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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE



AUTUMN 1977



SULFUR INLAY FURNITURE

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F *Pennsylvania* **FOLKLIFE**

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COVER:

Our cover shows the walnut wardrobe made for Georg Huber in 1779. It is 83 inches in height and is decorated with sulfur inlay. An unquestioned masterpiece of the Pennsylvania German cabinet-making craft, it was found in Lancaster County. Unfortunately, the name Huber is so common in the area that it has thus far been impossible to identify the original owner. Photograph courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where the original is displayed in the new Pennsylvania German Galleries.

Sulfur Inlay in Pennsylvania German Furniture

By Monroe H. Fabian

In any survey of the Pennsylvania German crafts, painted furniture very easily attracts the most attention. In a way its preeminence is unfortunate, for the merits of our craftsmen's inlaid furniture are thus often overlooked. Indeed, because of this nearsightedness one of the most unusual techniques of Pennsylvania German furniture decoration has been heretofore only inadequately documented. This is the so-called "poor man's" or "white wax" inlay. Written notice of this technique seems first to have appeared in the descriptive literature within the past twenty years.

In November of 1958 *Antiques* reproduced as its frontispiece a photo of the great Huber wardrobe or *Schrank* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 1). Opposite the illustration, on the editorial page, were comments quoted from notes provided by Frances Lichten. Miss Lichten had stated that the ornament was "executed in an obscure technique known as wax inlay," which she said, "seems to have no early European antecedents, and only a few insignificant

nineteenth century descendants on very minor artifacts."¹

Some months later the same magazine published a feature article by Miss Lichten in which the Huber wardrobe was described in detail and in which three other items with similar inlay were pictured. In the article the inlay was said to have been called *Wachseinlagen* in Germany.²

No samples of the inlay are known to have been taken from the Huber piece prior to the appearance of Miss Lichten's article, and she gave no indication as to the source of her information. Her observation, however, was accepted and has been repeated numerous times in lectures and publications. Recent research shows that she was wrong on the identification and naming of the inlay material and the technique.

¹*Antiques*, November 1958, pp. 416 and 417.

²Frances Lichten, "A masterpiece of Pennsylvania-German furniture," *Antiques*, February 1960, pp. 176-178.

Figure 2: Chest over drawers, walnut with sulfur inlay, dated 1783 on the interior, height, 29 1/2". This piece is said to have been made for a woman of the Dietrich family living south of Ephrata. The motifs are quite distinctive. National Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution.



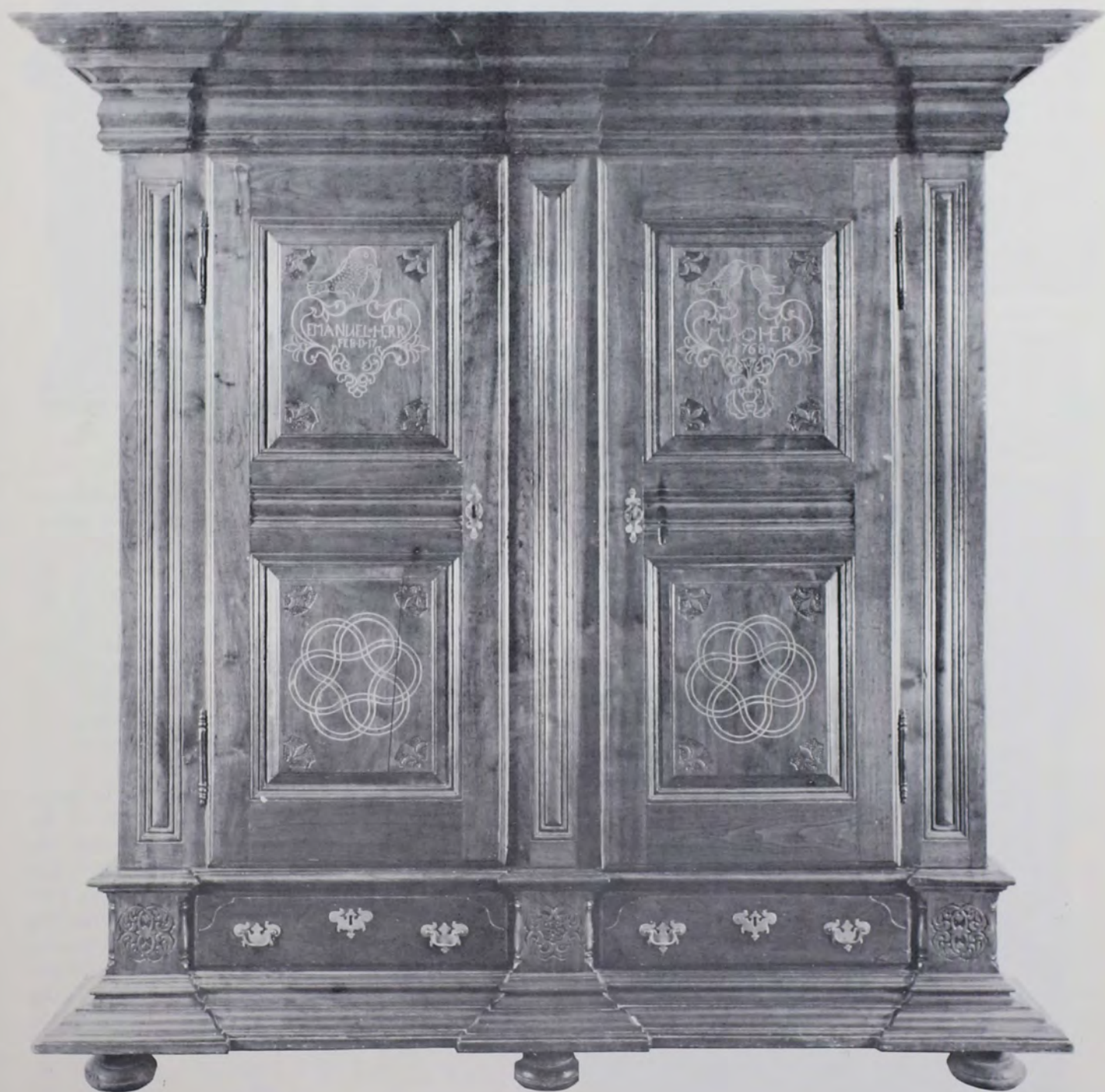


Figure 3: Wardrobe made for Emanuel Herr and his wife, walnut with sulfur inlay, dated February 17, 1768, height 89 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". This was probably made in the workshop which produced the furniture shown in the preceding illustrations. The depiction of a family of parrots is possibly unique in Pennsylvania German art. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

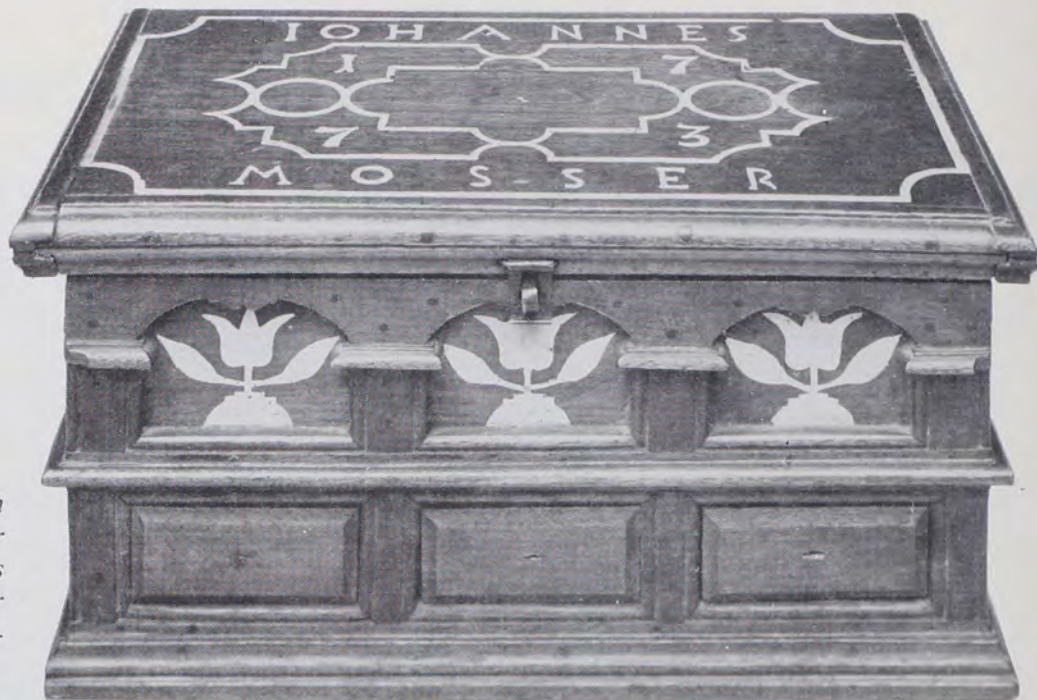
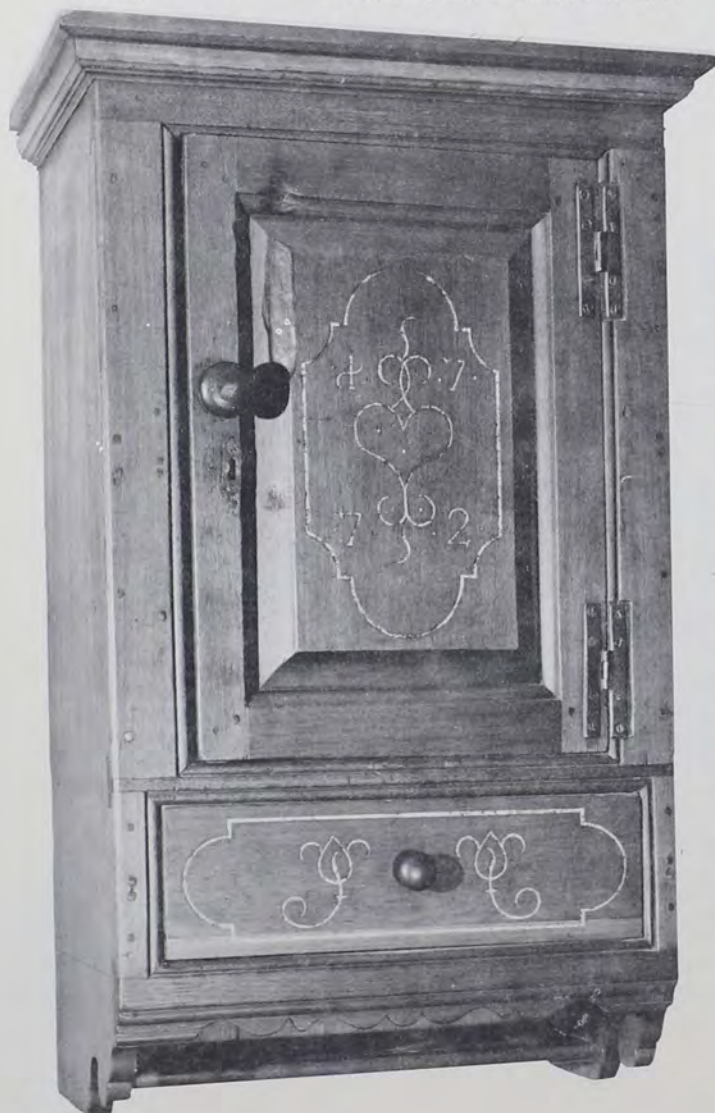


Figure 4: Box in the form of a miniature chest over drawers, made for Johannes Mosser, walnut with sulfur inlay, 1773, height 7³/₈". Winterthur Museum.

Figure 5: Hanging cupboard, walnut with sulfur inlay, 1772, height 33". Philadelphia Museum of Art.



In the Spring of 1976, the Smithsonian Institution acquired at auction in Pennsylvania an inlaid walnut chest almost certainly by the master cabinetmaker who constructed the Huber wardrobe (Fig. 2). After the chest was brought to Washington, fragments of the inlay were tested in the Conservation-Analytical Laboratory of the Smithsonian Institution. One fragment was found — by X-ray-powder diffraction — to consist of sulfur. Further examination of additional samples by infrared analysis indicated sulfur as the element used for inlays on the drawer fronts and the ends of the chest.³

Subsequently, samples of inlay from five other pieces of furniture were tested in the laboratories of the Smithsonian Institution and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. The samples were taken from the 1768 Herr wardrobe (Fig. 3) and the 1773 Mosser box (Fig. 4) at Winterthur, the 1772 hanging cupboard (Fig. 5) and the 1779 Huber wardrobe at the Philadelphia Museum, and the 1792 Schweizer chest (Fig. 6) in a private collection. In all cases the material of the inlay proved to be sulfur. In one case the sample contained a second mineral. Ten to thirty per cent of the sample taken from the Huber wardrobe was identified as white lead. It cannot be determined without additional sampling and testing if this white lead was a component of the original inlay or whether the sample was taken from a spot where the sulfur of the original inlay had been patched at a later date.

³Smithsonian Institution Conservation-Analytical Laboratory Report No. 2470, April 30, 1976.



Figure 6: Chest, walnut with sulfur inlay, made for Fridrich Schweizer, 1792, height 22 1/2". The chest was probably made for the original owner in Lancaster County. He took it with him to what is now Snyder County where he died and is buried in Jackson Township. Mr. and Mrs. W. Charles Stroup. Photo, Max Hirshfeld.

Including the items already mentioned, a total of twenty-two pieces of furniture with yellowish non-wood inlay have now been recorded. There is one cradle, grandfather clock, table, night table, hanging cupboard, desk, chest-of-drawers and miniature chest, five wardrobes and nine chests. The dated pieces are marked: 1765, 1768, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1779, 1781, 1783, 1786, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1792 (2), 1794 and 1820. All the furniture is made of walnut and a number of craftsmen must have been involved in its production. The styles exhibited by the various objects certainly do not all seem to be the output of only one shop.

It was once thought — when only a handful of sulfur-inlaid pieces were known — that this technique was practiced exclusively in Lancaster County. Having catalogued more, however, we see that sulfur inlay must have been in use over a considerable area of Southeastern Pennsylvania. The little that we know of the first owners of some of the furniture indicates origins in Adams, York, Lancaster, Lebanon, and possibly Chester Counties.

As decoration on wood, sulfur inlay is just as handsome as the more usual wood inlay. It is a decorative technique that certainly was faster to execute than that effected with pieces of wood veneers. Most of the time needed to execute any job of inlay being done with the sulfur would have been taken up with the cutting of the design into the walnut boards.



Figure 7: Detail of the inlay on the face of the Schweizer chest. Where the sulfur has fallen out due to water damage one can easily see the depth of the channel prepared for the inlay. Photo, Max Hirshfeld.

The boards to be inlaid would first have been laid out with a straight edge, a compass, and a stylus or scribe. An instrument with two points may well have been used to trace the parallel lines which delineate so many of the areas that hold the sulfur. The space between the lines was carefully cut away to a depth of as much as three-sixteenths of an inch and the channels thus formed were filled with the sulfur (Fig. 7).

Air bubbles in the inlays indicate that the sulfur was introduced into the channels in a molten state. This obviously also made the technique of inlay with sulfur much faster than that of wood inlay. The numbers of hours saved by not having to trim the light colored wood veneer was considerable. No veneer had to be carefully cut to fit exactly into the channels in the walnut nor did it have to be

glued and weighted until the glue had set. As soon as the sulfur had cooled and hardened, the excess could be polished off the surface of the walnut and the inlay work was complete.

