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Earl F. Robacker

Frank Brown


Don Yoder

Amos Long Jr.

Marion Ball Wilson

See next page for additional authors

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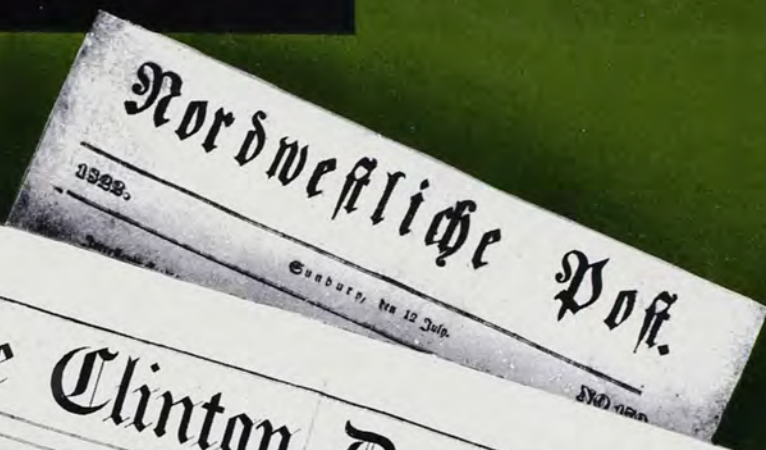
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Authors

Earl F. Robacker, Frank Brown, Don Yoder, Amos Long Jr., Marion Ball Wilson, and Fritz Braun

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

SPRING 1966



THE NEWSPAPER AND FOLKLIFE STUDIES

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**

EDITOR:

Dr. Don Yoder

DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS:

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Edna Eby Heller, *Cookery*

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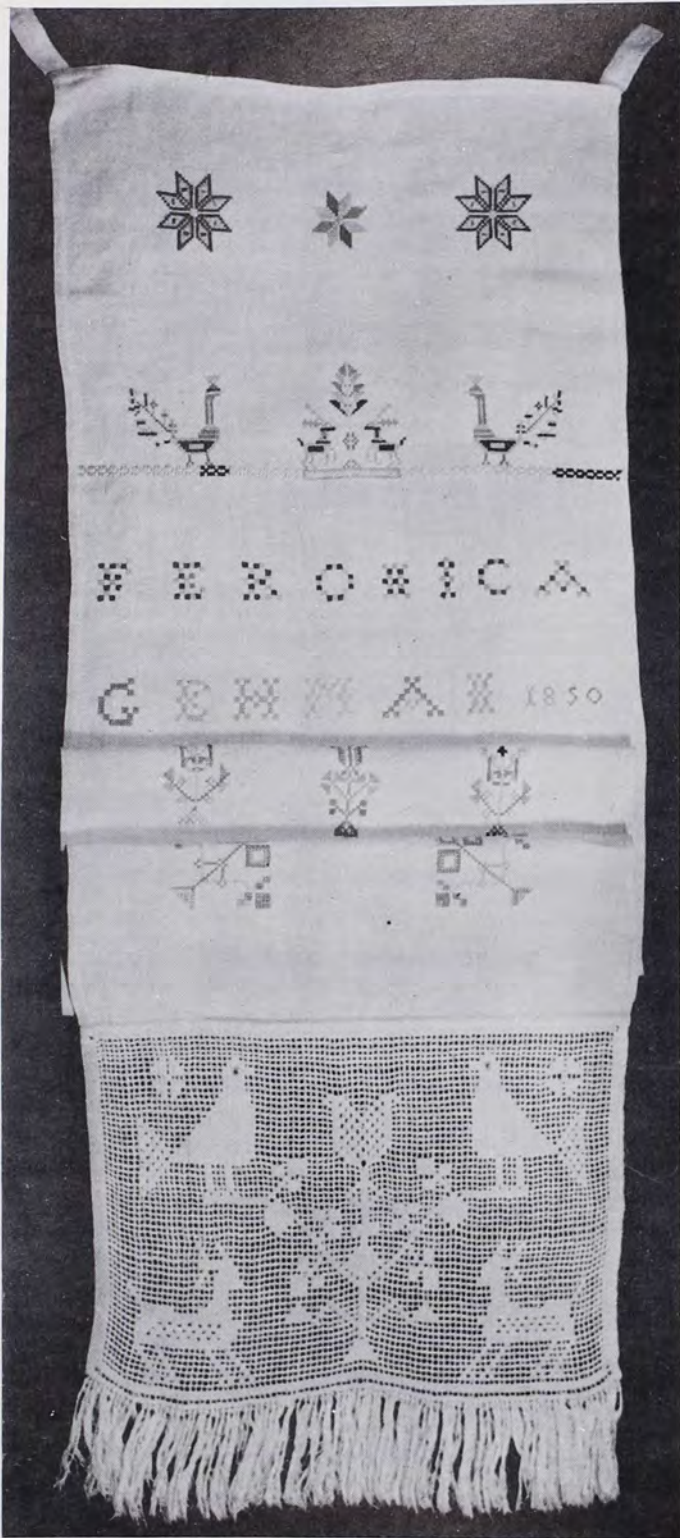
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FRITZ BRAUN
Translated and Edited by Don Yoder



Show-towel of homespun. Note that deer, peacocks, and tulips take on different characteristics according to the needlework technique employed.



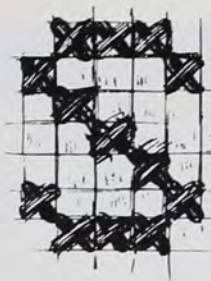
Typical Dutch Country sampler mounted in red frame with black squiggled decoration. Compare the peacock and the lettering with those in Feronica Gehman's show-towel.

All articles shown are from the Robacker Collection.

Photography by Karas of Hartsdale



"Starter" piece of red stitchery on unbleached muslin. The outlines were first indicated in pencil. This piece was done by Ada Fenner, Stroudsburg, at age 5.



Stitching for Pretty



By EARL F. ROBACKER

A person awed at the ever-mushrooming variety of fabrics used for clothing and for household needs might well revise his feeling by taking a long look backward. For those who accept fiber-glass, nylon, and acrilan as commonplace or familiar terms in today's economy, the words bolting silk, Turkish crepe, and huck-a-buck (later, "huckaback") in fabrics may be as meaningless as the designations of *point de reprise*, double basket stitch, or battlemented couching in the needlework of times gone by. Yet these fabrics are only three among dozens of "quality" materials long since forgotten.

Certainly, the increasing technical skill of this century, coupled with scientific advances and geared to a planned obsolescence which calls for something new almost before one has had time to grow accustomed to the old, must be accorded appropriate respect. At the same time, even a casual survey of the work done by women who knew little of science and probably cared less leads one to the conclusion that at least as much skill, ingenuity, and even genius were brought to bear in the use of needle and thread a hundred years ago as is the case today. It seems a pity that so much of quality should be lost, in the onward march of time; yet the loss is inevitable, not because women care less or are less skilled but because the prime ingredient—endless hours and days to devote to the job—has long since become a casualty.

Red Berlin-work bird and roses on white square. Roses resemble those on woven coverlets of a somewhat earlier period.



Fine handwork and skilled needlework are not regional; yet, as is the case with pottery or tin or iron or paper, individual regions take on individual characteristics to the point at which it is frequently possible to say of a piece of undocumented provenance, "This is a New England piece," or "This work was done in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country."

Samplers

Samplers are often presumed to be the first efforts of girls starting out on the long road to accomplished needlework. Even so, a bare glance at some of the samplers which have survived the stresses of a century and a half is all that is



Extraordinary show-towel featuring drawn work, knitted wool thread, and colored knitted yarn on homespun. The date (1800) and the name (Barbara "Bugern"—for "Bucher") are indistinct here. The deep fringe is blue and white.



Small pillow featuring an individual interpretation of the "spider wheel" stitch.



Pillow-sham with the well-liked Dutch Country peacock in brilliant red. The design is laid out so that there will be a minimum of knots on the reverse.

needed to recognize that here is the work of one who has long since passed the stage of being a beginner. Little girls—in Pennsylvania, at least, and probably in most localities—started to sew before they went to school; that is, before they were six. Four was an appropriate age at which to start, and three was not unheard of. Whatever the actual year, the discipline of learning to sit patiently was considered as important as learning to sew. Many girls achieved it; some, now matrons of mature years, maintain that they never did and never could.

The "starter piece" was often a small square of white muslin or longcloth on which a comparatively uncomplicated design had been outlined in pencil. The chore was to go over the pencil mark with red sewing-cotton in a stitch not too difficult for young fingers. Another kind of starter was a small patchwork quilt, very simple in design, just large enough to serve as a coverlet for a favorite doll. In either case, the desideratum was the ability to create stitches of even size without undue soiling or crumpling of the fabric on which they appeared.

Samplers in some cases appear to have stood in the same relation to young needlewomen that the "masterpiece" did to the apprentice cabinetmaker—a demonstration of the best efforts of one who had mastered through long practice the necessary steps to achievement. Often, samplers constituted a register of a number of kinds of stitches the sewer might presumably wish to use later, as well as the letters of the



Oblong rug of flannel and wool serge, folded once. The simple flowers are individual cut-outs, appliquéd to the main body of the rug.

alphabet (frequently only the capital letters) and the single numerals. A sampler ordinarily records the name or the initials of its maker and the date of its making. Outside of Pennsylvania, doggerel rhymes were often included—and it might be observed that skill with the needle was frequently more notable than accuracy in spelling.



Small blue and white mats of homespun as nearly perfect as homespun is likely to become. The crocheted edging may have been added at a later date.



The favorite Victorian moss rose, shown here in very competent Berlin work. Colors are tones of yellow and green.

The Show-Towel

In the Dutch Country, a variant or refinement or development—it would be difficult to choose an exact term—of the sampler is found in the show-towel. This towel, almost always of homespun, comes closer to the popular concept of the nature of a sampler than a sampler does. At its most elaborate, it is almost a museum of needlework skills, including drawn work, knitting, crocheting, letters and numerals, name and date, and a formidable array of types of stitches in white and in color. Those who are particularly conscious of Dutch Country decorative motifs are likely to find them in abundance on show-towels—stars, deer, peacocks and other birds, tulips, urns, hearts, crowns, lions, and trees being all but commonplace in this medium.

Theoretically, the show towel was a piece intended for draping over the roller towel which hung in the kitchen or on the back porch. Those which have survived, however, probably saw little if any actual service; too beautiful and too cherished to risk as actual utilitarian pieces, they were carefully packed away and exhibited only on special occasions. An early guide-line for collectors coming upon undated pieces was that those with multi-colored yarns were more recently made than those in which only red was used. As a generalization, the statement may be reasonably safe; however, the most elaborate towel known to the writer, so far as colors are concerned, is dated 1800—a very *early* date. Show towel dates occur with greatest frequency in the 1830's, '40's, and '50's.

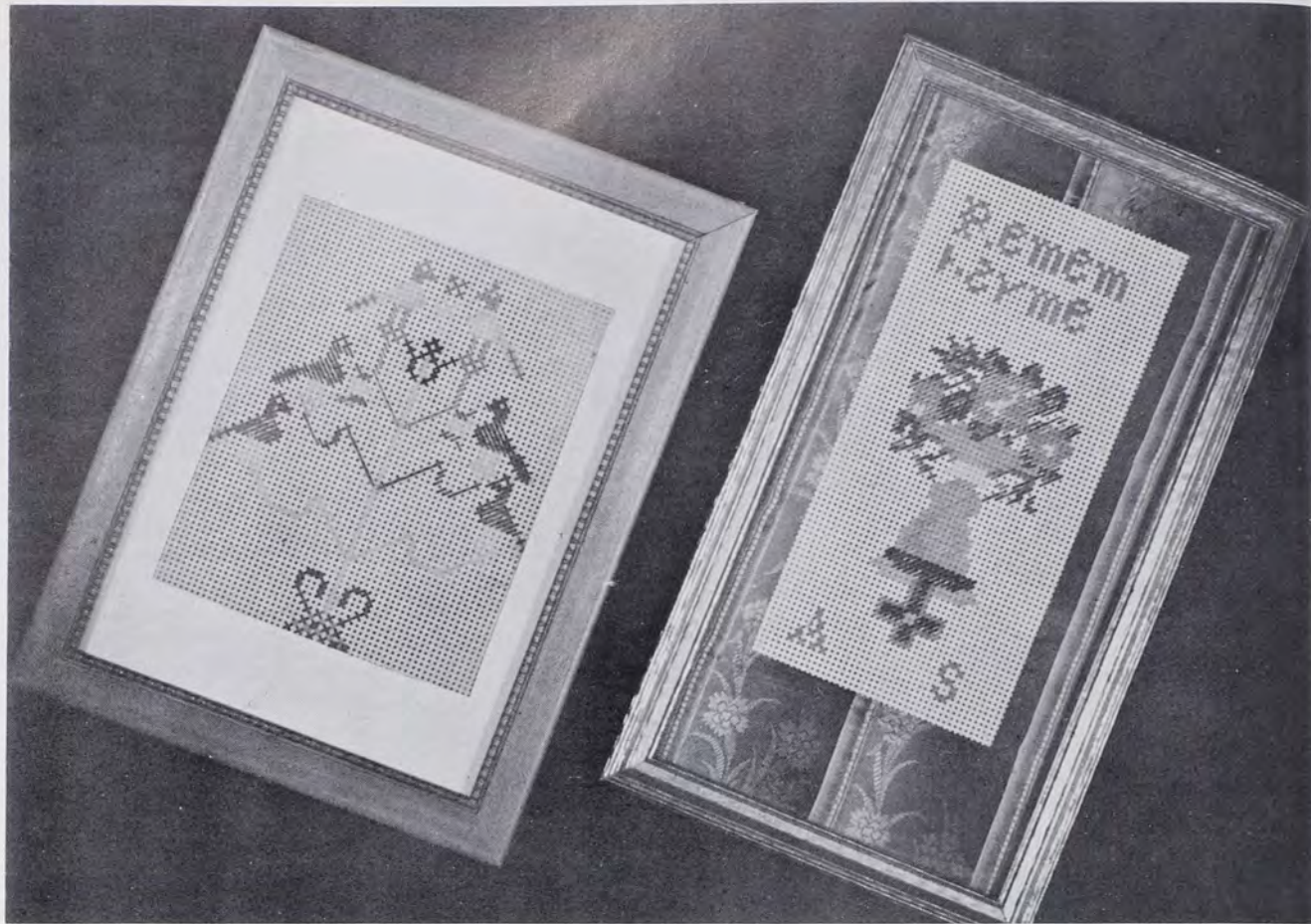
Berlin-Work

The generalization on the lateness of show towels in which colored wool or worsted is prominent may have something to do with a whole category of mid- and late Victorian needlework known as Berlin stitchery or simply Berlin work. At the risk of simplifying something which is not really simple, one might say that Berlin work is basically the use of colored wools in cross stitch or tent stitch on a square-meshed fabric. Originally this fabric was canvas, but in Victorian times Bargarren art cloth, huck-a-buck, gingham, and checked lawn or scrim took the place of the heavier material. Besides wool, silk floss, filo floss, and linen thread were used. Berlin work seems to have run its course in popularity toward the end of the 19th Century when, in addition to the square-meshed fabric mentioned, a kind of stiffened, geometrically pre-pierced buckram made its appearance. With this buckram, much of the drudgery went out of the needlework—and perhaps much of its charm as well.

Still another kind of fancywork took on something of the aspect of a sampler in that it served as a catalogue of needlework ranging from a simple stitch like the three-toe crow's foot to combinations involving French knots and the Persian cross. This was the crazy-quilt arrangement of velvet, ribbon, and brocade patches put together as a table-cover or, more frequently, a pillow-top. Many women seem to have felt that the work was a failure unless they could add a number of stitches of their own invention—or at least not known to other women who might see the piece and possibly pass judgment on it.

Doilies and Lambrequins

Apart from the impressive samplers, show towels, and fancy pillow tops, there were other household objects once much admired but now less highly regarded. In this category might appear such esoterica as a doily made expressly for placing under a water carafe, a lambrequin for a window or for a treasure shelf in the parlor, a drapey for a painter's easel, an elaborate scrap bag, a head rest for the back of a

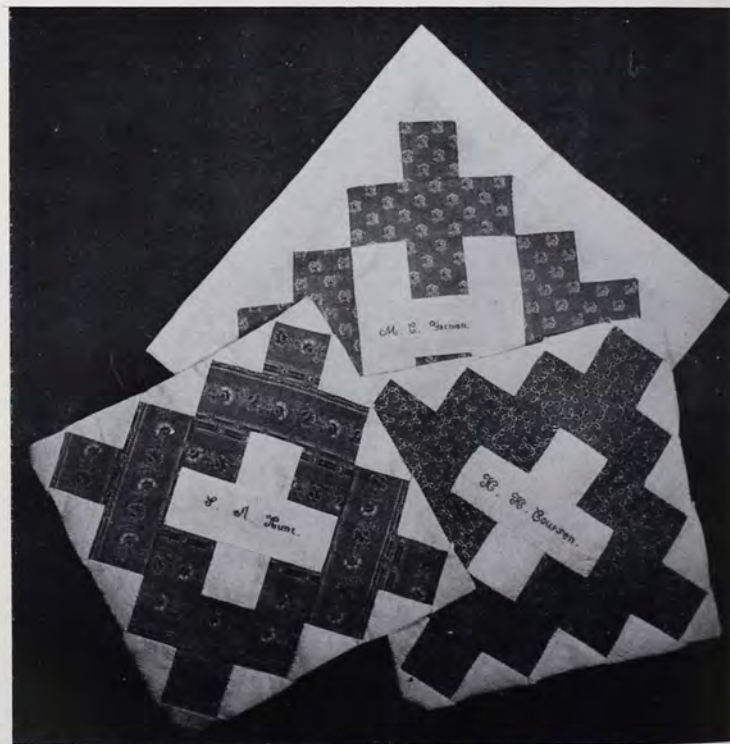


Berlin-work on pre-pierced background. This haunting "Remember Me" piece bears the following notation on the back of the frame: "Ada B. Snavely, daughter of Benjamin and Eliza Snavely, his wife, was born in Pequ[e]a Township, Lancaster County, Pa., on March 5, 1862. Died on January 9, 1867, aged 4 years, 10 months, 4 days."

rocking chair, a drawstring cover for a burned-match receptacle of glass, a shoe box cover, and the like. One may smile at the idea of a cloth tobacco pouch gaily embroidered in colored daisies—but perhaps such a pouch was no more whimsical than today's fussy cover for the electric toaster or a doll with a bouffant skirt used as a device to keep a teapot warm.

Crocheting, tatting, knitting, embroidery of various kinds, petit point, drawn work and hemstitching—all these, in a sense, are "standard" forms of fancywork; yet they are subject to cycles of popularity, and what is regarded with great favor at one time is likely to yield place to something else as soon as it loses its novelty. Perhaps knitting and petit point should be excepted. While knitting with cotton is almost a lost art, knitting with wool is a hardy perennial, and the amount of time called for in creating, for instance, a chair seat in petit point is so great that this particular kind of work constitutes a major challenge; its successful completion becomes a status symbol.

So far as crocheting is concerned, it would appear that there has never been a time, since the beginning of the practice, when women somewhere were not busily engaged in creating bed-spreads, infants' caps, table runners, edgings for mats of various kinds, and a dozen other objects either useful or purely decorative. The writer would hazard a guess that, to a much greater extent than is true of lace-making, tatting, and embroidery, crocheting is still in a developmental stage, with current emphasis on three-di-



Blocks for a friendship quilt which never reached completion. The colors are yellow and a vivid red, against white.



Small birds—perhaps pin cushions, perhaps playthings, or perhaps just “for pretty.” The two at the left are beaded.



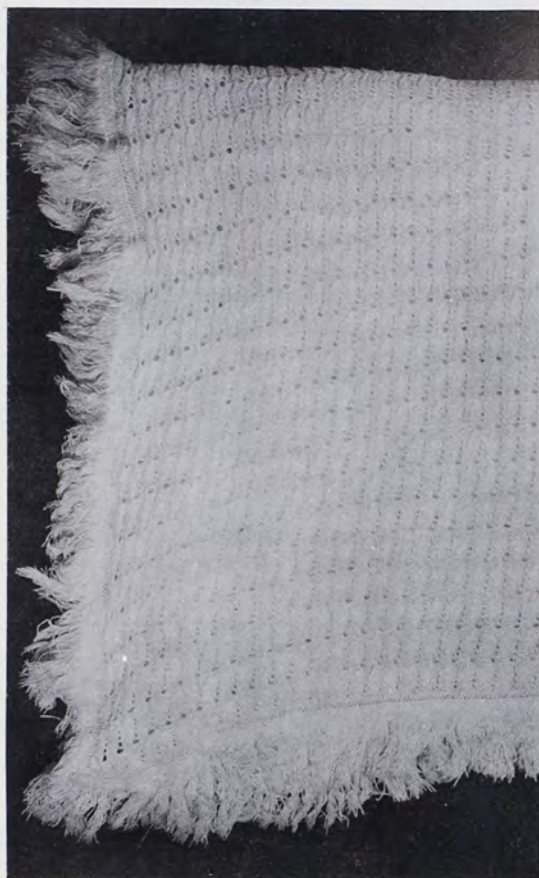
Metal sewing-bird clamp (ordinarily used with quilting frames) shown here against one of the most popular Victorian volumes on fancy stitchery.

mensional work in which raised designs, “popcorn” balls, starched ruffles, pendants and swags, fringe and tassels, and flowers and foliage in color assume prominence. It would seem that many of these creations would have been completely at home in the Victorian parlor of yesteryear, in spite of their current popularity.

Pillow-Shams

Pillow shams—hemmed white squares of muslin, linen, or percale intended to cover the pillows of a bed during the daylight hours—seem to have disappeared almost completely from the domestic scene. Almost invariably, the designs on these were executed in red in a simple chain stitch. Sometimes the material was purchased with the design already machine-stamped upon it; now and then, though, especially in Pennsylvania, one finds a pattern which appears to be original. Seemingly especially popular were a pair in which morning glories were the featured decoration. One, with the flowers closed, read “Sweet morning glories close at

Knitted white bedspread of full double-bed size. The material is not conventional yarn, but a very fine white woolen thread.



Four-panel knitted doily with one border for the assembled group.



Two table-runners and a napkin in homespun, made and marked by Mary Bell, member of a prominent early Monroe County Quaker family.



Exceptionally fine figured homespun featuring drawn work and self-fringe. (Most fringes are separately applied.) This is a yard-square table or stand cover.

The Friendship Quilt

Often less than beautiful but always interesting as examples of stitchery-for-pretty in a sentimental era are friendship quilts. One way of constructing such a quilt was to make it of blocks in a uniform design, each block contributed by a different friend or relative and each bearing the name of the donor in chain-stitch. Another way of doing it was to chain-stitch at random the names of well-wishers on an otherwise completed quilt on the occasion of an important anniversary, birthday, or other special day.

The friendship quilt was frequently a fund-raising device for a church bazaar, the idea being to sell as many "chances" as possible, at a small sum for each. Instead of a stated price, "Whatever you feel able to give" often helped to swell the revenue! Contributors' names usually constituted the sole decoration in such cases, and were stitched onto the quilt—often by one person alone, for the sake of uniformity—either at random or in a thought-out arrangement. Last of all, the quilt would be raffled off or put up at auction.

Most elaborate of the friendship quilts known to the writer is one in which the needlework is subordinate to the story the creator had to tell. The quilt is a kind of memorial in that in an all-over design the needleworker has shown the house in which the recipient lived, the trees, the river, the flower garden, names of family and friends, and representations of familiar and presumably significant objects. The artwork appears to have been done by one person only, though any number may have collaborated on the quilting. In any case, the work is a major achievement.

For further reading, we recommend the following books: Helmuth Bossert, *Folk Art of Europe*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1953.

Ann Kilborn Cole, *Antiques*. New York: David McKay, 1957.

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Addie E. Heron, *Fancy Work for Pleasure and Profit*. Chicago: Thompson and Thomas, 1905.

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Mrs. C. S. Jones and Henry T. Williams, *Ladies Fancy Work, Hints and Helps to Home Taste and Recreation*. New York: Henry T. Williams, 1875.

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—, *Touch of the Dutchland*. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1965.

John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania Folk-Art*. Allentown: Schlechter's, 1948.



Deep knitted edge on pillow-case.

night"; the other, with flowers open, "And open with the morning light."

Attractive in their simplicity are white homespun table-runners, napkins, pillow cases, sheets, and occasionally other articles, on which the ornamentation consists of the owner's initials—or, more rarely, the initials and a date—in heavy embroidery. Sometimes the embroidery is white, sometimes colored. Now and then one comes upon a set of napkins or of towels in which the pieces are numbered consecutively from 1 to 8 or 1 to 12, in embroidery.

Victorian Pin-Cushions

Gaily uninhibited are the bright pin-cushions without which no Victorian sewing-room, parlor, or spare bedroom could be considered complete. Ornamentation often went beyond mere needlework and included beads, sequins, braid, fancy cord, and tassels. Pin-cushions seem seldom to have been merely utilitarian; unless they were fanciful in shape or execution and unless they were resplendently decorated they apparently did not accomplish their mission in life. One exception would be the emery strawberry used then as now to keep needles free of rust, but emery bags were perhaps not "true" pin-cushions. In the late 1800's, when cigar-box carving by itinerants was in its heyday, pin-cushions were often mounted on little carved stands fitted with spindles for spools of thread, drawers for odds and ends, and often bits of mirror. Movable bird ornaments and strips of inlay were usual. It would be hard to say who was the more carried away in this frenzy of fancification—the whittler or the pin cushion artist.

