Cazenove, always interested in the practical, notes that the gutters from the houses allow water to run down into the meadows making rich pastureland—a practice he thinks worth emulating. He also approves of the practice of keeping the dead for three days in a special building, examining them often to make sure they are really dead.<sup>53</sup> While

Cazenove admires the Moravian settlement, he doesn't think much of religion in general, or the masses either for that matter:

When you observe what peace and abundance there are in these Moravian settlements, you see how much better superstition and enthusiasm are than the dissoluteness and laziness always produced by irreligion. There is no choice for the masses, they must be bigoted or be the prey of their most vicious inclinations.<sup>54</sup>

Margaret Van Horn Dwight stops to visit Bethlehem in 1810 as a tourist stop on her way to Ohio. The Englishmen visiting the U.S. from 1815 to 1820, however, make no mention of the Moravian communities or Ephrata which by that time was largely inoperative, but are fascinated with the community experiments of George Rapp.

Around 1820 one of the must sights on the foreign visitors' itinerary was the Rappist community of New Harmony, located on the Wabash river in Indiana. The accounts of travelers provide us with a wide variety of views of life at New Harmony.

Travelers describing the first Harmonist settlement in Pennsylvania include John Bradbury, the Scotch botanist, and Edouard de Montule, a French tourist. Englishmen describing the Harmony settlement in Indiana include Elias Fordham and John Woods, residents in the nearby community of English Prairie; Thomas Hulme, an English farmer trying to establish a new colony in Illinois; Richard Flower; William Faux and Adlard Welby, essentially tourists. The English in this period were much taken up with ideas of progress and social reform and were consequently very much interested in Rapp's working experiment.

The founder and prophet of the Harmony community was George Rapp, in some accounts a vine-dresser and farmer of plebeian descent,<sup>55</sup> and in others a weaver from Württemberg. In 1804, Rapp, with his followers from Württemberg established a community near Pittsburgh in Butler County, Pennsylvania, where all property was held in common and life was lived along the lines of the New Testament in "Christian brotherhood." By 1811 Bradbury was impressed by the tremendous advances made by the community from a base of 9,000 acres of land valued at \$20,000 to property worth at least \$220,000 in his estimation. The town he saw was a self-contained unit that added each year to its necessary industry. In 1806 a large inn, barn, dyer's shop, oil-mill, and tannery were built. A saw mill and brewery were constructed in 1807. By 1808 there was also a brick meeting house and a bridge over the creek; by 1809 a fulling-mill, oil-mill, a mill for breaking hemp, a grist mill, and a brick warehouse with wine cellar. By 1810 the Harmonists were manufacturing broadcloth from their own Merino sheep,

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>55</sup>George Lockwood, *The New Harmony Communities*, p. 8.

<sup>49</sup>Anburey, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 166-169.

<sup>51</sup>Dr. Thomas Walker, *Journal of 1750*. In J. S. Johnston, ed., *First Exploration of Kentucky*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>52</sup>Kalm, *op. cit.*, I, 56.

<sup>53</sup>Cazenove, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21, feels this custom should be adopted in every U.S. city where the dead are usually buried within 24 hours.



had a carding machine, two spinning Jennys and a factory for 20 looms.<sup>56</sup>

In spite of the prosperity of the community, or perhaps because of it, Father Rapp moved his flock to 30,000 acres along the Wabash in 1815. According to de Montule the community moved because there was a sudden increase in population in the vicinity of their old community and Rapp feared his followers would lose their strictness.<sup>57</sup> Others felt their reason for moving was that Harmony, Pennsylvania, was far from navigation and not suitable for fruit cultivation which they wished to specialize in and that therefore they sought a warmer climate. The real reason probably lies somewhere between the two.

In May, 1818, just three years after the Rappists had moved to their new community, Elias Fordham from nearby English Prairie, described the New Harmonists as follows:

... Their cooking, their dress, is exactly the same as it was on the banks of the Rhine. Their language is German. They are orderly, civil people, and the town is already very neat. The houses, log-built, are placed at regular distances, and are each surrounded by a neat kitchen and flower garden, paved in. The footpath is divided from the road by rows of lombardy poplars. Mr. Rapp's house is a handsome brick building, by far the best in Indiana.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup>John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, 1811*. In Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V, 314-316.

<sup>57</sup>De Montule, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>58</sup>Elias Pym Fordham, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, p. 207.

According to Fordham the Harmonists all dressed alike including Father Rapp who appeared in the pulpit on a weekday evening in a linsey woolsey coat and blue worsted night cap. Fordham was impressed by the neatness and prosperity of the town, but he noticed that the people of the surrounding country disliked the Harmonists because they allowed no drunkenness in their tavern. This would seem a simplification of the reason for the antipathy of the community at large toward the Harmonists, but reports of other travelers verify that the Rappist community was not popular among the neighbors.<sup>59</sup>

A burning question for the travelers was that of the practice or non-practice of celibacy by the members of the community. Hulme felt they were restricted to having children only once in every so many years and concluded that the local comments that ridiculed the Harmonists as enslaved and sworn to celibacy were unfounded.<sup>60</sup> George Flower at the nearby English settlement, claimed that contrary to rumor the Harmonists were allowed to marry, but believed the incumbrance created by families a hindrance to the spirituality of Christians.<sup>61</sup> Lockwood, the historian of the Harmony community, stressed celibacy as one of the secrets of their success. With few children to rear and educate

<sup>59</sup>All close-knit sect groups and communal societies suffer from the same range of outsider attitudes.

<sup>60</sup>Thomas Hulme, *Journal*. Reprinted in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X, 60.

<sup>61</sup>Richard Flower, *Letters*, p. 99.

*Monroe County forms the northeastern limit of the Dutch Country. This is an early 19th Century view of Stroudsburg, its county seat.*





the community members could devote themselves totally to production. It would seem that Rapp gradually became more strict on the rule of celibacy, as the earlier reports don't mention it as frequently as the later ones. He is said to have propounded a doctrine of the "dual nature of Adam," i.e., that Adam contained within his own person both the sexual elements. The Fall of Man came about because Adam could have created all from his own body, but became discontented and God separated from his body the female part. Therefore, Rapp concluded, the celibate state was more pleasing to God.<sup>62</sup>

The musicality of the Rappists impressed travelers. Hulme, the farmer, took the combination of the flower gardens around each house and the music as a sign of simplicity and ignorance in the people.<sup>63</sup> There is some evidence that the people of the community marched to and from work in the fields to the music of a band. Richard Flower described reapers returning from the fields in a body preceded by a band of music, men marching first, women next, "and the rear rank composed of young women, with each a neat ornament of striped cedar wood on their head."<sup>64</sup>

The dress of the Harmonists aroused comment, some of it less than complimentary. Faux thought the women were made to look as ugly as possible:

. . . having their hair combed straight up behind and before, so that the temples are bared, and a little skull cap, or black crape bandage, across the crown, and tied under the chin.<sup>65</sup>

Woods described their dress as being uncommonly plain and of their own manufacture:

The men wear jackets and pantaloons, with coarse hats. The women a kind of jacket and petticoat, with a particular kind of skull-cap, and a straw hat made peculiarly flat.<sup>66</sup>

The visitors noted that the entire community spoke only German with the exception of those who had to meet the public: the miller, the tavern keeper where strangers were lodged, and George Rapp's adopted son Frederick who handled all the community's outside business affairs.