The subtle range of color that can be found in sulfur inlay can be explained by the nature of the mineral itself. Most commonly, pure solid sulfur is of a pale yellow color. It is, however, also observed in nature as being straw or honey yellow, yellowish brown, greenish or reddish yellow, yellowish brown or true "sulfur yellow."⁴ It is easy to understand how the lighter tones of sulfur could be misunderstood as being a "white wax" compound.

Numerous times we have heard convincing stories of how later coats of varnish or shellac have given the original inlay of white lead and beeswax a yellowish cast. Until now, these stories were unhesitatingly accepted as valid observations.

The inlaying of furniture with sulfur may well be a Pennsylvania German innovation. It is hard to imagine that there is not a European antecedent for this technique, but that does seem to be the case. Examination of decorative arts collections in the German

⁴"Sulfur," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 21, col. 537 (edition of 1966).



Figure 8: Wardrobe, walnut with sulfur (?) inlay, made for David Muma and his wife, 1768, height 83 5/8". Chris A. Machmer. Photo, Decorative Arts Photo Collection, Winterthur. This wardrobe was described in 1854 as seen by an anonymous traveler; it was then at York, Pennsylvania. See "From Paoli to Frederick in 1854: An Anonymous Travel Account," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII, 3 (Spring 1968), 17.

and Swiss museums and conversations with their curators have provided us with not one prototype.

Nevertheless, there is a hint of a European origin for either the sulfur inlay technique or the craftsman who first used it in Pennsylvania. One of the author's informants, a Swiss-born cabinetmaker and furniture conservator, has stated that about forty years ago there were still craftsmen in his native country who used sticks of sulfur or resin for various kinds of repair work. The sticks were heated until malleable and the softened material was used as an adhesive and sealing compound on both furniture and metal objects.⁵ It is certainly possible that an enterprising Pennsylvania craftsman turned the use of

⁵Conversations with Walter Angst, Washington, D.C., 1977.

stick sulfur from the practical to the decorative.

Sulfur inlay may also be found in other areas of German settlement on the East Coast. There is a chest with "white wax inlay" in the Henry Ford Museum. It is dated 1801 and is inscribed as having been made in Hardy County, Virginia (now in West Virginia) by Godfrey Wilkin. It is hoped that the inlay material will soon be tested. There are also a number of pieces of furniture in North Carolina that have non-wood inlay that may turn out to be sulfur. Interesting enough, North Carolina has a number of tombstones with inlay that is said definitely to be sulfur.⁶

⁶Information kindly provided by Bradford Rauschenberg, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, N.C.



Figure 9: Chest of drawers made for Casper Renaker, walnut with sulfur (?) inlay, height 51 3/4". Found in Hanover, the original owner may have lived there or elsewhere in York County. The chest was rebuilt in the 19th Century and the turned feet and wooden pulls date from the rebuilding. Chris A. Machmer. Photo, Decorative Arts Photo Collection, Winterthur.



Figure 10: Desk made for George Gelwicks, walnut with sulfur (?) inlay, 1790, height 45". The desk was found in York County where the 1790 census lists three households of the Gelwicks family. Ray Marion.

We may never have all the answers to questions concerning the history of sulfur inlay in America, but a study has at least finally begun. It will be appreciated if readers would inform the Editor of this magazine about furniture known to them that may have sulfur inlay. Perhaps someone even knows of a cabinetmaker's notebook giving instructions for the technique. One can hope.

(This article could be written only because of the cooperation of the following: Anne Golovin, Walter Hopwood, Joan Mishara and Robert Organ at the National Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution; Bea Garvan at the Philadelphia Museum of Art; and Janice Carlson, Victor Hanson, Charles Hummel and George Reilly at Winterthur.)

Since completing this article the author has discovered a most interesting little book. It is John White's *A rich Cabinet, with Variety of Inventions...*, first published in London in 1651. In a copy of the 4th edition, 1668, in the Library of Congress, one can read "Receit XLVII, How to In-lay Boxes, Cabinets, or other things with hard wax." A few pages ahead in the book is given the directions to make red and green waxes using wax, turpentine, sweet oyl, Anchusa root or vermilion or verdigrease. Is it possible that the story of wax inlay in Pennsylvania furniture got started because of Miss Lichten or her informant knowing of this rare little work? The inlay process described is exactly that that would have been followed by using the sulfur technique.



Figure 11: Wardrobe, walnut with sulfur inlay. Inscribed: M.L/ &/ E.M.L/ 1776, height 98, length 71 1/2, depth 19 3/4. Courtesy Miss Esther Nissly and James Henry. Photo: J. S. Zengerle. This wardrobe was made for Michael and Eva Magdalena Ley and was in use in the Ley house until 1834. In 1970 the present owners of the Ley property (now known as Tulpehocken Manor) purchased the wardrobe and returned it to the house.

"ORDERS WHAT'S TO BE DONE AT THE PLANTATION": THE ISAAC NORRIS FARM ACCOUNTS, 1713-1734

BY WILLIAM T. PARSONS

Over the years, one of the sources of evidence concerning the folklife of country people of preceding generations, has been the generally uneven nature of written or printed accounts of daily actions, or of the patterns of occupational, craft, or cultural activities. Servants and tradesmen were too busy in field, farm and shop to take the time required to record their daily chores. Many were not sufficiently literate to describe such experiences, had they so wished. Still other working types would have considered such descriptions a mere waste of time, for it was well understood that those actions and routines were daily matters, hardly worth recording. Servants, workers and tradesmen were occupied at jobs they understood and valued; writing about them would be quite superfluous.

On the whole, opportunities in colonial Pennsylvania were greater than in most neighboring provinces. Landless persons gradually managed to accumulate cash and then purchased unclaimed or unoccupied acres. By doing so, they advanced in both economic and social status. Yet, in a seeming retrogression, German, Scots-Irish, Irish and English emigrants became indentured servants, temporarily at least, rejoining the ranks of the unfree workers. They bound themselves to a master for a specified term of years, often five or seven, or as minors, were indentured by parents or guardians for those remaining years until the young worker reached his majority, at the age of eighteen.

Thus sea captains and financial speculators, as well as conscientious friends of those who would improve themselves, received payment for expenses incurred. They had shipped migrant arrivals to the New World; they had insured the apprentice training of young persons, all of this quite compatible with the meaning of opportunity in Penn's Province.

Much of that kind of information has gone unrecorded for lack of a scribe to write down those matters and concerns. Occasionally we do discover much real evidence regarding agrarian procedures and the daily tasks of a by-gone day. Such a storehouse of information is the collection of directives, orders and asides, written by Isaac Norris (1671-1735), called the Councillor. He was a Quaker merchant and business leader, and he wrote of his accumulation

of land. He located in the city of Philadelphia and in the then rural paradise of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia.¹ He wrote of his interests and his land tracts during the prime of his life, between the years 1713 and 1734, that is until just shortly before his death in June 1735.

His plantation of Fairhill stood to the north of the burgeoning city and trading port of Philadelphia. The mansion house he completed in 1717 was near the halfway point of the road from Frankfort to Germantown, close by the site Arnold Cassell had donated for construction of the Fair Hill Friends Meeting House. Three generations of Norrises wrote of retiring "to the rural pleasures of the plantation at Fairhill," before British General William Howe had his occupation troops burn the mansion house as a part of his defensive action, which destroyed a full dozen such Philadelphia landmarks in the War for Independence during late fall, 1777.²

The elder Isaac Norris was a responsible leader on the political, religious and economic scene of early 18th Century Pennsylvania. Norris was cited as a fine example of leadership in both *Meeting House and Counting House* by Frederick B. Tolles some thirty years ago.³ Agricultural innovator and systematic businessman that he was, Norris wrote long letters, kept a daily journal, and entered many items into his account books himself. For his Journal, he had blank pages interspersed with printed pages of several of the leading almanacs of his time, Leeds', Jerman's, and Taylor's, among others.

This country squire who was a Friend, maintained detailed financial records of his numerous enterprises, of his several plantations, and of the many farmers and tradesmen who worked for him. Norris and his sons kept a set of books in his own version of double-entry bookkeeping, which utilized numbered accounts, and which was a model of efficiency in the early years of the province. Those books are still available

¹William T. Parsons, "Isaac Norris the Councillor, Master of Norriton Manor," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County*, XIX (1973), 3-33. Henceforth, *Bulletin HSMCo.*

²William T. Parsons, "The Lives and Interests of Isaac Norris I and II," *Bulletin, HSMCo.*, XIII (1961), 5-24.

³Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), pp. 97-98, 124-136.



Charles Norris (1712-1766) son of Isaac Norris Sr. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

to us today, in the manuscript collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia, both at Thirteenth and Locust Streets, and in the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Museum near Rittenhouse Square.

Identification, location and clarification of persons and places has been added where possible, but the essential quality of the curt and cryptic notations most often speak for themselves. Norris, of course, was simply maintaining his accounts; he did not attempt to characterize nor to describe those who toiled for him, though some such information appears incidentally.

The following are selective entries, not always consecutive, though for the most part in sequence as written down. I have not attempted to include complete journal pages, though someday Norris of Fairhill family records may still be available in print. I have

silently expanded abbreviated forms of everyday words, so as to maintain some readability. Capitalization of nouns and key words remains essentially as written by Norris two hundred and fifty years ago. His was the Old Style calendar, when March was the First Month, and of course, Norris as a Friend, preferred the numerical designation instead of Roman.⁴

⁴Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, (1752), p. 3. Franklin explained the New Style Calendar: "Kind Reader: Since the King and Parliament have thought fit to alter our Year, by taking eleven Days out of September 1752 and directing us to begin our Account on the First of January, it is so done...At the Yearly Meeting of the People called Quakers, held in London, since the Passing of this Act, it was agreed to recommend to their Friends a Conformity thereto...and beginning the Year hereafter, on the first Day of the Month called January, is hereforth to be by them called and written *The First Month*, and the rest likewise in their Order."

1713 (bound with *Taylor's Almanack*)⁵

19th 11 mo. [January] — Mathias Pamphilius Bager began to teach my children.

12 mo. [February] — The Liverpool Ship arrived the 23d.

24th: Assembly adjourned to 23d next month. Memo. Richard Redman Tells me that his bargain with Thomas King for making and burning the bricks at my Plantation is as followes: The Said Thomas King is to make fifty or sixty Thousand of good Sound well burnt bricks and to find all Labour, vizt: digg the Clay, cut the Wood, Mold Sett burn and deliver them. For which he is to have Eighteen Shillings Per Thousand in name, but deliver as many overplus like good bricks in tale, as will reduce that price to Sixteen Shillings and Six pence Per Thousand, and is to have the Wood brought to place & Sand found. The pay not to Exceed half mony.

7th 1 mo. [March] — Watson's Negro left Sawing in Evenings, who began the 17th Xbr [December] The Same Day I run a Line South 13½ degrees East from my house to the Plantation of S[amuel] C[arpenter].⁶

11th — Tapt the pipe of wine.

21 — Began to plant the Orchard. Ended the 23d.

25 — Ordered William & Addoo to work with the brick Layers to help burn the bricks; they say 5/6 per diem for both. Sirom[?] did not come till the 30th day, then Addoo with William — a half day.⁷

31 — Addoo with William 1 day to help Ned Jerman Load. Ended ploughing the New Ground by the 31.

4th 2 mo [April] — Adoo compleated this week to the 4th with Sirom & Redman; workt 5½ days.

22 — He began with Redman & ca. again this day. They Lay'd the foundations of t'other outhouse. The 20th they began to Lay on the floor. 24 — Raised the principal part.

3d 4 mo [June] — Our boys went to William Robins to Schoole.

8th 4 mo [June] — James Norris's Man went to Saw at my Plantation at 3 PM.

11th — He began to diet at my Charge for 9 pence Per day. He staid till the 23d at Night & then went home.

25th 5 mo — Sent Harry to Work with Thomas King but it raining, he returned by noon and planted the Cellery. Harry went again to Thomas King and workt.

8th 6 mo [August] — Frank the Sawyer left off the 8th day; drew the Clamp the 7th.

To send for in 7br [September] — powder, Lead, Kirseys, Cantaloons, Druggetts, Blocks & Rowles for Sashes, Shoes for family, fine boulted Cloths, Rigging for a Sloop, Points.

⁵MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁶Samuel Carpenter (1649-1714) was reputed to be the wealthiest Friend in the Province of Pennsylvania. See Tolles, pp. 17-18.

⁷Addoo, Cuffee and Dick were three of the six Black Servants of Isaac Norris.

1715 (bound with *Leeds' Almanack*)⁸

Janry the 4th — Hired John Beesly to Cart & work at Plantation for a month at 15 pence. Paid John Beesly off: 3 pence for 5 days.

12th — John Kerbin to cart for me at Two Shilling 3 pence Per day — He find [feeds] himself; begins this day. Paid him off at 15 Shillings 9 pence — in full for 7 days.

7th 12 mo [February] — Pruned my Vines in Garden the 7th & 9th days.

20th 2 mo [April] — John Richmond Sailed from Glocester the 20th & went down the Bay 25th. John Jones arrived the 20th from Barbados & islands.

4th 3 mo [May] — Jones in the *Little Hannah* for Barbados & Thomas James in the *Margaret* for Cape Britton, sailed the 4th. William Lea in the *Rachel* arrived from Antigua this month.⁹

4 mo [June] — Began to mow the Swamp in Lower Meadow and got all in the 13th, being 3 Midling Cart loads. William Walker went to help Daniel the 16th in morning & came away the 19th at night — charge him 3 days. Began to Grubb the piece for Turnips the 20th day. Began to mow the upland in Meadow the 25th and got it in the 30th.

15th 5 mo [July] — The *Rachel*, William Lea, Master, Sailed.

18th — The *Hannah*, John Jones, arrived from Barbados, having toucht at Currasoa, but sold none. Same day, Harry & Sam Shipt on the *Charles* for New Foundland & began to Load. Harry came off the 21st, & Stayed 3 days. Shipt out the 25th.

July 27th — Tools taken to Plantation: 6 Gimletts, sorted; 1 puncher; 1 Joyners hatchet; 1 Tomahawk; 1 Spoke sheave; 1 hand saw Sett; 1 broad Chisel; 1 3/4 Auger; 1 pair pincers; 1 heading Chisel; 1 saw: to whet; 1 Mason's chisel; 1 mortice Chisel; 1 hammer: to helper; 2 Clamps; 1 scribing tool; 2 triangle files; the Smal Graft Saw.

1st Aug't — Bernard Taylor Sailed for N[ewfoundland?]. John Jones sailed the 4th.

22th 7br [September] 1715 — Thomas James arrived from Cape Britton & F. Ryall. John Jones Sailed for Sasafra the 13th 7br.

8th 9br [November] — James Carter in the Sloop *Betty*, sailed for Jamaica.

29th — Bernard Taylor left From Town the 29th, for New Castle the 3d Xbr; from Bumbay Hook the 10th — but hear he came back again & did not sail till the 14th Xbr.

Xbr [December] — Sold my ¼ of the Sloop *Margaret*, Thomas James, Master, to Brother [Samuel] Preston the 3d, for 40Pounds mony & 185 Ga. &ca. [?] He to pay all Charges since the last Voyage.¹⁰

⁸MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1715, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1716 (Bound with *Leeds' Almanack*)¹¹

Janry — Memo. Charge Thomas Miller half of 2 Oak planks used at the Well by Kleinhooft.