Pin-cushions which saw actual service were highly perishable; the fancy velvets, brocades and moire ribbons soon became shabby under the stabbing and pricking of needles and pins. Outstanding in interest among the bewildering variety once to be found are those in the form of birds. Small and tightly stuffed, they depended for their charm upon their competence in design and construction, since the surface areas were too small for really elaborate treatment.

New Light on

“MOUNTAIN MARY”

By FRANK BROWN

“Mountain Mary” (*Die Berg-Maria*) was one of Pennsylvania’s most famous hermits. A native of Württemberg who emigrated in the 1760’s to Pennsylvania, she suffered the tragic loss of her husband in the Revolution and never remarried, but lived alone for the rest of her life in the Oley Hills in Pike Township, Berks County. Her kindness and benevolence attracted wide attention during her lifetime, and legends have been woven about her figure since her death in 1819.

The present account has not been republished since its publication in the *Reading Eagle* in the 1890’s. While the first pages recount the well-known story of Mary Young’s tragic life—based obviously on printed sources—toward the end of the sketch the writer gives new and unique materials gathered from oral tradition from persons living in the Mountain Mary Country in the 1890’s. The most unusual part of this material is the statement that Mary was a “great believer in witchcraft”—and from the description evidently a “powwow” healer, which will be difficult for those who have considered her a home-grown Protestant saint, to accept.

In addition to the early sketch of Mountain Mary in Rupp’s *History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon* (Lancaster, 1844), the little novella *Die Berg-Maria* (Philadelphia, 1882), and the short sketch in Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1886), page 1021, see the account by Benjamin M. Hollinshead, “Mountain Mary. (*Die Berg Maria*).”, in *The Pennsylvania-German*, III (1902), 133–142, which describes a contemporary visit to Mountain Mary in her hill-country hermitage. This account was recently reprinted in Dr. Preston A. Barba’s *’S Pennsylvaniaisch Deitsch Eck, The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania, November 20 and 27, 1965. From the same period comes the poem, “Mary Young,” in *The Phantom Barge, and Other Poems* (Philadelphia, 1822), reprinted in the *Eck*, November 27, 1965. Dialect tributes to Mountain Mary, also accounts of the pilgrimages to her grave, held under the leadership of Ralph W. Berky, 1945-1962, are found in the *Eck* of various dates. Finally, Daniel Miller, “Maria Young, the Mountain-Recluse of Oley,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County*, III (1923), 209-220, provides the basic historical and legendary materials available.—EDITOR.

Some time ago the EAGLE published an article bearing on the life of “Die Berg Maria,” a female hermit of Pike township. Since then many new facts have been gleaned by a personal visit to that section of the county, and they are herewith presented for the first time.

About 1762 there lived in the small town of Feuerbach, within a few miles of Stuttgart, the capital of Wurtemberg, Jacob and Maria Yung and their 3 children, Jacob, John and Maria.

The region in which they lived was a part of the “Schwabenland,” from which place came quite a number of the early settlers of Berks.

They were an honest, hard-working and religious people and lived on a farm of between 50 and 75 acres.

Several successive bad harvests and the exorbitant taxes so discouraged the father that he determined to sell his little farm and start for America with the family.

He and his wife and children worked early and late, year in and year out, and grew poorer each year. A number of his former neighbors had written him that they were prospering in the new country and that everybody who cared to work, could soon be comfortably situated here.

A purchaser was finally found for his home, but the price was so small that it took about one-half of it to take the family across the sea.



Wollenweber's Book on "Mountain Mary" (1882).



"Mountain Mary," from Wollenweber's book of 1882. The artist, a European emigrant, pictures her in a German "Einsiedler" (hermit) setting.

Outside of the money realized through the sale of the farm, they had nothing.

One pleasant summer morning in 1768, they left their old home and friends, and, after a 2-weeks' journey on the backs of donkeys, they reached Amsterdam, Holland, from whence ships left for America about once every 2 weeks. When they reached this city they found hundreds of others waiting for an opportunity to engage their passage to America.

All out-going ships were overcrowded and frequently people had to wait several months before they could get a chance to get aboard a vessel.

The Yung family were among the latter class, being compelled to wait at Amsterdam 7 weeks. The vessel on which they finally sailed was so crowded and the food and sanitary condition so poor that the plague broke out on board. Several weeks after leaving port more than a dozen people died of the disease. All the dead were unceremoniously cast into the sea irrespective of wealth or position.

There was a regular reign of terror on board, and, in the midst of it all, Mr. and Mrs. Yung were stricken. They died in a few days, and, like the rest, their bodies were immediately thrown into the ocean.

Several days after the death of the parents the 2 sons died. Long before the ship's voyage was ended it was no longer crowded, nearly two-thirds of the original number dying en route.

Maria, the only member of the Yung family who escaped, was almost frantic with grief and for a long while could not be induced to leave her cabin or take food. She was now alone in the world and had nobody to go to for advice or aid. About the new world she knew nothing and much less did she know how to make a living on landing.

But one day shortly after the death of her family a neatly, but cheaply dressed young man, who had rendered her father services in his affliction, approached the lonely girl and asked her whether he could do anything to make her burden lighter. She thanked him and the two were soon good friends.

This young man's name was Theodore Benz. He was born in the city of Lahr in Baden. His father was a farmer and had a great many children. Like Maria's father he found his work very unprofitable and could hardly provide food and clothing for all his children.

Theodore, who was the second oldest of the family, saw that he was of little use to his father and that he could but poorly afford to support him, so he asked their consent to go to America. It was granted, although they were loth to have their son leave on such a long journey.

They gave him a great deal of good advice, but couldn't give him any money. After a 2 weeks' walk he arrived in Amsterdam with his bundle of clothing and a few eatables on his back. He soon met an American agent and signed an agreement to do farm or any other kind of work upon his arrival across the sea for his passage.

In this manner hundreds of people of both sexes and even children were brought to this country. Those between 10 and 15 years of age had to sign an agreement to serve on the farm or elsewhere until the age of 21. Adults had to serve from 3 to 10 years, according to their strength. The stronger the person the shorter the term.

On the arrival of a vessel in Philadelphia, there were always plenty of buyers on hand to engage the services of these poor people, who often fared worse than slaves. The shipmaster sold them at the highest price obtainable, having no regard, whatever, to the treatment the subjects might receive.

Many parents saw their children sold and sent to far distant points, like cattle, knowing that they would probably never see them again.

This was a business that brought ship owners a great deal of money. This dealing in human beings was kept up until 1818, when Congress abolished it.

After a voyage of 92 days the ship on which Maria and her friend came, landed in Philadelphia. Just before reaching port, young Benz approached Maria with tears in his eyes and told her that now they would have to part for some time, explaining to her that he was to be sold and would have to serve 5½ years to pay for his fare. She was greatly touched by this, and asked whether the ship master's hold on him would not be relinquished if someone would pay the amount of the fare for him.

He said he felt sure he could escape if the captain could be given his price of his fare, but that he knew of no one who might do such a generous act. He had hardly said these words before Maria left for her cabin, from whence she brought the required sum of money and placed it in Benz's hand. She had a few hundred dollars left of the money her

father received for their home.

The ship's anchor was hardly cast, at the foot of High St., now Market, Philadelphia, before the lighthearted young man entered the room of the ship's captain to pay his fare, and then join Maria. But his joy was short lived, for the captain became angry when the price of the fare was offered, and refused to accept it. He called the young man a cheat, and accused him of pretending to be without money in Amsterdam, and coming on the ship as a pauper, for the purpose of finding a method of stealing his way.

He wouldn't listen to any explanations, but informed young Benz that if he wouldn't pay him a handsome extra sum he would cause him trouble.

Little did this honest and inexperienced young man dream that the captain was enraged only because he had expected to get a big price from him on account of his youth and working abilities. Crestfallen and pale, Benz returned to the deck with his money, to tell Maria the sad news.

He found the young woman talking to a clerical looking man, but as soon as she espied him she saw that something had happened and came walking towards him to ask what had happened. With a trembling voice he informed her that the captain refused to let him go unless he paid a large sum beside the regular fare.

She was on the point of giving him the extra money needed to secure his liberty, when the man with whom she had been talking, who had overheard the conversation, told them not to pay anything extra, but asked them to go with him into the captain's apartments.

They followed the friendly stranger, who asked the captain in a low but firm tone whether or not he would accept the price of a regular fare. The captain, who at once recognized the speaker as Rev. Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, whose fame as the pioneer of the Lutheran church in America, was even then known far beyond the borders of Philadelphia, became red with anger, but said not a word as he reached out his hand to receive the offered sum.

The agreement the captain had with Benz was demanded and the captain promptly surrendered the same.

The 2 young people were now almost wild with delight. Rev. Muhlenberg asked a friend to take them to the boarding house of a Mrs. Kreuderin on Sassafras St., now Race, after which he continued his missionary work among the other arrivals of the ship.

Mrs. Kreuderin's place was known as the Golden Swan, and possessed first-class accommodations for strangers. Before sending Theodore and Maria away, Rev. Muhlenberg gave them encouragement and good advice that both never forgot. This he did to all strangers who reached the city from the old country and he did even more. In many instances he fed the hungry and nursed the sick.

Mrs. Kreuderin, who had been in the hotel business only since her husband had died of yellow fever, which in those days frequently prevailed in Philadelphia, received the 2 young strangers with the greatest kindness.

After Rev. Muhlenberg, Theodore and Maria had told her the eventful history of their lives Mrs. Kreuderin became still more attached to the young people and offered to adopt them as her own children. Maria commenced work about the kitchen and Theodore was soon busily employed outside. But Theodore, who was born and raised on a farm was anxious to do farm work and Mrs. Kreuderin, seeing that he was out of his element at the hotel, promised to get him a place with a nice farmer.



Pastor Muhlenberg (pictured anachronistically in 19th Century long trousers) meets Maria Jung on the emigrant boat.

Shortly after, Frederick Leinbach, a well-to-do and kind-hearted Oley township farmer, who visited Philadelphia regularly to dispose of the products raised on his farm and those of his neighbors, and who regularly stopped at the Golden Swan, hired Theodore. Many tears were shed by the 2 young people when they knew that they would be separated, but Theodore promised to return to Philadelphia at least once a year, and Mr. Leinbach said he could go even oftener. The wages for the first year were 15 pounds sterling, besides food and clothing.

Early on the morning following, Mr. Leinbach and Theodore started on their long journey. They were already 10 miles away from the Golden Swan by the time the sun rose. They had a distance of 63 miles to travel. The roads were so rough that at a great many places it was impossible to drive faster than a walk.

It generally took several days to make the trip and great care had to be taken or harm would befall the travellers at the hands of the Indians, who were quite numerous at this time.

They arrived safely in Oley, and Theodore liked the place from the start. He was soon found to be a faithful worker, and was liked not only by Mr. Leinbach's family but by all the people living on the surrounding farms.

The first opportunity he had, he sent a long letter for Maria, to Philadelphia, with a farmer going there. Mails were unknown in Berks County in those days.

Maria always answered his letters as promptly as possible. Several weeks after the departure of Theodore, Maria entered the family of Rev. Muhlenberg, who lived on Muhlenberg St., now Arch, to take charge of the household work.

As time advanced both Theodore and Maria came to be liked more and more, not only by their employers, but by all who knew them. Although they exchanged letters frequently they were very anxious to see each other long before they were separated a year. They thought of each other continually.

In the fall of Theodore's first year, about 6 months after his arrival on the Leinbach farm, he made his first visit to the city. He went on horseback, riding one of Mr. Leinbach's best animals. He took along 3 of the best hams for Rev. Muhlenberg, a big roll of butter for Mrs. Kreuderin and a fine piece of linen for Maria. These presents Mrs. Leinbach had provided.

He encountered more than one pack of hungry wolves by the way and on one occasion barely escaped with his life. The first day he rode as far as the present site of Norristown, where he remained over night at an inn that was well known to Mr. Leinbach. The following afternoon he reached Philadelphia. He rode straight to the Golden Swan, where Mrs. Kreuderin received him like a long lost son.

He spent the greater portion of his time in Rev. Muhlenberg's family with Maria, who was overjoyed to see him again.

It was during this visit that they decided to stay each at their place for another year, at the end of which they would get married. Before making this decision they, however, first sought the advice of Rev. Muhlenberg, and Mrs. Kreuderin, who, of course, thought their plan a very good one.

Mr. Leinbach had 2 sons, George and Frederick, and 2 daughters, Anna and Eliza, but all these were too young to do very hard labor and especially were they unable to take the lead in any work.

But Theodore was able to lead in all departments, and since Mr. Leinbach himself was getting old, he made Theodore the manager of his farm even before the close of his first year's service, and under his management it yielded a much larger profit than formerly. His visits to Philadelphia became more and more frequent, but Mr. Leinbach was always glad to have him go, and one day on his return from such a visit presented to him 17½ acres of good land, situated in what is now known as Pike Township.

Mr. Leinbach was the owner of large tracts and he even owned considerable property in Reading. When he gave the land to Theodore he told him that it was in return for his good services and honest dealing that he made him the gift.

He advised him to get married and occupy the tract, adding that he was very anxious to have such a young couple for neighbors. This 175-acre tract adjoined the land of the Keims and the Montz mill tract, which mill is standing to this day.

Several weeks after receiving this substantial gift Theodore returned to Philadelphia to bring his prospective bride the good news. They decided to be married very soon and move at once on their tract in Pike, where they expected to live a life of great happiness. Theodore was to commence the erection of a house and barn immediately upon his return home and in their minds they both pictured a beautiful country home of their own. Maria had given Theodore instructions as to the construction of the house and the lay of the garden.

Both of the young people were so filled with dreams of their future happiness that they scarcely took notice of the trouble brewing between the colonies and England, although

a number of enthusiastic meetings had been held in Philadelphia by the leading men of the country, and the city was in a tumult on account of soldiers who had just arrived in Boston from Great Britain.

When Theodore was about ready to return to Oley to commence work on his new home, he met Isaac Levan, an Alsace farmer's son, who was sent to Philadelphia by Joseph Hiester, of Reading, to ascertain whether it was necessary to get up a company of volunteers to take part in the struggle. Levan was told by Benjamin Franklin and other leaders that it was highly necessary to have all the aid possible.

Theodore was then for the first time asked to join the volunteers. After some consideration, during which he didn't lose track of the fact that if he gave his consent all his bright plans for the future would be set aside for a time, and perhaps forever, he finally decided to join the company, but he told young Levan that he wanted to see Maria, Rev. Muhlenberg and Mrs. Kreuderin before going any further.

When Theodore told them the news Maria wept bitterly, but informed him that he had done only what every true and honorable man should do. Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg and Mrs. Kreuderin told him about the same.

Before Theodore left the Muhlenberg residence all kneeled in a circle and a prayer was offered for the safe return of Theodore. The following day Levan and Theodore rode home to Berks County together.

On the evening of the second day the two reached the Leinbach farm, where Levan remained over night with Theodore. Although Mr. Leinbach could but poorly spare the manager of his farms, he admired him for the patriotic step he had taken.

The next morning Theodore and Levan, after an affectionate farewell, left for Reading, where Hiester was anxiously awaiting word from Philadelphia, and as soon as he had the news he organized his company, and amid great excitement and the music of bands, Capt. Hiester's company started to march to Philadelphia at exactly 12 o'clock at noon. On their arrival Theodore asked the captain for permission to visit Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg. It was granted and that same evening at 6 o'clock the wedding of Theodore and Maria took place in St. Michael's church, which then stood on 5th St. near Cherry. A great many people were present, since the romantic history of the couple was by this time known far and wide. Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg performed the ceremony, and among the guests of honor were Capt. Hiester, Capt. Graul and Isaac Levan.

Mrs. Kreuderin took a motherly interest in the affair, and from the church all marched to her house and enjoyed a sumptuous dinner. There were persons at the wedding to whom Theodore paid much more attention than to any of the rest, and these were Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Leinbach, of Oley, who had come all that long way for the express purpose of being present at the wedding.

That same night Theodore had to leave his young bride and all his friends and return to the headquarters of the company. He, however, promised Maria to visit her in the morning, but during the night the company received orders to march to Trenton immediately and by morning he was across the Delaware.

She waited for him in vain. Finally she learned the cause of his absence. He tried to send her letters, but she finally learned of his whereabouts and sent him a silver finger ring that was formerly worn by her father. Before leaving Trenton he succeeded in sending her a letter acknowledging the receipt of the ring. Shortly after the company's arrival

Romances of Pennsylvania History

No. XV—The Hermit Saint of Oley Valley

The Philadelphia "North American" discovers "Mountain Mary"—1914.

HOW can an unlettered woman, living alone in a mountain clearing, become a saint, and be a romantic figure at the same time? How can a backwoods toiling woman who never "felt the kiss of love nor lover's hand in hers" come to be celebrated for romance? How did Mary Young come to be called the "Saint of Oley Valley"? Read the story below and the question will be answered. It is an extraordinary number of the series. People used to come for miles through the wilderness to listen and learn at the feet of this devout woman. She had learned a wisdom and gained a devoutness from her sublime life among the lone some hills which the conventional city folk learned in schools. For inspiration this romance cannot be beaten. Read on and you will read it through. The romance appearing one week from today will be "The Deserted Villages of the Pottawomut," of special interest to readers in Clinton, Locoming, Center and Union counties.

MARY YOUNG was going the same way to work as the first time in her life, she was starting to go to school. She was then about seven years old. Her father had been killed in the war, and she was the only child left. She was very poor, and she had to work for her living. She was very kind and gentle, and she was very devoted to her religion. She was very beautiful, and she was very popular. She was very kind and gentle, and she was very devoted to her religion. She was very beautiful, and she was very popular.



in Trenton 4 other Oley Township boys arrived and joined it. They were Samuel Guldin, John DeTurk, Samuel Bertolet and Jacob Yoder.

Hiester's and Graul's companies of Berks County volunteers were soon transferred to Elizabethtown and subsequently to Long Island, where they joined Washington's army. In the battle of Long Island Theodore and a number of others were taken prisoners and put on board the prison ship Jersey. There they suffered terribly and were finally starved to death.

It was a long while before Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, Frederick Leinbach and Mrs. Kreuderin learned what had happened to Theodore, and when they finally learned all they kept the news from Maria for a long while.

But she suspected the truth and would not be comforted. She even refused to talk to anyone except when compelled to do so. She continued to do the household work in Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg's family until Mrs. Muhlenberg's death, when he went to stay with his son in Virginia, and Maria was induced to go to Frederick Leinbach's, in Oley to recover her failing health. Recovery was slow, and her mind was constantly centered on her dead husband, whose body, despite all efforts, could never be recovered. Maria finally asked Mr. Leinbach to build her a house on the 175-acre tract he had presented to Theodore, saying that here she could mourn for him the rest of her life, and would not be molested by any one.

Mr. Leinbach and several carpenters erected a log house and barn according to her wishes. The house was about 25 feet long and 18 wide and was built near a spring. Subsequently she had an addition erected to the rear. The original building contained 2 lower rooms. The attic was divided into 2 apartments. It was in the beginning of March that Maria moved from the Leinbach farm to this humble home on Stoneroll hill, about 2 miles northeast of the present village of Pikeville.

Here she commenced housekeeping all by herself. At this time she was nearly 40 years of age. She commenced clearing the land around her home, cutting down trees and removing stones all by herself. She even cut all the wood she required for winter use.

Before she left Philadelphia Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg gave her a few books on agriculture and one explaining the medical uses of roots and herbs. These she studied with great care, and soon she knew just what to administer in almost all cases of sickness. She gathered large quantities of roots and herbs and stored them away. Her reputation as a doctor and nurse soon became widely known, and since there was no other physician in that part of the county, except Dr. Baum of the Yellow House, her services were in constant demand.

People came for her from a distance of 10 miles and more, and she in most cases walked all the way. People who could afford to pay were charged more than those who were very poor. For over 20 years Maria lived alone on the mountain, but then she sent to Europe for some of her relatives. A number of these came at her calling. Two of them, females, came to live with her, but the others took up their abode in Germantown.

Frederick Leinbach and his wife, Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg and Mrs. Kreuderin were all dead by this time. Maria, it is said, walked to Philadelphia to attend the funeral of Mrs. Kreuderin, but by the time she reached there it was over several days.

Among the numerous old people the EAGLE'S travelling correspondent visited for information concerning Maria are: Ex-County Treasurer Abraham Y. Yoder and Matthias Reichert, of Pikeville; John Hess, aged 74, who now resides on the very spot Maria formerly lived, and Mary and Hannah Yoder, of Pleasantville. Some of these distinctly remember having seen her. Following is the gist of what these told the EAGLE:



Maria carrying cheese to huckster Yoder—re-drawn from Frank Brown's article of the 1890's.

People commenced calling her "Berg Maria" [Mountain Mary] shortly after she commenced leading her solitary life here and later she was known by no other name at all. When she arrived in Pike there were no improved apple trees in that section. So she sent to Philadelphia for grafts and grafted a great many trees herself, the greater part of which she planted on her own land, but some she gave to the neighboring farmers. Many of the trees she grafted are standing to this day. She grafted 2 varieties, which she named "Mammy" and "Weiss" apples. The latter were afterward named "Good Mary" by her neighbors, and so they are known to this day.

Two of the apple trees Maria grafted are standing on the farm of the Misses Yoder, of Pleasantville. They are still in good bearing condition, and have lots of fruit this year. The apples are of a very good quality. Maria had only a few acres of land that she cultivated, but she cleared about 30 acres sufficiently to raise good crops of grass. She always kept several cows. The grass she mowed herself, and carried the hay in her barn in sheets. She raised as much grain as she needed for her own use, which she harvested and threshed without the aid of any one. She raised licorice root, of which she frequently gave to children and other visitors to eat.

All the children who knew her were her warm friends. She had the reputation of making a very superior quality of home-made cheese and butter. All her market products she carried to Daniel Yoder, a farmer and huckster, living on the farm now owned by the Misses Yoder, near Pleasantville, whose grandfather he was. Mr. Yoder went to Philadelphia with a load of produce every week and that often "Berg Maria" came down from the mountain with her goods.

As she grew old she was often compelled to go 3 or 4 times until she had brought all.

It required next to nothing to support her family and consequently she always had more produce for sale than most

other people living on much larger tracts.

During the last few years of her life she always carried her cheese to Mr. Yoder's on a tray on her head. She was feeble at the time, and used 2 canes to steady herself. The cheese was made in the form of balls about the size of an ordinary orange. She had her own paths over the mountains in every direction and all were made by herself.

At some places she dug away many feet of earth to lighten the grade. Over these paths she travelled in all hours of the night, since her services as a doctor were required quite as much at night as during the day. There was no wagon-road leading to her place.

She was a great believer in witchcraft. She frequently related that for a time an owl came and drank out of her milk pail every evening while she was milking. She could not prevent the bird from getting near the pail except by catching it, since it was so tame that it couldn't be scared away. So one night she caught the owl and burned its feet by slightly holding it over her fire. The next morning a neighboring woman, whom she took to be the witch, couldn't put on her shoes on account of burned feet. "Die Berg Maria" was known not only in every corner of this county, but all over eastern Pennsylvania. She was sometimes called as far as Philadelphia to practice medicine in her novel way. She never forgot her Theodore even in her old age. Although she had numerous chances to marry she never cared for the society of men since the death of her youthful husband.

The two old women who came to live with Maria were a great help and comfort to her, but both died previous to 1815 and their remains were interred in a little burial place Maria had prepared herself, years before, near her house.

The last few years of her life Maria was entirely alone. She died November 17, 1819, and was buried on her own graveyard back of the house. The wall around this place she constructed herself. The funeral was one of the largest ever held in that section of the country. It was a simple removal of the body from the house to the graveyard close by. A great many Philadelphians who had known Maria in her younger days, were present. She was buried between the 2 old women who came to live with her. The EAGLE, accompanied by Harvey D. Renninger, the EAGLE's Pikeville correspondent, visited the little graveyard, whose original size was about 18x18 feet, and found the walls all demolished, and many of the stones scattered over the interior. There are only 3 graves here. Two are marked by mountain stones without inscriptions. The one to the right of Maria's grave is unmarked save by a cluster of small trees that have grown and covered the place, formerly occupied by a rough mountain headstone. The accompanying illustration of the graveyard is made from a photograph taken last week. Maria had several thousand dollars of money when she died, besides being sole owner of the 175 acres of land and improvements. Thomas Lee and Daniel Yoder settled up her estate, which was divided between her relatives in Germantown. Martin Yoder, Sr., purchased the "Berg" property, which at this time contained one of the finest orchards in the county, and the orchard received no other care but that bestowed by Maria. The tract was subsequently divided into sections and sold to various parties. The portion on which Maria's house stood is now owned by John Hess, who has been living here for over 30 years. The original house was removed in 1867, but the spring presents about the same condition as when Maria lived here. It contains a quality of water that is hard to equal.