The prosperity of the community came from its fine fields and orchards but also from the manufactured goods, which were sold outside the community and gained a name for excellence. Woods said they owned 2000 sheep and a large quantity of stock, and estimated their store goods and property as being worth one million dollars.<sup>67</sup>

For all the good things the community of New Harmony offered its members, things that aroused the jealousy of the neighbors who were suffering to make a

living on their farms, most visitors comment on a certain dullness about the town. Adlard Welby was willing to attribute this dull sameness ". . . to the phlegmatic German character" rather than "to their institutions."<sup>68</sup> Not only did the members dress exactly alike, according to Woods they ate the same thing at the same time, though each in his own house. Though he thought the people of New Harmony very industrious, he didn't think them very enlightened.<sup>69</sup> The neighbors in the English Prairie community nearby were divided in their opinion. George Flower felt they were a credit to the area, but Morris Birkbeck, the founder of English Prairie, criticized the community as being:

. . . not firm as to temporals, and as to spirituals it is a priestly tyranny, interested in enslaving body and conscience, in order that a few may some day divide the spoil.<sup>70</sup>

Birkbeck was afraid that the followers of George Rapp would manage to squeeze out most of the people and divide the great riches of the community between themselves. Faux felt that Rapp held the community together by superstition, threatening those who would quit the society with damnation.

Even though the community was obviously prospering, Rapp sold it in 1825 to Robert Owen, a Scot who also wished to start a communistic experiment, at what many considered less than its true value. Rapp and his followers moved back to Pennsylvania to start yet a third community, Economy, which also for a time prospered. It may be that Rapp felt he could only keep his people together as long as he kept them working hard to forge a new community. When things got too easy and there was a less pressing immediate goal, the community became restless, and as Rapp was a wise leader he moved on to a new frontier. Hence, it appears that originality was discouraged, communal work was encouraged, and the family principle was considerably disturbed by celibacy rules leaving George Rapp as prophet, priest, and king of his flock.<sup>71</sup>

#### RECREATION

Notice of recreation and good times among the people is not too frequently included by the travelers but there are a few illuminating notes. Cazenove found that in 1794 in York it was the custom for the people to come to the inns and taverns in the morning and evening for drinks, news, and conversation. He also visited the County Fair in Lancaster held in June to coincide with the court session. He is impressed by the loud joy of the young people who went kissing in the streets while their fathers got drunk in the taverns.<sup>72</sup> The County Fair seems to have served as a courting ground in more than the legal sense.

<sup>62</sup>Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>63</sup>Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>64</sup>Flower, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>65</sup>William Faux, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

<sup>66</sup>John Woods, *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement of the English Prairie in the Illinois Country*, p. 316.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>68</sup>Welby, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>69</sup>Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

<sup>70</sup>William Faux, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>71</sup>Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

<sup>72</sup>Cazenove, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.





*Tastes in tourism have differed through the centuries. In the Victorian era urban cemeteries with their elaborate monuments attracted wide tourist attention. This is a view of Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia from "Godey's Lady's Book."*

Fortescue Cuming in Lancaster in 1807 observed in a rather superior tone that it was a dull place lacking in manners, taste, and the refinement of education, though the situation might improve with future generations. His description of the recreations available, however, make it sound like less than a total wasteland as there was "occasionally an itinerant exhibition of wax-work, or a puppet-show: but there are taverns without number at some of which I have been informed pri-gambling is very customary."<sup>73</sup> He mentions the horse races held annually at which there was much betting and shooting with a rifle:

... a favourite amusement, at which they are very dextrous, meeting at taverns at short distances from town, to shoot, sometimes at a mark for wagers and sometimes at turkeys provided by the tavern keeper, at so much a shot, the turkey being the prize of the killer of it—the distance is generally one hundred yards, and always with a single ball.<sup>74</sup>

Edouard de Mentule tells us that near Chillicothe, Ohio, he got rid of his French gun since it wasn't suitable there. The locals used "very long, rifled carbines, charged with a very small ball. These carbines are of an accuracy that is as astounding as the skill of the hunters."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup>Cuming, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>75</sup>De Montule, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

The tavern appears to have been a center of activity for travelers and the local populace alike, and served as a center for social life and interaction. Margaret Van Horn Dwight, for all her disdain of Dutchmen gives us a good picture of fifty of them passing a convivial evening in the tavern at Hanover-near-Bethlehem smoking, drinking, swearing, pitching pennies, almost dancing, laughing, and talking.<sup>76</sup>

#### LANGUAGE

Some travelers were struck by the use of the German language in America. Henry Fearon, an Englishman, was quite surprised to find native Pennsylvanians in the vicinity of Lancaster who couldn't speak English. Peter Kalm, for all his observation, made little reference to language and undoubtedly spoke German since he mentions talking with German farmers. The Hessian officers in America during the Revolution were somewhat appalled at the state of their mother tongue in Pennsylvania. One of them wrote in a letter home that "our loved mother tongue is completely Anglicized in this colony, and will soon be transformed into what may be called 'the Pennsylvania language,' which will be unrecognizable by either Germans or English."<sup>77</sup>

Margaret Van Horn Dwight, while sneering continuously at Dutchmen, claimed she understood no German

<sup>76</sup>Farrand, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>77</sup>Stone, *op. cit.*, letter from Philadelphia, May 7, 1778.



but was sure the Dutch men and women were swearing. She also illustrates the influence of German dialect in the traveler's expression "We came but a little piece" meaning to come from not far away.<sup>18</sup>

The diaries indicate that most travelers, particularly the British, had very little conversation with the Germans of the population, except bilingual innkeepers, and are judging the country and people from observation and preconceptions. The two most complete accounts of the life and ways of the Germans encountered, those of Cazenove from Amsterdam and Kalm from Sweden, are from two people who are likely to have spoken or understood some German. The disparaging remarks by the Hessian officers do probably indicate a truth which is that by 1778 Pennsylvania German was already somewhat influenced by English.

As has been evident throughout, the comments of the travelers must be taken with a grain of salt and an effort to understand their point of view. In spite of possible distortions and outright error, narrations and reports of travelers, native and foreign, are of great value to the folklife historian. Traveler's journals give color, detail, and human interest by pointing out, often vividly, what local residents would have taken for granted and not mentioned.

<sup>18</sup>Farrand, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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# My Interview with a Powwower

By ROBERT L. DLUGE, JR.

Man has moved through many phases in the evolution of his existence on this earth. Included in this evolution is the increasing number of technological advances that have occurred over the last 250 years in America. With these technological advances have come advances in medicine and the exposure of millions of people to industrial society.

Due to the fact that most Americans have been exposed to an advanced form of society, it is questionable whether powwowing could still exist in a society such as ours. Scholars have pointed out that "the practice of folk-healing thrives along with isolation in general,"<sup>1</sup> and "the practice of pow-wow is of necessity conceived in secrecy and maintained in mystery."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it may be asked if powwowing still exists as a viable para-medical force in Eastern Pennsylvania, an area generally regarded as advanced technologically—evidenced by the number of industries that thrive in the area.

The answer to the above question is that, "of course people now do not have the faith in such things (as pow-wowing) that was once manifested, nevertheless there are many persons, particularly among the older folks, who believe in at least some of them."<sup>3</sup> That is, among various groups and sectors of the Eastern Pennsylvania population, there are those who still, today, maintain a belief in powwow doctoring. A curious fact is that the belief in powwowing is not limited to any particular group or societal segment, with many varied people professing so to believe.