30 1 mo [March] — The *Rachel*, William Lea, Master, sailed from Philadelphia & the *Ruby*, Richard Braston, Master, the Same day.

2 mo. [April] — The Year's Account: Thomas Potts, Dr.: 5 ewes; 2 weathers; 2 sheep; 1 ram; 1 lamb; 8 calves.

28th 6 mo [August] — Caesar came up to plantation & he & James dug the foundation for the henhouse.

20th 7br — This night John Colain finished the henhouse.

21 — Began to dig Stones & 22d & then went to Brother [Samuel] Preston.

In a brief exchange of letters, Isaac Norris and Francis Daniel Pastorius, known also as "the German Quaker," during the days following 12th 1 mo, 1716/7 (i.e. following March 12, 1717) Pastorius requested the aid of Norris to clarify some land matters, since the German felt himself to be on his deathbed. FDP to IN, March 12, 1717: "I question not, thou still remembrest, that when I was last time with our Friend James Logan in thy Room, you both, after a solid Consideration, did Promise me a Patent &c., the which he, James, repeated to me at his house."¹² IN to FDP, March 13, 1717, having endorsed the FDP letter to James Logan, then commented upon the friendship of these old pioneers: "Were it not for my lameness I would have seen thee ere now, but am not without hope that we see each other again. However that may be, we must rest in ye Will of God as (to my Pleasure) I see thou does. Chearfullness & humanity sit well upon a religious mind and methinks I see those Charrecters remain beautifully on thee in thy affliction."¹³

FDP to IN, March 15, 1717: "Isaac Norris, My Rare and Real Friend, as I at present may Justly Stile thee according to the Old & tru Saying, 'A Friend In Need, A Friend Indeed.' Thy Letter seemed little Inferior to me than if thou hadst Personally Visited thy poor Friend....One Favour more of thee, as concerns the Patent, Carefully to read it over, so that after the Great Seal is affixed thereto, no error may be found....A few days ago, I never thought to have troubled my head so much about this fading Spot of ground, being desirous to launch forth into

the vast Spaces and Mansionhouses of Eternity. However, since upon the Instance of my Youngest Son, it is now Carried so far, Let it (under God's ordering hand) be finished."¹⁴

Isaac Norris not only exchanged sage counsel with his peers, but also gave advice of serious import to his sons. One such combination of practical comment and parental encouragement was given to his son Joseph Norris, who had gone to England on family business.

IN to JN, 2 mo [April], 1719: "This is thy first Essay; Stumble not at the Threshold. A peny of a mans own getting gives not only a right but a pleasure in Spending. Thou must remember that the more frugal thou art, the more will be thy Stock....But first hint: my advice concerning Clothing & Layings-out in London. One Cloth Suit for winter not of the finest thin, but a Second well wrought Sort which costs about 12 Shillings Sterling is full as handsom, Much warmer & more durable; and a Summer Suit will be enough to Lay in with a Riding Coat & a Summer frock."¹⁵

1720 (bound with *Taylor's Almanack*)¹⁶

Memo. Gravell & levell the back yard; make good the new road where the hollow tree is Cased with gravel & rubbish. The Dam & Watercourse to the Kitchin Garden. Gravel the walks. The fence to Inclose the field in Lands now plowed.

2 mo (April) — The first Week in this Month, Sett the Quick privett Hedge, all along the front & young Orchard next to the house.

23d 3 mo [May] — Planted tobacco in the common house patch and Some in the Carpenter's Garden.

25 — Henry Wallis came in the Evening.

12th 5 mo [July] — Mary Marths came.

14th 5 mo [July] — Sent 26 Sheep to Carpenters to fatten for Killing: 2 rams & 24 yeos all markt with Tarr.

29th 6 mo [August] — Ruben Forster and his Wife came. He is to give in what over time there is of his last Agreement, which is about ten days & I'm to pay him Thirteen pounds for his Service Until next May Fair, he allowing for all lost time. His Wife at the Rate of £6 Per Annum.

31 — My Shoulder put out.

14th 7br — Peter LeCole the Painter came at noon & workt 7½ days.

¹¹Francis Daniel Pastorius to Isaac Norris, March 15, 1716/7, *Ibid.*

¹²Isaac Norris I to Joseph Norris, April 1719, Norris Letter-book 1716-1730, p. 183, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Joseph Norris (1699-1733) was the first-born son of Isaac Norris I and Mary Lloyd Norris; he was trained in business and was a partner in Isaac Norris & Company, but died unmarried early in October 1733.

¹³MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1720, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁹The *Little Hannah*, *Margaret*, *Rachel*, *Bonavista*, *Debby Galley* and *Henrietta* all belonged to Isaac Norris I or to Isaac Norris & Company.

¹⁰Samuel Preston (1665-1743) was a brother-in-law of Isaac Norris, married to an older sister of Mary Lloyd Norris.

¹¹MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1716, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹²Francis Daniel Pastorius to Isaac Norris, March 12, 1716/7, George W. Norris Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³Isaac Norris to Francis Daniel Pastorius, March 13, 1716/7, *Ibid.*

28 — Brought up by Ruben & Cuffee, 93 of the biggest Caedar posts bought of A. Lamming.

31st 8br — John Hinmarsh came with his Two boys & begun to frame the Granary.

10th Xbr — Put up the rafters, footed them, weatherboarded the Gables, fixt the Capense & Closed it & Lathed all to 3 line.

No[vember]. 21 — Thomas Makin came & began to teach my children the 22d. Agreed for a Year at Twenty Pounds Per Annum. And paid him by T[homas] G[riffitts] on part £5.

An indication of the extent of Norris and Family business enterprise in and around Philadelphia appears in the Isaac Norris Account Book No. 3, where thirty pages of tallies list the Norris & Company Bread and Flour sales for the full year 1720 and seven months of the year 1721.¹⁷ They sold white, middling and brown bread by the cask, barrel, half-barrel, tierce and keg to private citizens and especially to ship captains, who used the casks of bread as hardtack. Much of the barreled bread thus sold was delivered directly to ships in the harbor of Philadelphia by shalop or otheḡ flat-bottomed carriers. Customers during the year 1720 included: William Trent, Anthony Morriss, Thomas Griffitts, John Jones, John Asheton, Nathaniel Allen, Robert Ellis, David Evans, Joseph Redman, Isaac Miranda, William Bringham, Captain William Pearman and many others. One sea captain, John Richards, for example, late in 1720, bought and received from Norris & Company, "Twenty casks and 160 half-barrells of flour; and 80 Tierces, 8 half-barrells and 44 casks of bread."

1722 (bound with *Leeds' Almanack*)¹⁸

23d 11 mo [January] — White Oak posts left in Swamp: 19. Caro was sent to Joshua Carpenter for 12 bushels of Mault: What he brought measured 11½ and very foul. John Richmond in the Ship *Betty* arrived at Lewes the 6th 11 mo and came to Philadelphia the 4th 12 mo.

24th 12 mo — Sifted and packt in Jarrs, 27 Papers of the Tobacco bought of T[homas] G[riffitts] and put down in Cellar. Brought up 40 Papers, 20 pounds more of TG, which I think makes 50 lb. in all had of Thomas.¹⁹

23d 3 mo [May] — Ruben had Porter 1½ days to help Cut up a Whole white Oak & Severall loggs at home, which he is to pay me for.

¹⁷Bread and Flour Accounts, MS Account Book No. 3 of Isaac Norris I & II, pp. 1-30 from rear, Library Company of Philadelphia, on loan to Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁸MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1722, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁹Thomas Griffitts (d. 1746) married Mary Norris (1694-1751), first child of Isaac Norris I and Mary Lloyd Norris. Griffitts had also earlier resided in Jamaica.

25th — Ruben Forster came and with Cuffee, Sawed 2 days; finisht the pieces on the pitt to weather boards, which Hutchinson had begun.

29th — He and my Cuffee (with my Saw) went to Potts' Mills.

1723 (bound with *Taylor's Almanack*)²⁰

28th 11 mo [January] — Killed the Dun Oxe: 4 Quarters — 522 lb.

1st 12 mo [February] — Set a small bed of Beans and 2 rows peas next to the first Curran bushes.

20th — Set more, being ever since fine and moderate weather; the first beans Sprout and peas peep up.

22d 1 mo [March] — Ruben hewed the Swamp Oak log, Sawed of it into Sills, planks, for laths, &ca. 23rd afternoon; a pair of Small Rafters.

Last week in March — Laid about 55 load of dung on about 1½ acres at far end; Grubbed Stumps and Dresst; cut drains & Rowled the whole.

29th 2 mo [April] — Set the Bermuda Potatoes: 20 hills, 5 in a hill. Planted Indian Corne. 24 3 mo — The Crows having pickt up most of the Indian Corne.

13th 5 mo [July] — Sowed Buckwheat next to the Road in old Orchard, where 't was last year abundant.

29th — A Violent Storm from ENE to SSE.

21 6 mo [August] — Edward West, Bricklayer, with his Boy and Man, come to work on the Milkhouse and the 27th, in the Evening, went, having finisht it; had he workt direly or had I been able to be with him, it would have been done in less time, but he made it near 6 days.

31st — John Hinmarsh Shingled & finished it; in all, ten days.

1725 (bound with *Hughes' Almanack*)²¹

2nd 11 mo [January] — I went to Burlington about Doughty's business.

5th — Came home and went to Mayor's Court which held three days.

12 mo [February] — Agreed with John Miller, a Palatine, for a Month at 25 or 30 pence, as I like him. He came the 15th about 10 in the Morning.²²

29th 2 mo [April] — From Town 10½ Gallons Rum: Keg & rum of J. Keys. Gallon of Oyle, Terpentine from Thomas Lawrence.

24th 6 mo [August] — Sent all my old wheat: 31½ bushel to D. Evans at the Mill.

²⁰MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1723, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²¹MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1725, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²²Both Norrises, father and son, were great friends to the numerous German-speaking settlers who came into Pennsylvania. See Parsons, "Isaac Norris the Councillor," pp. 30-33, for a contract between Isaac I and Johan Christoph Meng of Germantown. Thomas Lawrence (1689-1754) was third generation in Dutch America.

T H E

Suddenness of DEATH Exemplified,

In a brief Relation of the most surprizing Dissolution of the Honourable and much Lamented *ISAAC NORRIS*, Esq; who departed this Life in the Meeting-House of Friends at *Germanstown*,

Isa. 57. 1. The Righteous perisheth, and no Man layeth it to Heart, and merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous is taken away from the evil to come.

I.

THE Day, Week, Month and Year I now shall write,
When Death with his most cruel Dart did strike
This Noble Man, O cruel Death indeed,
Giving no warning: But I must proceed.

II.

The fourth of the Week, this I do know,
The fourth of the Month it was also,
The fourth Month, the Year is Thirty-five,
When that he came his Soul for to revive.

III.

And at his Entrance in the House of God,
The Lord was pleased to hand forth his Rod
In such a manner, stopping soon his Breath,
Preventing him from the long Pangs of Death.

IV.

This thing was now surprizing unto all,
To see him well and in a Moment fall,
Death pull'd the String, the Arrow then did fly,
Stuck to his Heart, he suddenly must die.

V.

If God on good and gracious Men do show
His Majesty, what will those Souls below
His Grace and Favour, think of Him at last,
When God blows on them His eternal Blast

VI.

But now I must digress, I must go back,
And write of something that with us is Fact,
For us think a Justice now withdraws
Out of this Land, which kept those wholesome Laws.

VII.

Some do no good in all their Generation,
They take no care for laying a Foundation,
To build up Justice in their Day and Time;
But Justice was this righteous Man's design.

VIII.

The Pillers of the House when they are gone,
The House has nothing then to rest upon;
In Church or State if Justice once departs
Out of this Land, we may have bleeding Hearts.

IX.

It is high Time for us to look about,
To find the Cause, and serch this Mist'ry out,
Why God should strike us after such a rate,
Gods End in Providence is very great.

X.

A poor unworthy Creature sure I am,
To write the Frailty of poor mortal Man,
Our Time's uncertain, sudden comes grim Death,
I medately, and takes away our Breath.

John Dommest.

*Broadside Elegy composed in commemoration of the death of Isaac Norris, Sr., 1735.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

5th 8br — *Princess* from Antigua arrived.

14th — Samuel Farra in the *George* Arrived.²³

8th 9br — I went up to the Mannor &c.; came home the 10th.

19th — Essay for a fish pond. There may be 5 feet of water.

Thomas Pierce & Thomas Morgan, of Late J[ames] L[ogan's] Servant, who are Brothers-in-Law, Propose to buy 250 Acres of my Mannor next Indian Creek, and agree to pay 300 bushels of good Merchantable Wheat for each hundred & so proportionable. Pierce came in 11 mo following and declined.

4th Xbr — Sent Isaac [Jr.] a load of Wood. Note there was 2 of Hickery before.

13th — In Morning, Porter to Thrash again; Barley.

16th — Done, & brought in 13½ bushels, So that Alley Crop of Barley this year is 52 Bushels.

1730 (bound with *Leeds' Almanack*)²⁴

4th 1 mo [March] — Agreed with David Williams of Matatsee to make Flour cask for Norriton Mill of the 3 respective usual sizes (1.2, 1.3 & 2.) in proportion as I shall want & direct, at fourteen pence Per Cask.

26th — Sowed 8 bushels Oats in Bush Meadow, finished the 30th: 6½ Barley (2 Rowed) on 3½ acres Dunged.

30th — I went to M. Maddox, came home the 31st when Porter Shot off his hand.

4th 2 mo [April] — Barkentine *Henrietta* (made so from a Sloop last fall) arrived from Madeira with 72 pipes Wine. *Debbie Gally* launched the Same day.

14th — From Potts' Mill, Flour weighed by Samuel Norris: 2. 2.26 fine; 1. —. 2 Midling; 1. 1. 7 Granular.

21st — Went to Norriton. The Masons came & began the Cellar. My 2 hands Staid & helped to get & Load Stones. John Rigley with his Man & Team halled 48 Load Stones. He was ½ day the 20th, going & came away with 15 cask flour. Left one for the house, took the rest to Isaac [Jr.] on 24th in Evening.

1st 3 mo [May] — Set Indian Corne, this 5th time in the same piece.

²³Norris MSS 1724-1731: Ledger A, pp. 123, 148, 152, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Wines and rum proved to be among the best trade items from West Indies ports and the Quaker trading town of Philadelphia: Ledger A, p. 123, for example. "6 Feb. 1726—Wines Per Sloop *Bonavista*, Henry Taylor, Master," saw eventual profits shared among the three shareholders, "Richard Miles—3/8ths, Isaac Norris 4/8th and Isaac Norris, junr.—1/8th." When commissions for sales and supercargo had been deducted, profits to the Norris father-son combination amounted to £452.17.— and £113.4.3 respectively. Two trips by the *Henrietta*, Samuel Farra, Master, to Antigua and "Carolina," in which the two Isaacs shared half-and-half, brought each £126.8.11 and £49.18.10 respectively.

²⁴MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1730, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. While much of the speculation land which Isaac Norris bought and sold was located in Philadelphia County, as here the "land at Matatsee" [now known as Methacton], some parcels were to be found in Chester County, Lancaster County, and the aforementioned lands "at Indian Creek," while some lay in Delaware and in New Jersey.

2nd — Stephen Jenkins cut the New England Mare's year-old fine Colt & cut the 2 year-old; t'other of a year had not his testes down.