The Newspaper and Folklife Studies

By DON YODER

In the past year we have published several articles dealing with historical source-materials for the folk-cultural study of American life. In accord with the scope of our periodical these have limited themselves to Pennsylvania source-materials. However, materials of the same sort are available for all cultural regions of early America, and we urge their full use in all American areas of folk-cultural research. The present article is the third in a series, the first of which dealt with early American encyclopedias, the second with American genealogies and their value for the study of folk-culture.¹

The most readily available as well as the largest single printed source of contemporary material for any area of pre-Civil War America is the newspaper. These have been researched by historians, mostly for political and military history, by local genealogists for marriages and obituaries, and occasionally by other scholars.² They can now be used to provide the folklife scholar with dated material on folk-cultural subjects. All that one has to do is to read.

Indexing of the folk-cultural items in this largest body of printed source-materials on early America is the first need.³ What we need in American folklife studies for the future is not only archives of folk materials recorded from persons living in the 20th Century—the commonest approach to the “archive” at our American universities—but folk-cultural archives of historical materials from the 17th, 18th, and 19th Century printed and manuscript sources which exist everywhere, in county and city libraries, historical societies, and other depositories. This would provide the badly needed dimension of historical depth to the growing discipline of folklore and folklife studies at the American universities, and bring them more in line with European regional folklife archives.

¹ See “The ‘Domestic Encyclopaedia’ of 1803–1804,” *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIV No. 3 (Spring, 1965), and “Genealogy and Folk-Culture,” *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XV No. 1 (Autumn, 1965).

² Among the few areas in the United States where historians have used the newspapers extensively for social history is North Carolina; cf. the magnificent research volume by Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 935 pp.

³ One of the few newspaper indexing projects which exists is the Pennsylvania Folk-Cultural Index, of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, done under the direction of Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker. This has been prepared on a regional basis—undoubtedly the most workable approach to getting some indexing done in view of the immense bulk of materials available in the nation. The Pennsylvania Folk-Cultural Index does not, of course, limit itself to newspapers. It includes items from all available printed and manuscript historical source materials, as well as 20th Century collectanea on every phase of folk-culture. For the indexing program of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, see *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIII No. 3 (July 1963), pp. 54–55.

As a sample of the type of information one can glean from a reading of early newspapers, I have chosen a few issues of the little four-page weekly published at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1822. This is the *Nordwestliche Post*—Sunbury considered itself “Northwest” at the time—edited by Herr Jungmann. The *Post* served readers in the German-speaking areas of Northumberland, Schuylkill, Dauphin, Columbia, Union, and other adjoining counties in Pennsylvania.⁴

Abstracted here are Nos. 177 (June 21), 178 (July 5), 179 (July 12), 180 (July 19), 181 (July 26), 182 (August 2), 184 (August 16), 185 (August 30), 186 (September 13), and 187 (September 20). Of these particular copies, Nos. 182–187 are unique copies.⁵ They were discovered, with the others abstracted here, two decades ago in Mahantongo Valley, Schuylkill County, and represent the samples saved from a farmhouse attic-full of German newspapers that had been burned as trash by the owner sometime before the arrival of the Editor on the scene. These few copies were photostated at the time by the Editor and returned. The photostats are in the Editor’s possession.

We center our abstracts on the following subjects: The World of the Editor, Storms, Accidents, Drought, Health and Medicine, Violence, Stores and Storekeeping, Inventions, Money Matters, Death, Politics, Religion, Indians, Strays, Militia, Language, and A Postlude on the Printer.

THE WORLD OF THE EDITOR

From the columns of 19th Century American newspapers we can derive a fair picture of the thought-world in which our forefathers lived.⁶ While the Editor published what came to his desk via the “exchanges” with other papers, and

⁴ The *Nordwestliche Post* (1818–1827) was established by John George Jungmann (Youngman), born near Hummelstown, Pennsylvania, January 6, 1786, died at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, September 13, 1871. He was associated with newspapers in Reading and Somerset County in Pennsylvania, and Frederick and Baltimore in Maryland, before founding the *Northumberland Republicaner* (1812–1818), the *Post’s* immediate predecessor. See Alfred L. Shoemaker, “Penn[sylvani]a. Publishers,” *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. V No. 12 (February 15, 1954), p. 11.

⁵ Files of the *Post* exist as follows: American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts: Nos. 1–181, November 13, 1818—July 26, 1822; Northumberland County Historical Society, Sunbury: March 4, 1825, July 13, August 24, 1827; Historical Society of Berks County, Reading: September 29, 1826. See Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732–1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg, 1961); also Alfred L. Shoemaker, “German Newspapers of Central Penn[sylvani]a,” *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. V No. 12 (February 15, 1954), p. 10.

⁶ While this small sampling of one newspaper in a limited time period produced some valuable materials, it must be admitted that some newspapers offer greater yields of material of folk-cultural interest than others. Sometimes this depended on the

therefore the selection reflects his choice and his interests, he obviously included what he knew would be of interest to his subscribers.⁷

News and human interest items were included, first of all, from the rest of the United States. Several articles from the South dealt with Negro affairs, slave revolts, etc. Several references are made to New England matters, from Eastern newspapers. Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Lancaster papers are frequently quoted.

Apart from the United States, there are several articles on Canada, Cuba, and Mexico. *No. 178, July 5, 1822*: From Quebec: reports of the theft of 200 pounds of salt pork from the outbuildings of a farmer near Quebec—hardly international news but of interest to Pennsylvania farmers who knew what it was to have their smokehouses robbed. *No. 177, June 21, 1822*: Report of violence from Havana, where a printshop was attacked. *No. 181, July 26, 1822*: Long description of Mexico, in an extract from a letter from a gentleman in Mexico to his brother in Franklin County, Kentucky, January 8, 1822.

Most of the *Post's* international news was, naturally, of Europe and European affairs. Some samples must suffice. *No. 177, June 22, 1822*: Long accounts of acts of violence, misery, famine, and hunger, bad potato harvests [*die Grundbirnen Erndte*], and begging, from Ireland. *No. 177, June 22, 1822*: Description of Russia, "the greatest kingdom on earth." *No. 187, September 20, 1822*: Letter from Kaiserslautern, May 16, 1822, reporting on the light winter of 1821-1822, free of ice, and progress of the crops in the Palatinate area. The Editor adds that "in that region cherries are commonly ripe by the end of June, hay is made in the beginning or middle of July, and grain harvest comes from the end of July into August." This is of interest because many Pennsylvania German families had emigrated from the Rhine-Palatinate and adjoining provinces.

Of general interest to Dutch farmers sitting on their farmhouse "*Portsch*" reading the *Nordwestliche Post*—the news of the world filtered in from the little Susquehanna town of Sunbury—are the following. *No. 177, June 21, 1822*: "Description of a Turkish Army" and a missionary report on "Chinese Superstitions." *No. 177, June 21, 1822*: Long article on "Magnetism," dealing in passing with sleep-walking, clairvoyance, and healing. *No. 180, July 19, 1822*: "A Rarity. A few weeks ago Charles Blumer, son of Mr. Heinrich Blumer of South Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, shot a black eagle with a wingspread of seven feet and two inches."

editor's tastes. For such things as Pennsylvania Dutch dialect columns, one has to search the newspapers from the 1840's onward. For customs of the year (Christmas belsnickling, Fastnacht, Easter, Pentecost, 4th of July fantastical parades, etc.) the newspapers of the post-Civil War period are especially good, particularly as local news departments developed. Also there would seem to be richer veins of this sort of material in some of the English newspapers of the border areas on the edge of the Dutch Country, and in the time period (1875-1915) when the Pennsylvania German folk-culture was weakening its hold on the rural areas.

⁷The editors themselves present a fascinating subject for research. Most of them represented a different cultural level than their rural readers. Many of them were foreign-born Germans rather than native "Dutch." In some cases the publisher of a newspaper was a local Dutchman of some wealth and political ambitions but the editor was an educated European German. In other cases the cultural differential was greater in that there was a difference in religion, a considerable number of early editors being German Jews. One of the most important and interesting of these was the Bavarian Jew Moritz Loeb, owner and editor of the Doylestown *Morgenstern*, whose courageous aid to the sectarian pacifists of the area during the Civil War is still remembered by Bucks and Montgomery County Mennonites. See Arndt and Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 515.

STORMS

Among the aspects of the natural environment, storms were frequently and fully reported.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: A terrific thunderstorm was reported from York and vicinity in June, the like of which had not been seen for years. "Mighty rolls of thunder, quickly following one another, accompanied the lightning bolts, which crossed all directions. Houses, cattle, and trees were struck. A house standing not far from York, which is inhabited by Mr. George Stauch, was struck by lightning. It struck the roof, and was conducted through the garret [*Boden*], where a scythe was hung up on the chimney, which drew the bolt to it, whence the lightning was conducted down the chimney and out the door. Mr. Stauch was sitting in the doorway when the lightning was conducted outward, taking the doorposts with it. His wife and children were in the room [*Stube*] and got out of it unharmed. The house caught fire but was soon extinguished." Other such details are given, including the striking of 15 to 20 trees in one thirty-acre woodlot.

No. 178, July 5, 1822: The *Mifflin Eagle* of June 8th reports a heavy hail storm which in its passage through Tuscarora Valley "knocked down trees, fences, etc., unroofed many houses and barns and destroyed completely the wheat, corn, and oats." A number of young cattle, sheep, and pigs were drowned. "Different persons who were out in the open during the storm were very badly injured." "The hail was about as big as hickory nuts and at some places it lay one foot deep. In the memory of the oldest inhabitant there has never been such a hailstorm."

No. 178, July 5, 1822: Jacob Licht's barn near Lebanon was struck by lightning and burned to the ground, with hay, straw, and tools. At almost the same moment the neighboring barn of John Lerch was struck and likewise burned. "In our memory we do not recall having heard in such a short period of some weeks of so many misfortunes caused by lightning, and it would be highly desirable that also in our city and neighborhood lightning rods be generally erected . . ." (from the *Berichter*).

No. 179, July 12, 1822: More lightning damage reported from York.

ACCIDENTS

One is impressed also in reading these columns with the number of accidents reported, from far and near.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: The *Democratic Press* of June 3d reports that John Fullmer of Callowhill Street, Philadelphia, was struck by lightning while "on his way home at the second Germantown gate. His four-wheeled, one-horse vehicle stopped still at the toll-house. The tollkeeper stepped out to collect his toll, and after an examination it was shown that the driver was sitting upright in the vehicle—dead. His clothing, hair, and eyelashes were not singed, but on the right side of his forehead there was a mark, like an English "Z," of a brown color, and this was the only sign that could be observed on his body or his clothing."

No. 179, July 12, 1822: The house of Elias Parschall of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, was destroyed through the explosion of 22 pounds of gunpowder, believed to be ignited by a three-year old child. "Fortunately the rest of the family was eating dinner on the porch [*auf der Portsch*] and only two others of the children were slightly injured."

No. 180, July 19, 1822: From Bordentown, New Jersey, the report of the drowning of a man from a "Durham boat" on the Delaware.

No. 180, July 19, 1822: An article entitled "Sad Occurrence" details the accidental shooting of Catharina Drumbohr, wife of Henrich Drumbohr, of Lausanne Township, Northampton County. The wife and five children were alone in the house when their dog discovered a rattlesnake. The wife went into the room and got a loaded rifle. However, she managed to kill the snake with a stick, having set the gun against a fallen tree. In reaching for it to go back to the house, it went off and killed her.

No. 180, July 19, 1822: From Cherry Valley: "As the west-bound mail-stage last Friday drove down the long hill in Springfield, some three and a half miles from Cherry Valley, the driver [*Treiber*] saw an old man on foot right in the middle of the road before him. As the stage was approaching the man from the rear, the driver shouted loudly to him to get out of the way, but unfortunately the man was very deaf and presumably did not hear him. The stage was going fast, with eight passengers and loaded with the usual baggage. As soon as the horses came near the man, the driver pulled them to the right." Unfortunately at the same moment the man stepped to the right, and despite the driver's efforts at stopping his horses, was run over and killed.

No. 184, August 16, 1822: Near Liverpool, Perry County, an explosion occurred while a party was blasting rocks in the Susquehanna, killing a young man from Turbut Township.

No. 185, August 30, 1822: At the distillery of Alexander Patterson, Rapho Township, Lancaster County, a well that was being deepened by workmen collapsed several times, with several deaths (*Lancaster Gazette*).

No. 186, September 13, 1822: A canal explosion near Pottsgrove, one death reported (*Pottstown Times*).

No. 187, September 20, 1822: At a fireworks display in Vauxhall Gardens at Philadelphia, the women's gallery collapsed, injuring two women.

DROUGHT

The summer of 1822 was one of the driest on record, and many issues of the paper give details reported from various farming areas.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: An article entitled "The Coming Harvest" tells us that in many parts of the United States harvests will be poor, including many Pennsylvania areas, where flies destroyed the wheat and worms are more plentiful and destructive everywhere than ever before. It is feared that Washington, Frederick, and Montgomery Counties, Maryland—"famous for raising wheat"—will have almost no harvest, and on the Eastern Shore the fields have been desolated by flies and overrun with reed grass (*Registrar*).

No. 182, August 2, 1822: "Drought.—The earth is quite dried out from lack of rain; corn [*Welschkorn*] and potatoes [*Grundbirnen*] are suffering very much and if the dry weather lasts a few more days, then the harvest of these products will quite certainly fail. Many people have to fetch their water by wagon. Diarrhea is making forcible progress around here" (*Pottstown Times*).

No. 186, September 13, 1822: Reports of drought from York speak of African-style heat: "Wie unter dem Himmelstrich von Africa schießt die Sonne ihre heisse Strahlen herab. . . ." "We hear daily that springs, which were never known to fail, have disappeared, and that, like the thirsty hordes of the children of Israel, people have had to go for miles to look for water for their households" (*York Gazette*). Mills are shut down—not one mill in ten is working. Farmers must sometimes go twenty miles or more to mill. In Maryland, farmers are driving their cattle miles for water,

since little streams and springs have dried up. In many cases farmers have had to come to Baltimore, even from Pennsylvania, to buy flour" (*Baltimore Federal Gazette*).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

No. 177, June 21, 1822: An article on "Rabies [*Hundswuth*] from the *Eastoner Zeitung* informs us that mad dogs have been ranging the Easton area. "We hear that two children of Solomon Heinley of Bethlehem Township and one of his hired hands were bitten by a dog which has since been killed under all indications of madness. This very dog has also caused mischief at other places. A child of Mr. Miller of Williams Township was bitten by another dog; yet it is believed that this dog is not mad, although it behaves strangely." The editor adds that it is "the duty of every good citizen not only to do everything in his power to prevent this most horrible of all misfortunes, but also to spread every report he may hear which may therefore help to heal a sick person who had the misfortune to be bitten." Mr. Hutter (editor of the Easton paper) adds a memorial read by Dr. Marochetti in 1820 before a medical society in Moscow on the cure of a mad dog's bite. The plant involved in his cure is *Genista lutes-tinctoria*, English "Dyers Broom," which is used to wash out the mouth of the patient. Dr. Marochetti's discovery was relayed to the United States by the American Embassy in Moscow, to Dr. Mitchell, New York. The editor supposed the plant is what is called in Germany "*Gelbe Scharte*" or "*Färbeginster*."⁸

No. 179, July 12, 1822: "To get rid of bedbugs: take the stalks and leaves of the well-known tomato, green, and rub the bedsteads with them, then the bedbugs will suddenly become invisible."

No. 179, July 12, 1822: "Remedy for the ague [*kaltes Fieber*]: take one part rhubarb, two parts best bark, put this in a quart of brandy; drink of it every hour as much as the stomach can stand. In the New England states this remedy has never failed."

No. 181, July 19, 1822: From Harrisburg, a report that diarrhea [*Ruhr*] is widely prevalent. The editor gives an unailing remedy: "make a decoction of smartweed [*nieder Flöhkkrout (Ars-Smart)*]⁹ and let the sick person drink copiously of it warm." Also, "against whooping cough [*blaue Husten*] nothing is better than rubbing the patient's back with lard or goosegrease."

No. 184, August 16, 1822: Following an account of the drought, reports of much sickness, especially diarrhea, of which many people have died. "From the Blue Mountain to Germantown many hundreds of people are lying on sickbeds; along the Schuylkill Canal it is very sickly, whole

⁸ For the most famous Pennsylvania remedy for rabies, see the 24-page pamphlet by the Reformed preacher, William Stoy, *Der Mitleidige Samariter. Eine Beschreibung von der Mode, auf welche eine Arzeney zusammengesetzt und gebraucht werden muss, um die Wirkungen eines Wüthenden Hunds-Bisses, oder die Hydrophobia, Einhalt zu thun. Erfunden durch den verstorbenen William Stoy, welchem mehrere heilsame befundene Recepte gegen unterschiedliche Krankheiten beygefügt sind. Herausgegeben von Jacob Schneider* (Easton, Pennsylvania: H. Held, 1824). For this volume, see Wilbur H. Oda, "Easton German-Language Imprints," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. IV No. 5, September 1952, p. 7. For several folk cures for hydrophobia, see Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures*, *Pennsylvania German Society*, XLV (1935), 207-216. On the plant involved in the cure cited, the Mühlenberg-Schipper *Deutsch-Englisches und Englisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, II (Lancaster, 1812), gives *Färberscharte*: "sawwort"; *Ginsterheide*: "broomheath"; and *Ginst*: "broom."

⁹ Mühlenberg-Schipper, *op. cit.*, II, gives for *Flöhkkrout*: "flea-bane, flea-wort, arse-smart."

Noth und Elend in Irland.

(Aus der Dublin Gazette.)

Die Nachrichten aus dem Lande, wie aus unsern Aemtern zu erhellen ist, sind immer noch sehr traurig. Unterschiedliche Angaben sind schon befohle gemacht worden; allein wir haben nicht Raum für die Hälfte derselben. Wir haben versucht, unsere Schuldigkeit zu thun und dem Publicum den traurigen Zustand des Landes deutlich und vollständig vorzuliegen; dennoch aber sind wir überzeugt, daß nur sehr wenige von unsern Lesern eine gehörige Vorstellung von dem großen und furchtbaren Beschaffenheit des Elends haben. Es ist eine That- sache, welche nur zu gut bewiesen ist, als daß daran zu zweifeln wäre, daß Hunderte bereits aus Mangel gestorben sind; daß ein Fieber erschienen ist und daß die Hospitäler mit den Opfern besetzt sind. In einem Kirchspiel in der County-Lagen, bey dem Abgang der letzten Nachrichten, fünfzig Personen an Fieber verstorben; und fünf waren gestorben. Der größte Theil dieses Kirchspiels (Cleggad) hatte ganz und gar keine Lebensmittel. Das Fieber wemte diese Leute befallen sind, ist bloß ein anderer Name fürs Hungerssterben. In dem westlichen Theil von Galway sterben Männer, Weiber, und Kinder für Hunger und die Sterblichkeit ist so fürchterlich, daß jeder, der sieben Tage, wie vor der West fliehet. Wir haben in einem andern Plag einen Paragraphe aus einer Zeitung von Galway angeführt, welcher menschliche Wesen beschreibt, die aus Mangel an Nahrung an den Rand des Grabes gebracht werden und welcher eine Beschreibung von den Sterbenden und Toden macht, welche wir nicht den Mühen hatten einzurufen. Sligo ist in ähnlichen Umständen und das Fieber hat in dieser County schon schreckliche Verheerungen angerichtet.

In der County Cork hat ein Mord- weber von der schlimmsten Art be- zeugt seine Erscheinung gemacht. In Mayo vermindern sich die Fälle, daß Personen für Hunger sterben, noch immer. Kurz in einem großen Theil, des Westens und Südens von Irland hat man den fürchterlichen und verheerenden Anblick einer ricken Bevölkerung unter welcher Hungersnoth herrscht und eine Pest auszubrechen drohet.

Erwägungen dieser Art müssen den menschenwürdigen, bedenklich und ernsthaft zu seyn. Es ist nicht bloß bedenklich Noth, welche durch betliche Mittel abgehört oder gemäßiget werden kann. Wir

wiederholen es, daß eine Million Männer, Weiber und Kinder Hunger leiden und wirklich an Hunger sind; daß bereits in eintr der schlimmsten Jahreszeiten, davon man sich erinnern kann, ein bössartiges Fieber, mit allen den schlimmsten Anzeigen einer Pestilenz, eingetreten ist.

Hier folgen nun viele andere Nachrichten von örtlichen Versammlungen, welche alle das Elend als schrecklich beschreiben.

County Cork.

Wir sprechen nicht von einem einzelnen Fall von Elend, sondern von sehr häufigen Fällen da menschliche Wesen keinen Nahrung in 36 Stunden gekostet und wo das Leben nur durch einige Bissen gestützt wurden, welche eben so bleich und abgezehrt waren, welche aber gerade noch so viele Lumpen hatten, daß sie im Stande waren in die Straßen zu kriechen ohne die Bescheidenheit zu verlieren. Aus einem Bericht von einer Versammlung von Landeignern des Kirchspiels Killernane meldet, daß daselbst 272 Familien sind, welche über 1300 Personen enthalten und welche gar keine Nahrung und auch keine Mittel haben, um Nahrung zu bekommen.

Ein anderer Bericht einer Versammlung meldet, daß in dem Kirchspiel Bandon sich 2154 Personen in wirklicher Hungersnoth befinden.

County Kerry.

Es giebt eine Krankheit des Herzens welche aus verzweifelter Hoffnung entsteht. Eine solche Krankheit ist der Vorläufer der Verzweiflung und in diesem beweisenwerthen Zustande befindet sich jetzt die Bevölkerung dieser Ortschaft. Wir bedauern, daß nur wenig Linderung hier wahrzunehmen ist. In den letzten drei oder vier Abenden, ziemlich früh war es traurig zu sehen, daß hundert hungernde Arbeiter durch die Straßen zogen; endlich bildeten sie eine große Versammlung und gingen nach den Häusern unterschiedlicher angesehenen Herren, baten um Arbeit und erklärten, sie wollten herzlich gern um's Brod arbeiten; daß sie und ihre Familien am verhungern wären, wenn nicht etwas zu ihrer Unterstützung gethan würde, so müßten sie entweder plündern oder umkommen. Und wirklich, wenn nicht bald etwas gethan wird, so müssen Hunderte von menschlichen Wesen unter unsern elenden Mitbürgern ohne Fehl umkommen, ehe zehn oder zwölf Tage vergehen und noch Tausende mehr

ehe der nächste Monat halb vergeht. Sie haben sich wieder friedlich betrogen allein wir müssen sie warnen, über die Gefahr solcher Versammlungen nachzudenken, um sich gegen die Ränke und Anstiftungen überlesener Personen zu hüten und die mächtigen Gesetze zu bewegen welche jetzt zur Erhaltung der Ruhe in Kraft sind. Tomuldarische Versammlungen und Gewaltthatigkeiten müssen ihr Elend noch zehnmal ver- mehrten.

Mayo.

Es ist immer noch unsere schmerzliche und traurige Pflicht, die häufigen Todesfälle unter unsern unglücklichen Mitbürgern zu melden, welche durch Gebrauch von Mehl und andern Kräutern eine Zeitlang den Schlag aufzuhalten hatten, bis ihr Magen die unnatürliche Speise nicht mehr annahm. Zwei Fälle dieser traurigen Art haben sich seit der Herausgabe unserer letzten Nummer zwischen hier und Turlough zugezogen. Noch sind in Kibber zwei Leute, Richard Mogan und seine Frau verhungert.

Zwischen 4 und 500 Familien empfangen die spärlichen Almosen die ihnen zugetheilt werden können und noch zweimal so viel befinden sich in großer Noth, an die nicht gedacht werden kann. Eine dieser elenden Personen, welche kein Ticket hatte, kroch nach dem Plag, wo Lebensmittel ausgetheilt wurden und fiel, als sie dort anlangte, festlich in Ohnmacht. Man suchte sie wieder zu sich zu bringen, und als man ihre Kleider auflösete, fand man, daß ihr Leib dicht mit einem Strick von Heu umwunden war, um die Eingeweide in den Magen zusammen zu pressen. Man brachte sie wieder ins Leben und gab ihr einige kleine Unterstützung; aber es war auch nicht einmal, für ein so elendes Geschöpf wie dies, Plag auf der Armenliste.

Hier meine Leser halter Stelle und fühlte im Geiste die schreckliche Zuchturbe Gottes, womit Er das elende Volk peitschet; gedankt dran wenn eure lieben Kinder Hungers sterben müßten! Erdärmlich! Und doch bey alledem schneiden wir uns selbst eine ähnliche Ruthe; unser Bandel ist höchst gottlos; Eigeninteresse ist unser Herrgott, der alle unsere Handlungen regiret; jeder Mensch sieht nach der äußerst verdorbenen Gier und Gebrauch der Welt und bekümmert sich gar nichts um Gottes Gebot und um seine in Christo lebendiggewordene Gnade; sondern vernünfteln sie noch ganz

Sunbury's
"Nordwestliche Post"
carried international
news on its front page
—1822.

families are down sick. In Adams and other counties there are also many sick persons. Streams, springs and wells are drying up. 'If the judgments of God hang over a land, then its inhabitants learn righteousness' (From Lancaster, *Redliche Registrar*).

VIOLENCE

Early America was full of violence, and it was fully reported and dwelt upon in the public press.