In reference to the Amish belief in powwowing, the principal authority on the Amish writes:

"Powwowing, or recourse to the magical art in case of certain forms of illness, is by no means a thing of the past. Among the Lancaster County Amish, however, there are no practitioners or powwow doctors, but those who qualify for this name are frequently consulted by them; and, it would be incorrect to say this was only an Amish custom."<sup>4</sup> Another standard description of Amish life tells us that "Brauche or sympathy-healing plays a role in Amish life even though some of the more progressive Amish have condemned it as witchcraft."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 272-277.

<sup>2</sup>Scott F. Brenner, *Pennsylvania Dutch, Plain and Fancy* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Press, 1955), pp. 59-78.

<sup>3</sup>J. L. Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 134.

<sup>4</sup>Hostetler, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-277.

<sup>5</sup>Calvin G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1961), The Pennsylvania German Society, Volume LX, p. 275.

Another expert says,

"Powwowing is very much a contemporary thing in Pennsylvania. There are still dozens of powwowers of the 'professional' category in operation in Eastern and Central Pennsylvania. . . . In fact, despite statements to the contrary . . . powwowing is still as important a feature of Pennsylvania folk-culture as it was in the 19th Century."<sup>6</sup>

Yet another researcher in the field of Pennsylvania folk-culture has found,

". . . there are indications that powwowing is not sounding its death knell, and that it is adapting to the times . . . For those who practice it, powwowing is still a thriving and exciting activity . . . The tradition of powwowing has declined in terms of the numbers who practice it or use the services of the practitioner. However, it leads a vigorous existence among certain people."<sup>7</sup>

Although this author has learned of several pow-wow doctors in his section of Pennsylvania, only one could be interviewed. This man, a Mr. X, of a small town in East Central Pennsylvania, is a very active, practicing pow-wow doctor. This man is a lay-medical person and had, at one time, a license to manufacture and sell medicine in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for nineteen years. The following is an excerpt from the author's interview with Mr. X.

<sup>6</sup>Don Yoder, "Twenty Questions on Powwowing," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XV:4 (Summer 1966), 38.

<sup>7</sup>Marcia Westkott, "Powwowing in Berks County," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIX:2 (Winter 1969-1970), 9.

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- A: Is Pow-Wow doctoring faith healing?  
X: That is correct, it is.  
A: Is Pow-Wow doctoring limited to the Pennsylvania Dutch?  
X: No, any person that has the talent can use it.  
A: Is this an inborn talent?  
X: Yes, it is what the man above gives you. We all have talents, every one of us, if we put them to the right use. We don't know it until we try it. To go with this, I cannot learn

you—I can learn a woman and a woman must transfer it to a man, otherwise it will be no good.

- A: You are in the process of teaching someone now, are you not?  
X: I have taught some, yeah. I don't want to die and leave this by.  
X: The cases I mostly get here, is cases that doctors can't do nothing with—it's the last chance—I call it the last chance. And after



- they come here a while, but I have to caution them, they must believe in the man above, before I can touch them. Otherwise, I say there's the door, go. I cannot work again [a] stone wall.
- A: Is this the only thing that is required, by them, that they have faith in the man above?
- X: That's right, faith in the man above, and faith in me, and faith in himself.
- A: In times gone by, pow-wow doctors treated almost every type of case, is that true today?
- X: Yes, stopping blood is an easy one: Ezekiel 16:6. It starts out, "as I pass by thee," thee means the name of the person. Now I get telephone calls from all over the country here. I don't know who they are—I ask their name, that's all I want, and that they're bleeding. I'll sit down with my Bible and read it three times, slow.
- A: Is there any significance in saying things over three times?
- X: Three times over—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that's all. If you don't do it, you've no power. Before I do this for bleeding, I say this over three times, to myself, I'm doing this for the Father, for the Son, and for the Holy Ghost—then I read.
- A: Are there any particular types of diseases that that you treat?
- X: No, I treat mostly anything. Now, mostly all your cases start with inflammation. Inflammation is fire and corruption, and once you get that out you have your case straight. Now when you have these cases which the doctors call contact dermatitis, when I work on those cases, I will just turn fiery red and I'm gasping for my breath—I will also sweat. That means it's coming from the patient into me, and the Lord is then taking it away from me, if he so wills. But I am knocked out some times, for a short period. Any person that does this work and doesn't tell you that, well, then they're not working.
- X: It's coming to a time when some of our doctors are using it now, because they're losing too many patients which they shouldn't lose. Medication doesn't cover all things.
- A: Are there any particular types, sexes, or ages of people that come to you for help?
- X: No, anyone that has the faith. I get an awful lot of women—many women going through menopause. We straighten them out. They're so many of them going up to the mental institution that don't have to. You get some men coming in here, between 45 and 55, that are going through a change of life also. It isn't limited only to women—we all are human. We all have to go through that stage—a 10-year, not 7-year cycle. You really don't know what you're doing (for about one day a month), you're shaky, you're suspicious, you're bull-headed.
- A: You then do, or could treat, a lot of cases that go to a mental hospital?
- X: I do. One of the latter parts of my treatments is to give you what they call hypnotism—hypnotism lightly with prayer.
- A: Do you have a lot of people that come here to see you?
- X: An awful lot—sometimes I wish I were twins.
- A: I have heard that powwowing used to be popular, then declined, but now may be back on the upswing. Is this true today?
- X: It is very popular. I have some cases in a local town, Shamokin, skin cancer, to use the doctor's terms. One went to one doctor and another. No hope. Then she saw me—she was full of all marks. Then I treated her with a medicine that I make—we've been making it for generations. It's a home remedy. We use that and the faith healing as treatment and it comes out that there are no scars, the tissues are all fed, and that the scars all are disappeared.
- X: Now erysipelas—that's a form of contact dermatitis. All that is, is fire and corruption—the pus is just pouring out of them. We cure those kind.
- A: Do you use anything like the old powwowers, like the Pow-Wow Book or anything?
- X: No, I memorize as much of this as I possibly can, then when I get stuck, I use my Bible.
- A: Don't many of the cures follow, though, from the Pow-Wow Book, or similar sources, including the Bible?
- X: Mostly from the Bible. They all must come from there (to have power). You have to see the cures in order to believe it. It's one of the greatest gifts that God gave to man.
- A: Between men and women, is one more powerful than the other when powwowing?
- X: No. But some can (or could) only lift it to a certain point.
- A: Are there many other powwowers in the area?
- X: No, I'm the only one in this valley at the present time. I'm the only one in the radius of a good distance. I get a lot of people in here from Milton (Pennsylvania). I've had them in here from New York and New Jersey, and all over. Cases that couldn't be touched, otherwise. I generally go out on a Wednesday to Shamokin, Mt. Carmel, and on down the line.
- A: Do most cures take a series of treatments?
- X: Well, they either take three, six, or nine. As a rule after your first treatment, you'll feel better. That's if the patient cooperates with you, and has faith. If the patient is stubborn, it takes longer.
- X: You feel like a million dollars after working on someone. But you have to use a lot of psychology, too. Now I wouldn't work on a patient right away—I'll sit here and talk to him a while before.
- A: Do you like publicity of any type, or do you prefer word-of-mouth, and so forth?
- X: I generally use word-of-mouth. I don't advertise. I can accept no money—I have no charge. Whatever they give me, well that's up to them. When I had a license to manufacture and sell medicine, I could charge them for it.
- X: For a good many years, I sold medicine at



# DR. RICHARDS'

## Indian Vegetable Oil

### AND BLOOD SEARCHER.

A standard medicine for the speedy, radical and effectual cure of all diseases arising from impurities of the blood; this medicine has wrought the most miraculous cures in desperate cases of acute and chronic rheumatism.