11th — Porter came home from dyeting at Pritchards. The *Debby Galley*, Thomas Lloyd, Master, Sailed for Jamaica.

26th 4 mo [June] — Hay, 3 loads, to far Barrock.

22nd — I went to Norriton, with Richard Harrison & Isaac [Jr.]²⁵ Took John Wood & Christopher to dig a well; John came home the 27th. Came through Rock at 13 feet, to water. I went again the 29.

3d 5 mo [July] — After harrowing & plowing again, the piece, about 5 acres, at the end of the back field. It was plowed (after thin Oats) last fall & once before this Spring. Sowed Buckwheat: 2½ bushels, then harrowed 3 times.

18th 6 mo [August] — Richard Horne, a Gardiner, came; trimmed the cedars; Agreed for a year at fourteen pounds.

22d — The *Debby Galley*, Thomas Lloyd, Master, arrived from Jamaica — Poor Voyage.

7th 8br — At Night, Edward McLawkin the Shoemaker, came, brought Leather from Farrell [who treated Norris hides]. Then EL got thread, Rosin &c., & began to work the 10th. On 12th & 13th, He made Stephens 1 pair; Will 1 pair.

14th — Dick 1 pair; Lauree 1 Pair & Mainwaring 1 pair.

5th Xbr — The Ship *Debby Gally*, Thomas Lloyd, Master & My Son Charles in her for Barbadoes, with the Brig *Henrietta*, Thomas Howell, Master, for Madeira, both left Philadelphia the 5th or 6th Mornings, and I being at Chester, parted with them the 7th. A fine fair Wind & good Weather. Same Day: Opened Number 14 box of Sash Glass, told [counted] 150 panes; 69 sorted out, narrower; 6 broken. Thus needed 225 panes for 150 satisfactory: Used of these for Norriton house.

18th — Agreed with Francis Tenan Joyner, to Work for me a year for £20.

1731 (bound with *Jerman's Almanack*)²⁶

Janry — The wheat measured out twice 80 to the Mill & 80 to Isaac [Jr.] That Deceitful Man Manwaring thrashed it basely or I judge it would have produced 320 bushels [instead of 261.] Memo. The Barn was broke open & [—] Stole I know not how much.

1st 11 mo [January] — Francis Tenan began on the 3 doors for Norriton; 9th — finished them. Then on the 2 bedsteads, finished them the 20th.

²⁵Harrison, like Griffiths, was son-in-law to Isaac Norris I, married to Hannah, the second daughter. Richard Harrison, born in Maryland, died in 1747. Isaac Norris, Jr., of course was more familiarly known as Isaac II (1701-1766) who, as noted, shared both his father's business acumen and his estate.

²⁶MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1731, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

22d — Began the partitions below.

3d 12 mo [February] — I went to Norriton, closed the little Lodging room & lodged in it. Rigley the Same day carried a feather bed, 1 Grand Rug, 2 blanketts, 1 large fine sheet used double, 1 Courser sheet, a bolster, 1 pillow, and a coarse Sheet wrapt all together. John Wood says there is a spare bolster & Sheet left when t'other bed was brought away. I came home the 5th — half after 7 AM.

15th — I went to Stony Creek; mended a large breach in the Dam on the Road to Perqueamen [Perkiomen] lower ford, Came home the 20th.²⁷

6th 2 mo [April] — Frank Tenan (after 3 weeks & 1 day Idle with his cut finger) went to Work: mended 3 or 4 Tables.

8th — Afternoon, Set him to cut out Walnut for the Corner Closets at Norriton; finished 2 the 21st.

16th — *Henrieta* arrived from Madeira, Howell, Master.

27th — Frank Done the 3 Corner Copboards, went to Mortice Posts.

1st 3 mo [May] — The *Debby*, Thomas Lloyd, Master, (Charles with him) arrived from Barbadoes.

15th — Brought home a hogshead choice rum from Charles, marked by Cooper, 110 Gallons in Gauge 135: Wants 2 3/4 or 3 inches.

6th 5 mo [July] — Yarrow, Stacy's Negro, went into the field with harvesters, without my Orders or knowledge, However he worked 4 days.²⁸

8th — Dick with Coach; Stephens did little, about 1/8th an acre. I suppose he fudled (while I was in town.) 55 1/2 loads of hay in all.

5th 8br — John Wood cut his Leg & Lay by 2 weeks. Then under pretence of going to Shingle the Saw Mill at Norriton, he Run away the 19th. Took the horse I bought of Rigley, my Sadle, tools, much of Kitts Cloths & Sevrall other Things.

23d — Hearing he was not at Norriton, Sent after him the 28th by George Coats, (I could not get a Man till then.) Gave him £3. in hand & agreed £4.-.- for his Journey, & if he brings him with the horse & Cloths to make it £6.-.

27th Xbr — Will carried a load of wood to Isaac [Jr.]²⁹ Sent him this fall 4 loads before, this makes 5. He brought from William Allen the bottles I bought, all whole but 3 quarts; so there are all told: 11 dozen & 9 quarts, whole, he says; 2 dozen pottles, reckoned double price; 1/2 dozen gallon [bottles.] Charge Isaac, [Jr.]

²⁷Stony Creek lies within the Borough of Norristown today and still floods with monotonous regularity; The "road to Perkiomen Lower Ford" is now known as Egypt Road and passes through much of the richest farm land of the Norriton Estate, then called Norriton Manor.

²⁸Possibly Yarrow Mamout, reputed to be 134 years of age when pointed by Charles Willson Peale in 1819, though, to be sure, Peale thought his age exaggerated. Norris stated no reason for his objection to Yarrow working on his land in 1731.

1733

Memo. 2nd 3 mo May, 1733, From Isaac Norris, Sr. Orders Whats to be done at Plantation: Wash the Sheep, Sheer them and mark off the Old for fattening and Killing. The fences all put in Order; Keep them So. Watch well & dayly that no Creatures get into the Meadow or Mowing ground. As have leasure, cleanse the wood & betterment of those grounds, & Scowr the Drains or gutters in the long meadow. Replant in time the Indian Corn where any fails. The old Orchard must be plowd for Buckwheat....If I should stay out long, the Summer fallow must be made on the NNW field, and on the upland in the back meadows which lyes SSE of the long field. Note the fence at head of present Indian Corn field must be first moved in, Strait with the head of Barnfield, and the dividing fence in the NNW field taken away.

Mind the Road at Spare times after Wet. During a Rainy time, may clean out the Barns & destroy the Rats with Dilligence. Also mortice posts. Stake the tulips &ca.³⁰

1734 (bound with *Godfrey's Almanack*)³¹

Janry the 7th, 1733/4 — Having lately Settled all Accounts with my Tenant, Alexander McAlmont [McCalmont] by which appears there will be due to me the 1st 2 mo [February] next, £30.17.10. I have now agreed with him for another Year at Sepviva at £20, which abates him £5.10, commence the 1st 2 mo, On the following Conditions: He is to lead out & regularly Spread on the Meadow before the house, all the Dung on the Place & as Soon as weather Permits, to plow it twice, put in Grass Seed (which I must buy) and Well Dress the Ground, & he may with it put in a Crop of Summer Barley, he to have the Corn & I am to have the Grass. Also he promises to Grub & Clear the said Meadow of all Stubs, Succers & Shoots & to trim & make Close & Secure the fence of Said Meadow all round by plastring next month & other proper means. He likewise promises to put up a New Post & Rail fence from the Barn to the farther Gate & I furnishing the posts & rails, and to leave all fences, Buildings and Windows at the Expiration of the time in good repair. [To which Norris set his initials:] I N

2d 11 mo [January] — John Green in the Ship *Newbery* Sailed from Philadelphia in Evening, & Went out of the Capes the 6th. Lost on Barbuda.

²⁹Will, sometimes also called Indian Will, was a Norris servant for whom he made provision in his Last Will and Testament.

³⁰Isaac Norris I, MS Memorandum: "Orders Whats to be done at the Plantation," May 2, 1733, Logan Papers, XIII, p. 43 1/2, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³¹MS Journal of Isaac Norris I, 1734, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

22d — Set 8 rows of our own hotSpurs in NE bed in the New Garden.

9th 12 mo [February] — Set below the hot bed (which was made up the 7th) in New Garden, next the Quarter walk, 4 rows of the Large English beans given me by the Proprietor.

26th — John Thomas came to work on plastring my hedges. He begins on yearly wages. See next month.

5th 1 mo [March] — Cuff the Brewer dyed and was buryd the 7th.

25th — Agreed with John Thomas for a year Service at Sixteen pounds Per Year Certain, and 40 Shillings more left to my Will as I shall find he Merits.

2d 2 mo [April] — Elizabeth Hawkins came to Service in Evening at £7 Per Annum.

3d — My Riding Mare foaled a Mare Colt, white face, now Mouse Colour.

8th — John Paul Spade the Colt.

Aprill 16 — The night between the 16th and 17th of Aprill of this Year 1734, An unusual and remarkable Frost & Blite destroyed most of the fruit, except some few higher Lands. The young leaves of most trees in the woods were shrivelled as if Scorched with heat. It was thought for some time that the trees were killed, but it proved otherwise. They shot again.

8th 3 mo [May] — Began to plant Indian Corne.

20th — There are now 75 Sheep and 44 Lambs. Gave out 3 new Sythes: 1—John Thomas; 1—Evan; 1—Dick.

3d 4 mo [June] — Coz. Thomas Lloyd & Susan Owen Maryed at Fair Hill.

5 mo [July] — No Apples, Cherrys, peaches &c. on my Plantation this Year; In all 45 loads Hay, all sources.

3d 6 mo [August] — Sowed Turnip Seed: 2 ounces on about ½ an Acre in the Vista & moved the fence.

9th — Sowed about 1 Acre ditto, 4 ounces on a New piece beyond the Run, near Tatnall.

15th — Bought of Thomas Wallaston: 10 pounds White Clover Seed, 10 pence, and 2 quarts Cattail or Timothy Grass, 3 pence, to total 13 pence.

16th — Sowed on the Turnips in Vista, 1/3 of the 2 quarts orbellow and one pound of Clover.

6th 7br — Set about Tulips in 4 inner Angle Beds and a small parcell in another next to the house.

8th 8br — I went to Norriton. Viewed & took courses aCross the Schuylkill to each landing SW side. Measured from my Prickly Corner 58 Perches to the Stone at the Road. With Evans' assistance took the Mass of all the boards. Tryed John Griffiths' 50 acres & laid out 50 acres for Francis Gardiner. Settled some of Joseph's Accounts &ca.³² 11th — came home (left £20 to buy Wheat.)

³²His eldest son Joseph Norris had died only days before this entry.

14th, 19th & 25th 8br — For painting the house: taken from Evans' Stores: 42 lbs. 5 oz. Indico cast; 18 lbs. Umber & oker; 3 jars, 3 flasks Oyle; 1 jar oyle; 51 lbs White Lead, all the Old stock; 12 lbs White lead, first out of cask. (old & new lead at 10 pence.)

29th — A jar of Tobacco from ER.

30th — Killed my Bull, 3 year old past, he growing dangerous. The 4 Quarters — 500; Hyde—65; Tallow —33/ To total £6.6.0, costs 6 shillings, profit £6.0.0.

1st 9br — Brought home 20 bushels Salt at 19 pence. Sent a load of Wood to Children.

4th, 5th, 6th — Pulled, brought home, cut & buryed my Turnips about 80 Bushels or thereabout. Killed the Sow & 2 barrows brought last month from Norriton: 200 lb.; 142 lb.; 142 lb.

20th — Son Isaac arrived from England with J. Graeme, 2 Months from London.³³

21st — The Ship *Freame Galley*, John Green, Master, left the town with about ½ her lading; Went to Cristina Creek, there to compleat it. She left Christeen the 2nd Xbr and the Capes the 4th.

7th Xbr — Agreed with John Patison my Cook, for the remainder of his time for £3.-.-, he clearing me of all demands for clothing &ca., and to stay till 1st of Janry.

31st — Swept Chimneys.

1735

4th 4 mo [June] — The Suddenness of Death Exemplified, In a brief Relation of the most surprising Dissolution of the Honorable and much Lamented ISAAC NORRIS, Esq; who departed this Life in the Meeting-House of Friends at Germantown.³⁴

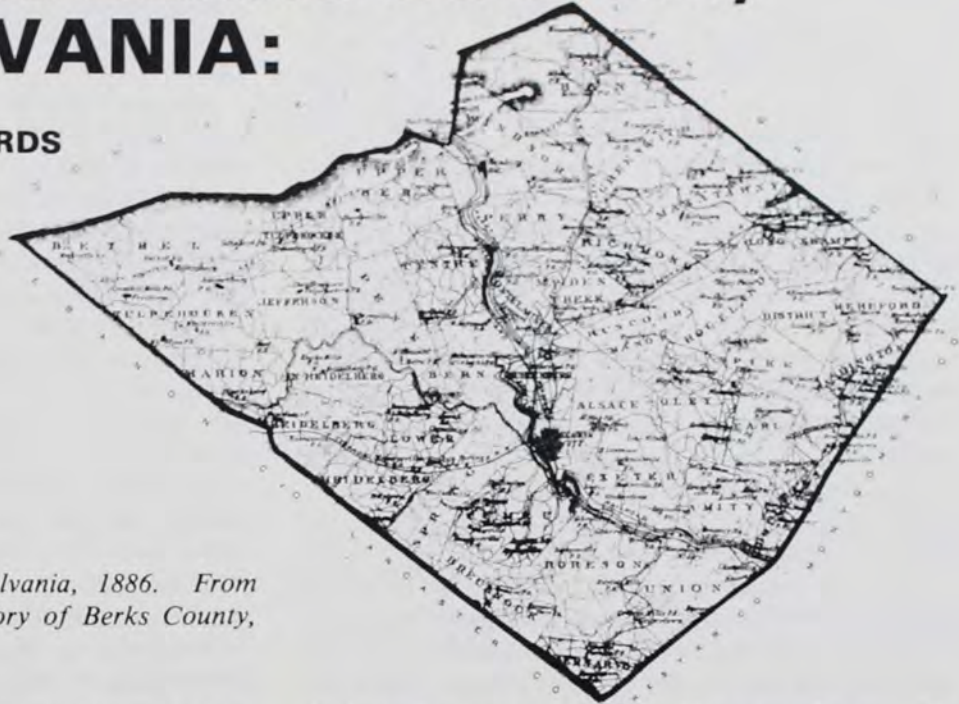
³³Isaac Norris I to Pantaleon Fernandez, November 9, 1733, Norris of Fairhill MSS: Letters 1733-1739, p. 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "My Son Isaac Sailed for Britain the 12th of last Month in the *London Hope*, Thomas Annis, Commander. I hope the Cargo he shipped on the Sloop *Charming Nancy*, Henry Clinton, Master, on mine & his Joint & Equall Account, is Safe with thee, being Nine barrels of flour, One thousand and fifty-two bushells of Wheat, two hundred & ninety & ½ bushells Indian Corne with Seven thousand five hundred & four pipe Staves." With the very recent death of Joseph, Isaac and now the eldest surviving son; his stay in England and Wales, with side trip to Amsterdam, lasted a year and six weeks. His homecoming was undoubtedly more emotional than indicated by his father's brief Journal notation.

³⁴John Dommett, *The Suddenness of Death Exemplified* (Philadelphia, 1735) was a broadside framed in black and bearing twelve stanzas on the death of the elder Isaac Norris following a seizure in the Friends Meeting House at Germantown.