No. 178, July 5, 1822: Two-thirds of page 4 of this issue is devoted to a presumed murder, reported by the *American Sentinel*, from Lancaster, of a certain Mr. William Metayer, a merchant from New Orleans on a business trip to Philadelphia and New York, accompanied by his two sons.

No. 180, July 19, 1822: From Reading: Mr. Henrich Robeson on his way home from Reading to Robeson Township was attacked by a number of people who are working

below Reading on the canal. He had both arms broken and might have been killed had not neighbors intervened. "As it appears the canal workers have a particular hate for inhabitants of Reading; the latter will therefore do well to take care. The above-mentioned person was mistaken, it is said, for a certain person from Reading."¹⁰

No. 181, July 19, 1822: Report of a slave revolt in South Carolina.

No. 181, July 19, 1822: From Harrisburg, reports the *Demokratische Presse*, on the 4th of July, in the night, "a number of persons assembled in Harrisburg and destroyed

¹⁰ Possibly what was involved here was one act of the long duel between the Irish and the Dutch. We need papers on the attitudes of the Pennsylvania Germans to the Irish, the Welsh, the Slavic emigrants of the post-Civil War era, in fact every group with which they came in contact. The newspaper is one of the principal sources on these relationships.

six or seven houses of ill repute." The editor adds: "It is a remarkable circumstance, that in such a small city so many houses of ill repute could be found to be destroyed."

No. 186, September 13, 1822: Several accounts are given of the Lechler murder case, Lancaster.

STORES AND STOREKEEPING

The store advertisements not only give us glimpses into storekeeping practices, as for example exchange of goods for country produce, but information on medical items, cookery supplies, clothing and costume, and a great deal of information on dialect and mixed German-English vocabulary. Many back pages of the *Post* contain store advertisements; we must satisfy ourselves with one or two examples.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: Henrich Yaxtheimer, Jr., announces his new drugstore [*Apotheke*] in Sunbury, "beside Lebo's old tavern stand," and lists his medicines, to be had at Philadelphia retail prices. Among them are *Assafötida*, *Aarow-wurzel*, *Barbados Theer*, *Burgunder Pitsch*, *Bätmann's Tropfen*, *Drachenblut*, *Essenz v. Pfeffermünz*, *Gentian-Wurzel*, *Godfried's Cartschel*, *Likorischbal*, *Penneroyl-öl*, *Oel v. Sassafras*, *Haarlem-öl*, *Oransch-schaalen*, *Paragoric*, *Rubarb*, *Sarsaparilla*, *Seneca-Wurzel*, *Safron*, *Seneca-öl*, *spanische Fliegen*, *Sauer-Tropfen*, *Vi[r]ginien Schlangen-Wurzel*, *Andersons Pillen*, *Scharmins Pillen*.¹¹ There is a great deal more listed, but evidently Herr Yaxtheimer carried most of the things needed in the Dutch home both as medicine and aids in cookery. He also offered *Clistier-Pfeifen*, *Allerley Farben*, and *Fensterglas und Potty*.¹²

No. 177, June 21, 1822: John Jung, Jr., offers at his "New Cheap Store" [*Der neue wohlfeile Stohr*] dry goods of every sort, groceries and hardware, brushes, cord, queensware, castings, colored materials, paints, fish, hats, books, cleaning wares, pottery, and patent medicines.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: Appleton Brothers Store lists a complete assortment of dry goods for the season, of the best quality, including cotton shawls and handkerchiefs and neckcloths [*Baumw. Shawls und Sack- und Halstücher*], bed ticking [*Bett Tick*], black silk neckcloths, silk umbrellas, silk and kid gloves, blue and yellow nankeen, plain and figured ribbons, straw bonnets [*Stroh Bonnets*], striped jean [*Gestreifter Jän*], etc. In the Appleton grocery department are offered chocolate, salad oil, raisins, cheese, imperial tea, rice, mustard in bottles, net, thread and cord, molasses, Philadelphia candles, flaxseed oil, white-lead, tar and rosin, windowglass, lime, verdigris and dyes, as also a good assortment of hardwares, iron wares and tailor's tools, nails, scythes and sickles, iron wire, tires, chains, sheep and cowbells [*Schaaf- und Kühbellen*],¹³ straw knives [*Strohmessern*], tin plate, spectacles, wines and liquors, "wool, fur and chip boys' and men's hats," books and writing materials, Nova Scotia gypsum, Owego gypsum, whitepine boards, planks,

¹¹ "Asafoetida, Arrow-Root, Barbados Tar, Burgundy Pitch, Baetmann's Drops, Dragon's Blood, Essence of Peppermint, Gentian-Root, Godfried's Cordial, Licorice-Ball, Pennyroyal-Oil, Oil of Sassafras, Harlem-Oil, Orange-Peel, Paregoric, Rhubarb, Sarsaparilla, Seneca-Root, Saffron, Seneca-Oil, Spanish Flies, Sour-Drops, Virginia Snake-Root, Anderson's Pills, Scharmin's Pills." We need articles on some of these drugs and medicines and their place in the Pennsylvania folk-culture, to match the excellent work done, for example, on asafoetida; see Donald Roan, "Deivels-Dreck (Asafoetida) Yesterday and Today," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIV No. 2 (December 1964), pp. 30-33.

¹² "Syringes, All Kinds of Dyes, Window-Glass and Putty."

¹³ We need articles on types of American cowbells and sheepbells; cf. the magnificent monograph on these matters in European folk-culture, "*Herdengelaute und seine Bestandteile*," in *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, XII-XV (1913-1916).

and rafters. The storekeepers promise to sell everything at as low prices as any store in town. At the very bottom of this revealing advertisement the firm announces to the world that "in two or three weeks a great supply of shad, mackerel, and herring is expected."

No. 177, June 21, 1822: Christian Baldy and Co.'s "New Store," formerly kept by Henrich Masser, opposite the Market House, publishes a rival list, which includes many terms of linguistic interest: *Factorey-Zeuge*, *Canton Kräps*, *Fein Lädies Robes*, *Seidene und baumwollene Bandanos*, *Madrass Halstücher*.¹⁴ This seems to have been the place where Sunbury folk got their tobacco; at least the store offered "chewing-tobacco, cigars, and snuff" [*Kau-Toback*, *Sigars und Schnupftoback*]. The listing of spices is very complete, including "pepper and allspice" [*Pfeffer u. Allspeiß*]. Under hardware: pen and pocket knives, patented sheep-shears, barber knives and strops, balance scales and weights, English and American coffeemills, "Christ's Sickles" (obviously a Pennsylvania product), and other wares.

No. 178, July 5, 1822: Appleton and Brothers announce the arrival of "sixty barrels of shad, mackerel, and herrings."

No. 184, August 16, 1822: John Jung, Jr., storekeeper, Sunbury, announces that he deals in all kinds of country produce and pays a part in cash if desired [*bezahlt einen Theil in Cäsch, wenn es verlangt wird*].

INVENTIONS

No. 180, July 19, 1822: "Jeremiah Bailey, a farmer and merchant in Chester County, intends, on the 5th of this month, to exhibit his newly invented and guaranteed mowing-machine near John Elliot's Tavern, on the Lancaster Turnpike two and one-half miles from Philadelphia. With one man and one horse this machine mows eight acres of grass a day in the nicest, cleanest manner."¹⁵

MONEY MATTERS

No. 178, July 5, 1822: From York: "Last Monday a stranger named McNiel passed counterfeit five-dollar notes on the Harrisburg bank. The storekeepers, when they recognized the fraud, set off after him and found him eight miles from here on the Gettysburg Turnpike. They found on him a bundle of counterfeit notes. He is now in prison at York, with two other such 'birds' [*Vögel*], awaiting August term of court. Said McNiel calls himself at times 'Smith.'"

DEATH

No. 178, July 5, 1822: From Lancaster, Ohio: account of a suicide in a milldam [*Mühdamm*] on Raccoon Creek, two miles from Granville, in Licking County.

No. 182, August 2, 1822: Five deaths reported in this issue, one as sample: "Last Monday evening in Sunbury, from raging fever, in the 33rd year of her age, Hannah Koch, wife of Mr. Daniel Koch, late of Reading. Her funeral was held on Monday [*sic*], amid deepest mourning of all present. *O my spirit, hast thou still tears? Devote them not to the departed soul; it needeth them not, it rejoiceth in heavenly joys. Devote them to the weeping, motherless little ones and the mourning father.* Pastor Schindel delivered the funeral sermon, Text: 1 Kings 2, 2."

¹⁴ Factory Goods, Canton Crapes, Fine Ladies' Robes, Silk and Cotton Bandannas, Madras Neckcloths.

¹⁵ We need articles on the inventors of farm-machinery and their work, in this early period when traditional agricultural practices were giving way to the machine; cf. the sketch of the work of the Chester County inventor, Moses Coates (1745-1816) in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIV No. 3 (Spring 1965), p. 18.

Monteau, Wenn, Jung 11.

Sechsig Häret
Schäb, Mackaron und Hirringe sind
eben erhalten worden und zu verkaufen
by
Apfelm und Schräder,
Der neue wohlfeile Stroh
von Drechten Baaren von jederley Art,
und
Aberley Grecceren und Antie Waaren,
de. Bruch, Pisch, ic. ic.
de. Dorn und Wurmassen,
de. Karb Stumpf und Anfrichter-Harbe,
de. Pisch, Filt und Bacher,
de. Nagelwaaren,
de. Fluorwaaren,
Deutsche u.
Patentee Medicinen.
Das Publicum ist aberdaupt einiarteln
noch anzusehen und zu sehen die mobilien Gb-
ter von
John Juna, jr.
Warnung vor unterschiedlichen Noten
Zugetruener warnt hiermit das Pub-
licum gegen den Verkauf von unterschiedlichen
Noten, welche er an Christian Schilder aus-
gestellt hat, weil er auf keine Weise wissen will,
sonst sie belasten Noten zu bezahlen, so fen
er den besagten Schilder erfüllt, dann werden
erhalten, erhaltenen Contracte—so nehme sich
jedermann in Acht, wie sein Geld nicht verlies-
en will.
Herwan Schilder, l.
An die stimmfähigen Einwohner von
Northumberland und Union Cr.
Gelande von Abraham W. Kinnor als
aus obigen Personen angeordnet sind für
den 2ten Junii die Geschickung eines Staats-
die nächsten October. Wir kennen Herrn W.
Kinnor seit vielen Jahren als ein ehrlicher und
ausgesuchter Mann, und wir sind überzeu-
t, dass seine Schuldenhaft thun wird, wenn er
möglich wird. Die Einwohner von Union
und Northumberland werden ihm hierunterthän-
gliche Respektuolen von Unterthanen

NEW STORE.
Christian Baldy und Co.
haben von Philadelphia erhalten und
werden in Sunbury verkaufen ein schönere Assor-
tion von **W a r e n**
an Strick, bernialer erhalten von He-
rich W a f e r, am Nachhauet gaarn
über, und werden von Zeit zu Zeit Waaren
erhalten, von Personen, die für sie auf Auc-
tion kaufen, welche sie in Stand seht, mobilien
für baar Geld oder landprodeucten
zu verkaufen, als auf dieser Seite von Phi-
ladelphia verkauft werden kann.

Unter andern befinden sich folgende Artikel,
nemlich:
Crede u. seine Läder,
Cahmies u. Flaunelle
Weiber und Corde,
Allerley Besenzen,
Umbeid Düselin,
Urn u. Vach Düselin
Irisländischer Wremond
und Jamp,
Dimittis,
Eindrumischer Müglin
Fackerey-Jenae,
Schambogen u. Wett-
sch,
Blanze u. gelber Ran-
ken,
Ort Läder,
Roth Läder,
Augscher Diaper,
Seidenjenae für Pü-
gen,
L u c k e n w a a r e n,
G l a a s w a a r e n,
Spiegel, allerley Feuchten, Kan Zobel, Su-
aare und Schnupftobad, enalisch und deutsche
Schule und Lehr-Bücher, Schreib-Papier,
ic. ic.

STOCKHOLM:
Got- und brauner Zu-
ker,
Stein- oder Probepfe-
der,
böhmischen und Madera
Wein,
Weißer und Spiritus
Coker und Cereale,
Schwarzer Zucker aus Mo-
lassee,
Pflische Zern,
Weißer u. Röd,
Pflische u. Hölzige,
Ingwer u. Waslar,
Muskaten Näge und
Clove,
Cinnamon
Pulver und Schret,
Rode Baumwolle,
ic. ic.

H ä r e t B a a r e n,
unter andern Artikeln auch folgende:
Wasser und Gabeln,
Aber- u. Sackmessen,
Patentirte Schaaf-
schereen,
Braas u. ff. Schereen,
Dawber-Werzen und
Streichmesser,
Barbie- u. Seife und
Bezen,
Schuhmacher-Gesbir,
Schnap Waaren und
Pomerder,
Gut Draht u. Hölz,
Iber- u. Gumpstlöcher,
Zerst u. Wankelrösser,
Isthalde und Aläen,
Hobelosen u. Weigeln
Bohrerlöcher u. Bohrer-
sen,
Bohrer u. Nagelboh-
rer,
Nähn- und Blech-Sä-
gen,
Schneidmesser,
Schedmies u. arsenik-
töne Märl,
Wittiazer Schrauben
Schrauben u. Spaden,
Stahle Padren,
Blech
Eisen- u. Härter Stoffe, als:
Spanisch weis, Weichlein, Rothbleis, Britannia
weiß, Amalgaroth, Chromis Gelb, Orange,
Mineral, Patent Prib, Druffen Blau, Mos-
Dirt, Grün Oker, Gelb Oker, Spanischbraun,
Lederroth, blaue Vitriol, Spiritus u. Terpen-
tin, Indies, Kupfers, Blaus, Krapp, Wanz-
holz, Rothholz, Rosenholz, ic. ic.

W i r a u c h
Drugereyen und Familien Medicinen:
Roth- und weißer Pfeffer, Alar, Kattimoor, Af-
fakita, Anisette, Cream Tartar, Balsam,
und Canaba Herar, Cal Amentar, Baum-
der Pirsch, Caster-Oel, Benzol, Vitriol-Oel,
Olyben-Oel, Gum- u. Dymium, Iquoree u. Wall,
Wormsaamen-Oel, Baerem Oel, Weisliche
Oel, Gelbstein, Pfeffermehls, Weisliche
Pillen, nebst sonst noch allerley Patentirte und
Familien Medicinen.
Den 24ten Mar, 1822.

Warnung vor drey Noten.
Der Endesbenamen warnt das Publicum
hiermit vor drey Noten, welche er an Fried-
rich Haman, jwen für die Summe von 60 Tho-
ler und die andere für 20 Thaler, ausgestellt
hat, welche er nicht erkennen ist zu bezahlen,
es sey denn besagter Haman erfüllte seinen
Theil vom Contract.
Indoan Wolf
Den 2ten Junii, 1822.

Ein Waqer-Geselle,
wird vom Endesbenamen, wohnhaft in
Sunbury verlangt — eine fleisige und
nächtere Person von besagter Profes-
sion kan Arbeit bekommen, wenn sie
sich allezeit melde bey
Henry Dyerheimer, jr.

A typical back page from the "Northwestliche Post" — Pennsylvania news items and store advertisements.

POLITICS

Much of the local material in the Post, as with all American newspapers of the time, concerned county, state, and national politics. Especially valuable are the political letters, signed by "Honest Farmers" from here or there, which shed light on the status of the German language as written by the common people of the Dutch Country in the early 19th Century.

No. 178, July 5, 1822: A letter to Mr. Jungmann, the Editor, from "A Voter," recommends Andreas Albrecht, Esq., for Senator from this district.

No. 179, July 12, 1822: Letter from a "Plain Farmer" [eines Einfachen Bauern] dated "Schamokin," June 28, 1822, recommending Andreas Albrecht and Samuel J. Packer, editor of the Publick Inquirer, for office.

No. 181, July 19, 1822: The editor refers to an anonymous political correspondent in the Miltonian, whose views he disagrees with, as a "sniveler" [Rotzer]. The same article

predicts realistically that the election will be carried out the usual way, in wrangling and crawling [in Zank und Streit].

No. 181, July 19, 1822: Election letter from "A Farmer in Turbut."

No. 181, July 19, 1822: Election letter from "W . . . N . . . , von Chilisquaki," begins: "Our harvest is now, thank God, safe in the barn; since April I have been so constantly working at it, that I did not have time to read much in the newspaper." The letter uses the terms *geld?, well, Congressmann, druf und druf*, etc.

No. 181, July 19, 1822: Toast at Harrisburg, last July 4: "To the fair daughters of Columbia—last in our toasts, but first in our hearts. Those who love office more than wives, deserve to have none of either."

No. 181, July 19, 1822: Court fight in Pittsburgh: the lawyers called each other abusive names and fell to fighting.

The Editor heads the item, in English: "Give it to him!!!"

No. 181, July 19, 1822: A sheriff's proclamation ends with the words "God save the Republic!" [*Gott erhalte die Republik!*].

RELIGION

Many items imply the Editor's and his readers' interest in religion. Several articles refer to Lutheran and Reformed church affairs, several to Unitarians and Catholics, and still others to Methodists, then on the increase and in the public eye throughout the nation but suspect among the older established church groups.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: "A certain preacher, who for many years belonged to the Methodist denomination, and is living in Carlisle, has been expelled from that society, because he does not believe that Jesus Christ is eternal with God the Father." The Editor adds, "This is right. Away with this false teacher!" and appends his theological reasons for his statement.

No. 178, July 5, 1822: From New Lisbon, Ohio, an account of a campmeeting in a thick birch wood, "where a tent [*Zelt*] had been put up and on both sides of it two long sheds [*Scheds*] to serve as shelter for the congregation." At the close of the service, a sudden thunderstorm came up and a large tree was struck, which fell over one of the sheds, breaking through the light roof, killing two persons and injuring several others.

No. 179, July 12, 1822: "A new election was held by St. Mary's congregation in Philadelphia in which the friends of Mr. Hogan won. The votes were: for Hogan, 467, for Bishop Conway, 437. We hope the dispute is now at an end." This is one episode in the famous Hogan schism in Philadelphia Catholic annals.

No. 180, July 19, 1822: Cornerstone-Laying: "The cornerstone of a new Lutheran and Reformed Church is to be laid in a solemn manner on Sunday the next 18th of August, in Longstown in Union County. German and English sermons will be delivered by various preachers. All Christians are cordially invited to attend. On order of the building committee."

No. 181, July 19, 1822: On the back page the Editor included "The Christian Corner, No. 1—For the Benefit of Unitarians." It includes the lines: "Our preachers, who lie around on their lazy skins, just waiting until you come to them or go to their church or send for them, are not the shepherds who leave the ninety and nine and go after the lost sheep. They should go to the places where sinners congregate, and preach the commandments to them, so that they can be damned, and seek the pearl of great price as fast as possible."¹⁶

No. 182, August 2, 1822: Cornerstone-Laying: The cornerstone of a new Lutheran and Reformed Church in Turbut Township, five miles above Milton, on the Derry Road [*an der Derryer Strasse*] is to be laid Sunday next, August 11th. The building committee promises "German and English sermons by different strange preachers" and invites the Christian public cordially to attend.

¹⁶ The implied anticlericalism of this passage underscores the need for a study of anticlericalism in the Dutch Country. There was plenty of it—cf. the common statement, recorded from Central Pennsylvania, that "preaching is easier than work." Many of the preacher tales told in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, involved open or veiled anticlerical attitudes. There was also in some areas of Pennsylvania the deeply ingrained sectarian distaste for the "paid ministry" of the churches. All of these questions deserve study, and the Editor invites readers to submit preacher tales and other stories illustrative of rural anticlericalism in the Dutch Country.

No. 184, August 16, 1822: Report from the meeting of the New York Marine Bible Society: On board the flagship of a renowned commander a complaint was made to the captain against a number of the crew, for repeatedly disturbing the ship's crew with noise. After an inquiry it was found that "these men were Methodists, and that when they were on duty below, they were constantly in the custom of loudly reading the Bible for each other, so that they oftentimes united in prayer and sang spiritual hymns and psalms." When it appeared that these men were orderly otherwise, clean, willing to work, and brave, the captain said, "Leave them in peace . . . If Methodists are that kind of men, then I wish that my entire crew were Methodists."

No. 186, September 13, 1822: A letter from Gettysburg, August 22, reports: "We hear that on account of the prevailing sickliness and mortality and the great drought, which has prevailed for a long time in this vicinity, the ministers of this city and neighborhood, on the advice and with the sanction of other pious persons, have requested their different congregations to set aside Thursday the 29th of this month as a day of Repentance and Prayer [*Buss- und Bät-Tag*]." ¹⁷

No. 186, September 13, 1822: Extract of a letter from a preacher near Millersburg, Dauphin County, to a gentleman in Sunbury, dated September 3: "Presently we have troubled times: since the 22d of July I have buried 37 persons and again two funerals are appointed for tomorrow."

No. 186, September 13, 1822: "A Philadelphia newspaper, the *Union*, of last week, reports: 'A party of German emigrants, eighty-four in number, passed last Sunday morning through the city of Philadelphia going on their way to Ohio. We are informed that they profess the Jewish religion; but what is most remarkable is the fact that they all make up one family, consisting of grandfathers, grandmothers, sons, daughters, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, grandchildren, etc., all related. They appear to be wealthy settlers [*Anbauer*], since they have brought with them from Germany wagons, tools, and different kinds of goods and wares, to load as many as ten freight vans. It must be noted however that they found place in two wagons to transport their children. The men and women traveled on foot. The long beards, hats with broad brims, short trousers and coats of the men along with the strange clothing of the women, gave the whole crowd such a singular appearance, as to draw to it the attention of all passing travelers.'"

No. 187, September 20, 1822: From Canton, Ohio, is reported the death of the Reverend Johann Christoph Wilhelm Ilgen, in the neighborhood of Canton, at the age of 27. He was the son of the Reverend Mr. Ludwig Albrecht Wilhelm Ilgen of Penns Valley, Centre County. The deceased was buried the second of this month.

No. 187, September 20, 1822: Friedrich Wilhelm Van der Slood, Secretary of the Reformed Synod, announces a meeting of that body in Harrisburg, September 29, 1822.

INDIANS

No. 178, July 5, 1822: From Reading: "In the canal which is being dug in our neighborhood, were found recently the skeletons of three Indians, about 18 inches underground, and two feet from each other. Found with them were different small objects, such as glass beads, a little flask which probably held spirits, a brass thimble, as well as two Nürn-

¹⁷ We need studies of this practice in Pennsylvania, among the German churches. The custom is heavily documented in New England.

berg counters [*Nürnberger Zahlpfenninge*]. These objects were probably exchanged for large areas of land. The counters hung on strings. Also there were near the skulls iron rings, with which these sons of nature adorned their noses in former times. These relics probably have lain there for several centuries, and testify of the transitoriness of earthly things" (*Weltbothe*).

No. 182, August 2, 1822: The coming close of the bloody Osage-Cherokee war, of four years' duration, is predicted.

No. 184, August 16, 1822: From the *Venango Herald*: Cornplanter's address, at Warren Courthouse, June 4, 1822.¹⁸

HELP WANTED

No. 177, June 21, 1822: Henrich Yaxtheimer, Sunbury, advertises for "an industrious and sober" journeyman cartwright [*Wagner-Geselle*].

No. 181, July 19, 1822: Carl Schäfer of Penns Township, Union County, advertises for "a single, sober, industrious man" in the weaver trade.

STRAYS

Early American newspapers frequently advertised stray animals and runaway servants. Two examples of the former are here given.

No. 182, August 2, 1822: Two lost wethers, both with tails, ears clipped [*abgeschnitten*] and marked with ruddle (red ochre) on head, neck, and rump [*übern Kopf, Hals und Rumpf mit Röthel gemerkt*]. Adam Schneider, Sunbury, owner.

No. 187, September 20, 1822: A strange cow and calf, with white head and ear marks, reported by Michael Brosius of Upper Mahanoy Township among his herd for some weeks. The owner can claim them upon payment of moderate costs. Debora Gränt¹⁹ reports that a herd of strange sheep arrived a short time ago at her plantation [*Plantasche*] in Augusta Township; some have no other marks than holes struck through the ears, but most have the ends of the ears cropped and holes in them.²⁰

MILITIA

Defense matters were on the minds of Americans in those days as now. The Pennsylvania Militia and its musterings, accompanied usually with a good time for all concerned, provided some news for readers of the *Nordwestliche Post*.

No. 178, July 5, 1822: A brief item called "Militia Muster" [*Militz-Exercitium*] turns out to be an early poking of fun at the American militiamen: "'When I say: fire!' said a militia captain recently to his company— 'then all those who have firearms, must shoot; and those who have only sticks and cornstalks, must aim and cry—Boo!'"

No. 178, July 5, 1822: John Baldy, Brigade Inspector, First Brigade, Eighth Division, Pennsylvania Militia, announces an election on Saturday, August 3, at Widow Boyer's Inn in Upper Mahanoy Township—an election, by ballot, for major, in place of Major Bernhart Renn.

No. 182, August 2, 1822: "The celebration of the 4th of July this year by the Alert Light Blue Infantry in Bucks County, distinguished itself with an unusual number of

¹⁸ One chapter in the long drama of U. S. relations with the Seneca Indians, closed recently with the Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River, which finally displaced Cornplanter's latter-day relatives from the lands given them by U. S. treaty in 1793.