Inflammatory rheumatism, headache of every kind, eruptions of the skin, dyspepsia, dropsies, gravel, boils, corrupt humors, loss of appetite, general debility, liver complaint, pains in the head, side, back, limbs, joints, and organs, rheumatism, rush of the blood to the head and giddiness.

#### DIRECTIONS FOR USE.

For toothache, take a half teaspoonful and hold it in your mouth for five minutes. For headache, take a half teaspoonful inwardly and rub the forehead and it will cure in five minutes. For rheumatism, take from a half to a teaspoonful every hour until you sweat, and after that as much as the system will allow until a cure is effected. For cramp, colic, &c., take from a half to a teaspoonful until relief is found.

Prepared and sold Wholesale and Retail by

**DR. RICHARDS,**

No. 72 Washington Street, between Ninth and Tenth, Reading, Pa.

#### CERTIFICATES.

DR. RICHARDS—I had the neuralgia in my head for nine days and was laid up and suffered a great deal of pain. I am sound cured by the use of your oil, I consider it almost invaluable.  
*CATHERINE EVERHARD, Reading, Pa.*

DR. RICHARDS—I had rheumatism about three months; I was stiff in all my joints; I am as well as ever I was and can work as well as ever by the use of your oil.  
*SARAH HOTMAN, Reading, Pa.*

DR. RICHARDS—I had been laying with rheumatism three or four weeks, doctored with four other doctors; called on Dr. Richards and found relief right off, and was cured in eight days by the use of your oil. I could not allow any person to touch me.  
*CATHARINE HARTMAN, Reading, Pa.*

WITNESS—John Semen, John A. Hotman.  
DR. RICHARDS—I had been laying all drawn up with the rheumatism—doctored with others but found no relief; called on Dr. Richards and got some of his oil, and found relief in fifteen minutes walked down stairs in twelve hours and in three weeks could go to work at Blacksmithing at the Reading depot.  
*CHARLES C. SMITH, Reading, Pa.*

DR. RICHARDS—I had the dropsy for three years I had dropsy and rheumatism together. My leg, at the time I got your oil, was swollen as thick as my hat; tried all other remedies and found no relief; other doctors told me I could not be cured I used four bottles of your oil and was sound cured in three weeks. Age 68 years; I would take my oath any day that your medicine cured me.  
*HENRY GENSIMER, Reading, Pa.*

DR. RICHARDS—I had the inflammatory rheumatism in my right arm so that I could not use it; I had it in a sling; I got two bottles of your oil, and it cured my arm so sound that I could go to work in three days. Hatter by trade.  
*JACOB ROLAND, Reading, Pa.*

DR. RICHARDS—This is to certify that I have been afflicted with rheumatism; I was so bad that I could not sit up in bed with it; I was swelled at my knees, wrists, arms, legs and feet, was obliged to be fed; found relief right away, and went down stairs in four days by the use of your Indian Vegetable Oil.  
*HENRY DETER, Reading, Pa.*

Price per Bottle.—25 Cents for 1 ounce viol; 50 Cents for 2 ounce viol.

*Owen's Steam Press, Reading.*

*Patent Medicine Broadside published in Reading, Pennsylvania, 19th Century.*

*Don Yoder Collection.*

the auctions—the inspectors would come along and close all the other places up, but not me.

X: Teas are good, huckleberry tea; carrot tops—make a tea out of them. Mineral oil is good for pregnant ladies—makes the babies come right out, without any trouble.

A: Does any hexing go on today in the area?

X: Oh, yes. There's much hexing in Shamokin, Kulpmont, Marion Heights, and Mt. Carmel.

X: Babies with skull diseases—babies crying in the night for no discernable reason. And I do cure them.

X: I break hexes.

Mention must be made of the fact that Mr. X is very, very serious about his work, and his faith in the "man above." There seemed to be no attempt at evasiveness by Mr. X and his manner conveyed to the author that Mr. X indeed did believe that he was doing good. In other words, the author was given the impression that Mr. X was in no way a "quack" and that he was truly sure of himself, his cures and his ability to heal the sick and afflicted.

One interesting fact of the interview was that Mr. X seemed to stress the fact that many of his cures deal with psychological problems. This seems interesting in light of the fact that most early powwowing dealt with physical problems and situations. Perhaps this represents a new shift in the part of pow-wow doctoring.

In line with the prior discussion and to partially answer the question, does powwowing still exist today, it may be said that Mr. X is not alone in the area in his practice of powwowing. According to some sources, there are a few other pow-wow doctors in the area, including one in a town in Union County who is said to effect his cures by performing sexual acts with his family members in the presence of the afflicted party. (It is therefore, doubtful, whether he is really a powwower.) There are also two doctors of whom I have heard in the Carlisle area. Whether these people have as large a practice as Mr. X is not known.

Also, to find out if powwowing is still a viable paramedical force in Central-Eastern Pennsylvania, all one has to do is talk to certain people in the Shamokin-Mt. Carmel-Elysburg area. According to several of these people encountered during the course of this author's research, powwowing does exist, with many people now using the services of a powwow doctor. (One of my informants told me she has used the services of a powwow doctor for over twenty years.)

There are only a few explanations that this author could give for this increased use of powwow doctors over the past several years. First, with the over-burdened medical doctors of today, many people may be losing faith by having to wait months for an appointment to see their own physician. As one person aptly put it, one has to get sick by appointment these days. Secondly, in the past several years in all parts of America, there has been an increase in the study and practice of the occult sciences, by various levels and groups of the population. With this virtual rebirth of occultism, perhaps, the powwow doctor has come back into vogue. This naturally is only speculation.

Even though there seems to be another increase in the use of powwow doctors in this day and age of technology, it is open to question whether these doctors will ever approach having the size practice as the over-burdened medical doctor. In other words, though, as long as there are those who believe, there will be powwowing



# American Emigrants from the Territories of the Bishopric of Speyer

By WERNER HACKER

Translated and Edited by DON YODER

[The basis of this article is the American emigration section (pp. 121-140) in Werner Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus dem früheren Hochstift Speyer nach Südosteuropa und Uebersee im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Kaiserslautern, 1969), in the series *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*, No. 28. The book provides valuable documentation on and analysis of the emigration from one relatively small government in the Rhineland—the territories which were formerly under the secular jurisdiction of the Bishop of Speyer (*Hochstift Speyer*). The diocese of Speyer, which involved ecclesiastical jurisdiction over churches and parishes, was not identical to this secular wing of the bishop's authority. The territories of the *Hochstift* embraced 119 separate localities (cities, villages, hamlets, and single estates) which were immediately under the bishop in his secular administration. These localities were scattered on the left and right banks of the Rhine in the present-day states of Baden, the Palatinate, and Alsace.