BLACKS IN BERKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA:

THE ALMSHOUSE RECORDS

BY ROBERT F. ULLE



Map of Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1886. From Morton L. Montgomery, "History of Berks County, Pennsylvania".

The Berks County black community is an ancient one, as old or older than the county seat of Reading itself,¹ but its development did not really begin until the 19th Century. Blacks held jobs in the County's forges and furnaces, which were scattered throughout the townships, or as servants and laborers in Reading, from colonial times, but only in the 1820's do we find black institutions emerging. The Washington Street Presbyterian Church was organized in 1823, and a new building erected in 1848² and in 1837 the African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Reading.³

Much of this growth can be studied with the information provided in the U.S. Census, taken every ten years, whose manuscript schedules permit a township by township analysis of blacks. Thus in 1820 it is hardly surprising to find the town of Reading accounting for 84 of the county's 474 blacks. The urban setting provided employment opportunities as well as housing opportunities, and allowed for less visibility than one would have had in the overwhelmingly white rural townships.

The specific distribution through the townships is understandable in a broad sense. The 72 blacks in Robeson Township were certainly drawn by the ironworks founded by William and Mark Bird at Hopewell in 1740, works which expanded through the 19th Century.⁴ The 57 blacks in Tulpehocken

had similar opportunities at Charming Forge. The seven black families in Heidelberg Township may have related either to Robesonia Furnace of Spring Creek or to Berkshire Furnace,⁵ but what of the twenty blacks in Maiden Creek?⁶ Perhaps a hint is offered by the similar situation in Earl Township, where 37 blacks lived with little industry which could employ them. But the fact that all but nine of these shared households with at least one white person suggest the possibility of a great deal of cooperation between races in farm labor.

In any case, more research needs to be done relating the presence of this black labor pool to the economy of the county and the industrial development not only of the township, but of the entire region. Other sources are available, and the list of almshouse records may prove to be very valuable.

The Berks County Poor House was authorized by Act of Assembly in 1824, and over the next circa 65 years nearly 360 blacks were entered upon its rolls. The almshouse records are now kept in the Berks Heim institution, and from them these lists of black inmates have been taken.

Admissions to the Almshouse were recorded in uniform registers, printed for the County, and information is found on name, sex, age, race, place of birth, place of residence, habits, health, education, and occupation, but not all information is given for any single entry. However, most entries do include name, race, sex, age, place of birth, and place of residence.

¹Richard Johnson, "Slaves and Indentured Blacks in Berks County before 1800," in *Berks County Historical Review*, Winter 1971-72.

²Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck and Richards, 1886, p. 788).

³*Ibid.*, p. 972.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*

Total admissions from 1824 to the closing of the records book in the late 1880's reveal a decline in black admissions over the century. Over twice as many men were admitted as women. This was true in each decade of the sample except the 1850's and the 1880's, when men still outnumbered women, but the relation was more nearly equal.

If the figures reflected a complete decade in the 1820's, the chart would show a steady decline over the century, with the exception of the 1830's, when a large decrease in black admissions took place. This long-range decrease in admissions may be related to a number of factors: a tendency to use black labor more extensively in the county, and thus decrease the number of paupers (such a tendency is not known to have taken place); an increase in racist attitudes which would have kept blacks from applying to the almshouse for relief; a decline in immigration from other places to the county relieving the local black populace of competitive pressures.

When we examine the recorded place of birth for these admissions, we find that it alone cannot account for the declining number of black admissions. Those born within Pennsylvania, but not in Berks, also show a far different distribution than overall admissions. The low figures for the 1860's may represent the fact that many admissions in the 1860's listed Africa as place of birth for blacks.

Most admissions then people who were born in Berks County (74%); within group many listed a specific spot in Berks as their place of residence upon admission. Fully 48% of these Berks residences were given as Reading, the most crowded and urban location. In 1850 the federal census had found Reading to have a population of 15,386, of which 357 were black. Thus over a tenth of Reading's black population seems to have applied for admission to the almshouse over the ten year period between 1840 and 1850.

The township contributing the largest number of admissions was Tulpehocken, most of whose 25 admissions were before 1850. This is not surprising, as Tulpehocken was rich in history for blacks. Charming Forge was in Tulpehocken until 1843 when Marion Township was erected, and its owner, George Ege, had registered ten slaves in 1780.⁷ The forges of Joseph Seyfert were on a branch of the Northkill in the eastern part of the township, and a foundry existed in Rehrersburg.⁸

Other iron and steel townships were heavily represented also. Robeson and Union, bordering upon each other and sandwiching Birdsboro between them, contributed another 25 people to the Almshouse, again most of them before 1850.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 1090.

It is also of interest that the overall pattern of admissions of non-Berks residents is atypical. Those resident within the state of Pennsylvania, but not in Berks, show approximately the same distribution as admissions on the whole do.

However, out of state residences are found only after 1860. While it is tempting to see in this an indication of post-war movement of southern blacks, it does not seem to be the case. Of these eleven interstate movers only three came from southern states (Virginia and Maryland), and moreover, these eleven individuals did not record southern places of birth.

One other piece of data is suggestive of the situation in the black community of Berks at this time. An age distribution of the community shows the young nature of many of these black inmates. 44% of the admissions were under 20 years, and nearly 1/3 were under fifteen. Furthermore, up to age fifty all age groups (ten year groups) were admitted in roughly the same distribution as the overall pattern, but those fifty and older increased their admission after 1850, rather than declining.

What was the reason for this? Were more blacks living longer? Were the children of older blacks now moving and not taking care of their parents?

The seasonal nature of these admissions is an additional understanding of importance. As expected, most admissions occurred during the winter months of September — February for all decades of the study, but admissions were quite high for the other six months of the year as well, approximately 40% of the total. It seems that opportunities for work were never good for blacks in the county whether it was planting, harvest, summer or winter.

The seasonal admission figures for blacks residing most recently in Reading are roughly the same as those figures for the total black admissions, although more (69% compared with 60%) admissions from Reading took place in the September — February period.

Figures for the individual townships are so small as to be suggestive only. For the township of Tulpehocken, with its iron industry, admissions clustered in September — February, with one exception. The nine-member family of Peter and Eliza Smith was admitted for one week in May of 1843. The two agricultural townships of Maiden Creek and Earl sent their paupers to the almshouse more heavily in Springtime, as four of the nine admissions recorded were between March and May, and three of the winter admissions were the Zytus children, who came together in November of 1845.

Many of the entries in the admission register are significant in their own standing. The following entries all illustrate something of what being black and in Berks meant in the 19th Century.

Joseph Brook. 1873. Boatman, born in Williamsport, lives at New York. 13 years old, Parents dead.

Elizabeth Collerd 1850. Alsace. Pregnant by George Lloyd.

Louisa Jackson. 1830. Born New Orleans. Says she is a Creole Indian.

Jacob Kindy. 1873. Born Wilkes-Barre. Scissor Grinder and drunkard.

Sylvia More. Born around 1740, place of birth unknown. Residence of Earl. Died in poor house age 110.

Eliza Marks. Admitted 1866 with her employer's family, the Irish Mary Ann Spicer.

Further analysis of this data, and correlation of it with local records and the Federal Census records, is under way, and will help to understand the nature of the black community in rural and urban Berks in the 19th Century. The community was clearly a complex one, and it was located in a complex area of a complex society. Understanding it will involve worlds of racism, worlds of politics and war, and worlds of economic and industrial change.

1. ADAMS, MARY ANN, of Reading, 21, b. Schuylkill County, adm. October 10, 1853.

2. ADAMS, RICHARD, of Reading, 32, b. Delaware, adm. September 23, 1830. Left October 8, 1830. Readmitted October 10, 1830. Died December 9, 1830.

3. ANDERSON, CHARLES, of Chester, 14, b. Berks County, adm. November 1, 1845. Left December 6, 1845.

4. ANDERSON, CHARLES, of no given residence, 30, b. Berks County, adm. June 3, 1878. Laborer, was in jail once.

5. ANDERSON, DANIEL, of Reading, 7, adm. January 19, 1886. Readmitted March 19, 1886, of Berks County, b. Berks County.

6. ANDERSON, ELISHA, of Reading, 20, b. Mifflin County, adm. December 17, 1828. Died January 4, 1829.

7. ANDERSON, FREDERICK, of Reading, b. Berks County, adm. December 1, 1873. Vagrant; died.

8. ANDERSON, GEORGE, adm. April 20, 1847. Died.

9. ANDERSON, JAMES, of Reading, 26, b. Berks County, adm. October 5, 1838. Died October 13, 1838.

10. ANDERSON, THOMAS, of Reading, 58, adm. December 19, 1867. Left March 14, 1868.

11. ARIE, CATHERINE, of Tulpehocken Township, 23, b. Bern Township, adm. September 29, 1828. Left October 23, 1828.

12. BAKER, JULIA, of Reading, adm. December 28, 1857. Gave birth to daughter.

13. BARMER, CHARLES, of Reading, 29, b. New Jersey, adm. September 24, 1832. Left October 13, 1832.

14. BARRETT, ELIZABETH, of Union Township, 80, b. Berks County, adm. May 6, 1843. Left May 28, 1843.

15. BARRINGTON, JACOB, of Richmond Township, 73, b. Philadelphia, adm. October 26, 1825. Mulatto. Readmitted November 19, 1829. Died November 19, 1829.

16. BASIN, BENJAMIN, of Oley Township, 73, b. Lancaster County, adm. September 16, 1831. Left September 21, 1831.

17. BAXTON, JOHN, of Reading, 67, b. Rockland Township, adm. January 12, 1837. Died September 10, 1842.

18. BECKERMAN, CATHERINE, adm. February 18, 1836. Gave birth to child.

19. BECKY, JULIAN, of Reading, 29, adm. July 25, 1853. Left September 29, 1853.

20. BECKEY, CHILD, of Reading, 2, adm. July 25, 1853. Left September 29, 1853.

21. BELL, MARGARET, of Reading, 80, b. Virginia, adm. October 1, 1874. Old age; housekeeper.

22. BELL, SIMON, of Reading, 50, b. Virginia, adm. December 1847. Died chronic emeritus July 6, 1849.

23. BOGGS, GEORGE, of Reading, 18, b. Schuylkill County, adm. January 30, 1833. Left February 17, 1833.

24. BOLEY, SAMUEL, of Ruscombmanor Township, 4 months, b. America, adm. October 6, 1867. Brought dead by Joseph Muthard with Elizabeth Green.

25. BOWER, LEWIS, of Reading, 21, b. Philadelphia, adm. September 6, 1827. Left September 20, 1827.

26. BROOK, JOSEPH, of New York, 13, b. Williamsport, adm. February 13, 1873. 2nd time; boatman; parents dead.

27. BROWN, CHARLES, of Pottsville, 18½, b. America, adm. January 7, 1863. Left March 9, 1863.

28. BROWN, CHARLES, of Washington Township, 23, b. Maryland, adm. October 7, 1885. Laborer; frequents brothels; syphilitic.

29. BROWN, ELIZABETH, of Oley Township, 23, b. America. adm. July 31, 1867. Left October 3, 1867.
30. BROWN, JAMES, of Reading, 25, b. America, adm. February 12, 1869.
31. BROWN, STEPHEN, of Reading, 60, b. Reading, adm. March 25, 1845. Left June 1845. Readmitted September 23, 1850, 68, cloth scourer. Readmitted September 3, 1855, 72. Died of pthisis pulmonalis.
32. BURNS, HENRY, of Reading, 27, b. Marsly, adm. January 10, 1829. Ran away March 26, 1829.
33. CAREY, MATILDA, of Lewistown, b. Virginia, adm. June 10, 1843. Left June 30, 1843.
34. CAREY, CHILD, of Lewistown, b. Pennsylvania, adm. June 19, 1843. Left June 30, 1843.
35. CASEE, ELEANOR, adm. January 21, 1836. Left March 4, 1836.
36. CHRISTMAS, JOSEPH, of Reading, 43, b. Ohio, adm. April 23, 1887. Laborer; bad cold.
37. CLARK, CATHERINE, of Reading, 1, b. Africa, adm. November 11, 1862. Left April 21, 1863.
38. CLARK, ELIZA JANE, of Reading, 25, b. Africa, adm. November 11, 1862. Left April 21, 1863. (See also Jane Clark).
39. CLARK, HENRY, of Long Swamp Township, adm. June 5, 1861. Left July 18, 1862. Readmitted as HENRY B. CLARK, of Reading, 4, b. Africa, November 11, 1862. Left April 21, 1863. Readmitted July 27, 1864, 5 years, six months, b. America. Taken by father August 5, 1866.
40. CLARK, JANE, of Long Swamp Township, adm. June 5, 1861. Left July 18, 1861.
41. CLARK, JOSHUA, of Long Swamp Township, adm. June 5, 1861. Left July 18, 1861. Readmitted as JOSHUA A. CLARK, of Reading, 6, b. Africa, November 11, 1862. Left April 21, 1863. Readmitted June 12, 1867 from Cumru Township, 12, b. America. Left September 6, 1867.
42. CLARK, SILAS, of Long Swamp Township, adm. June 5, 1861. Left July 18, 1861. Readmitted November 11, 1862, from Reading, 30, b. Africa. Left April 21, 1863.
43. CLYMER, DANIEL JR., of Ruscombmanor Township, 10, b. Reading, adm. November 28, 1825, Bound to Ebenezer Daniels, December 3, 1827.
44. CLYMER, DANIEL, adm. November 22, 1826. Died.
45. CLYMER, MARKS, of Ruscombmanor Township, 8, b. Reading, adm. November 28, 1825. Left February 19, 1826.
46. CLYMER, WILLIAM, of Rockland Township, 12, b. Reading, adm. November 28, 1825, Bound to Henry King, Cumru Township farmer, January 26, 1826.
47. CLYMER, WILLIAM, of Reading, 36, adm. November 21, 1846, Left February 15, 1847.
48. COLE, OLIVER, of Reading, 24, adm. June 29, 1846. Left July 22, 1846. Readmitted August 3, 1846, b. Reading, Left September 21, 1846.
49. COLEMAN, JOSHUA, of Reading, 21, b. Chester County, adm. December 4, 1836. Mother took away December 18, 1836.
50. COLLERD, ELIZABETH, of Alsace Township, 19, b. Chester County, adm. June 17, 1850. Left November 22, 1850. Pregnant by George Lloyd.
51. COLLINS, ELIZABETH, Adm. October 21, 1850. gave birth to illegitimate child.
52. COLLINS, STEVEN, of Reading, 9, b. Olds Forge, adm. April 11, 1827. Left for Schuylkill County June 7, 1827. Illegitimate.
53. COMMON, ELIZA, of Reading, adm. October 15, 1836. Left November 10, 1836.
54. CONOVER, ABRAHAM, of Reading, 20, b. America, adm. August 3, 1867. Left August 18, 1867.
55. CONOWAY, ADAM, b July 18, 1877.
56. COOK, THOMAS, of Reading, 10½, b. Reading, adm. July 24, 1846. Indentured to Mary Levan, ostler, January 18, 1847.
57. CORNISH, HATTIE, of Reading, 35, b. Reading, adm. June 5, 1882. Housework; syphilitic; rheumatism.
58. CORSEE, JOHN, of Reading, 24, b. Chester County, adm. July 4, 1836. Left July 10; returned and died August 16, 1836.
59. CRABB, JOHN, of Tulpehocken Township, 90, b. America, adm. February 13, 1864. Died February 27, 1867.
60. DARRAH, JAMES, of Maiden Creek Township, adm. March 8, 1848. Died March 31, 1848 of chronic diarrhea.
61. DAUSEY, WILSON, of Richmond Township, 6, b. Berks County, adm. August 14, 1843. Left August 23, 1843.
62. DAVIS, JOHN, of Bern Township, 40, b. Ruscombmanor Township, adm. February 18, 1847. Left.