¹⁹ This is of course the non-German family-name "Grant." Cf. also, in this section on "Stores and Storekeeping," "cash" spelled "Cäsch."

²⁰ We need also articles on the early American systems and practices of animal markings; also on the naming of animals; the custom of taking cattle to summer or mountain pastures; and the system of "droving" animals in early Pennsylvania. Will readers who have information on any of these subjects please notify the Editor.

huzzas and shots. The number of regular toasts was 17 and of shots which were fired off, 660, accompanied with 107 huzzas!"

LANGUAGE

As we have pointed out previously, early German newspapers of Pennsylvania are valuable as evidence on the status of and relation between the three languages of the Pennsylvania Germans—High German, English, and the Pennsylvania German dialect.

No. 184, August 16, 1822: Election letter, from F. W., uses such words as *leckschonieren* (electioneer), *Semly* (assembly), *schmerter* (smart), *nauf, raus, determint*, etc. A sample of his style: "Ich und meine Nachbarn sind determint für Georg Marten, Esq., als der beste für die Semly, so brauch nun kein anderer uns plagen, oder für S. J. Packer; er ist ein Schmerter Bauern Sohn, er ist wohl jung, etwa 25, aber älter im Kopf als Scudder; die Lawyer werden ihn kaum überdölpeln können. Ich bin gut bekannt mit ihm, hab seine Zeitung in 1820 immer gelesen, und wie ich höre, lauft er allgemein in Schamokin. So viel von dem Freund F. W."²¹ A good example of the accommodated German used by Pennsylvanians in the 19th Century.

No. 182, August 2, 1822: Vendue advertisement for a farm near "Mr. Strawbridges, at the Chillisquaque Meetinghouse" [*Bey Hrn. Strawbridsches, an dem Chilisquaki-Versammlungshaus*—interesting for this typical spelling of an English name in a German context as well as for the English word "meetinghouse" in its American-German guise. The same advertisement uses the word *Krieck* for English "creek."

A POSTLUDE ON THE PRINTER

On these pages we occasionally catch a glimpse of the printer of the *Nordwestliche Post*, who like his brethren in other parts of early America, waged constant battle against delinquent subscribers, and in the summer of 1822, proved his humanity by succumbing to the very sickness which he reported so frequently in his columns.

No. 177, June 21, 1822: Printer's advertisement for his services in the printing, "in English and German," of "Handbills" and "all other kinds of printing."

No. 179, July 12, 1822: "There is a proposal to take strong measures against the Mahanoy Newspaper Society, in Little Mahanoy, for neglecting to bring the newspaper bundles to their proper places. Take warning!"

No. 182, August 2, 1822: Letter from the printer clearing up misrepresentations about printing the state records. Uses the word *heruntergebargent*, from English verb "bar-gain."

No. 186, September 13, 1822: "We again find it necessary to ask our honored subscribers for forbearance—a second attack of the raging fever in this place put the printer out of condition to put out a newspaper last week."

No. 187, September 20, 1822: "The raging fever [*das grassirende Fieber*] laid hindrances in the way of last week's newspaper and even now the printer is scarcely strong enough to serve his employers; hence he requests their forbearance."

On that very human note we close our glimpse, via Sunbury's pioneer German newspaper, the *Nordwestliche Post*, of Pennsylvania's summer of 1822.

²¹ "My neighbors and I are decided upon George Martin, Esq., as the best choice for Assembly, so no one else needs to bother us; or for S. J. Packer: he is a smart farmer's son, He is young indeed, around 25, but more mature than Scudder. The lawyers will hardly be able to pull the wool over his eyes. I am well acquainted with him, always read his paper in 1820, and, as I hear, he generally circulates in Shamokin. So much from your friend, F. W."



Beautifully proportioned arched main opening of limekiln located on farm of Alexander Bamberger on the Lebanon-Cornwall road. Dimensions of arched opening: length 8', width 8'. Photo taken 1962.



*Limekiln
Steiner,*

Photography by
Amos Long, Jr.

Deteriorating limekiln with well-proportioned arch located on property of Richard Donnemeyer, near Harpers, between Ono and Jonestown, Lebanon County. Note deterioration — most existing limekilns are now in a state of collapse. Photo taken 1963.





Pointed arch opening, on farmstead of Henry Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pennsylvania.



Flat corbelled arch in limekiln located in Buffalo Springs, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, on Ammon Binner Farm (1963).

Pennsylvania Limekilns

By AMOS LONG, JR.

Lime, an essential requirement in agriculture and industry, was first produced in America from limestone which was quarried and burned in the limestone valleys and surrounding areas of rural Pennsylvania. The use of lime for domestic and agricultural purposes began with the first settlements. The early Pennsylvania Dutch settlers had learned the value of lime for domestic use when much of the area was only sparsely settled and still a primitive wilderness covered with virgin forests.

Fletcher in his book, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life*, informs us that lime is one of the important factors that contributed to the transformation of Pennsylvania agriculture between 1790 and 1830.¹ Since then liming has become firmly established as a standard farm practice.

Through examination of still existent limekilns (Pennsylvania Dutch: *Kallick Offe*), or vestiges of them, and by talking with individuals who have had experience in the operation of limekilns, the writer has been able to gather, compile, and record many interesting facts concerning them and the limeburning industry.

The countryside still shows evidence of this domestic industry because of the old limekilns which are found crop-

¹ S. W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, 1950), pp. 132-136.

ping out, here and there, in the areas underlaid with limestone or where lime was burned. The limekiln was in bygone years as much a part of the landscape in the Dutch Country as were the barns and houses. The kiln, built by the farmer primarily for his own or local use, was usually constructed singly on an isolated hillside, in a woodlot, or on land too rugged for cultivation. Many of the kilns had a southern exposure which helped to prevent strong winds from causing too rapid combustion.

Although many of the kilns were located near a limestone outcropping, others were erected on farms which had little or no limestone deposit but were located within reasonable hauling distance of a limestone quarry. Others were located in or near a heavily wooded area because of the large amounts of wood required for burning. It involved practically as much labor and expense to haul the wood to be used in the burning process, if the kiln was located some distance from the supply, as it did to haul the limestone. In either case, when lime was needed for the fields, the stone and wood were hauled to the kiln usually by the owner or his hired man.

When the lime could not be produced from one's own labor it frequently became a cooperative matter. Then one or several of the neighboring farmers in the area helped dig

and haul the stone, cut and haul the wood or coal, and contributed their labor as other farm work permitted. The burned limestone not earmarked for any particular farm was divided among those who contributed their time, labor, and material, or sold to other neighbors who desired to have it.

Frequently lime was traded for wood or another item of barter with neighboring farmers. Although neither the limestone deposit nor the wood had too much value, the resulting lime proved to be of great value.

Even though at one time nearly every farm had a limekiln, most of them have crumbled into a pile of stones from lack of maintenance or they have been demolished because of their unsightly appearance and because of the demand for better utilization of the land on which they were located.

LIMEKILN DESIGN

Most of the kilns had a similar design. They were constructed from large, rough, native, flat stones similar to those which were used for burning. In some areas sandstones were used. The stones were placed on top of one another to the dimensions desired. Construction was similar to that of a dry wall since no mortar is found in the joints.

In addition to being built on a hillside, the kilns were built into the slope. The front of the kiln was nearly vertical with a slight backward slope from bottom to top. Usually square or rectangular in dimensions, the bottom width varied from eighteen to twenty-four inches and the top from sixteen to twenty inches. The height of the kilns varied from ten to twenty feet and the top of the kiln was built up to meet the ground level in the rear.

Frequently the walls were extended from the sides to fit the contour of the slope and to support the roadway behind the wall leading to the top of the kiln. The roadway constructed to approach the rear of the kiln allowed the limestone and fuel to be unloaded from the dump-carts or plank-wagons into the pot with far less effort.

In some instances when the area in which the kiln was constructed was not sufficiently sloped, a section to the rear of the kiln was filled in to provide a ramped roadway and access for hauling the limestone and fuel to the top of the shaft. Although relatively few of the roadways and retaining walls are still intact, there is still evidence of their existence.

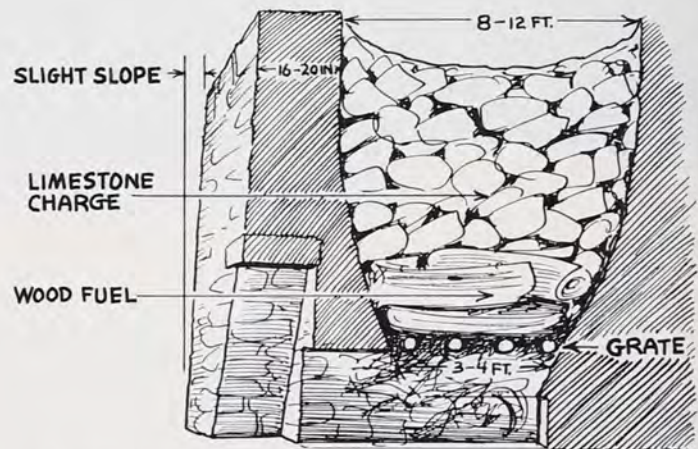
At the base of the kiln was a large central front opening which had the appearance of an entrance to a cave or underground passage. This larger or outside opening measured approximately six feet at the base, six to ten feet in height, and thirty inches deep. The top of the opening on those measured varied from several feet to only a few inches and if the opening happened to be triangular, it formed a point. A large flat stone was placed over the top of many of the outside openings which served as a lintel. Others had arched openings.

Within the larger opening at the base was a smaller opening or aperture through which the fuel was ignited, where air passed through for combustion, and through which the burned limestone was removed. The smaller openings were rectangular or square in dimension or tapered toward the top. Of those measured, the openings were found to be eighteen to twenty-four inches at the bottom, ten to sixteen inches at the top, and one and one-half to three feet high. Some kilns had such small openings that the lime had to be removed from the top of the shaft by the use of an improvised derrick.

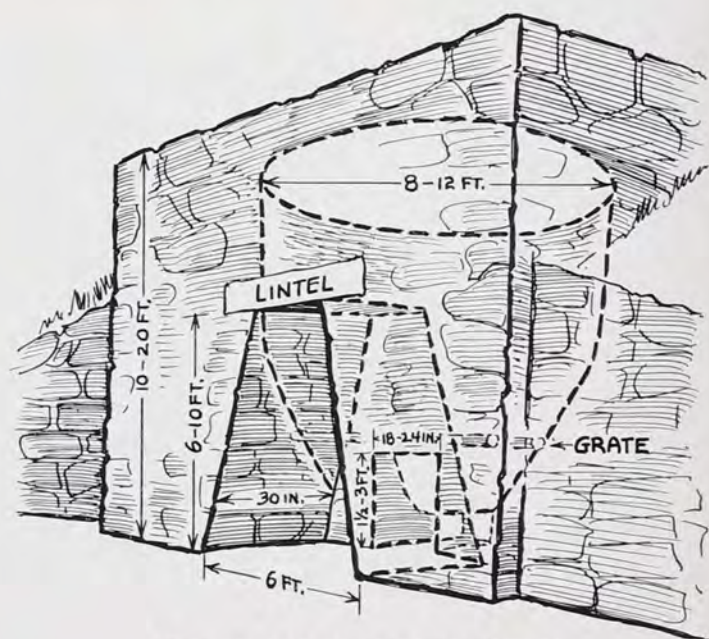
The dimensions of the cylindrical pot or shaft measured from eight to twelve or more feet in diameter across the top

opening and tapered to three or four feet at the bottom. The depth of the shaft varied from twelve to twenty feet. At the bottom of the shaft a rectangular trough arrangement about eighteen to twenty-four inches wide and twelve inches in depth was constructed in line with the front opening of the kiln. This was located beneath the grate and assisted in the unloading operation.

Most of the shafts were vertically constructed approximately half the depth of the pot and tapered below that point to the bottom giving them a conical or egg-shaped appearance. The later shafts were lined with firebrick throughout. The space between the firebrick lining and the outside walls was filled with native field stones of all sizes. The writer found residue from the burning process still clinging to the sides of a number of shafts that were inspected. Most of the shafts have been filled in completely or fenced off to keep children or animals from falling into them. A number of informants recalled incidents in which cattle had been killed or had to be shot as a result of injuries from falling into such shaft openings.



SIDE VIEW (CROSS SECTION) OF LIMEKILN



FRONT VIEW OF LIMEKILN



View of limestone-quarry on farm of Ammon Binner, Buffalo Springs, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, about the turn of the century. Note team and wagon loaded with stone destined for kiln.

THE LIMEKILN GRATE

In order to hold the layers of fuel and limestone, a framework of iron bars or railroad rails was placed cross-wise over the unloading trough at the bottom of the shaft and a like number of others were placed longitudinally over the first row to form a grate. In some kilns the bars were similarly arranged and were extended far enough through the opening in the front to allow some of them to be withdrawn at the completion of the burning process. The grates in some of the kilns could be moved or shaken with a device provided for that purpose.

The height of the grate above the top of the unloading trough varied from one kiln to another. As the burned charge fell through the grate area into the trough beneath at the completion of the burning process, it was shoveled or hoed out.

LIMEKILN ROOFING

Over the top of the shaft opening, a temporary roof structure of rough planks was frequently erected to help to keep out all forms of precipitation. The roof was usually supported by wooden trestles or other framework placed on opposite sides of the kiln allowing an air space between the top of the shaft and the cover. Toward the end of the burning period, the cover was removed to prevent it from igniting as the fire approached the top of the shaft. After the burning process was completed and the kiln was emptied, the opening on top of the shaft was covered for protection until the kiln was to be used again.

There have been reports of vagrants having become asphyxiated while sleeping near the shaft opening. One of the informants recalled being told when a youth of a tramp who was found dead from asphyxiation one morning on top of a roof shelter covering the kiln on his father's farm. Although the area around the kiln shaft was usually warm for sleeping on cold nights, the gases which escaped were sometimes responsible for such deaths.

Dr. Arthur D. Graeff relates a story concerning the dangers of such escaping gases. "Now we had a limekiln on the farm and in the fall this was filled with limestone, mixed with coal, then ignited. When it was nearly burned out I passed that way and stopped to get warm. Fritz was amusing himself in a neighboring field. I knew of the dangerous fumes emanating from the kiln but paid no attention to them. Soon I became drowsy and lay down at the limekiln for a nap. When Fritz returned I was unconscious. Somehow the dog sensed that there was something wrong and connected it with the limekiln. With his teeth he took hold of my coat and dragged me away from the kiln. Then he stood guard over me until I regained consciousness. When I did, Fritz leaped and barked with joy. Then he pulled at my clothing in an effort to start me homeward. But I was too dazed, too sick and too weak to walk. Presently I was seized with vomiting after which I felt better and was able to stagger home."²

² Arthur D. Graeff, "Why I do not own a dog," *Scholla, Reading Times*, November 14, 1949. Story contributed by Daniel K. Hoch.

Some kilns, such as the one pictured, had a permanent shed roof, covered with wooden shingles or tin, constructed over the shaft and front area to protect against inclement weather. Numerous kilns, particularly those constructed in a multiple arrangement, had a pitched roof of rough boards extending forward in front. The roof was supported by small openings built into the face of the kiln or was attached to iron brackets or hooks which were fastened across the front and supported by upright posts placed at spaced intervals beneath the front portion. The roof when properly covered provided a shelter for the attendants while working at the kiln and protected the bottom opening as well as the lime from the weather.

In very few instances do these roof structures remain. Most of them have been removed or have deteriorated and fallen together so that the openings, brackets or hooks which supported the roofs are the only trace of their existence.

CAPACITY OF THE KILN SHAFTS

The capacity of the kiln shafts varied considerably; some produced relatively small amounts while many of the later ones were large enough to produce several thousand bushels. Fletcher reports that some of the kilns were large enough to hold three thousand bushels of limestone and used as many as six hundred bushels of coal as fuel at one burning.³ Williams in his article on limekilns told of some having a burned capacity equal to the requirements of fifteen acres.⁴

QUARRYING THE LIMESTONE

The limestone to be burned in the kilns was gotten from outcropping ledges or from a pit or quarry found on the farm or neighboring farm. Even though most kilns have crumbled or have been demolished, the abandoned limestone quarry-hole from which the stone was removed and hauled to the kiln by the farmer is still evident on some farms. Many of the holes are overgrown with bushes and trees, are being used for dumping garbage and refuse, or have been filled in completely so as to make them difficult to recognize.

Stones of all sizes were used. The larger rocks were broken loose into smaller sizes by a sledge hammer, hand drilling, or blasting with black powder charges. One of the informants stated that the best rock for burning was removed from beneath the surface and had a bluish tint. The stones removed from the outcropping ledge had lost some of their properties and did not burn as well or result in as good a lime.

If the excavation was large and deep the wagons and carts were loaded in the quarry and drawn by mules or horses to the top of the incline. In some of the larger quarries, cars attached to cables were used for the same purpose.

The average wage of a quarry worker in the early part of the 19th Century was fifty cents a day. Raw hands were common from the long hours and the continuous use of pick and shovel. The lime-burner received slightly more, usually seventy-five cents a day, but in order to qualify one had to be well experienced. In order to help boost the morale, it was not at all uncommon to supply whiskey or other strong drink to the workmen in the quarry and at the kiln.

Occasionally farmers began quarrying and burning operations only to find that the stones were too hard for burning

³ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴ David G. Williams, "Lime Kilns in the Lower Jordan Valley," *Lehigh County Historical Society Proceedings*, XIX (1952), 83.



Side view of limekiln showing how kilns were built into steep hillsides. Shafts were filled on the upper level and the burned limestone removed from the lower level. Ray S. Walters, aged 74, Buffalo Springs, who helped operate the kiln during earlier years, at right (1963).

and unsatisfactory for lime. Walter Kleinfelter, Campbelltown, Pennsylvania, related how his father, Richard Kleinfelter, with the aid of Jacob Millard, the father of the late H. E. Millard of Millard Lime and Stone, Annville, Pennsylvania, began quarrying operations on a farm in the area of Houcksville, Lebanon County, with the intention of burning lime. The stones were found not suitable for the purpose and consequently they were used for road fill.

THE WOOD-BURNING KILN

The wood-burning limekiln was used before the discovery and availability of coal and continued in use until the beginning of the 19th Century. Fletcher writes that in some of the more remote districts of Pennsylvania wood was used for burning lime until after 1925.⁵

The wood-burning kiln was similar in most respects to its successor except that it had a large independent combustion chamber for the large wood fire and required continuous attention day and night. Men relieved each other in this arduous task of feeding the fire. This accounts for the many stories and events which were associated with the operation of the kilns at night. Although the wood-burning kiln had many disadvantages, the use of wood as a fuel introduced additional moisture into the kiln and allowed burning to be done at a lower temperature, resulting in a better quality lime.

⁵ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

THE COAL-BURNING KILN

All the kilns pictured and described are coal-burning kilns. The writer found no wood-burning kiln in existence. They have deteriorated, have been demolished, or have been rebuilt into or replaced with coal-burning kilns. An illustration of a wood-burning kiln as taken from Thorpe's *Dictionary of Applied Chemistry* is shown.

The coal-burning kiln received its entire charge from the beginning and after being ignited required very little attention until the burning process was complete. After coal was introduced and found to be a more practical fuel, many wood-burning kilns were converted to a coal-burning type. The use of coal in the kilns, beginning about the turn of the 19th Century, eliminated night fire duty and simplified and cheapened the process of lime-burning.

Williams reports that one ton of coal will burn about five tons of limestone and will produce about three tons of burned lime.⁶ About one-half cord of well seasoned wood is required to burn one ton of lime when wood is the sole fuel. On this basis one-half cord of well seasoned wood is the equivalent of one-third of coal in the burning of limestone to lime.

⁶ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

FIRING THE KILN

The kiln was fired by placing kindling wood beneath the grate. On top of the grate at the bottom of the shaft, a layer of dry firewood was placed; then a three to six inch layer of coal, generally pea size, was spread over the wood and a twelve to eighteen inch layer of limestones was placed on top of the coal. The larger stones were usually placed toward the center of the shaft and the smaller sizes were placed around the outer surface next to the firebrick lining to avoid too solid packing and choking of the draft up through the shaft. In this way there was better control of the draft and more even burning in the various layers of fuel. Coal and limestone were placed in alternate layers to the top of the shaft, the layers of coal becoming heavier and the limestone layer thinner until the shaft was filled.

An informant told of continuing the alternate layers of coal and limestone in the shape of a cone frustrum to a height of four to six feet above the top of the shaft. The frustrum of the cone was then plastered on the exterior with mud allowing an opening at the top for a flue.

Frequently the kiln opening was sealed with a piece of sheet iron, clay or mud mortar or other suitable material,

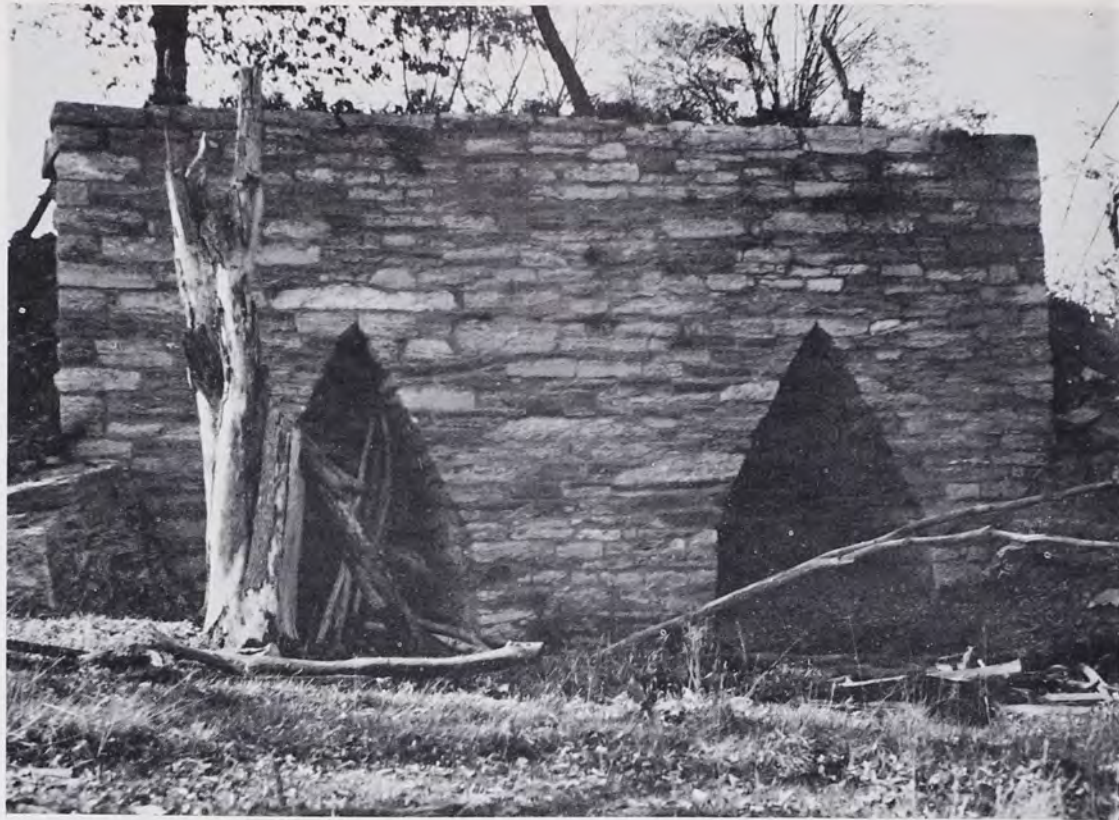


Front view of limekiln near Buffalo Springs, Lebanon County. Note how stones are corbelled to support large flat stone lintel over main opening. Stone wall on right built to support roadway in rear (1963).



Limekiln on Cornwall-Schaefferstown Road, in Buffalo Springs, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. Ray S. Walters, former limeburner, in foreground (1963).

Double limekiln on property of Elwood Houser, R.D. 5, Lebanon, between Lebanon and Quentin. Note pointed openings. Dimensions: Length 28 feet, height 15 feet, opening 9 feet high and 7 feet wide; 4 feet between opening and side, 6 feet between openings (1963).



to help to regulate the draft and prevent too rapid combustion.

Some informants recalled on several occasions that after the kiln had been ignited, the fire failed to burn because of too solid packing or from crumbling stone, and they had to unpack and repack the shaft in order to provide the necessary draft for combustion. Long iron bars were used when necessary to brake down any arching of lime in the kiln during the burning process. There were times when the limestone had not burned properly resulting in poor lime and loss of time, effort, and expense. Stones broken into sizes approximately eight inches were best. The larger the stones the longer the burning process.

Some of the kilns were kept in continuous operation for long periods of time. One informant told of having a supply of stones piled within easy access to the shaft opening. Each day or two, depending on the wind and weather, burned lime was removed from beneath the kiln and filled in with stone and coal from above. In this way the farmer could have a continuous supply of lime on hand and attend to his lime-burning operations while performing his other farm chores.