The emigration from this territory—which was not a continuous, united geographical area but was made up of enclaves scattered through other jurisdictions—was thus subject to the same economic and social motives for emigration as the rest of the Rhineland in the 18th Century. The poverty years, the lack of land for expansion, and the devastation and disruption caused by the wars all contributed to the appeal of emigration to Southeastern Europe as well as the "New Land" that beckoned across the Atlantic. The book includes details on some 1600 families or single persons who left for the German settlements of Hungary and other areas of Southeastern Europe (pp. 35-120), and on about 400 families and single emigrants who went "overseas," which in the 18th Century meant America. Of these the majority left in 1763-1764 for the French settlement of Cayenne (French Guiana), called sometimes in the records, the "island" of Cayenne. The North American destinations involved Pennsylvania, New England, Canada, and Mississippi (Louisiana).

The documents on which Werner Hacker based his emigrant book are found in the Karlsruhe State Archives (*Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe*), covering the Speyer territories on the right bank of the Rhine which were ceded to Baden in 1803. Not included are those Speyer territories on the left side of the river, the documents

for which are located in the Speyer State Archives, nor for the Alsatian villages formerly under Speyer, the records for which are deposited in French archives.

The list is valuable for the historian and sociologist as well as the genealogist, for it gives details about occupation, property, and family, personal reasons for emigration, the procedure of emigration, etc. Particularly useful are the introductory sections (pp. 9-33) which provide the reader with a clear and detailed account of what vassalage (*Leibeigenschaft*) meant in the 18th Century, a relationship to the state very different from the current connotation of citizenship, and how one was released through it by manumission. The introduction includes also details on the system used in taxing emigrant property, and descriptions of the fate of those manumitted emigrants who changed their minds and decided to stay, not all of whom were graciously readmitted.

We are indebted to Werner Hacker, to Dr. Fritz Braun, Director emeritus, and Dr. Karl Scherer, Director, Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, West Germany, for the privilege of republishing for our readers this important list of emigrants to North America.—EDITOR.]

1. *Jacob Böhler*, of Freimersheim, with wife and 5 children, property of 65 florins, manumitted, to New England, 1766.

2. *Josef Brunner*, of Klein-Schifferstadt, Reformed, with wife and 3 children (*Maria Catharina* 19, *Johannes* 18, and *Heinrich Elias* 6), property of 422 florins, manumitted April 26, 1729. Arrived at Philadelphia, September 11, 1729, on the Ship *Allen* with *Christian Götz(endanner)* (q.v.) and *Johann Waydmann* (q.v.). All three took the oath of allegiance on September 15, 1729 (*Strassburger-Hinke, Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, List 10A,B,C). In the ship lists the name is spelled "Bruner" and "Prunder". The wife, *Catharina Elisabeth*, is listed among the women, the son "*John Henderick*" among the boys under 15 years of age, and the son *Johannes* is listed with the men, with the notation "sick". Missing is the daughter's name, *Maria Catharina*. According to the records, the wife's maiden name was *Thomas*.

3. *Appollonia Dreher*, wife of *Martin Dreher*, of Balzfeld, applied for emigration to America with her four daughters and was manumitted, March 1764. Her



husband had wilfully deserted her during the war, is living in Saxony and is said to be Lutheran. An *Andreas Dreher* from Balzfeld, with wife *Maria Anna* and 4 children (*Appolonia, Maria Eva, Catharina,* and *Johann Peter*) appears in the same list as destined for Cayenne. Could he be identical with the *Andreas Dreher* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Hamilton* in 1767 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 265 C)?

4. *Michael Franckh*, of Rohrbach (Sinsheim). Received manumission to emigrate to Mississippi, 1723, but wants to stay. Is ordered to purchase his citizenship anew, or leave, "since the episcopal villages (i.e., of the Bishopric of Speyer) are not to be considered a dove-cote" [*da man die Stiftsflucken als vor keinen Taubenschlag gehalten haben will*].

5. *Christian Götz (Götzendanner)*, of Schifferstadt, Reformed, property of 65 florins, was manumitted to emigrate to Pennsylvania, April 26, 1729, with wife and son (aged 6) and daughter (aged 5). It appears that this emigrant was *Christian Götzendanner*, from the Swiss family of *Giezendanner* which had emigrated into the Palatinate. The name is spelled in the ship lists *Kitsintander, Kitsenlander,* and *Kilsenlander* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 10A,B,C). He arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Allen*, September 11, 1729, and took the oath of allegiance on September 15th with his fellow countrymen *Josef Brunner* (q.v.) and *Johann Waydmann* (q.v.). Brunner and Götz(endanner) had been

manumitted on the same day and it is known from the archives that *Christian Götzendanner* of Klein-Schifferstadt had married *Anna Barbara Brunner*, daughter of *Josef Brunner*.

6. *Hans Georg Gobel*, of "Hofheim in the Austrian territories" [*Hofheim im Oesterreichischen*], citizen, vassal of the bishop of Speyer, by bad luck overloaded with debts (wife and children, free of vassalage), had property of 160 florins, was manumitted to go to his relatives in Pennsylvania [*zu Verwandten in Pennsylvanien*], April 24, 1733. Arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Hope*, August 28, 1733. In the ship list the name is spelled "Gobel," "Gabel," and "Gobl" (Strassburger-Hinke, List 31A). The father's age is given as 40, the wife *Barbara* (38), and five children are listed (*Antoni* 12, *Anna Maria* 10, *Magdalena* 8, *Jerg Adam* (5), and *Hans Jerg* (3 1/2)).

A letter to the Editor from Dr. Fritz Braun, Director, Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, dated February 24, 1970, furnishes additional data on this family. The town of origin is now Hoffenheim near Sinsheim in Baden. From the church registers of Hoffenheim it appears that there were eleven children in all: (1) *Antonius*, born August 24, 1717; (2) *Carl Antony*, born October 21, 1718, died August 26, 1720; (3) *Maria Elisabetha*, born September 3, 1720, died October 2, 1720; (4) *Anna Maria*, born August 14, 1721; (5) *Georg Balthasar*, born March 3, 1723, died August 23, 1724;

*Speyer on the Rhine, from Merian's Topographia Germaniae (1672).*





(6) *Maria Magdalena*, born January 1, 1725; (7) *Anna Margaretha*, born March 23, 1726, died February 28, 1728; (8) *Georg Adam*, born April 13, 1727; (9) *Hans Georg*, born September 12, 1728; (10) *Anna Catharina*, born February 28, 1730, died February 24, 1733; and (11) *Maria Dorothea*, born April 13, 1732.

7. *Johann Peter Hauck*, of Rot, with wife *Barbara* and 5 children (*Georg Peter*, *Wilhelm*, *Caspar Anton*, *Maria Susanna*, and *Nicolaus*), to America 1764. Could this have been the *Johan Petter Hauck* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Chance*, November 1, 1763 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 239 C)? On the same ship, listed separately, was *Johann Valatin Hauck*.

8. *Gertrud Kammer*, of Kronau, single, went "to the New Land" [*ins neue Land*], 1763. Her property amounted to 27 florins 35 kreuzer. The accounts were settled in 1774.

9. *Andreas Kolb*, of Dielheim, with his family "to the new island" [*in die neue Insul*], 1763. The record, however, gives "America" rather than Cayenne as goal of emigration. One *Johann Andreas Kolb* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Richmond* and signed the oath of allegiance, October 20, 1764 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 247).

10. *Johann* and *Julius Meyer*, brothers, of Oberhausen, property 90 florins, manumitted March 21, 1764, to emigrate, presumably to America.

11. *Peter Meickhart*, of Tiefenbach, with his family,

manumitted to emigrate to Mississippi, about 1724. Was readmitted.