63. DAVIS, MARIA, of Cumru Township, 25, b. Chester County, adm. January 19, 1850. Left January 25, 1850.
64. DAVIS, MARY EMMA, of Cumru Township, 1, b. Chester County, adm. January 19, 1850. Left January 25, 1850.
65. DAVIS, WILLIAM, of Reading, 65, b. America, adm. January 16, 1857. Tanner. Left March 23, 1857.
66. DAWSEY, FRANCINE, of Reading, 47, b. Maryland, adm. October 4, 1829. Died December 6, 1829.
67. DAY, WILLIAM, of Reading, 30, b. Reading, adm. February 13, 1873. Boatman; intemperate. Readmitted later in 1873, laborer; insane.
68. DENNIS, JAMES, b. America, adm. July 1868.
69. DEVINE, GEORGE, of Reading, 17, adm. October 19, 1866. Left November 19, 1866.
70. DICKERSON, SUSAN, of Reading, 27, b. America, adm. August 19, 1867. Left October 3, 1867.
71. DILLEN, GEORGE, of Reading, 6, b. Reading, adm. October 8, 1830. Indented to George Woakley, farmer, November 28, 1831.
72. DILLEN, MARGARET, of Reading, 17 months, b. Reading, adm. June 10, 1830. Died.
73. DILLEN, MARY, of Reading, 33, b. Lebanon County, adm. August 15, 1828. Left July 26, 1830 after daughter Mary died.
74. DORMERIS, WILLIAM, of Reading, 15, adm. January 15, 1867. Left March 10, 1867.
75. DORAN, PHILIP, of Reading, 75, b. Ireland, adm. October 23, 1873. Laborer; frequents houses of prostitution.
76. DUNKIN, MAHLON B., of Reading, 55, b. Lancaster County, adm. February 25, 1850.
77. DUNLAP, ELIZABETH, of Reading, 40, adm. May 25, 1865. Died June 18, 1865.
78. DUNLAP, JAMES, of Tulpehocken Township, 18, b. Maryland, adm. October 30, 1825. Died November 23, 1825.
79. DUNLAP, JAMES, of Reading, 27, b. Vermont, adm. January 7, 1837. Left January 27, 1837.
80. DUNLAP, JAMES, of Reading, 14, b. Berks County, adm. January 19, 1839. Left February 14, 1839.
81. DUNLAP, RACHEL, of Tulpehocken Township, 16, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. November 23, 1826. Left February 20, 1827 with son J. McClure.
82. DUNLAP, REBECCA, of Reading, 18, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. June 25, 1827. Left July 24, 1827. Readmitted January 9, 1828, of Montgomery County Poorhouse. Left January 11, 1828.
83. EDINGTON, TITUS, of Earl Township, 3, b. Earl Township, adm. April 16, 1839. Left August 14, 1841.
84. EDWARDS, SAMUEL, of Reading, 28, b. Carlisle, adm. September 26, 1827. Left November 21, 1827.
85. FEGER, POMPEY, of Bern Township, 100, b. Maryland, adm. September 14, 1846. Died February 2, 1847 of old age.
86. FIRING, HENRY, of Amity Township, 8, b. Exeter Township, adm. May 30, 1829. Bound to Henry Grant July 20, 1829.
87. FIRING, JOHN, of Amity Township, 10, b. Exeter Township, adm. May 30, 1829. Bound to Henry Hoover, June 15, 1829. Fireing, John, Readmitted November 17, 1871, of Oley Township, 56, b. Amity Township. Laborer; sore eyes. Readmitted November 27, 1873, of Berks County, 62, b. Amity Township. Forgerman; out of work; in jail once; frequents houses of prostitution. Readmitted October 28, 1875, 64, b. Berks County. Laborer; frequents houses of prostitution.
88. FLEMEN, CHERATON, of York County, 16, b. Exeter Township, adm. January 14, 1846. Left in April.
89. FREEMAN, BENJAMIN, of Salem County, New Jersey, 45, b. Salem County, New Jersey, adm. January 26, 1875. No home; Spruce Street wharf; chimney sweeper.
90. FREEMAN, ELLEN, of Blackwood, New Jersey, 30, b. Philadelphia, adm. January 26, 1875. Housework.
91. FREY, ANNA, of poor house, 1, b. poor house, adm. February 18, 1847. Left April 1847; bastard of Eliza Miller.
92. FREY, MARY, of Reading, 27, b. Reading, adm. December 23, 1848. Left June 1848.
93. FRY, ANNIA, of Reading, 44, b. Reading, adm. January 2, 1885. Housework.
94. FRY, ELLEN, of Reading, 20, b. America, adm. August 24, 1866. Left July 31, 1866. Readmitted October 12, 1867. Left July 30, 1868. Readmitted January 18, 1869.
95. FRY, HARRY, of Leesport, 19, b. Chester County, adm. June 26, 1886. Laborer; falling fits. Readmitted October 6, 1886.
96. GARDON, ROBERT, of Reading, 18, adm. January

6, 1829. Left February 18, 1829.

97. GARRETT, ELIZABETH, of Reading, 80, b. Berks County, adm. July 22, 1844. Died March 3, 1845.

98. GEORGE, THOMAS, of Reading, 23, adm. January 9, 1837. Left August 3, 1837.

99. GESSOP, GEORGE W., of Reading, 16, adm. November 23, 1847. Left November 25, 1847.

100. GIBBS, ELIZABETH, of Tulpehocken Township, 5, b. Lebanon County, adm. November 22, 1825. Taken by black woman named Jackson July 31. Bound to Ebenezer Daniels, 1827.

101. GIBBS, ELIZA, of Bethel Township, 12, b. Berks County, adm. May 17, 1852. Left June 10. Readmitted September 3, 1852. Bound to John Fry October 18, 1852.

102. GIBBS, JOHN, of Tulpehocken Township, 34, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. October 30, 1825. Died December 11, 1825.

103. GIBBS, JOHN, 4, b. Lebanon County, Adm. October 30, 1825. Left December 11, 1825. Readmitted February 21, 1848, of Reading, 25. Died May 15, 1848. Consumption.

104. GIBBS, LUCY, of Bethel Township, 7, b. Berks County, adm. May 17, 1852. Left June 10, 1852. Readmitted September 3, 1852. Bound to Ed. Snively, September 20, 1852.

105. GIBBS, REBECCA, of Tulpehocken Township, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. January 1, 1845. Left September 21, 1845.

106. GIBBS, SAMUEL, 10, b. Bern Township, adm. October 30, 1825. Bound to Dr. Jeremiah Keil of Exeter.

107. GIBBS, SOPHIA, of Tulpehocken Township, 36, b. Carlisle, adm. October 30, 1825. Wife of John (#102). Left November 21, 1827.

108. GIBSON, KATIE, of Reading, 12, b. Berks County, adm. November 19, 1877. Vagrant.

109. GIBSON, WILLIAM, of Reading, 17, b. Berks County, adm. December 16, 1840. Left January 18, 1841.

110. GILBERT, ANN, of Reading, 35, b. Dover, adm. April 3, 1839. Left December 11, 1839.

111. GILBERT, PETER, 57, adm. August 13, 1854. Died: mania a potu.

112. GILBERT, STEPHEN, adm. July 9, 1849. Died of consumption; buried in Reading.

113. GLASGOW, ANNE, of Reading, 18, adm. February 18, 1858.

114. GLASGOW, CHILD, of Reading, adm. February 18, 1858. Taken by Chester County Alms House April 26, 1858.

115. GLASGOW, JOSEPH, of Reading, 50, adm. September 10, 1855. Died.

116. GOLD, POLLY, of Reading, 23, b. Philadelphia, adm. June 24, 1827. Left in September 1827.

117. GOWER, ABRAHAM, of Rockland Township, 20, b. Chester County, adm. December 14, 1849. Died February 4, 1850: hydrothorax alias Francis Guin.

118. GRANT, SAMPSON, of Reading, 57, b. Maryland, adm. February 23, 1830. Left March 27, 1830.

119. GREEN, ELIZABETH, of Ruscombmanor Township, 20, b. America, adm. October 6, 1867. Brought dead by Joseph Muthard with Samuel Boley.

120. GREEN, GEORGE, of Virginia, 26, b. America, adm. September 4, 1873.

121. GREEN, JOHN, of Lancaster County, 42, b. Chester County, adm. October 16, 1829. Left October 2, 1830.

122. GRUBB, JANE, of Reading, 1, b. Pottsgrove, adm. April 11, 1827. Left with mother.

123. GRUBB, RACHEL, of Reading, 32, adm. April 11, 1827. Left to Lancaster County June 22, 1827.

124. GRUBB, SOPHIA, of Reading, b. Poor House, adm. April 11, 1827. Left with mother.

125. GUIN, FRANCIS, see GOWER, ABRAHAM.

126. HACKLES, EMMANUEL, of Reading, 18, b. Maiden Creek Township, adm. January 25, 1848. Left February 14, 1848.

127. HAGEMAN, CATHARINE, of Heidelberg Township, 5, b. Heidelberg Township, adm. Nov. 1, 1825. Went with mother June 25, 1826.

128. HAGEMAN, SAMUEL, of Reading, 16, b. Robeson Township adm. June 12, 1830. Died June 17, 1830.

129. HAGGARD, JOSEPH, of Reading, 13, b. Philadelphia, adm. January 18, 1840. Left 1841.

130. HALL, SAMUEL, of Reading, 21, b. Chester County, adm. September 9, 1832. Left October 15, 1832.

131. HAMILTON, JAMES, of Reading, 21, b. Lancaster County, adm. December 6, 1845. Left January 5, 1846.

132. HAMILTON, MARY ANN, adm. May 4, 1839. Gave birth to son.

133. HAMPTON, ELLEN, of Union Township, 9, b.

Union Township, adm. January 26, 1886, white mother.

134. HARRIS, ELIZA JANE, of Robeson Township, 10, b. Robeson Township, adm. April 2, 1846. Taken by D. F. Naglee August 20, 1846. Readmitted September 21, 1846. Indented to Dr. D. F. Naglee to learn housewifery. Returned May 11, 1847, from Sinking Spring, b. Union Township. Left March 9, 1847. Readmitted June 21, 1847. Indented to John H. Detweiler to learn housewifery. Annulled March 3, 1851. Readmitted March 3, 1851 from Pottstown.

135. HARRIS, JACKSON, of Unionville, 3 years, six months, adm. September 11, 1830. Went with mother October 2, 1830.

136. HARRIS, JANE, of Unionville, 35, adm. September 11, 1830. Left October 2, 1830.

137. HARRIS, RACHEL, of Oley Township, 45, adm. November 20, 1846. Left August 7, 1849.

138. HARRISON, EMELIA, of Reading, 30, b. Pittsburgh, adm. October 2, 1826. Left October 29, 1826.

139. HARRISON, MARY ANN, of the poor house, one month, b. in the poor house. Mother Mary Hamilton died December 6, 1839.

140. HARRISON, SAMUEL, of Reading, one year six months, b. Pittsburgh, adm. October 2, 1826. Left with mother Emilia October 29, 1826.

141. HART, LEWIS, of Reading, 10, b. Lancaster County, adm. May 1, 1839. Left June 12, 1839.

142. HART, JOHN, of Reading, 7, b. Lancaster County, adm. May 1, 1839. Left June 12, 1839.

143. HART, MARY, of Reading, 6, b. Lancaster County, adm. May 1, 1839. Left June 12, 1839.

144. HARTLEY, WILLIAM, of Reading, 20, adm. February 8, 1831. Died February 21, 1831.

145. HENDERSON, ELIZA, of Earl Township, Infant, b. Earl Township, adm. May 11, 1827. Died November 26, 1827.

146. HENNISON, CHARLES, of Oley Township, 24, b. Earl Township, adm. September 27, 1831. Left November 3, 1831.

147. HERCULES, WILLIAM, 60, adm. March 6, 1853. Died mania a potu.

148. HEROD, KING, adm. November 27, 1827. Died.

149. HICOFF, ISAAC, of Reading, 13, b. Pennsylvania, adm. February 24, 1841. Left May 10, 1841.

150. HOCKINS, MARY, of Reading, adm. July 30, 1844. Left.

151. HOLLAND, ALFRED, of Upper Bern Township,

1, adm. Dec. 24, 1836. Bound to Elizabeth Hiester April 2, 1842. Readmitted from Bern Township, 7, b. Maiden Creek Township, September 4, 1842. Left September 18, 1844. Readmitted from Reading, 9 years, six months, December 2, 1844. Left May 29, 1844. Readmitted June 14, 1847. 13, Left July 23, 1847.

152. HOLLAND, DAVID, of Upper Bern Township, 68, b. Adams County, adm. October 22, 1873. Laborer; in jail three times. Readmitted January 6, 1877 from Tulpehocken Township, 70, b. Berks County. Cannot support self.

153. HOLLAND, EMMANUEL, of Upper Bern Township, adm. December 24, 1836. Bound to Peter Miller of Lancaster, 1842. Readmitted January 25, 1848 from Reading, 18, b. Maiden Creek Township. Left February 14, 1848.

154. HOLLAND, MARY, adm. May 16, 1851. Gave birth to son.

155. HOLLAND, ROSEMARIE, of Tulpehocken Township, 8, b. Berks County, adm. January 6, 1877. Parents in almshouse. Name also spelled HOLLEN.

156. HOLLIN, ELIAS, of Bern Township, 1, b. Bern Township, adm. June 12, 1836. Died September 29, 1836.

157. HOOD, WILLIAM, of Tulpehocken Township, 52, b. Lebanon County, adm. December 3, 1831. Gone by 1843.

158. HOWARD, WILLIAM, of Reading, 12, b. Lancaster County, adm. January 14, 1847. Left January 25, 1848.

159. HUSTON, MARY, of Brecknock Township, 8, b. Muddy Creek, adm. June 2, 1829. Left June 19, 1829.

160. JACKSON, ELLEN, of Reading, 19, b. Philadelphia, adm. March 23, 1873. Housework; Pregnant; from Blockley.

161. JACKSON, ELIZA, of Reading, 17, b. Hanover, York County, adm. September 18, 1827. Left November 9, 1827.

162. JACKSON, GEORGE, of Evans, 12, b. Reading, adm. December 24, 1835. Bound to George Leader, February 1836. Readmitted as GEORGE W. JACKSON, from Reading, 13, b. Berks County, April 1, 1837. Left April 2, 1837.