TEMPERATURE OF THE KILN

After the shaft had been filled, and the kindling ignited, the burning period took approximately one week. This was accompanied by loud bursts of noise as the stones cracked from the intense heat. According to the Bureau of Standards, calcium carbonate will break up and disintegrate at 898 degrees Centigrade (1648 degrees Fahrenheit). Generally the temperature for burning lime is about 1000 degrees Centigrade (1832 degrees Fahrenheit) or at temperatures between 900 degrees and 1200 degrees Centigrade (1648 degrees and 2192 degrees Fahrenheit). Frequently temperatures upwards to 2000 degrees Fahrenheit and above were attained in the process. It was found that the lower

the temperature at which the rock was burned, the better the lime. In some of the modern and more efficient kilns, burning was done at lower temperatures with the introduction of steam into the kiln. It was frequently necessary for the attendant to venture out in all kinds of weather, day and night, to regulate the draft and the burning process, as the direction or velocity of the wind changed.

It required approximately a week for the kiln to cool after it was allowed to burn out. After the kiln had cooled, the iron grate bars were removed or adjusted and the burned lime fell into the trough from which it was shoveled or hoed. It was now ready for hauling to the field for weather slaking or to be sold or shared with neighboring farmers.

The weight of burned material removed from the kiln is about sixty percent of the limestone placed in the kiln because of the impurities and unburned carbonates in the lime.⁷ Burned lime was generally sold by the bushel. Usually square wooden boxes or stave tubs were used to measure it. A bushel of lime weighs approximately eighty pounds and measures 1.25 cubic feet.

Different methods were devised to record the number of bushels as the lime was loaded on the customer's wagon. Those who did not trust their memory often resorted to the use of a peg board. Each time a bushel of lime was loaded, the peg was inserted in the next hole, thus providing a more accurate record.

The cost of lime varied according to the time and place of purchase. Records show that it sold for as low as three cents a bushel at the kiln. About the turn of the century, the farmer paid eight to twelve cents at the kiln or as much as fifteen to twenty-five cents if transportation was involved. Fletcher reports that in 1835 lime sold for twenty-five to thirty-five cents per bushel at the kiln.⁸ The cost of lime

⁷ Williams, *ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 136.



Looking into shaft of limekiln on the Elwood Houser farm. Note vertical position of firebrick in lining of shaft (1963).

plus the cost of hauling made frequent use or even necessary amounts too prohibitive for many farmers if it had to be purchased.

LIMING THE FIELDS

After the powdered lime was hauled to the field in a wagon or cart, it was shoveled or hoed on piles, spaced according to the needs of the land and for convenience in spreading. After the lime had lain awhile and was slaked, it was spread by hand shoveling. A number of informants who experienced this task told how arduous the work was.

The small particles of limestone occasionally found in some fields where there are no limestone deposits are from the unburned cores in the burned lime which was spread on the fields years ago.

Several informants told how the lime, as it was being transported, became wet from a sudden rain squall, producing enough heat to require that the entire load be dumped to keep the wagon or cart from igniting.

If the piles of lime in the field became wet from a daytime rainstorm, they would frequently smoke and steam. They often produced a burning glow at night from a similar situation. During a period of drought water was sometimes hauled to the fields and poured on the lime to slake it. One ton of well burned lump lime will take up to fifty gallons (415 pounds) of water to make about 2415 pounds of hydrated or slaked lime.⁹

If the farmer did not have a limekiln on his farm he found it necessary to purchase his lime. It was not practical for some farmers to incur the expense of constructing and operating a kiln particularly when very small or unusually

large quantities of lime were required or if a neighbor could supply the needs either through cooperative efforts or purchase. This was also true if the farmer had to purchase either the limestone or timber or if he was busily engaged in a more profitable enterprise. When time permitted, some farmers carried through the entire operation of lime-burning alone with the use of a cart and a mule or horse.

THE STACK BURNING METHOD

A more primitive and crude method of burning known as stack burning of lime was used by some farmers who had readily accessible limestone deposits or ledges on their farms and no kiln. When this method of burning was used, heavy firewood mixed with lighter kindling was placed on the ground in an open field; frequently in the field in which the lime was to be used. On top of the wood, coal and limestones were stacked in alternate layers similar in composition and proportion as when a kiln was used. This huge pile was covered with soil, mud or clay over the entire outer surface, except on the top, and then the wood was ignited. The opening at the top of the stack provided an escape for the carbon dioxide which was essential if the burning process was to be satisfactory. Mixed with the burned lime at the completion of the process were the wood ashes which prove beneficial to the soil and the coal ashes which are harmless.

COMMERCIAL LIME-BURNING

As the demand for lime grew, not only for agricultural use but for structural and industrial uses, it was not only burned by individuals but it became established on a commercial basis. Limestone was used in the construction of many houses and barns in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country and the lime was used for mortar and plaster. The abundance of limestone deposits became an important factor in the development of local iron industries. Limestone still provides the cheapest flux in the production of iron. About the middle of the 19th Century multiple or long lines of kilns began to appear in or near some communities and the burning of limestone became a thriving and profitable enterprise.

With the continued growth and development of the commercial aspect of lime-burning, many farmers were approached and offered a royalty for the quarrying of limestone on their land. The royalty offered and paid varied from place to place but the rate was generally twenty to thirty cents for each ton quarried and removed during the early part of the last century. It was not at all uncommon during the past century, when farm lands were sold, for the seller to reserve the right to allow him or his heirs the privilege of obtaining limestone from the quarry-hole or timber from the woodlot.

The discovery and use of coal was an incentive to the development and enlargement of the lime-burning industry. The use of coal to burn lime made night vigils at the kiln unnecessary and slowed down the depletion of woodlands in the limestone districts.

TRANSPORTING LIME

Much of the lime was transported from the kilns over dirt or otherwise poorly constructed roads to the farmers' fields by horse and wagon. Transportation was frequently limited because of lack of roads and bad weather. The heavy loads of lime were tremendously hard on the horses and wagons. The advent of the canal and railroad meant that coal, limestone, and lime could be transported between more distant points. Many times these products were shipped by canal

⁹ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

or on sailing vessels on river and coastal waters and in later years by the railroad which began to compete with the canals. The cost of transporting the limestone from the quarry to the limekiln frequently involved a greater cost than the limestone. In some sections when the lime had to be transported any great distance by canal or railroad, the cost of transporting it prohibited many farmers from using it.

LIME AS A MANURE

The use of lime as a manure began soon after the first farmers put the plow to their land.¹⁰ Among the first to use lime were the German farmers of Lancaster County.¹¹ "In 1754 Governor Pownall reported a lime kiln on every farm that he visited in Lancaster County" ¹² A pioneer farmer from Franklin County in 1773 reported, "There is plenty of limestone for manure on every field and it does not cost much labor or expense to come at it and it can be burned with the wood which we grub up when we clear the land." ¹³ In 1698 Gabriel Thomas wrote, "There is also very good Lime-Stone in great plenty, and cheap, of great use in Buildings, and also in Manuring Land, (if there were occasion) but Nature has made that of itself sufficiently Fruitful . . ." ¹⁴

¹⁰ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹¹ Fletcher, *ibid.*, p. 133.

¹² Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

¹³ Alexander Thompson, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII (1884), 317.

¹⁴ Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America* (London, 1698), pp. 11-12.

Fletcher writes that the general use of lime on the soil was preceded by a period, from about 1780 until 1820, when gypsum (land plaster) was used as a soil amendment to promote the growth of clover.¹⁵ Gypsum was first imported from Europe and later from Nova Scotia as ship ballast. Some was quarried in western New York where deposits were discovered in 1805. This later material was rafted down the Susquehanna. By 1810 there was evidence that gypsum was only a stimulant, beneficial on sandy and gravelly soils, and after a time crops began to decline. By 1825 gypsum had been quite generally supplanted by lime. Gypsum was used extensively for only about thirty years and was mainly responsible for bringing in more clover, more grass, more livestock and more manure. It broke down the prejudice of many farmers against the use of artificial fertilizers. By 1830 liming had become firmly established on many farms and "lime and manure" was a common farm slogan. An interesting belief concerning gypsum is that "some of our Germans of this day believe that gypsum invites thunder and lightning and on the approach of a storm turn out of their barns and houses the vessels containing this substance." ¹⁶

In 1685, Budd wrote, "There is no Lime Stone as we yet know of, but we make Lime of Oyster Shels, which by the Sea and Bay side are so plentiful, that we may load Ships

¹⁵ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-136.

¹⁶ Richard Peters, *Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, Memoirs*, I (1808), 159.



Double limekiln and attached shed roof and storage sheds, located on farm of Raymond J. Emerich near Harpers, Lebanon County. Shed on right used to house equipment and wagon for hauling limestone from nearby quarry-hole. Shed on left used to store lime. Note lime separator used to separate lime after it had been slacked, operated with gasoline engine. Note at top of photograph remains of roof structure built over shaft openings. Photo taken 1962.



Benjamin Hauer, aged 84, standing on his cabin porch near Harpers in Lebanon County. One of the last surviving limeburners in Lebanon County, Ben operated the kilns on the farm of Raymond J. Emerich as late as 1951. Photo taken 1962.

with them."¹⁷ Before limestone was burned the early settlers produced lime from oyster shells by burning them in wood fires. The following is a portion of the poem written by John Holme in 1696, called "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania," relating to the production of lime from oyster shells:

*A few years since it was known full well
Here lime was burnt of oyster shell
No limestone in these parts was found;
But since by searching in the ground,
Great store was seen in a short time,
Of which was made of oyster shell;
And much cheaper 'tis at this time
That we paid for oyster shell lime.*

It has been claimed that the production of lime from limestone in the New World originated along the Schuylkill about the end of the 17th Century.

PROS AND CONS

There is still a difference of opinion among some farmers concerning the merits and use of lime. Those who use it continually, claim a material benefit. There are those who do not use it; not because it would not prove beneficial to the land but because of the investment involved. The wisdom of some farmers entirely abandoning the use of lime is very questionable; some used it to an extent beyond its real efficiency; this in many instances has proved more detrimental than if no applications had been made. The

¹⁷ Thomas Budd, *Good Order established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America*. Reprint (New York, 1865), pp. 35-36.

result has been declining yields and even sterility of the soil. Fletcher in his chapter on soil fertility quotes as follows: "One thing is certain, that those who have been spreading lime on their farms for the last eight or ten years have been subjected to vast expense in pulling down their old barns and building greater. . . . The number of cattle and the quantity of manure have been so increased by it that much expense has been incurred. . . ." ¹⁸ There are still many farmers who prefer the burnt lime to any other form. Today most lime applied to the soil is pulverized which makes the calcium and magnesium content more readily available than with burned limestone.

In general lime is hardly needed by the soil so long as a good stand of clover and grass is secured. Nor is it needed to ameliorate the physical condition of soils which have a mellow, loamy texture. Good drainage prevents a sour condition of most soils. However, liming on soils that have not received an application for some time would normally give increased yields. The effect of lime as a base to neutralize the acid condition on overfed or neglected land, in which a vegetable matter has accumulated, is extremely beneficial in producing crops. It has been used most extensively on clover and alfalfa and to bring about better yields on depleted soils.

Some farmers were fortunate enough in earlier years to have beds of marl on their land. Depending on its purity and if it did not have to be ground, it supplied their needs for lime. This usually proved much more economical than to erect a kiln and burn limestone or to purchase the lime.

Likewise the significance of lime content in the soils has been evidenced in land values over the years. Farms located in the limestone valleys are more than double in value than those where shale loam is predominant. It is a proved fact that limestone soil is the best for farming and many of the farms in the limestone valleys were and still are in the possession of Pennsylvania Dutch farmers. It has been stated that at one time during earlier years, "If you are on limestone soil, you can open your mouth in Pennsylvania Dutch and get a response every time."¹⁹

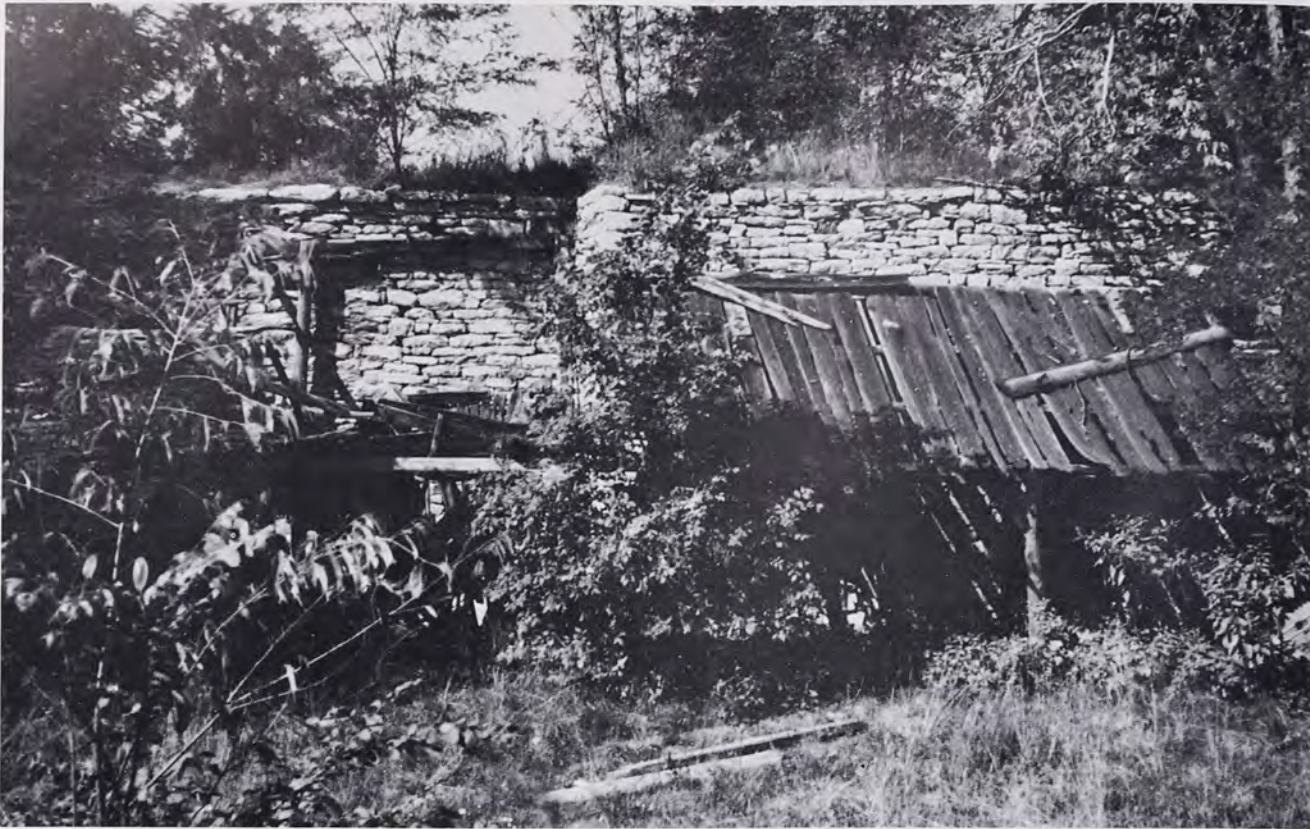
Those farms which have heavy soils or where large applications of vegetable fertilizer were made, particularly benefited from the use of lime because it sweetened the soil and prevented acidity. The desire to produce and apply more manure along with the constant growth in population which demanded more foods, meant keeping more livestock, more intensive cultivation of every possible acre and the construction of larger barns. Knowing the value of barnyard manure many farmers began to concern themselves with other proven farm practices and better utilization of those elements to help increase crop yields.

In addition to the practice of regular and careful application of lime and manure, proper rotation of crops, the use of clover brought about considerable maintenance and improvement of the soil. Clover with its deep clinging roots brought moisture, nitrogen and other elements to the surface for nourishment. Eventually the clover was plowed into the soil providing additional enrichment to the upper layers of soil.

Corn stalks and fodder were utilized along with the straw. What was not consumed by the livestock was tramped and mixed with manure. The manure was cleaned out of the stable and hauled on the manure pile in the barnyard at

¹⁸ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 136, from *Farmers' Cabinet*, II (1838), 355.

¹⁹ Nathan C. Schaeffer, *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings*, V (1894), 102.



Multiple limekilns on farm of Leroy O. Schoener, U.S. Route 422 between Myerstown and Stouchsburg, now overgrown with trees and grass. Note portion of shed roof at right. Dimensions of roof: length $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet, width 9 feet, 7 feet off ground in front, 12 feet over kiln opening, attached 3 feet from top ground level. Photo taken 1962.

regular intervals. The barnyard was cleaned once or twice a year and the manure was spread over the field and plowed under in preparation for the next crop. A large straw stack in the barnyard in the fall and a large manure pile in the spring were marks of a good farmer.

Colonial Pennsylvania forged ahead in agriculture primarily because of the large numbers of German settlers who came from the Palatinate. The Palatines had learned the value of lime and clover for increasing yields on the continent. Williams informs us, "During the latter part of the seventeenth century crop yields were declining, and the stock was underfed. The farmer's traditional method of soil improvement was known as the 'Dreifelderwirtschaft' (Three-field system of crop rotation). However, this system caused acreage to lie idle and reduced the total amount of yield. This affected the quantity of stall-feed, which in turn caused a shortage of cattle. The Palatinate peasants, anxious to improve their methods of agriculture, were beginning to use clover to improve the soil; this increased their crop yield and reduced the acreage lying fallow. A greater amount of stall-feed became available for the cattle and this in turn allowed more acres for the planting of crops."²⁰

It was during this period that the first groups of Palatines began to migrate and settle in Penn's land because of the fertile soil which abounded. Rush in his *Account of the Germans in Pennsylvania* tells of a group of immigrants who originally departed from the Palatinate for London in 1709 before venturing across to the New World.²¹ Among this

²⁰ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²¹ Kapp, pp. 89-90, *Frankfurter-Mess-Kalendar von Ostern bis Herbst*, 1709, pp. 90—quoted in *Rush's Account of the Germans in Pennsylvania*, ed. T. E. Schmauk, Lancaster, 1910, p. 52.

contingent there were eight limeburners. The first of this group settled mainly in Bucks and Montgomery Counties. Later they moved across the South Mountain and settled in the "wide limestone valley which was more to their liking." Some wrote to the homeland exclaiming, "Here is the same limestone soil we have worked for centuries."²²

COLLECTANEA ON LIME-BURNING

Benjamin Hauer and Ray Walters who during their earlier life assisted in the operation of limekilns supplied considerable information relating to their use.

Benjamin Hauer, aged 84, who resides in the Harper's area of Lebanon County started burning lime with his father, Amos Hauer, when he was thirteen years of age and burned lime in the kilns pictured in the Harper's area as late as 1951. He told of burning lime which was done primarily between farm chores. Usually after seeding time in spring until hay-making and from late summer until about Christmas, depending on the weather, the kiln was in continuous operation. He said they burned very little lime during the hottest and coldest months.

The time required to fill the shaft in preparation for burning depended on the help available. Ben stated that it took a week and a half to two weeks and occasionally longer for him and his father to fill a kiln. He said they frequently filled in one or two layers a day depending on time available. The stones were usually gotten right on the farm; sometimes they were brought there from the surrounding area. He stated that within one area the quality and color

²² Arthur D. Graeff, *History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 33-34, quoted in Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.



Closeup view of tapered opening in multiple kilns on Schoener farm. Note smaller or inside opening leading to shaft—outlined in white. Dimensions: 9 feet high, 3 feet to beginning of arch, one foot across top of arch, 6 feet wide at bottom. Inside opening: one foot high and 16 inches wide. Photo taken 1962.



Multiple limekilns located on farm of Leroy O. Schoener, near Long's Church. Dimensions: overall length 51 feet, tapered kilns 22½ feet, height 15 feet, oval kilns 28½ feet. Tapered openings: 6 feet wide, 9 feet high; oval openings: 9 feet wide, 9 feet high. 3½' by 6' by 3½' by 6' by 7' by 9' by 3½' by 9' by 3½'. Photograph taken 1965, after front roof structure and undergrowth was removed. Multiple structures such as these were built primarily for commercial lime production.



Closeup view of one main oval-arched opening in multiple kilns on Schoener farm. Note smaller or inside opening leading into shaft (partly hidden with timber). Dimensions: 9 feet high, six feet to beginning of arch, 6 feet wide; smaller opening one foot by one foot. Photo taken 1962.

of the stone may have varied considerably and that it was important for the limeburner to know the stone. The stone varied in hardness and in color from shades of blue to yellow and white. The quality of the stone determined to a large degree the amount of coal required to complete the burning process. More or less coal was also required depending on air movement and draft. They used coal that were gotten out of the nearby Swatara Creek, coal which had been washed downstream from the regions to the north where the coal was mined.

Occasionally stones were bought. He recalled paying ¼ cent per bushel (four bushels for one cent) and from \$1.60 to \$1.85 a ton in later years. He stated it was a common practice for farmers who had limestone on their farm to build a kiln near the outcroppings and then hire someone to burn the lime. The lime-burner may have been paid for his services or there may have been a barter arrangement allowing him to sell some lime in return for his efforts.

He said he helped fill some kilns that had a capacity of only two-hundred to three-hundred bushels of lime and

others that had a capacity of fifteen hundred bushels. The average capacity of the kiln at which he worked was from three hundred to six hundred bushels. He told of removing as many as fifty bushels of lime a day from the kiln and as few as one or two wheelbarrows depending on combustion. Ben recalled that his father sold lime for five and one-half cents a bushel. He told of selling it for six and seven cents a bushel during his first years of burning and for eighteen cents a bushel in 1951, the last year he burned lime.

Considerable quantities of lime were sold for white-washing, a common practice during earlier years. Since paint was scarce and expensive, walls, ceilings, stables, fences and tree trunks were frequently white-washed. They sold as many as two hundred to three hundred bushels of lime each year for white-washing. Some buyers bought as little as a peck at a time. Lime to be used for white-washing, he stated, was best obtained from good quality white stone.

He told of applying from seventy-five to one hundred bushels of lime per acre on their land and usually one field

on the farm was limed each year. He recalled a Holstein cow that had fallen into a limekiln and having to tear out the bottom of the kiln to remove the dead cow. In addition to tramps who occasionally slept by the kiln, he told of a basket-maker who lived in and about the kilns during the decade of the forties. The baskets he made there were sold in the neighborhood for a livelihood.

Ray Walters, aged 74 years, from Buffalo Springs, Lebanon County, last burned lime in 1925. He told how two men quarried fifteen four-horse wagon-loads of stones in two days. This was the amount required to fill the kiln shaft and stack. After the stones were quarried they had to be broken and hauled to the kiln which required another day and one-half. He said the stones were broken in about the size of a man's head.

Three men were generally assigned to "set up" the kiln and stack. Flat stones were placed on the bottom of the shaft. One four-horse wagon-load was enough for two fifteen-inch layers of stone in the kiln. Each layer of stone was alternated with a two-inch layer of buckwheat coal. After the shaft was filled, a stack, about ten feet high, was put on. It consisted of numerous layers each of stone and coal. He said only two men could work on the stack and for the last several layers, only one man could be accommodated because of space. It required three days to fill the kiln shaft and stack.

After the stack was completed they brought three cart-loads of mud from a nearby creek to plaster over the stack. Then a cart or wagon-load of wood was put into the mouth of the kiln and when the plaster on the stack had dried, the kiln was ignited. He recalled that it required about ten days for the stone to burn.

Their kiln provided about seven hundred and fifty bushels of lime. When this was hauled on the field in piles of one-half bushel each, it covered a ten-acre field.

He related that lime-burning operations in his area were discontinued about 1925 because of the high cost of labor and coal and because of the competition from commercial producers.

Leon Keener, from Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, told of a limekiln which was used for the storage of ice during his youth on his parents' farm. A peak roof was constructed over the shaft and ice gotten from a nearby pond was stored in sawdust within the interior. He said the ice kept from one season to the next.

The entire process of changing limestone to lime was an arduous task and frequently became a cooperative enterprise. It was not uncommon for neighboring farmers and friends to gather together and jointly share the task of hauling limestones and wood or tending the fire. This was particularly true when the kiln was located some distance from the quarry or woodlot.

The area around the limekilns frequently became a scene of many types of amusement and merriment during the early autumn evenings and nights. Corn roasts were common. Sometimes chickens were roasted whole and potatoes baked, making a suitable feast for a keen appetite at the end of a working day.

After the farmers outside the limestone areas learned of the advantages of applying lime to the soil, they would travel great distances to obtain the product. It was not unusual for several farmers in an area to join together in travel and make a gay time of it.

With the growth of commercially operated kilns, a Lehigh County historian points out, "... farmers came from points



View into shaft of one of the kilns located on Leroy Schoener farm between Myerstown and Stouchsburg, Berks County. Dimensions of shaft: diameter approximately 12 feet, depth approximately 15 feet. Note deterioration of firebrick lining. Photo taken 1962.



Another view of shaft opening on Schoener kilns. Note residue from lime-burning still clinging to sides of shaft. Photo taken 1962.