12. *Johann Caspar Michenfelder*, of Zeutern, married 5 years ago in Lancaster [Pennsylvania]. His property amounted to 2156 florins; received manumission. Since the document is dated 1773, the marriage must have taken place in 1768.

13. *Johann Milch*, of Wiesenthal, 28 years old, property of 460 florins, wants to settle in Philadelphia, 1808. One *Johann Millich* had arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Little Cherub* on October 18, 1805 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 488).

14. *Daniel Müller*, of Freimersheim, resident and citizen, Lutheran, with wife and 6 children, property of 40 florins, paid 2 florins manumission tax to go "to the New Land" [*ins Neue Land*], April 1, 1751. One *Daniel Miller* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Elizabeth*, taking the oath of allegiance September 5, 1751 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 162 C).

15. *Catharina Schäfer*, nee *Maurer*, of Zeutern, her husband from Odenheim, 4 children, property of 32 florins 56 kreuzer, manumitted 1764 to go "elsewhere" [*anderwärts*]. America was intended.

16. *Jacob Schweickard*, of Freimersheim, Catholic, property of 26 florins, paid 3 florins manumission tax, March 8, 1741. "To the New Land, which according to him is Pennsylvania" [*ins neue Land, welches seiner Meinung nach Pennsylvanien sein sollte*].

17. *Michael Thomas*, of Klein-Schifferstadt, with wife and 7 children, property of 555 florins and 23 kreuzer, manumitted to go to Pennsylvania, July 1, 1729. Arrived on the Ship *Thistle of Glasgow*, taking the oath of allegiance August 29, 1730 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 11A,B). In list A the emigrant is listed as "sick".

18. *Johann Ulm*, of Kronau, citizen and baker, with wife and 5 children, property of 224 florins, manumitted in the second quarter of 1737, to go "to relatives in Mississippi" [*zu Verwandten nach Mississippi*].

19. *Martin Ulm*, *Margarete Ulm*, and *Catharina Ulm*, of Kronau, brother and sisters (guardian: *Valentin Knöller*), manumitted to go to Pennsylvania, March 23, 1752.

20. *Conrad Waldhuber*, of Zeutern, with wife and 5 children (*Juliana* 15, *Johann* 12, *Maria Eva* 8, *Jacob* 6, and *Michael* 1 1/2), manumitted to emigrate to Canada, 1763.

21. *Johann Waydmann*, of Marientraut, with wife and 3 children (daughter 8, little daughter, and baby son), 51 florins property, manumitted to go to America, July 1, 1729. Appears in the same ship list (Strassburger-Hinke, List 10A,B,C) as *Josef Brunner* (q.v.) and *Christian Götz(endanner)* (q.v.). All three took the oath of allegiance on September 15, 1729.

22. *Michael Weber*, of Freimersheim, with wife and 3 children, property of 36 florins, to New England, 1766.





# Emigrants to America from the Duchy of Zweibrücken

By FRIEDRICH KREBS

Translated and Edited by DON YODER

[The following list of 18th Century emigrants, mostly to Pennsylvania, appeared in the article, "Amerika-Auswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Gebiet des Herzogtums Zweibrücken," in *Genealogie*, II (1970), 50-53. The data was extracted from documents in the Palatine State Archives at Speyer, West Germany. Additional materials on some of these emigrants can be found in William John Hinke and John Baer Stoudt, editors, "A List of German Immigrants to the American Colonies from Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, 1728-1749," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, I (1936), 101-124; and Friedrich Krebs, "A List of German Immigrants to the American Colonies from Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, 1750-1771," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XVI (1951), 171-183.—EDITOR.]

1. On May 3, 1741, *Theobald Braucheller* (*Bräucheler*) of Schellweiler asked officially for permission to go to America with his brother-in-law *Peter Burgey*. This permission was granted by decree of the Zweibrücken Government the very next day, on May 4, 1741, at which time the Oberamt Lichtenberg received the order to prepare the manumission certificate for him upon payment of the manumission tax of 10 batzen. *Theobald Brauchler* landed at Philadelphia in 1741 on the Ship *Snow Molly* and took the oath of allegiance there on October 26, 1741 (Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, List 88 A-C).

2. From a document of *Jacob Jost*, son of *Daniel Jost* of Baumholder, dated May 2, 1739, it appears that about eleven years previously he had set out upon the journey "to Pennsylvania" [*nacher Pensylvaniam*] in company with some people, and married after his arrival there. On account of the inheritance of his wife, a native of Fussgönheim in the Palatinate, he had returned to the homeland and received 300 florins paid out by the brothers and sisters from the paternal estate, of which he then paid back 40 florins. Of the remaining 260 florins he wanted to pay the tithe (tenth penny) tax. However, the Zweibrücken Government decided on May 14, 1739, that *Jacob Jost* of Baumholder would have to pay the sixth penny (i.e., the sixth part) on the entire 300 florins. *Jacob Jost* landed at Philadelphia in August 1728 and took the oath of allegiance there on August 24, 1728 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 6A,B).

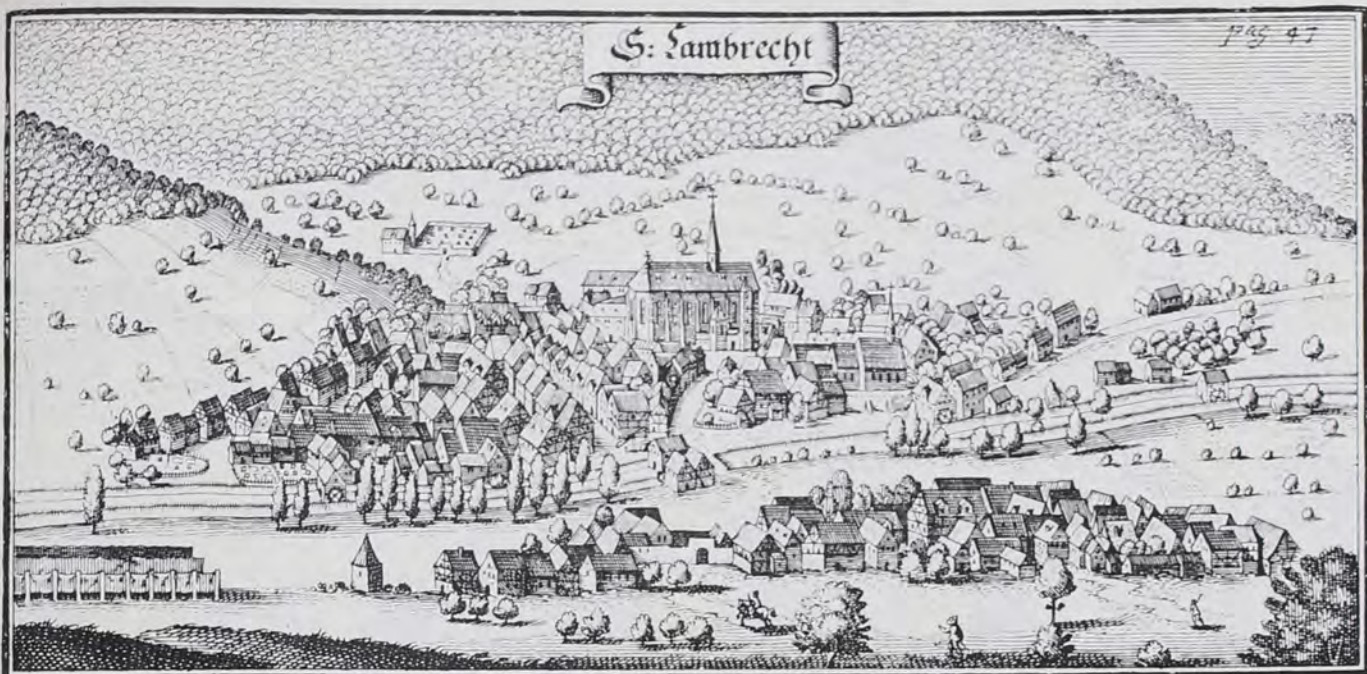
3. By decree of the Zweibrücken Government dated April 18, 1741, permission to emigrate to America was