163. JACKSON, HARRIET, of Reading, 23, b. Lancaster County, adm. May 19, 1876. Housework; feebleminded.

164. JACKSON, JOHN, b. poorhouse, adm. July 31, 1827. Left September 27, 1827.

165. JACKSON, LOUISE, of Reading, 39, b. New Orleans, adm. July 25, 1839. Left August 8, 1839. Says she is a Creole Indian.
166. JACKSON, MARTHA, of Reading, 26, b. Rockland Township, adm. November 20, 1850. Stillborn daughter. Left January 24, 1851.
167. JACKSON, MOSES, of Cumru Township, 35, b. Cumru Township, adm. March 31, 1847. Left April 14, 1848.
168. JACKSON, SAMUEL, of Reading, 9, b. Reading, adm. December 19, 1838. Bound July 1839. Readmitted August 19, 1839. Indented to Alex Hawkins, barber. Returned February 4, 1840. Taken by father February 9, 1840.
169. JACKSON, THOMAS, of Union Township, 96, b. Baltimore, adm. January 22, 1886. Old age; farmer.
170. JACKSON, WILLIAM, of Cumru Township, 12, b. Cumru Township, adm. January 28, 1848. Left April 14, 1848.
171. JAMES (A NEGRO), 18, adm. November 26, 1853. Drowned in Schuylkill River.
172. JENKINS, DANIEL, of Reading, 50, b. Berks County, adm. August 15, 1850. Left; forger.
173. JENNINGS, ELIZA, adm. April 20, 1839. Gave birth to daughter.
174. JOE, b. Mexico, adm. December 4, 1878.
175. JOHNSON, ANGELINA, of Robeson Township, 35, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Left August 21, 1842.
176. JOHNSON, GEORGE, of Reading, 20, b. Philadelphia, adm. August 18, 1846. Left August 28, 1846. Readmitted March 2, 1847. Left March 9, 1847.
177. JOHNSON, JOHN, of Robeson Township, 12, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Left August 21, 1842.
178. JOHNSON, JOSEPH, of Robeson Township, 65, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Died of old age August 20, 1842.
179. JOHNSON, JOSEPH JR., of Robeson Township, 5, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Left August 21, 1842.
180. JOHNSON, MARY ANNE, of Robeson Township, 8, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Left August 21, 1842.
181. JOHNSON, PETER, of Robeson Township, 14, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Left August 21, 1842. Readmitted November 23, 1842, from Union Township. Left December 11, 1842.
182. JOHNSON, REBECCA, 49, adm. March 5, 1854. Brought dead.
183. JOHNSON, WILLIAM, of Robeson Township, 2, b. Berks County, adm. August 1, 1842. Left August 21, 1842.
184. JONES, ANNIE, of Reading, adm. April 19, 1888. Mother dead; father unemployed.
185. JONES, BERTHA, of Reading, adm. April 19, 1888. Mother dead; father unemployed.
186. JONES, CAROLINE, 11, adm. September 3, 1837. Indented to James Clark, colored, to learn housewifery. Readmitted from Reading, 19, b. Womelsdorf, December 30, 1843. Left February 14, 1844.
187. JONES, ELIZABETH, of Columbia, 21, b. America, adm. February 22, 1867. Left February 27, 1867.
188. JONES, FREDERICK, of Leesport, 56, b. Northampton County, adm. May 30, 1876. Laborer.
189. JONES, HENRY M., of Reading, adm. April 19, 1888. Mother dead; father unemployed.
190. JONES, JONATHAN, adm. August 19, 1830. Died August 23, 1830.
191. JONES, JOSEPHINE, of Reading, 14, b. Africa, adm. November 11, 1862. Left March 30, 1863.
192. JONES, REBECCA, of Leesport, 27, b. Berks County, adm. May 30, 1876.
193. JONES, SARAH, of Bern Township, 48, adm. August 28, 1827. Died September 16, 1827.
194. JONES, THOMAS, of Reading, 43, b. North Carolina, adm. February 12, 1828. Left March 20, 1828.
195. JONES, WILLIBY, adm. April 2, 1826. Died.
196. JORDAN, JACOB, of Bern Township, 23, b. Reading, adm. May 20, 1830. Left June 2, 1830.
197. KEHL, SIMON, of Indiana, 81, b. Berks County, adm. January 14, 1874. Old Age; farmer.
198. KELLEY, PETER, of Exeter Township, 57, adm. February 26, 1846. Left March 1846. Readmitted from Oley Township, August 30, 1847. Left by June 1850. Readmitted from Reading, January 11, 1847. Left March 1, 1847. Readmitted August 13, 1854, 71. Died of old age.
199. KENTON, MARY, of Reading, 60, adm. June 18, 1874.
200. KENTON, WILLIAM, of Reading, adm. June 18, 1874.
201. KINDY, JACOB, 36, b. Wilkes-Barre, adm. De-

ember 17, 1873. Scissors grinder; drunkard.

202. KING, JOHN, of Brecknock Township, 27, b. Danville, adm. July 19, 1832. Left July 24, 1832.

203. KING, JOHN, of Sinking Spring, 37, b. Brecknock Township, adm. December 14, 1832. Gone by 1843.

204. KING, JOHN, of Reading, 36, b. Berks County, adm. April 3, 1837. Left April 19, 1837.

205. KING, JOHN, of Rockland Township, 43, b. Berks County, adm. November 14, 1839.

206. KINDLE, JACK, 44, b. Wilkes Barre, adm. June 18, 1875. Barber; bad ribs.

207. KOBLE, PETER, of Reading, 70, adm. September 23, 1853. Left October 13, 1853.

208. KONCLEID, SARAH, of Reading, 31, b. New Jersey, adm. October 19, 1837. Left May 2, 1837.

209. KONCLEID, CHILD, of Reading, 1, b. Berks County, adm. October 19, 1837. Left May 2, 1837.

210. LANE, ANNE, 19, b. Mifflin County, adm. May 23, 1878. Vagrant.

211. LEAVE, GEORGE, of Reading, 18, b. Berks County, adm. March 1, 1876. Laborer; not able to take care of self.

212. LEE, AUGUSTUS, of Reading, adm. July 1, 1839. Left July 16, 1839.

213. LEE, WASHINGTON, of Union Township, supposed 90, b. Africa, adm. September 20, 1865. Died November 12, 1865.

214. LEWIS, JAMES, of Birdsboro, 61, b. Cumru Township, adm. November 5, 1862. Teamster; white swelling on right leg.

215. LOBERSON, JACOB, of Reading, 21, adm. September 24, 1849. Left January 21, 1850.

216. LOCH, GEORGE, of Reading, 38, b. Womelsdorg, adm. September 4, 1850. Left March 30, 1850. Laborer.

217. LOCHMAN, CHARLES, of Reading, 43, b. Pennsylvania, adm. February 2, 1844. Left January 11, 1844. Readmitted October 26, 1868, 68.

218. MCCLURE, JOHN, of Tulpehocken Township, one year, three months, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. November 23, 1826. Left with mother Rachel Dunlap on February 20, 1827. Readmitted from Robeson Township, August 26, 1828. Died January 21, 1830.

219. MCQUAY, BENJAMIN, of Reading, 49, adm. December 24, 1866. Left April 10, 1967.

220. MCCURLEY, ISAAC, of Tulpehocken Township, 28, b. Cornwell Furnace, adm. July 14, 1830. Left by 1840. Readmitted from Reading, May 13, 1850, 58. Died of dropsy July 10, 1850.

221. MACKLEY, BENJAMIN, of Maiden Creek Township, 50, b. America, adm. January 2, 1869. Readmitted from Reading, 54, b. Adams County, November 29, 1872. Tanner; intemperate; frozen feet. Readmitted from Berks County, 56, February 13, 1874. Boatman; in jail once.

222. MARKS, ELIZA, of Reading, 33, b. America, adm. April 26, 1866. Entered with family of Mary Ann Spicer, Irish. Readmitted October 8, 1866; left April 15, 1867.

223. MARKS, ELIZA, of Reading, 75, adm. October 13, 1866. Left April 15, 1867.

224. MARKS, GEORGE, of Gibraltar Forges, 15, b. Gibraltar Forges, adm. December 2, 1843. Left February 26, 1844.

225. MARKS, JOHN, of Reading, 54, b. Gibraltar, adm. November 2, 1843. Left January 2, 1844. Readmitted from Tulpehocken, Township, 80, September 17, 1864. Died February 27, 1864.

226. MARKS, MARIA, of Reading, b. Reading, adm. September 18, 1843. Left September 20, 1843. Re-admitted November 2, 1843, b. Gibraltar. Left February 14, 1844.

227. MARKS, WILLIAM, of Reading, b. Reading, adm. September 18, 1843. Left September 20, 1843. Readmitted November 2, 1843, b. Gibraltar. Left February 26, 1844.

228. MASON, JACKSON, of Reading, b. Virginia, adm. December 30, 1880. Laborer; insane.

229. MALER, JOHN, of Baltimore, 22, b. Baltimore, adm. December 21, 1877. Vagrant.

230. MERRITT, SAMUEL, of Reading, 9 or 10, b. Philadelphia, adm. July 21, 1830. Sent to Philadelphia July 21, 1830.

231. MILLER, CATHARINE, of Reading, adm. September 21, 1830. Left March 24, 1832.

232. MILLER, JAMES, of Reading, 71, b. Africa, adm. December 28, 1865. Died February 12, 1886.

233. MOHN, WILLIAM, of Reading, 40, b. Philadelphia, adm. October 10, 1849. Sent to Philadelphia almshouse May 13, 1850.

234. MOORE, SYLVIA, of Earl Township, 110, adm. January 14, 1852. Died.

235. MURPHY, AMOS, 17, b. North Carolina, adm. July 14, 1874. Feeble-minded.

236. MURRAY, GEORGE, of Reading, 21, adm. October 24, 1830. Died October 27, 1830.
237. NACHO, SAMUEL, of America, 80, adm. May 12, 1860. Died.
238. PARKER, MORTON, L., of Philadelphia, 20, b. Reading, adm. January 19, 1873. Referred from Schuylkill County; Shoemaker.
239. PEARSON, SAMUEL, of Union Township, 3, b. Berks County, adm. January 13, 1837. Taken by father April 21, 1840.
240. PEOPLES, JOHN, of Reading, 10, b. Reading, adm. April 17, 1885.
241. PETERS, ANN, of Reading, adm. April 13, 1846. Left May 2, 1846.
242. PETERS, ANN, of Reading, 65, b. Berks County, adm. April 6, 1852. Left September 24, 1855.
243. PETERS, HARMON, adm. April 11, 1830. Taken by mother April 30, 1830. Readmitted January 26, 1831, from Brecknock Township, 2. Taken by mother February 1, 1831.
244. PETERS, JOHN, of Reading, 3, b. Amity Township, adm. May 10, 1838. Left August 14, 1844.
245. POCK, GEORGE, of Reading, 38, b. Womelsdorf, adm. December 15, 1849. Left January 28, 1850. Readmitted; left April 28, 1850.
246. POWELL, WILLIAM HENRY, of Robeson Township, 14, b. Robeson Township, adm. January 16, 1851. Left January 3, 1851.
247. PRICE, HENRY, of Reading, 17, b. Philadelphia, adm. September 20, 1847. Left September 28, 1847.
248. READY, JOHN, of Reading, 36, b. Maryland, adm. November 4, 1848. Left December 15, 1848.
249. REED, MARIA, of Reading, 40, b. Reading, adm. February 1, 1845. Left March 28, 1845.
250. RHAY, ANDY, of Reading, b. Reading, adm. September 11, 1852. Left September 13, 1852.
251. RHAY, WIFE OF ANDY, of Reading, b. Reading, adm. September 11, 1852. Left September 13, 1852.
252. RHAY, CHILD OF ANDY, of Reading, b. Reading, adm. September 11, 1852. Left September 13, 1852.
253. RHAY, CHILD OF ANDY, of Reading, b. Reading, adm. September 11, 1852. Left September 13, 1852.
254. RICHARDSON, JOHN, of Maiden Creek Township, 6, b. Maiden Creek Township, adm. December 1, 1846. Indented to J. Glancy Jones, ostler, April 2, 1847.
255. RIN, HENRY O., of Orwigsburg, b. Virginia, adm. May 29, 1832.
256. RITZ, HENRY, of Reading, 30, b. Forest, adm. June 21, 1828. Left July 26, 1830.
257. ROAS, JOHN, of Reading, 39, b. Maryland, adm. December 2, 1852. Left May 8, 1852.
258. ROSS, WILLIAM, of Heidelberg Township, 12, adm. May 22, 1832. Died May 26, 1832.
259. ROCH, SAMUEL, of Reading, 40, b. Reading, adm. September 1, 1845. Left March 28, 1845.
260. SALDERS, ELIZABETH, of Richmond Township, 22, b. Philadelphia, adm. July 5, 1843. Left July 2, 1843.
261. SANTEE, MARY, of Reading, 57, b. Africa, adm. October 17, 1865. Left March 31, 1866. Readmitted July 17, 1867, b. America, 58. Left November 17, 1867.
262. SINGLETON, JULIAN, of Caernarvon Township, 35, b. America, adm. November 18, 1864.
263. SITNEY, JESSE, of Reading, 74, b. San Domingo, adm. December 2, 1837. Died February 15, 1840.
264. SMITH, ANNA MARIA, of the poorhouse, one month, b. poorhouse, adm. June 4, 1839. Mother, Mary Hamilton, died.
265. SMITH, BARBARA, of Tulpehocken Township, 12, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with family of 9, father Peter.
266. SMITH, BAZIL, of Reading, 54, b. Marcus Hook, adm. June 23, 1827. Left August 6, 1827. Readmitted September 27, 1829, 57. Died October 10, 1829.
267. SMITH, CHARLES, of Reading, 31, b. Dauphin County, adm. October 30, 1844. Left March 25, 1845.
268. SMITH, CHARLES, of Reading, 28, adm. February 27, 1845. Left March 28, 1845.
269. SMITH, DAVID, of Pennsylvania, 48, b. Northampton County, adm. January 17, 1852. Left April 12, 1852. Sweep.
270. SMITH, ELIZA, of Tulpehocken Township, 42, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1842. Left May 16, 1843, with husband Peter and family of 9.
271. SMITH, ELIZABETH, of Tulpehocken Township, 13, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with father Peter and family of 9.
272. SMITH, JAMES, of York County, 40, b. Oley Township, adm. December 4, 1846. Died February