... ten to fifteen miles distant, and at times their teams, four and six horses to a large wagon, stood ... covering nearly a mile in length. Some of them came ... at three o'clock in the morning and waited till three in the afternoon before getting their wagons loaded."²³

Ely in his article on lime-burning wrote: "From a dozen to twenty farmers joined in conveying lime from the kilns to a farm—enough for a field a day, only to have the compliment returned later, either in lime-hauling or other enterprises. These frolics continued (during the past century) and many a jovial crowd of farmers ... have I seen drive up to the old limekilns, unhitch their horses and feed them from the wagon-bed, the loading of the wagons continuing meanwhile, and too often the free circulation of 'liquid refreshments' increased the joviality to a dangerous point, leaving the men unfit to guide their teams on the return trip over many miles of hilly and none too good roads."²⁴

Many stories and folk beliefs relating to lime and its use have evolved through the years. *Der Alt Bauer*, the late Victor Dieffenbach, with all his wit and humor used to say, "*Won mer der schnay hase unnerblookt, no iss er so goot os collick*" (If you plow the snow under while it is hot, it is as good as lime).

²³ Charles Rhoads Roberts, *et al.*, *History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1914), I, 798.

²⁴ Warren S. Ely, "Lime Burning Industry, Its Rise and Decay in Bucks," *Bucks County Historical Society Proceedings*, IV (1917), 71.

In the files of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society is an interesting story relating to the use of lime for preservation of the body as given in the *Life and Confession of Alexander Anderson*. He requested that his body should be buried in the Poor House graveyard, along side of the grave of his child, and directed to have slacked lime put in the coffin with his body, so that the doctors could not use it. Before the coffins were closed, old Aaron, Anderson's father-in-law, produced a basket of lime, to put in the coffin, in pursuance of Anderson and his wife's request, but some of the physicians present persuaded him that lime would preserve the body and thus keep it in a fit condition for the doctor's use! The old man then concluded to dispense with the lime.

Edwin M. Fogel in his book, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, wrote: "*Schnē unnerblüge is juscht sō güt fern feld as mischt un kalik*" (Turning down snow with a plow is as good for a field as manure and lime).²⁵ *Maerze schnē is sō güt wi en kōt mischt*" (March snows are as efficacious as a coat of manure).²⁶ "*Schlak kalik mit Maerze schnē. 'S heidel as sich ufs wasser schtellt macht en güt blaschter*" (Slake lime with March snow. The membrane which forms on the water makes a good ointment).²⁷

FOLK REMEDIES USING LIME

Lime has been put to use other than those ways previously listed. It has been prescribed many times in folk medicine as a kind of panacea for many illnesses and torments. Again Fogel informs us how to rid oneself of warts. "*Schtel en schtik kalik un reibs uf en warz*" (Steal a piece of lime and rub it on a wart).²⁸ To keep the throat open, spray with water of slaked lime; gargle with coal oil, honey, apple juice,

²⁵ Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 207, No. 1039.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207, No. 1038.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271, No. 1414.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 325, No. 1731.



Looking down into interior of Schoener limekiln shaft. Open shafts like this one are difficult to find because most of them have been filled in. Photo taken 1962.

and in particular skunk fat.²⁹ As a treatment for burns, "take unslacked lime and pour water upon it and let it set until perfectly clear, and then pour off the water and add neat foot oil (*Flofat*) and stir together until it forms a plaster."³⁰ As a treatment for gangrene (*brand, schwatz brand, and kalt brand*) to be applied externally: "rye bread in water of unslacked lime—water in which lime was slacked."³¹

Lime has been prescribed as a remedy for swelling. Take a quart of unslacked lime and pour two quarts of water on it; then stir well and let it stand over night. The scum that collects on the lime water must be taken off, and a pint of flax-seed oil added. Stir until it becomes somewhat consistent. Pour the contents into a pot or pan, add some lard and wax; then melt thoroughly. Make a plaster and apply it to the swelling every day or at least every other day until the swelling is gone.³²

"If a heifer is bitten by a dog, take linseed oil and lime, mix and smear on the wound."³³

A good "receipt" to drive away moles: Put unslacked lime in their holes and they will leave or disappear.³⁴ A "receipt" to mend glass: Take common cheese, wash it well, unslacked lime and the white of eggs. Stir them together until it forms a mass, then use it. If it is properly made, it will certainly hold.³⁵

There are undoubtedly many anecdotes and beliefs about lime which have never been recorded. If any readers can recall others, the author and editor will be happy to learn of them.

The limekiln, originally built to produce a cheap lime for application to the land has generally ceased to serve any useful purpose. Although once a familiar sight they are now rapidly vanishing so that relatively few good examples remain for our study. Used by the early inhabitants who settled in the limestone valleys of Pennsylvania from the time of the colonial period, the kilns during the present century have been abandoned and left to deteriorate. Most of them have fallen together so that the remaining piles of stones are the only physical evidence of an era passed. Others have been cleared away and vanished completely. The use of the limekiln began to decline about the turn of the present century with the advent and competition of commercially produced lime and fertilizers and the general use of cement for construction purposes. Most of the small individually owned and operated kilns and quarries which earlier did a prosperous business, providing employment and revenue for many, are now entirely abandoned because of the many farmers who have resorted to the use of commercial products.

The limekilns which remain, stand as a silent witness to the past and reflect an historical message of their own. Although many related, worthwhile incidents and experiences have gone unrecorded, the impact of the limekiln will continue to be felt because of the part it has played toward soil improvement. This along with the constant effort of our Pennsylvania farmers has largely accounted for the flourishing condition of agriculture in Pennsylvania.

²⁹ Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania German Society*, XLV (1935), 136.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³² John George Hohman, *Pow-wows; or, Long Lost Friend*, Empire Edition, 1938, p. 27; Unger Manuscript No. 42.

³³ Brendle-Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

³⁴ Hohman, *op. cit.*, Empire Edition, p. 39; Unger Manuscript No. 93.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Empire Edition, p. 29; Unger Manuscript No. 54.

Mennonite Maids

By MARION BALL WILSON

Let's take a moment to remember two little Mennonite sisters and their two rag dolls of many, many years ago. The handmade rag dolls are shown in the accompanying photograph. They reflect some aspects of the life of the Mennonites and in particular that of the two Carper sisters, Lizzie and Ellen, of Lititz, Pennsylvania, for whom the dolls were made.

The little girls were born on a farm in Lancaster County and were reared in the simple frugal way of the Plain People. It was traditional for these people to construct toys for their children of unuseable odds and ends. However, these homemade toys were created with an imagination and a loving care, which made them not only highly prized by the children who received them but also by the present-day collector who has an understanding for all that they represent.

Because of the death of their father, and the marriage and departure from home of their three brothers, the two unmarried daughters and mother found it impossible to manage the farm themselves. They moved with their treasured possessions, including the dolls of their childhood, to a new home on Broad Street, Lititz. Years later the brothers consented to "make a house sale" on October 2, 1954, the proceeds of which would be used to pay the sisters' entrance fee into the Mennonite Home near Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

This sale was attended by Mr. Henry J. Kauffman, an authority on Pennsylvania Dutch folk art and a friend of the author who is a collector of old dolls. The advertisement for this sale listed dolls. When he asked to see the dolls, he was shown a "store-boughten" bisque-headed doll of the early nineteen hundreds, that had been bought for a grand niece. Because of its fancy dress, this doll was expected to bring a high price. Mr. Kauffman was not interested because he had already spied, hidden away under a table, a little common red box in which were tucked the two rag dolls, *Betzy* and *Susie*. The sisters were shocked and puzzled to see a man offer a bid and buy their homemade dolls in the box cradle. They didn't realize that Mr. Kauffman had acquired the choice toy of the sale and by doing so had given a topic of conversation to all the antique dealers present!

After these toys became a favorite item in the author's collection, it was decided to make a visit to Miss Lizzie and Miss Ellen in the Mennonite Home. The plain dolls, *Betzy* and *Susie*, were taken along to "pay a call". The sisters were overjoyed to see the dolls again and spoke about them with much feeling. Lizzie ran out to summon a few of their friends (members of the staff and ladies of the Home), and a kind of impromptu reception was held in honor of the dolls and the two guests who had brought them. Elderly "brothers" sitting on benches in the corridor were excited and amused, in a bashful way, by this unusual event.

The dolls were easy to identify because the original labels, hand-written by the sisters many years ago, when the dolls were put "on the attic," were still pinned to their dresses, as the photograph indicates.

The bodies of the dolls were made of unbleached muslin, stuffed with rags of feed-sack material. The printing on the rags is visible through the cheap muslin.

Each doll wears "proper" long muslin drawers and a shirt typical of Plain Folk underwear. *Betzy's* petticoat is made of flannel, extremely plain, not even a tuck for trimming; the kind of practical garment worn by Mennonite girls. Perhaps there was only one small piece of this expensive flannel in mother's scrap-basket because *Susie's* petticoat is made of *Betzy's* dress material.

The simple dresses are long-sleeved, high-necked, with a gathered skirt attached to a waist-band, identical to the ones worn by the former owners when they were very young school girls. When asked about the age of this blue and green print material, both sisters agreed that it was well over seventy years old. They recalled the material with a smile of cherished remembrance. "After we outgrew our dresses, we were allowed to use scraps of the worn material for our dolls," Lizzie volunteered.

Perhaps the sheer black wool material covering their heads is not meant to represent their hair but to suggest the Mennonite bonnet, the symbolic head-covering of the female members of the sect.

Facial features drawn lightly with a pencil give *Betzy* and *Susie* a serene and blurred expression. The sisters laughed and made fun of their childish art. There had been no time for drawing lessons in their one-room schoolhouse.

When the sisters were asked if they had ever worn dresses of this same material, Lizzie smiled, looking at Ellen, and said, "We wore them before". By this statement she meant before they were taken into the church and had adopted the plain garb of the Mennonite maid. Now, they were wearing grey dresses beautifully made by each one, in the severe style of their tradition. White prayer-coverings, delicately fashioned with infinite care, covered part of their soft white hair. As they stood there together so freshly and simply dressed, they expressed the goodness and tranquility of the lives they had lived. They were happy and seemed to have the peace and strength for which we all should strive.

All Mennonite girls take pride in their sewing. Lizzie Carper was the best seamstress in her family and this was proudly stated by sister Ellen. When Lizzie was asked about the crocheted booties that her doll *Betzy* was wearing, she shyly explained why the left bootie was finished off with a bright red toe, as revealed in the photograph. "I ran out of copper colored thread and red was all I had to finish the bootie. We thought it looked alright". This was not boastfully said; it was hopeful of our approval—suggesting that it is more important to be thrifty than to be beautiful. They did not know, nor would they have cared, that the red toe actually adds interest from a collector's point-of-view—a collector of Dutch folk art.

Ellen's doll *Susie* can boast of plain black boots, black wool material stitched to the feet and ankles. This represents the style of foot-wear made by the Mennonite cobblers and worn by all members of the sect, today as well as in the past. Ellen lifted her long skirt to illustrate this point.

The primitive cradle constructed from a "store-box" is older than the dolls that rest in it today. Grandfather Reuben Reist made this useful toy for the Carper children



*Susie and Betzy,
Mennonite Dolls
from Lancaster
County.*

Photograph by
Henry J. Kauffman,
1954.

long before the rag dolls were made. He added blunt-end rockers to the old box, which is held together with square handmade nails. The box was coated with a paint made of natural pigments mixed in buttermilk, that has mellowed to a soft warm red. This color of paint was a favorite of the Pennsylvania Dutch folk and was used for many things on the farm and in the house. It added a gay and beautiful warmth to the plainness of their everyday life.

The cradle contains a complete ensemble of bedding in miniature, the kind used by farm folk for many generations and even today when there is no central heating. As a mattress they used a large woven sack, called a tick, filled with straw and chaff. Ellen and Lizzie explained how they helped their mother fill the ticks with fresh straw and chaff at harvest-time, each year. They were cautioned by their mother always to shake the tick each morning to fluff it up and make it more comfortable. Also in the cradle was the usual hand-woven sheet used to cover the straw tick. In some homes this luxury of a sheet was omitted if the dower chest did not provide it.

The dolls had their winter covering, too, a tick filled with feathers. This was an imitation of the usual feather tick made by the industrious housewife who laboriously accumulated feathers from domestic and wild fowl to fill it. To be

appreciated this item of bedding must be experienced and enjoyed by a city guest in a farm room on a cold winter night.

In summer this tick was replaced by a cotton handmade quilt or a hand-woven coverlet. The little girls were taught to piece a quilt for their cradle. Unfortunately their beautifully hand-sewn diamond-patterned calico quilt is not shown in the photograph.

Little Mennonite girls had few toys. Each was created in the home with the idea of not only providing pleasure but of teaching lessons in homemaking. These toys were carefully made to endure from one generation to another, and they seem endowed with all the affection of the various children to whom they belonged.

These particular toys provide a collector of a later era with a knowledge of early life and an appreciation of the hardships experienced by children in America, not only in our Keystone State but in all rural communities.

A recent phone call to the Mennonite Home near Lancaster brought Miss Lizzie Carper to the telephone. She revealed that she was happy and in good health although "eighty years young". She sadly stated that her dear sister, Ellen, had passed away November 19, 1959. Then, with her usual happy voice, she cried out, "Come and make a call soon. Don't forget to bring our two rag dolls, *Susie and Betzy!*"

The Eighteenth-Century Emigration

Photograph by Alf Rapp, Landau.



Half-timbered and stone farmhouses on main street of Kallstadt, wine-village in the Palatinate.

from the Palatinate: New Documentation

By FRITZ BRAUN

Translated and Edited by Don Yoder

Again we offer our readers a valuable new emigrant list from 18th Century German archival sources, valuable especially for the social history materials it provides about the emigrants and their lives in Germany and in the "New Land."

Our list is abstracted from Fritz Braun, *Auswanderer aus Kaiserslautern im 18. Jahrhundert* (Kaiserslautern, 1965), No. 17 in the Series: *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*, published by the Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern. This is a pamphlet of 32 pages, reprinted from the Braun-Rink *Bürgerbuch der Stadt Kaiserslautern 1597-1800*. We have included only the 18th Century materials involving emigrants to the American colonies. The pamphlet includes additional 19th Century American emigration materials, and valuable 18th Century data relating to the Palatine colonies in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Hungary, Galicia, the Batschka, and the Banat.

Of particular value is the long *Amerikabrief* of Philipp Jacob Irion, sent from Virginia to relatives in the Palatinate in 1766, which gives us a glimpse into the life of a well-educated, public-spirited emigrant concerned with American agriculture and trade, the Newlander and redemptioner systems, as well as with, as is the case with so many of the 18th Century letters from America, the problems of getting his inheritance to the new world. The letter is in the florid literary style that was in fashion in 18th Century Germany, full of baroque clichés and French expressions, very different from the peasant-level missives of most of the emigrants.

Equally important for social history is the Moravian *Lebenslauf* of Peter Pfaff (1727-1804) which describes his boyhood and education in Germany, his emigration to Pennsylvania, and his further trek to the Moravian settlements of North Carolina. This document sheds great light on the appeal that the Moravian gospel had for the emigrant generation, and the description of his last years, added by the hand of a Moravian scribe, gives a revealing glimpse into Moravian attitudes toward life and death.

This article is one of a long series of American editions of German articles on the 18th Century emigration which we have had the pleasure of publishing for American readers, genealogists and social historians, in the columns of *Pennsylvania Folklife* and its predecessor, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. For the complete list of our earlier articles on this subject, see Harold A. Lancour, comp., *A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists, 1538-1825: Being a Guide to Published Lists of Early Immigrants to North America, Third Edition*, Revised and Enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe (New York: The New York Public Library, 1963).

Our thanks in connection with the present article, to Dr. Fritz Braun, Director, Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern; and Dr. Fredrich Krebs, Speyer State Archives, Speyer-am-Rhein — EDITOR.

1. **FRIEDRICH LUDWIG HENNOP** (HENOP in the United States), Reformed minister, born at Kaiserslautern, November 7, 1740, student of theology in Heidelberg, 1758-1761, son of the Rector of the Latin School in Kaiserslautern, *Lucas Hennop* and his wife *Johanna Maria Schäfer*. Applying for the parish ministry in America, he was examined March 27, 1765, by representatives of the Synod of the Reformed Church in Holland, and after ordination emigrated to America. He arrived at Philadelphia in October, 1765, after a passage of 15 weeks. His first regular parish was Easton, Pennsylvania, 1766-1770, with outlying churches of Plainfield and Dryland in Pennsylvania and Greenwich in New Jersey. He served the Frederick parish in Maryland, including Walkersville and Middletown, for 14 years, 1770-1784. Many Palatines resided in Frederick and among them the Reformed schoolmaster *John Thomas Schley*, from Mörzheim near Landau, founder of the town of Frederick. From Frederick Pastor Henop made periodical visitations of Virginia. He died in Frederick, October 30, 1784, a respected and beloved minister.

Sources: Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, *Auswanderer-kartei und Familienarchiv*; Reformed Church Registers, Kaiserslautern. For full details of his biography, see William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1954); also *A History of the Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick, Md., 1964).



Area of heavy 18th-Century emigration to the New World.

2. *PHILIPP JACOB IRION*, died (Culpepper County, Virginia?) before 1784, commerce-secretary for the Baden-Durlach government, resident in Eselsfürth, married *Regina Heiler (Heyler)* who died in Kaiserslautern-Eselsfürth, August 7, 1765 (in her death-entry the name of her husband is given as *Johann Philipp Irion*). Philipp Jacob Irion emigrated ostensibly in 1764 with his two eldest sons to Culpepper County, Virginia. However, he is mentioned there in a will already in the year 1759, before the birth of his last daughter, Katharine Regina, in Kaiserslautern. Also in 1774 he was living in Culpepper County, Virginia. His residence he named "Jacobs-Vale" (Jacobs Valley?). One of his letters from the year 1766 was published by Dr. Friedrich Krebs in *Pfälzer Heimat*, 1951, No. 1.

There are not too many letters from emigrants, which like this one are written from the viewpoint of a critical and farseeing man, who was obviously provided with good knowledge. Placed only a few years in a new environment, he gives an excellent picture of the colonization system with its sunny and shady sides, he shows the great possibilities for the economic advance of the new world, to which he commits himself without reserve, and he reveals his unlimited love for the old homeland, for family relations and for his friends. Therefore we have included this letter, in slightly abridged form, within the framework of this article on emigration.¹

Jacobs-Vale, May 9, 1766

My very dear and very esteemed brother!

Since I have been delighted with four letters from you, namely, December 6, 1764, February 11, 1765, April 30, 1765, and May 6, 1765, and each one of them has a separate purport, I will answer them consecutively.

For the gracious act of taking care of those letters which I have taken the liberty of including with this, I thank you most dutifully, and am sorry for the pains I have caused you, but very much more in fact for your long and severe illness. I hope and wish that a long-lasting health may make you forget the misery you had.

To the Court Rifle-maker Hess in Zweibrücken I owed 22 florins, which I sent there through Schmoll a few days before my departure. But (as Schmoll now says) he forgot to pay it and out of fear, failed to acknowledge his blunder to me. You will oblige me very much accordingly if you will pay this honest man the 22 florins in question, explaining the situation to him.

My dear brother, you demand again and again a true, candid, and veracious report of Van Stampel in particular and of this country in general. I wish to be acquainted quite sufficiently with both matters, to be able to give you satisfaction, however, I will do herein what is in my power and thereby take the aforesaid faithfulness, sincerity, and reliability—in short, my conscience—as my guide.

In the last war Van Stampel as a colonel with the Hannover troops; conducted himself in such a way that the King made him a present of 20,000 *morgen* of land in North America, in order to plant the same. Stampel did not have means enough to do this, so he formed a company with some

¹ This letter is of great interest from the linguistic standpoint. First of all, it is dated, addressed, and concluded in French: "Jacobs-Vale, le 9^e May 1766"; "Monsieur, très-honoré et très cher frère!"; . . . "Monsieur, très-honoré et très cher frère / votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur / J. Irion." Similar American-German examples of the use of French in correspondence can be found in the letters of the 18th Century Reformed minister, Abraham Blumer, of Allentown. Irion also uses several English words in the body of his letter: *charter*, *county*, *credit*, and *duti* (duty).

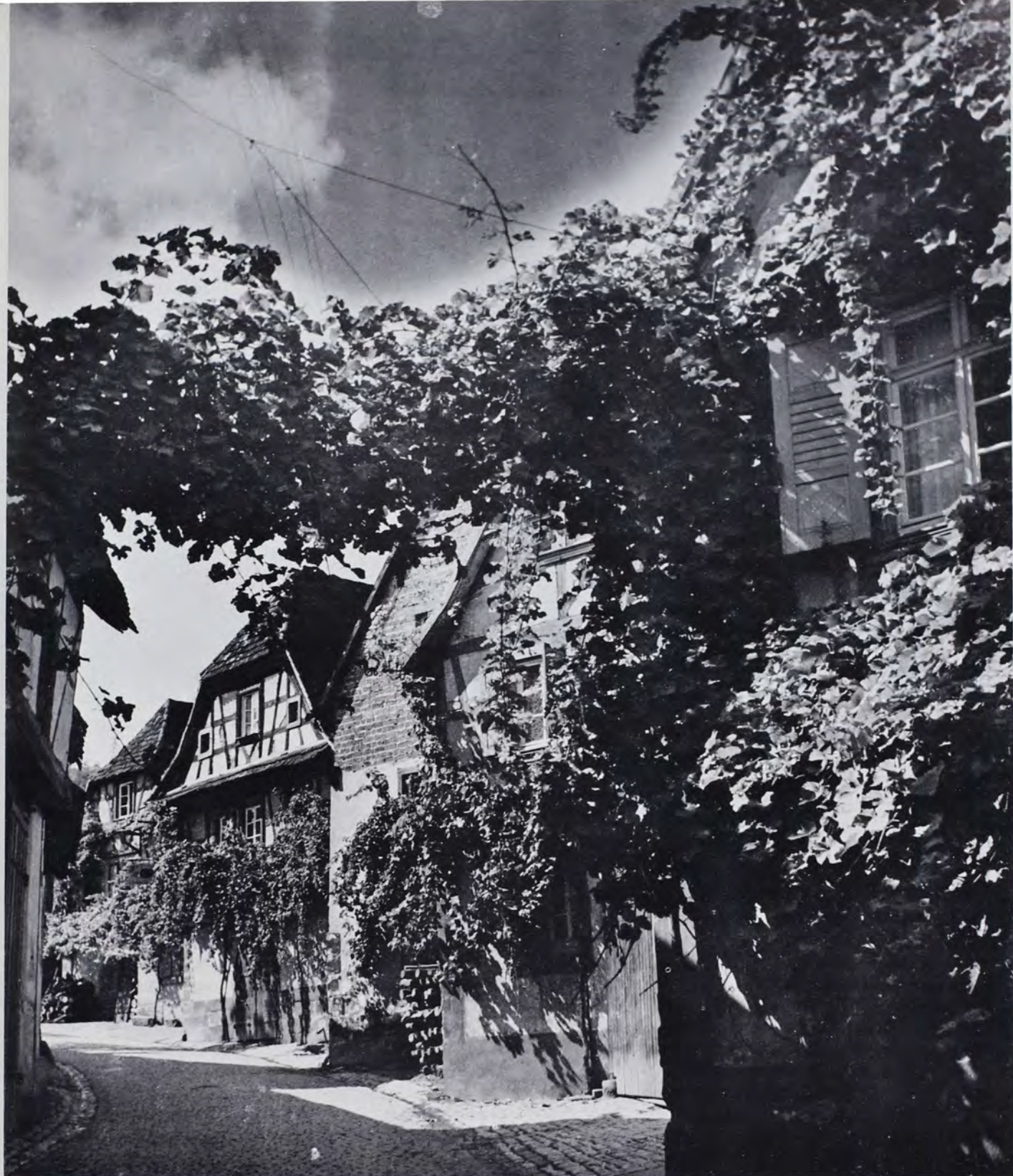
merchants in London and these made an immediate advancement of 20,000 pounds sterling, to bring people from Germany to the land in question. Stampel brought nearly 5000 persons to London and not until he had received the charter for his land from the King did he notice that his land would be given him in the province of North Carolina, and not, as the company believed, in Virginia. This error made the merchants so indignant that they immediately dissolved the company, which made it necessary for Stampel to take flight, leaving the poor Germans to their fate in London, where they had to endure much misery and certainly would have been ruined if the charity of different Englishmen had not taken them up and had them transported free of charge to South Carolina and other provinces.

On the one hand, I praise the warnings put out in Germany by the authorities, since very seldom does a so-called Newlander appear who does not seek to feather his nest at the expense of these poor emigrants, through which circumstance their serving time is much protracted. Our laws order that whoever brings anyone at his expense across the

Pfälzischer Verkehrsverband ph



Winter foodstuffs dry under the barn roof in a South Palatine "Hof" while casks are readied for the autumn vintage.



Vine-covered farmhouses in a Palatine Wine-village.

Photograph by Alf Rapp, Landau.

ocean into this province, to him such emigrants shall be bound to serve for four years without wages. In this time the master must provide board, lodging, and clothing, also he must after the passage of four years give a new suit of clothes or as much as 30 florins on dismissal. Now the Newlanders commonly keep for themselves with the ship captains for each head a certain sum or bring out free a certain number of people whom they then sell here. For this reason the cost of passage comes for the most part one half higher

than it rightly should, so emigrants can never be careful enough.

On the other hand, I wish that my good fellow-countrymen would have more freedom to come here, but also at the same time, that such an arrangement might be made which protected them sufficiently from the more than too manifold treacheries of the Newlanders, since this country wants for nothing but sufficient inhabitants in order to attain such a high level of prosperity compared with which no other



Gimmeldingen's red tile roofs rise along the Haardt Mountains in the Rhine-Palatinate.