granted to *Anna Elisabetha Kuhn*, widow of *Abraham Kuhn* of Baumholder, upon payment of 106 florins, 6 batzen, and 11 pennies. In the permission to emigrate were included her two sons *Johannes Kuhn*, 23 years old, and *Johann Wilhelm Kuhn*, 13 years old. In her petition of February 21, 1741, the widow cites the fact that she was very poor and always has been; she has incurred many debts during her married life, so that nothing remained anymore for her support. Besides, on account of her advanced age, a second marriage was not to be considered. As goal of emigration she indicated Carolina. Possibly *Johannes Kuhn*, who landed at Philadelphia on the Ship *Marlborough* in September 1741 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 82 A-C).

4. By decree of the Zweibrücken Government dated March 24, 1781, the property of *Anna Ottilia Arnold* of Leinsweiler was confiscated for the treasury. She had been married to *Daniel Berger* of Breitfurt "about 40 years ago" (according to other documents, in 1733 or 1734) and after the death of her husband in 1754 had gone away with several children, secretly and without permission, from Breitfurt to America. During her absence the property had devolved upon a cousin and was then left in part to a soldier named *Arnold*. The marriage entry *Berger-Arnold* was nowhere to be found, although in the Reformed Church Register of Walsheim on the Blies there were found the birth entries of several children of the couple: 1. *Wilhelm*, born September 1738, 2. *Johannes*, born July 29, 1736, died April 19, 1738, 3. *Johann Georg*, baptized September 3, 1741, 4. *Maria Catharina*, born March 15, 1745, and 5. *Johannes*, born October 28, 1751. *Daniel Berger*, inhabitant and linenweaver at Breitfurt, died March 5, 1754, at Breitfurt and was buried there on March 7, 1754, at the age of 43 years.

5. *Nickel Hundsicker*, son of the deceased inhabitant [*Gemeindsmann*] *Jacob Hundsicker* of Breitfurt, had emigrated in the year 1753 "to the American islands" [*in die amerikanische Insuln*] without previous manumission and permission of the government. Because of this his property was confiscated for the treasury. The *Freifrau von Schorrenburg* was notified that his property, which his brothers *Elias* and *Daniel Hundsicker* still possessed, also what he was to inherit from his mother (who was still living) was to be put into arrest, and if such had devolved upon him, it should be conveyed to the proper land office after deduction of the manumission and other taxes. (Decree of the Zweibrücken Government, September 1, 1767).





*St. Lambrecht in the Palatinate. From Merian, Topographia Germaniae (1672).*

6. An inheritance of 3 florins, 8 batzen and 8 pennies, which had fallen to *Philipp Frey*, native of Hornbach, was confiscated, since he had gone to America. It was finally awarded to the emigrant's brother, *Paul Frey* of Böckweiler, on account of a claim of 17 florins on the emigrant (Document of the Zweibrücken Government, August 26, 1778). Possibly the *Philipp Frey* who arrived at Philadelphia in 1754 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 221 A-C).

7. The property of *Christian Scherrer*, formerly the winter schoolmaster at Frohnhofen, who had "absconded" to America, was declared forfeited to the treasury (Document of the Zweibrücken Government, May 28, 1765).

8. The Zweibrücken Government decreed on October 15, 1776, that the property of *Johannes Keller* of Böckweiler, who had gone to America, was to be collected for the treasury. At the same time the petition from a married couple at Waldmohr, that it be granted to them, was rejected. Since a great number of persons bearing the name *Johannes Keller* emigrated before 1776, it is impossible to identify this particular emigrant in the ship lists.

9. By decree of the Zweibrücken Government of October 18, 1768, the present and future property of *Elisabeth Meyer*, daughter of *Hans Georg Michel* of Dellfeld, was declared forfeited to the treasury. The reason given was that she had gone away "to America" [*in Americam*] about 16 or 17 years ago with *Georg Meyer* of Kleinsteinhausen, whom she had married in the year 1751, without previous permission and payment of emigration tax. Possibly *Georg Meyer*, listed twice, arriving at Philadelphia October 4, 1752 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 187 C).

10. The property of *Hans Georg Schwartz* of Contwig, who had gone away to America [*nacher America*]

about the year 1752 without previous manumission, was exempted from the property confiscation, but on the said property 7 florins had to be paid for manumission and the tithe (tenth penny) paid on the exported property (which had amounted to 21 florins). Possibly *Hans Jerg Schwartz*, arriving at Philadelphia September 23, 1752 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 182 C).

11. The Zweibrücken Collection Office announced in a document dated July 13, 1762, that because of the confiscation of the property of *Jakob Simon* of Pfeffelbach, who had gone to America, the appropriate sealed document would be delivered in duplicate to the authorities. Since before 1762 at least three different persons bearing the name of *Jacob Simon* appear in the ship lists of the port of Philadelphia, the arrival of this particular emigrant is at the present time impossible to establish clearly.

12. The heirs of *Wilhelm Müller* of Konken petitioned in 1779 for the release of his confiscated property. *Wilhelm Müller*, a son of the inhabitant [*Gemeindsmann*] *Adam Müller* at Konken and of his wife *Anna Margaretha Jung*, had according to the documents gone to Pennsylvania about 1747-1748. His share of the property in an inheritance amounting to 219 florins, 13 batzen and 2 1/6 pence had been turned over to a guardian for administration. In 1782 the government was informed by the Collection Office that this confiscated property would be turned over at the assessed price on assurance of the taxes to the point of canceling the capital. The government thereupon, by decree of May 23, 1782, released to the brothers and sisters *Jacob, Nickel*, and *Maria Magdalena Müller* the properties belonging to their absent brother at the assessed price.

13. According to a report of the Village Mayor at Kübelberg and the opinion expressed by the Oberamt



Lautern, January 14, 1772, *Peter Molter* (subject of Dittweiler) and his wife *Margaretha Catharina Clos* of Miesau, both vassals of the Electoral Palatinate, had gone on April 15, 1766, to "the New Land or Pennsylvania" [*das neue Land oder Pennsylvanien*] without receiving permission or manumission and leaving behind debts of 100 florins. But Peter Molter possessed from his maternal reservation or inheritance, after payment of the debts [*deductis passivis*] 9 florins, 44 ½ kreuzer. His wife, however, had 194 florins and 16 kreuzer, which had fallen to her share after the death of her father. Her inheritance was in the hands of her brothers and sisters in Niedermiesau. Both partial legacies made together 204 florins and ½ kreuzer. The Oberamt Lautern inquired whether this portion of the inheritance over 204 florins was to be confiscated.