Pfälzischer Verkehrsverband photo

could make a show. The soil is rich and produces rich harvests. The waters are full of fish, the forests full of game, the mountains full of rich ores, the air pure and healthy and everyone enjoys such great freedoms, the like of which are to be found nowhere else.

I find nothing to find fault with, except that there are not a thousand times more inhabitants here, which, if it could be, must be nothing but Germans. Since these have the reputation for industry and hard work, while others yield to laziness, do nothing but promenade and ride and plant just as little as is necessary for their housekeeping. Hence probably the proverb which has arisen here—that a German can support himself on a rock. One can ride for half a day in different places, before one gets a single house to see, although there are many inhabitants in this province. Virginia is the largest among all others, Pennsylvania is much more heavily populated, likewise Maryland, yet it is impossible to seek anyone out if one does not know precisely the province and the county in which the person lives.

We still have at this time no further trade than with Old England, the English West Indian islands, and Portugal.² The first takes our tobacco and furs, and we get in return all kinds of linen, woolen, and silk fabrics, hardware, glass, etc. The West Indies get wheat, flour, smoked and salt fish, barrel staves and hoops, we from them sugar, molasses, and rum. Portugal takes wheat, flour, and meat, and sends us wine, lemons, oranges, and salt. Now isn't it an eternal shame, that we have to sacrifice our goods for such things instead of for cash, which things could be made better and

² On the triangular trade, which Irion describes so carefully in this letter, see the recent book by Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1963).

more cheaply in this country, if we had the necessary artisans? Many kinds of artisans, if they are equipped and are pretty familiar with the country, earn so much that a good industrious worker can earn 500 to 600 florins. Because with the exception of foodstuffs we get everything that we need from far across the ocean, everything is uncommonly dear, particularly clothing and especially linen, which is five or six times more expensive than in Germany.

Of the demise of our late mother-in-law I could in fact not read without being touched, all the more because this brought me to consider that I must be prepared for a similar parting from all those whom I esteem higher than the treasures of this world, before I once again will have been able to enjoy the inestimable pleasure of seeing you. I confess that the many calamities with which my entire life is entwined, have oftentimes made me weary of life, yet never so much as now, when I must live in the midst of strangers in an unknown land, very far removed from my friends, whose counsel and help I could console myself with, were I with them. It is a great consolation to me that my most highly esteemed brothers, namely you and our brother the revenue official, want graciously to trouble themselves about me and my children. It gives me hope for a help which I never supposed I would need. I have so conducted myself that I have gained not only the confidence of our company but also of different other respectable merchants and through this I had credit enough to begin something whereby I could not only live but also lay by money.

A theft in my house necessitated me to take my two children again, since I am no longer in position to devote to them the necessary costs for having them educated in a city. Yet I will do everything that is in my power. They have

already come pretty far in the English language, and the German has been carried on without intermission. They give good promise of themselves and I hope that God's blessing will in one way or another again place me in position not to leave their good gifts without exercise.

Very dear brother, if my dear mother should ask you for money, please help her out, since if I can otherwise practicably work it out, I propose to have nothing of the inheritance brought here, and if our brother the revenue official (as I do not doubt at all) wants charitably to take further care of my dear Franz, then half interest is to be applied to my dear mother and Catharina Regina. This is simply and solely what I have to ask. Everything else I leave to your and our brother the revenue official's proven loyalty to me, without proposing a further word about it, except to ask for a report as soon as possible.

Letters, and whatever is to be sent to me in future, must be sent to Mr. Zacharias Mayer, wine-merchant in Rotterdam, as he has my address and will continue to look out for my interests, yet over and above this I enclose my own address. If you should find safe opportunity to send letters here without sending them via Mr. Mayer, then please place my address on them, as I send it, then make a cover for them and put on it the other address, to Messrs. Scott and Lenox, so that when the letters are in America they can go with the post. Please be so good as to forward the enclosed letters, and pardon the trouble occasioned, but count up the postage costs. The place where I now live, I have named Jacobs-Vale. I have made Mr. Lay a commission, if he needs your help, then please support him, since it is of unusually great consequence to me.

Hearty thanks to Mr. Heidweiler for his good wishes, somewhat jokingly written, with regard to the materials. I hope the richness of this country over here will indeed not exclude me from a share in its fruitfulness, although for the above-mentioned reason all remaining enterprises and businesses must languish.

I sympathize quite deeply with the painful condition of your dear Wilhelmine and hope that her health has already for a long time been restored, and that all the rest of your most estimable family [are] still in just as good comfort, at this time, as they were then. God grant a long continuance [to it]!

It is quite a pleasant satisfaction to me, to hear so much good of my little Franz. God continue to be with him and bless our brother the revenue official's further exertions, for which I cannot thank him enough.

I should really be ashamed of myself, my very dear brother, to make for you in regard to these previously mentioned things still more burden and trouble, but since my circumstances are so constituted that I must seek to help myself in divers ways, I hope and pray that you will also pardon me this time, when I request you to send to me, at good opportunity via Mr. Mayer in Rotterdam, everything that will be sent you by my dear mother. And if, as I suppose, our late mother's household linen is distributed, then please also send along the portion that is coming to me, but including nothing among it that is not first sewn up and washed, since whole linen cloth is confiscated. I am writing to Mr. Zacharias Mayer that he is to provide for an opportunity to get it here and then send you word of it, which pray wait for before you send anything. Perhaps you have a friend in Mannheim, who can send it by water to Rotterdam. The safest and best way would be, if it could be sent along with an honest man who is going to Virginia, Maryland, or

Pennsylvania, who must pass it as for his own, when the ship, as is customary, is visited, since each one is allowed to bring along as much as he wants of used linen for his own use.

From the kind remembrance of your brother and the house of Rebell I thank you most warmly and offer them and other good friends my hearty compliments, and assure Mr. Horn the Government Councilor herewith that the tobacco is by no means forgotten. I already would have sent it long ago, if I had had good opportunity, but since no ship may go elsewhere in Europe except direct to England and there the tobacco is not only unpacked, but also six times as much duty as the purchase price must be paid, I do not know how to set about it.

I cannot possibly live without seeing Germany once again and this must happen, just as soon as it ever can be possible.

The love for my friends is much greater than all danger or inconvenience of the ocean [voyage]. Nothing but death shall keep me from seeing you again. But meanwhile give my kindest regards and those of my family (who thank God are quite well) to my friends in constant affection and friendship, assuring them that I shall be and remain, with regard and devotion, Sir, very esteemed and very dear brother, your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. IRION

It remains to be clarified why the emigrant did not bring his wife along to America; with great concern he remembers the two children left behind, who after the death of their mother were attended to by one of his brothers [-in-law].

According to notes of Klaus G. Wust, Arlington, Virginia, Philipp Jacob Irion married in Culpepper County, Virginia, August 12, 1765(?), Sarah Poindexter, who was born about 1744 and died October 27, 1814. The emigrant left behind a large family, which today is predominantly resident in Louisiana.

Sources: Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Auswandererkartei und Familienarchiv; Culpepper County, -Virginia, Will Book A, 1749-1770, p. 490; Lutheran Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; *Pfälzer Heimat*, 1951 and 1957.

3. PETER PFAFF, born at Kaiserslautern, June 24, 1727, died at Bethania, North Carolina, January 22, 1804, son of the citizen Johann Daniel Pfaff, miller of the Hospital Mill [Spittelmüller], emigrated to America in 1749. The birth-date of Peter Pfaff is no longer proveable in Kaiserslautern, because the Lutheran church register in question has been lost. Through correspondence with R. A. Poff,³ Roanoke, Virginia, the editor came into possession of an autobiography of the emigrant himself, which reads as follows:

"I was born June 24, 1727, in the Electoral Palatinate, in the district capital of Kaiserslautern, at which place my father Johann Daniel Pfaff was citizen and master-miller. My mother was Anna Barbara *nee* Hartung. When I was five years old, my father, who had the character of an awakened and peace-loving man, died the death of a Christian, and what my mother later told me about him, I bore well in mind. My mother however, after some time married again, [to] a miller [named] Jacob Bart. This my stepfather

³ The name "Poff" is of course an American form of the family-name Pfaff. As I have pointed out in another connection, this change represents not so much an Americanizing as a dialectizing of it, i.e., spelling it as it was pronounced in the dialect. Other examples: Pfaffenmeier became Puffenmoyer, even Buffamoyer (Dauphin County, Pennsylvania); Pfaffenberger became Poffenberger (Juniata County, Pennsylvania). See "Dutchified Surnames," *S Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch Eck, The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania, September 21, 1946.

took upon himself the oversight of my education and sent me diligently to school. When my schooldays were over, I hired out with various people as driver [*Fuhrmann*], until I went to Pennsylvania in the year 1749.

"I first went to Yorktown and worked there at the blacksmith trade. Quite soon I had opportunity to hear the Brethren [Moravians] preach. Their confident testimony that nothing is effectual before God but grace in the blood of Jesus, was joyous tidings to me, and I was convinced in my heart that this was the true ground of salvation. In 1750 I married Anna Walburga Kerber and soon went with her to my land that I had bought, 15 miles from Yorktown. Since we both loved the Brethren, we agreed to attach ourselves to them; therefore [we] sold this land and moved again to the neighborhood of Yorktown. We soon had the joy, too, to be numbered among their Society [*Societät*]. This made me so very happy that I wished some time afterwards to be united still more closely, through admission into the Moravian Congregation [*Brüder-Gemeine*]. When I spoke with my wife about this, she spoke to this effect, that she did not yet feel this way, but that she would not hinder me. For that reason therefore I came forward and on April 4, 1756, it fell to my happy lot to be able to regard myself, through admission, as a member of the Moravian Congregation.

"On November 4, 1759, my wife and I had the favor to partake of the Holy Communion with the congregation, which brought blessing to our hearts.

"In 1771, with the blessing of the congregation in Yorktown, we left for North Carolina and settled in the Friedberg settlement. Soon after my arrival there, I was named as vestry-man⁴ in the Moravian parish, which office I occupied for four years. Also I was charged with the office of steward of the Friedberg Congregation, which was at that time still very small. When I entered into this office, I spoke simply with the dear Savior about it, entreating Him to stand by me in it with His grace, and to oversee me with His eyes, for otherwise I could not succeed; and that indeed He did the 13 years of my service in that place. The brethren and sisters loved me, and I them; and whatever I had to propose to them in my office, they were always willing to accept. But before the dear Savior I have nothing further to exhibit than His grace and remain His poor sinner."

A scribe of the Moravian Congregation has added the following lines to his autobiography:

"On the 9th of November, 1774, his beloved wife went happily to her Savior. His 24-year marriage had been blessed by God with six children, four sons and two daughters, of whom one daughter preceded him into eternity. From these his children he lived to see 30 grandchildren, of whom 20 are still alive (i.e., in the year 1804). After the death of his wife his children took him into their especial care and managed his farm in the Friedberg settlement for nearly 12 years, until in the year 1786, he with his children, our Brother and Sister Isaac Pfaff, moved hither to the vicinity of Bethania. Here he lived in retirement, had further no particular employment, but helped his son on the farm as much as he could and as his strength permitted, which after some years seemed to decline quite sharply. In 1793 there overtook him suddenly, while he was riding to Bethabara, such a powerful dizzy spell, that

⁴ The document uses a few English words: *Vestry-Mann*, *steward* (in the combination *Steward-Amt*) and *parish* (in the combination *Brüder Parish*); several of these would seem to have been taken over from the vocabulary of the Church of England.



Tile-roofed stairway to ornate second-floor landing, Dörrenbach on the Weinstrasse.

he fell from his horse and could not help himself, but had to be brought home by his son Isaac. From that time on he was markedly weaker, all the more so [as] similar attacks returned from time to time. With all this he came here, as much as his circumstances permitted, to meeting and to the Holy Communion, until some years ago his bodily weakness as well as the gradual decline of his understanding hindered him from it. Then he spent his time at home reading our denominational writings [*Gemeinschriften*],⁵ until finally in the last years his reason so entirely declined that he was no longer able to do even this. For that reason he was a quite special object of our sympathy and supplication to the Savior, in His mercy soon to make an end to his misery.

"Concerning the progress of his heart, there is—especially of the last years—little or nothing to say, because he was seldom so in control of his wits that one could have been able to talk with him properly about these matters. Yet he

⁵ On the place devotional reading held in the lives of the sectarians, cf. the description, by a 19th Century German emigrant, of Uncle Jacob Mellinger, aged 78, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1833: "In a nice little room, which is prettily furnished, he sits the livelong day at his books, reading and praying" ("From the Palatinate to Frontier Ohio: The Risser Letters [1832-1833]," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXX [1956], 52).

testified last summer, when he was visited at one time, and was somewhat serene in spirit, that he had many reasons both for heartily thanking the Savior for His grace and mercy that He showed him, and for being ashamed before Him for his mistakes and oversights, and to appear before Him as sinner, from which we could conclude that in his solitude he was indeed thinking more about himself than he had made manifest through utterances about himself.

"His children testify that they had in him a faithful father, for whom it was very important to train them up in discipline and admonition before the Lord; therefore also he held with them, in their younger years, daily morning and evening prayers [*Morgen- und Abendsegen*]; so that he generally was very much concerned over their outward and inward well-being. Often he had testified to them himself of his own joy and thankfulness over the fact that the Savior had brought them all into His congregation, and until then had preserved his dear ones in the same, and added his wish, that his beloved grandchildren might also enjoy the same happiness in the future, therefore he oftentimes had admonished the latter to love the Savior and to consecrate themselves to Him as His sole possession.



Half-timbered farmhouse, Southern Palatinate.

"On January 4th of this year 1804 such a weak spell overtook him suddenly that his death was hourly expected. He was therefore given, on the request of his children, the benediction for his departure, after he had previously been heartily commended unto the Savior for grace and attainment. His end however was protracted longer than had been expected, and he had to endure yet many difficult things, yet about which—since he was seldom conscious—he did not complain, but mostly lay quite still and quiet. Some days before his end he testified himself, that he would go on this occasion to his Savior. When on the 21st, toward evening, he again became very weak, his children assembled around his bed and sang some verses on death [*Heimgangs-Verse*]. But his departure was further delayed until the following morning, the 22d, toward 4 a.m., when amidst the singing of his children, he went out quietly like a candle, and was released from all his misery and suffering.

"He had brought his age to 76 years, 7 months, less 2 days."

The children of Peter Pfaff, Nos. 1–5 born at York, Pennsylvania, No. 6 at Friedberg, North Carolina, were the following:

1. *Isaac*, born April 25, 1755.
2. *Anna Barbara*, born February 23, 1758.
3. *Anna Maria*, born May 5, 1762.
4. *Samuel*, born August 14, 1764.
5. *Joseph*, born September 28, 1768.
6. *Peter, Jr.*, born January 27, 1773.

From the personal notes of the emigrant we can gather that his mother was Anna Barbara, *nee* Hartung. In actuality Anna Barbara was not the mother, but the stepmother of Peter Pfaff. He himself evidently did not know that she was the second wife of the hospital-miller Johann Daniel Pfaff, who was admitted as citizen of the City of Kaiserslautern on August 23, 1726, and was married first to Maria Magdalena [—]. Up to now only the two following children of this first marriage are known:

1. *Maria Juliana Wilhelmine Pfaff*, born in Kaiserslautern, died in Pomerania, married at Enkenbach, April 4, 1741, *Johann Conrad Eberle*.⁶
2. *Peter Pfaff* (1727–1804), the emigrant.

The father Johann Daniel Pfaff married as his second wife, at Münchweiler an der Alsenz, February 11, 1729, *Anna Barbara nee Hartung*. A child of this second marriage, *Theobald Pfaff*, born (at Kaiserslautern?) 1729, died at Hochspeyer, April 15, 1748, single.

Peter Pfaff reports that his mother (i.e., stepmother) Anna Barbara Hartung, soon after the death of his father, married another miller named Jacob Bart. This concerns *Jakob Barth*, born 1683 and died July 5, 1749, in Hochspeyer, a tenant farmer [*Hofmann*] of the ducal house of Leiningen, who was situated as tenant [*Beständer*] on the Mühlhof at Hochspeyer and had three sons to his first marriage (with *Maria Catharina* [—]): *Peter, Georg, and Heinrich Barth*,

⁶ Johann Conrad Eberle, tailor, member of the Reformed Church, was the son of Johann Görg Ludwig Eberle and his wife Anna Margaretha Schreiner. He was baptized at Kaiserslautern, December 27, 1716, and married at Enkenbach, April 4, 1741, *Maria Juliana Wilhelmina Pfaff*. The Eberle family emigrated in 1747 to Pomerania, settling in the new Palatine colony of Augustwalde, named for Duke August of Braunschweig-Beveren, then Governor of Stettin. Johann Conrad Eberle appears in the list of Palatine farm-owners at Augustwalde 1775, but not in the list of 1800. For Eberle, see also Fritz Braun, *Auswanderer aus Enkenbach seit Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Kaiserslautern, n.d.), *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*, No. 11. This item is of interest since it accents the complex character of the 18th Century German emigration. Many American colonial German emigrants must have had relatives, as did Peter Pfaff, in the other German settlements of Europe as well as other American colonies.

who were all three of them older than Peter Pfaff. It remains only to add that Anna Barbara Barth died March 26, 1746, in Hochspeyer, and that after her death Jakob Barth, on September 7, 1747, entered into a third marriage, with *Maria Ziegler*, daughter of the oil-miller [Ölschläger] from Guntersblum.

What had happened before Peter Pfaff in 1749 made his way to America? His beloved stepmother, whom he had taken for his rightful mother, was already dead three years, his sister Maria Juliana Wilhelmina was married to Johann Conrad Eberle and had been in Pomerania for two years, his stepbrother Theobald had died a year previously and his stepfather was already married for two years to his third wife. Since the exact time of his emigration in the year 1749 is not known, it cannot be said whether Peter Pfaff had lived to see the death of his stepfather on July 5, 1749. At any rate it is not difficult to gain a picture of the young man's frame of mind from the circumstances and occurrences cited. These sensations are clearly to be deduced from the first sentences of his autobiography, even if these were written from the perspective of a mature man. So too it can be understood that Peter Pfaff felt himself appealed to in a peculiar degree by the comforting confession of Moravianism.

In North Carolina the memory of the emigrant Peter Pfaff from Kaiserslautern is preserved in the place-name "Pfafftown." There is therefore in America, now for nearly 200 years, a parallel with the name "Pfaffstadt," a very recent nickname for Kaiserslautern, from the location there of the great Pfaff Sewing-Machine Factories. Actually the forefathers of the emigrant and those of the founder of the Pfaffwerke are the same family.

Sources: Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Auswandererkartei und Familienarchiv; Lutheran Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; Reformed Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; Ludt, *Hochspeyer: Die Geschichte eines Dorfes* (Otterbach, 1959).

4. *CARL PHILIPP PLANNET*, born at Kaiserslautern, October 6, 1757, son of the button-maker *Johann Anton Planet*, born in Treysa in Hesse, and his wife *Maria Philippina Dieterich*, arrived in Philadelphia as emigrant on the ship *Adolph* and took his oath of allegiance immediately after his arrival on August 27, 1785. The *Philadelphische Correspondenz* of May 9, 1786, announces that the button-maker C. Philipp Plannet, born in Kaiserslautern, has run away from his employer, *Joseph Muszi*, in Philadelphia. Plannet obviously did not last very long in America, for on October 19, 1794, his marriage is recorded in the Reformed Church Register of Kaiserslautern, to *Salome Compter*, born at Kaiserslautern, April 20, 1770, daughter of the master tawer [Weissgerbermeister] *Adam Compter*. Carl Philipp Plannet (Planet) died at Kaiserslautern February 3, 1804.

Sources: Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Auswandererkartei und Familienarchiv; Reformed Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; Strassburger and Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1934), III, 5.

5. *JOHANN HENRICH SCHAFER (SCHEFFER)*, from Rutsweiler, citizen and linenweaver; married *Anna Magdalena* [—]. In the Protocols of the City Council of Kaiserslautern, May 11, 1744, it is reported that Heinrich Schäfer is on the point of transferring his residence "into the so-called New Land or Pennsylvania." Since "this emigrating Heinrich Schäfer and his son find themselves with meager means, the title of both, in consideration of this fact and on

behalf of the Council, was reduced to 13 florins." Heinrich Scheffer can be identified as passenger of the ship *Friendship*, which arrived at Philadelphia, November 2, 1744.

Children, No. 1 born presumably at Rutsweiler, Nos. 2-4 at Kaiserslautern:

1. *Henrich, Jr.*, married *Elisabetha Catharina* [—]; their daughter *Catharina* was born at Kaiserslautern, March 2, 1738.

2. *Anna Margretha*, born September 5, 1723, twin.

3. *Maria Salomea*, born September 5, 1723, twin.

4. *Susanna*, born August 2, 1727.

Sources: Reformed Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; Council Minutes [Ratsprotokoll], Kaiserslautern, May 11, 1744; Strassburger and Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1934), I, 357.

6. *JOHANN JACOB SCHLOSSER*, born at Kaiserslautern, October 8, 1732, master locksmith [Schlossermeister], son of *Johann Peter Schlosser* and wife *Anna Margaretha*; married at Kaiserslautern, February 15, 1759, to *Maria Catharina Brauns*, daughter of *Leonhard Brauns* and wife *Anna Catharina Wagner*. He emigrated without his wife and children to America and was in 1766 in Jacobs-Vale, Virginia, with Philipp Jacob Irion (q.v.), who had made possible his passage. Because of bad conduct to his benefactor, he had to leave Jacobs-Vale.

Son, born at Kaiserslautern, *Johann Mathias*, born January 23, 1760.

Sources: Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Auswandererkartei und Familienarchiv; Reformed Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; *Pfälzer Heimat*, 1951 and 1957.

7. *JOHANNES WEBERLING (WEBERLIN)*, master weaver, Lutheran, son of the citizen and weaver at Kaiserslautern, *Peter Weberlin*; married, secondly, at Kaiserslautern, August 26, 1750, to *Maria Salome Edelmann*, daughter of the deceased master-baker at Katzweiler, *Johann Peter Melchior Edelmann* and his wife *Anna Margaretha Schremm*. The couple emigrated to America in 1751. After the baptismal entry in the church register, May 23, 1751, is the notation: "Went to the New Land Tuesday after the baptism," i.e., on May 25, 1751.

This Johannes Weberling (Weberlin) could be identical with Johannes Weber, who took his oath of allegiance at Philadelphia on September 5, 1751. It is not uncommon for emigrants to change or shorten their names. Worthy of note in this connection is the fact that after him in the oath-list one *Johannes Lindöhmer* has entered his name. Might this not be "Lindemer" from the village of Bann? That would be quite possible. Since at that time people from the same area of origin decided on joint emigration, it might be possible to identify "Weber" here as "Weberling." This case can only be cleared up if among the settlers in America a Johannes Weberling or a Johannes Weber is discovered, who had a wife Maria Salome Edelmann and a daughter Margaretha.

Son of the first marriage of Johannes Weberling, married at Kaiserslautern, January 22, 1737, to *Anna Ottilia* [—], widow of *Ludwig Schaffer*, born at Kaiserslautern: *Johann Ludwig*, born September 5, 1738.

Daughter of the second marriage, born at Kaiserslautern, *Margaretha*, born May 22, 1751.

Sources: Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Auswandererkartei und Familienarchiv; Lutheran Church Registers, Kaiserslautern; Strassburger and Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1934), I, 452.

Contributors to This Issue

DR. EARL F. ROBACKER, White Plains, New York, is well known to the readers of *Pennsylvania Folklife* as our Antiques Editor. A lifelong collector of Pennsylvaniana, he has written widely on antiques and folk art of the Dutch Country. His most recent book, *Touch of the Dutchland*, has just appeared, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1965.

FRANK BROWN, Reading, Pennsylvania, whose sketch on "Mountain Mary" we reprint in this issue, was a Berks County journalist, editor of the *Reading Eagle* at the end of the 19th Century, and one of the first journalists to turn his attention to gathering local lore. The latter portions of his article are a pioneer example of the interview technique by a lay folklorist in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country.

AMOS LONG, JR., Annville, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, farmer and high school teacher, has been interested in Pennsylvania folk architecture, especially the smaller buildings on the farm. His previous articles on springhouses, smokehouses, summer-kitchens, ground-cellars, etc., have appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife*. His article in this issue discusses the once common Pennsylvania Dutch rural practice of limeburning and its visible institution, the limekiln.

MARION BALL WILSON, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, teaches at Penn Hall Seminary, Chambersburg, and has been a lifelong collector of Pennsylvania Dutch antiques. Her articles on cookery and antiquery have appeared in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*. Her most recent article, "Christmas among the Pennsylvania Dutch," appeared in *Parents' Magazine*, December 1965.

DR. FRITZ BRAUN, Kaiserslautern, Germany, is Director of the Heimatstelle Pfalz, the institution engaged in the study of the historical demography of the Palatinate, the area from which so many of our 18th Century emigrants came to Pennsylvania and other colonies. Dr. Braun is working on migrations into the Palatinate, especially from Switzerland, and emigration from the Palatinate, to other parts of Germany, to Eastern Europe, and to the American Colonies. He is the editor of the series, *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*.