14. According to an extract from the protocols of the Oberamt Zweibrücken dated October 19, 1763, the children of the deceased *Philipp Weber* of Mauschbach by his second marriage, i.e., *Daniel Weber*, *Georg Weber*, and *Jacob Weber*, had gone to America 13 years previously. On August 10, 1763 the properties of the three children were sold at public auction following an order of May 17, 1763, and 435 florins, 12 batzen and 8 pence were realized from the sale, for which sum the administrator received 27 florins 13 pence, leaving a balance of 408 florins, 7 batzen and 11 pence. The Zweibrücken Government ruled on August 10, 1765, that the mother was to have the usufruct of these 408 florins during her lifetime, but after her death they were then to be confiscated for the treasury. Perhaps *Johann Daniel Weber*, who arrived on the Ship *Isaac* and took the oath of allegiance on September 27, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 138 C). It is questionable if the *Jacob Weber* who arrived on the Ship *Dragon*, September 26, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 137 C) was a member of this family, since he was accompanied by *Valentin* and *Johannes Weber*, probably relatives, who are not documented in the above proceedings.

15. By decree of the Zweibrücken Government dated August 4, 1777, the property of *Samuel* and *Friedrich Becker*, sons of *Aaron Becker* of Oberauerbach, which had been confiscated for the treasury because they had gone to America in 1771, was released to *Bernhard Gachot* of Oberauerbach in instalments to be paid over a period of eight years.

16. By decree of September 15, 1767, the Zweibrücken Government made disposal of the property of *Friedrich Conrad* of Baumholder, then established in Virginia. According to this his property, part of it exported, part still in the country, totaled the sum of 1809 florins, 7 batzen and 4 pence, on which the sextile tax was to be paid to the sum of 301 florins, 8 batzen and 18 pence. The balance was however to be confiscated and to be lent out to court-appointed securities. Since the date

of emigration is not stated, it is impossible to identify this emigrant with either *Friedrich Conrad* who arrived at Philadelphia in 1749, or with *Johann Friedrich Conrad* who landed in 1751.

17. According to an extract from the Amt Nohfelden protocols of 1738 and a report from Oberamt Nohfelden dated April 29, 1739, the sons of *Johannes Staudt* (*Staud*) of Wolfersweiler, *Johannes* a hunter lad [*Jägerbursche*] and *Johann Michael* a linenweaver, had gone to America "about 1737-1738 for their trade and their profession" [*um 1737/1738 auf ihrem Handwerck und ihrer Profession*]. The former had nothing, but the latter had taken along 24 reichstaler or 36 florins as traveling money.

18. The widow of *Jacob Seibert* of Eitzweiler stated through her son Bernhard, that her son, i.e., Bernhard's brother *Jacob Seibert*, a vassal of the government, who had learned the linenweaver's trade (according to a report of the Amt Nohfelden dated 1738) had gone to America taking with him 50 florins. *Johan Jacob Seibert* took the oath of allegiance in Philadelphia September 9, 1738 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 53 A-C).

19. According to an extract from the Amt Nohfelden protocols of 1739, *Martin Schreyer* had sent his youngest son *Johann Adam Schreyer* to America, without manumission and payment of emigration tax. The emigrant had learned the shoemaker trade and received 50 florins as traveling money.

20. *Jacob Staud* (*Staudt*), son of *Abraham Staud* of Gimbweiler (Kreis Birkenfeld), had gone to America in 1738 taking along 50 florins as traveling money. The bailiff Hautt received the order that on return of the emigrant manumission and the tithe (tenth penny) were to be paid. Nevertheless the father wanted likewise to go to America.

21. *Matthes Gisch*, stepson of *Andreas Kniebes* of Ausweiler, had likewise gone away (to America) in 1733 and had received from his stepfather 40 florins for the journey. *Mattes Gisch* took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia, September 18, 1733 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 32 A-C).

22. Likewise *Christian Lauer* of Hirstein, son of *Peter Lauer*, a vassal of the Kellenbach government, a blacksmith by trade, had emigrated to America in 1733, in order to perfect himself in his trade, and he took along 4 reichstaler as traveling money. *Christian Lauer* took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia, September 18, 1733 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 32 A-C).

From all these cases it follows that not only the permitted but also the clandestine emigration from the Duchy of Zweibrücken must have been unusually large. This can be ascribed as much to the wanderlust of the population as to the bad economic outlook in the area. In Württemberg, which also produced a strong emigration to America in the 18th Century, conditions were similar.



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# FUNERAL CUSTOMS:

## *Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 24*

Funeral customs and lore have been a widely researched area of European folk-culture, scarcely matched by American scholarship. Each human group has a highly developed system for celebrating and hallowing this rite of passage, which as Richard Weiss the Swiss folkilfe scholar puts it, marks the transition of the individual "from the community of the living into the great community of the dead". Pennsylvania's ethnic groups have had a wide variety of funeral customs and we publish this questionnaire in order to elicit from our readers and wider audience the data they remember on the subject.

1. Announcement of Death. *How was death announced in the past, to the community, to the wider family, to friends and acquaintances?*

2. Pre-funeral Arrangements. *Describe the pre-funeral arrangements made by the family with minister and undertaker. What status did the undertaker have in earlier stages of our societies? Were there separate undertakers or was "undertaking" a sideline for other occupations?*

3. Coffin and Shroud. *Describe the earlier coffins. Do you remember the six-sided coffin of earlier times? How were the dead dressed? If shrouds were used, describe them in detail. What were the colors of the shroud?*

4. The Wake. *All societies have equivalents of the "wake"—to "sit up with the dead," to pay tribute to the deceased. They were common in rural Pennsylvania in the first part of the 20th Century, and have continued among certain urban ethnic groups to the present time. Describe the wakes as you remember them from your earlier days. Describe the atmosphere of the wake. What in your opinion was the purpose of the wake? Was it ever a social, even a courting affair for the young people as well as, in essence, a solemn occasion in honor of the dead? Were games played? Were songs sung?*

5. The Funeral Proper. *Where were funerals held in the days before the so-called funeral parlor? Describe the rites at the home, at the church, at the grave.*

*Describe the funeral sermon. What do you consider its main purposes?*

6. Pall-bearers and Bier. *In what way were the pall-bearers chosen? Were they ever given gifts in memory of the occasion? Did the church have a "bier" for carrying the coffin? If so, where did it stand in the church?*

7. Funeral Text and Funeral Hymn. *We are anxious to collect information on the favorite funeral texts and favorite funeral hymns of the Pennsylvania Germans and other ethnic groups in the state. Please write down those that you remember as favorites in your own background.*

8. The Funeral Dinner. *It was earlier the custom to hold a large funeral dinner after the burial. Describe these for us. Who prepared the food? In what order were the guests served? Do you recall criticisms of the custom from ministers and others? What in your opinion was the real purpose of such a meal?*

9. Mourning Costume. *Describe the custom of wearing special mourning costume after a funeral in one's family. How was this expressed by men and by women? What were the grades or degrees of mourning and what was the time schedule for them? Why has this custom died out in the 20th Century?*

10. Memorials of the Dead. *Describe the various objects created as memorials of the dead which were common in the last century (a) the obituary and obituary verse, (b) the memorial card—often found in old family albums, (c) the elegy or poem memorializing the deceased, (d) the framed photograph or crayon portrait, (e) the hair memorial—a Victorian favorite, (f) the sheaf of wheat framed in a shadow box, and (g) the tombstone and its inscription. How do the ways families remember their dead today differ from the customs of the 19th Century? What do you think are the reasons for the change?*

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder  
College Hall Box 36  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

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