- 15, 1847, consumption.
273. SMITH, JANE, of Robeson Township, 17, b. Rockland Township, adm. February 11, 1831. Left December 17, 1833.
274. SMITH, JOHN, of Tulpehocken Township, 14, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with father Peter and family of 9.
275. SMITH, LAYENNA, of Tulpehocken Township, 5, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm., May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with father Peter and family of 9.
276. SMITH, MABRINA, of Tulpehocken Township, 7, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with father Peter and family of 9.
277. SMITH, MARY JANE, b. America, adm. September 8, 1859. Left November 1, 1860.
278. SMITH, PETER, of Tulpehocken Township, 50, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with family of 9.
279. SMITH, PETER, of Tulpehocken Township, 1, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843, with father Peter and family of 9.
280. SMITH, ROBERT, of Robeson Township, 11, b. Robeson Township, adm. November 10, 1829. Left December 17, 1833. Readmitted from Maiden Creek Township, May 31, 1832. Died January 23, 1841.
281. SMITH, ROBERT, of Pottsville, 48, b. Long Island, adm. January 2, 1831. Left May 19, 1831.
282. SMITH, SUSANNE, of Tulpehocken Township, 9, b. Tulpehocken Township, adm. May 9, 1843. Left May 16, 1843 with father Peter and family of 9.
283. SMITH, WILLIAM HENRY, of Philadelphia, 16, b. Philadelphia, adm. December 27, 1877. Vagrant; laborer.
284. SMITH, WILLIAM, of New Jersey, 25, b. New Jersey, adm. December 31, 1872. Laborer; hand frozen.
285. SMITH, WILLIAM, of Ohio, 43, b. Ohio, adm. September 11, 1888. Malarial; hostler. Readmitted September 26, 1888.
286. STANTLIN, ELIZA, of Brecknock Township, 6, b. Robeson Township, adm. June 2, 1829. Left June 19, 1829.
287. STANTLIN, THOMAS, of Brecknock Township, 18, b. Muddy Creek, adm. June 2, 1829. Left June 19, 1829.
288. STANTZ, DENNIS, of Brecknock Township, 28, b. Chester County, adm. May 30, 1829. Left June 19, 1829.
289. STATES, CEDAR, of Union Township, 81, b. Chester County, adm. July 31, 1850. Forger; removed by Chester County August 27, 1850.
290. STEEL, JOHN, of Reading, 29, b. America, adm. August 18, 1862. Bound to Enoch Saunders October 1, 1862.
291. STEVENS, JAMES, of Baltimore, 34, b. Baltimore, adm. April 18, 1876. Sick; barber.
292. STEWARD, JOHN, of Oley town, 56, adm. September 5, 1856. Left October 13, 1856.
293. STEWART, DAVID, of Womelsdorf, 50, b. Berks County, adm. April 25, 1846. Left August 1846.
294. STEWART, ELIZABETH, of Womelsdorf, 40, b. Berks County, adm. April 25, 1846. Left August 1846.
295. STONER, EDWARD, of Reading, b. Maryland, adm. January 6, 1844. Left January 11, 1844.
296. TALBERT, HENRY, adm. May 16, 1820. Died.
297. THOMAS, ELIZABETH, of Reading, 29, b. Maryland, adm. June 30, 1837. Left July 1, 1837.
298. THOMAS, GEORGE, of Reading, 27, b. Berks County, adm. October 20, 1840. Left November 5, 1840.
299. THOMAS, WIFE OF GEORGE, of Reading, 31, b. Berks County, adm. October 30, 1840. Left November 6, 1840.
300. THOMAS, CHILD OF GEORGE, of Reading, 1, b. Berks County, adm. October 30, 1840. Left November 6, 1840.
301. THOMAS, HENRY, of Birdsboro, 12, b. America, adm. September 17, 1860.
302. THOMPSON, JAMES, of Reading, 40, b. Chester County, adm. November 4, 1843. Labourer; palsied.
303. THOMSON, SAMUEL, of Reading, 29, b. Heidelberg Township, adm. December 29, 1828. Left February 12, 1829.
304. THOMSON, WILLIAM, of Reading, 47, b. Rockland Township, adm. February 11, 1840. Left March 6, 1840.
305. THOMSON, WIFE OF WILLIAM, of Reading, 34, b. New York, adm. February 11, 1840. Left March 6, 1840.
306. THORN, MARY, of Reading, 36, b. Philadelphia, adm. July 25, 1850. Readmitted January 5, 1851. Gave birth to son.
307. THORN, WILLIAM HENRY, of Reading, 7, b.

- Schuylkill County, adm. July 25, 1850. Left August 8, 1850.
308. TOLBERT, ANNA, of Reading, 19, b. Gibraltar, adm. April 16, 1850.
309. WALKER, JAMES, 30, adm. November 28, 1852. Died; consumption.
310. WALKER, JOHN, 64, b. Maryland, adm. November 11, 1875. Barber; frequents brothels.
311. WALKER, P., 30, adm. October 28, 1852. Died November 26, 1852.
312. WALTERS, ABIGAIL, of Sinking Spring, 27, b. Berks County, adm. May 19, 1842. Left May 31, 1842.
313. WARDEN, POLLY, ca. 1878.
314. WASHINGTON, CHARLES, of Amity Township, 50, b. Berks County, adm. December 20, 1840. Left October 1, 1841.
315. WALTERS, EMELINE, of Albany Township, 34, b. America, adm. January 16, 1868. Left March 16, 1868.
316. WALTERS, JOHN H., of Albany Township, 36, b. America, adm. January 16, 1868. Left March 16, 1868.
317. WALTERS, JUDDY B., of Albany Township, 5, b. America, adm. January 16, 1868. Left March 16, 1868.
318. WALTERS, SEVILLA, of Albany Township, 12, b. America, adm. January 16, 1868. Left March 16, 1868.
319. WEAVER, AMANDA, of Reading, 30, b. Pottsville, adm. October 26, 1888. Housework.
320. WILLIAM, of Sinking Spring, adm. March 22, 1842. Died March 23, 1842.
321. WILLIAMS, ANTHONY, of Reading, 30 adm. January 1, 1851. Laborer.
322. WILLIAMS, ANTHONY, of Reading, adm. February 23, 1858. Taken by Chester County almshouse April 26, 1858.
323. WILLIAMS, BETTY, of Reading, 39, b. Virginia, adm. September 4, 1885. Housework; insane.
324. WILLIAMS, DAVID, of Reading, 24, b. Chester County, adm. June 8, 1849. Left next day.
325. WILLIAMS, ELIZABETH, see WILLIAMS, BETTY or WILLIAMS, LIZZIE.
326. WILLIAMS, ELLEN, of Reading, 19, b. West Philadelphia, adm. January 10, 1876. Housework; pregnant.
327. WILLIAMS, ISAAC, of Birdsboro, 39, adm. June 6, 1856. Died; dropsy.
328. WILLIAMS, JANE, of Weaverstown, 40, b. in slave states, adm. February 22, 1850. Died of gangrene, April 20, 1850.
329. WILLIAMS, LIZZIE, adm. September 21, 1885. Insane.
330. WILLIAMS, SAMUEL, of Reading, 42, b. Virginia, adm. July 7, 1838. Left May 9, 1839.
331. WILLIAMS, SAMUEL, of Amity Township, 50, b. Berks County, adm. January 14, 1840. Left October 1, 1841.
332. WILLIAMS, TONY, of Montgomery County, 60, b. Africa, adm. October 31, 1865. Taken by Montgomery County Almshouse, January 22, 1866.
333. WILSON, CHARLES, of Reading, 37, b. Reading, adm. August 29, 1843. Left June 1, 1843.
334. WILSON, GEORGE, of Muhlenberg Township, 80, adm. April 25, 1865.
335. WILSON, HARRIET, of Reading, 80, b. Baltimore, adm. March 11, 1876. Housework; can not support self. Readmitted from Reading March 8, 1882, 90. Housework.
336. WILSON, JOHN, of Reading, 43, b. Berks County, adm. January 9, 1837. Left January 18, 1841.
337. WOOD, SAMUEL, of Bern Township, 13, b. Bern Township, adm. February 1, 1837. Indented to Henry Merrit, colored farmer, September 18, 1837.
338. YONEY, WILLIAM of Reading, 40, b. Reading, adm. December 21, 1844. Left March 8, 1845.
339. YORK, SARAH, of Caernarvon Township, 70, b. Caernarvon Township, adm. January 3, 1830. Died February 26, 1831.
340. YOUNG, ROBERT, of Douglassville, 16, b. America, adm. February 17, 1867. Left February 27, 1867.
341. YOUSE, MARY A., of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 25, b. America, adm. September 10, 1867. Left July 7, and came back.
342. ZYTUS, EDINGSTON, of Earl Township, 8, b. Earl Township, adm. November 3, 1845. Left December 6, 1845.
343. ZYTUS, JOHN, of Earl Township, 10, b. Earl Township, adm. November 3, 1845. Left December 6, 1845.
344. ZYTUS, TIMOTHY, of Earl Township, 14, b. Earl Township, adm. November 3, 1845. Left December 6, 1845.

TEACH, PREACH, OR WEAVE STOCKINGS?

THE TRILEMMA OF A PENNSYLVANIA SCHOLAR

BY KARL J. R. ARNDT

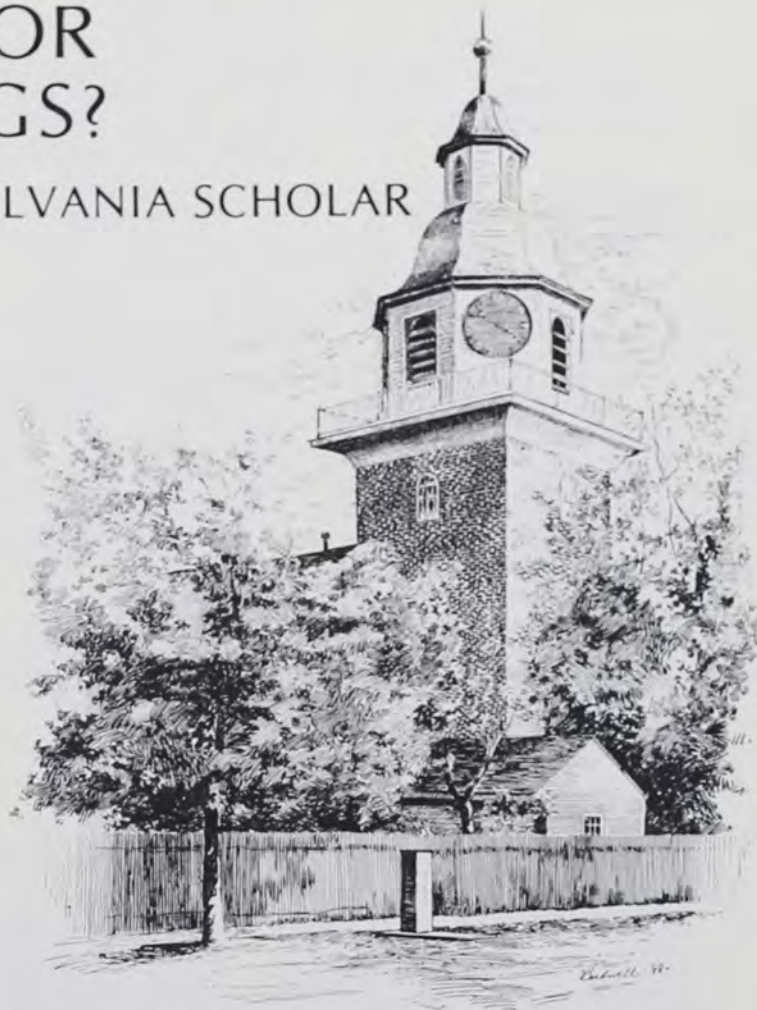
George Rapp's Harmony Society was only five years old in 1810 when *Browne's Cincinnati Almanac* for that year published Robert Stubbs's eye-witness account of the magnificent progress this group of Swabians had made in building their Harmonie in Butler County, Pennsylvania. That same year the German-American printer Zadok Cramer brought this report up to date and published it in the appendix to his 1810 Pittsburgh edition of F. Cuming's *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country*. In the year following, John Melish visited Harmonie and wrote another extensive report of the miraculous achievements of George Rapp's Harmonists and included this account in his *Travels in the United States of America* which was published in Philadelphia in 1812.

These three reports, particularly that by Melish, made the Harmony Society nationally and internationally famous. As a result, the Society was besieged by requests for information about the secret of its success and by applications for membership from many parts of the nation.

The secret of its success, which could never be properly imparted to others, lay in its excellent, firm, despotic spiritual and temporal leadership. George Rapp was undisputed priest and prophet and by his preaching, teaching, close personal contact with his members and by private confession maintained an invisible wall which kept the outside world from corrupting his people. Frederick Rapp was his loyal and capable minister of state who managed all temporal affairs with great devotion and extraordinary ability. If he had gone into business for himself, he could easily have become an Astor or a Dupont, but all his talents were put at the service of his Harmonists.

It is important to remember that the first articles of agreement by which the Harmony Society was founded on February 15, 1805, specifically called it "Georg Rapp und dessen Gesellschaft," George Rapp and *his* Society, not the Harmony Society, and that "his" Society in the articles was also referred to as a church. It was a church, and an unusual one, for it was to him and his members the incarnation of the Sunwoman in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation.

Of equal importance as a factor in its success was the character of its members. They worked hard and



The Church at Old Economy, the Harmony Society's Final Settlement, at Ambridge, Pennsylvania.

did not believe that the world owed them a living. They were obedient to their superiors. Although the Society included many fine craftsmen and well educated persons, there were no intellectuals or egg-heads among them.¹

Many persons visited the Society during the course of its history and later wrote reports of their visits, but none was ever able to penetrate the invisible curtain that protected the Society from the then equivalent of the *media*. For information about the life behind this curtain we must read George Rapp's intimate letters, his sermons, and letters of members who left the Society or letters from persons associated with George Rapp's "underground" church in Germany before he came to America.

We have such a letter before us. It is by a well educated man named Karl Friderich Theodor Seybold,

¹See: Karl J.R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* Cranbury, N.J. 1972; *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916*. Cranbury, N.J. 1971. A six-volume Documentary History of the Harmony Society is in preparation and the volumes from 1706 to 1824 have been completed.

a school teacher in Moore Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, at the time he wrote his letter to his good friend Friderich Rapp. It is a beautifully written letter which undoubtedly took the author a great deal of time and trouble, but few letters in the Harmony Society Archives so clearly describe the hardships of life at the time and the agony of soul under which those suffered who wanted to be members of Holy Harmonie and yet could not manage to become members. The letter is here published in translation with my comments on the text.

Moore Township, County of Northampton,
January 1813.

SHALOM! SHALOM...²

or in German—Peace! Peace!!!—is thus read and pronounced — as Scholom! My greeting first! worthy, dear friend Friderich!

Grace from God our Father through Christ. Peace, quiet, unity and love! between and with you all! He who chose you from the world for his possession, and through his hearty mercy saved and brought you together for your wellbeing and to the honor and praise of God.

Your letter addressed to me December 10, 1812, I have duly received, also a few days before the letter of my friend G.A. Beysser dated December 1, I received securely, and both to my hearty pleasure. Already for a long time I had felt an almost irresistible drive in my innermost being, to go out from the animal-like mankind, not only my own animal-mankind [*Thier-Menschheit*], but also from the external, in view of the conversation of the children of this world.³ As for my natural attributes, I find it most highly necessary, that if I quickly want to achieve the end to go out from myself, or as I have already noted, out of my own animal nature [*Thierheit*], I must seize the second means, namely to flee the company of the children of this world, and join with better human beings, in order to escape all opportunities whereby my disposition [*Gemüth*] so often and much spins the thread with them; the dominant spirit of the times — or the genius of the times, in which

the world takes so much pleasure, is looked at with astonishment by the world, and it is no wonder! Why? Simply because he is a child of Enack,⁴ a Goliath, who scorns God's people.⁵

When the elder Beysser on his journey from Williamsport spent the night with me, I expressed the wish and a very deeply felt longing to be with you, when he himself was not yet fully decided to become a member of your people, also I showed him all my reasons and motives, from which source my desire flows; without doubt he will still recall all that which I spoke with him, also I have no doubt that he has probably told you, my worthy, dear friend, something of my heart's desire. I had a premonition, and I did not have this premonition in vain, your valued epistle to me is testimonial thereof.

My precious, worthy, dear fellow-brother Friderich! I would rather call you fellow-brother than merely friend, although a true friend is an invaluable jewel, yet he is no brother in the sense that I would like a brother. Here I sit in Mesech and Kedar,⁶ my soul also tires of living among them that hate peace. For a long time I have been wishing to find a quiet Zoar⁷ and my friend Beysser the elder, wrote me, that among you there really is a quiet Zoar, and I also believe him truly; he is a man whom I may and can believe. Oh! and again Oh! Alas! if only I were already among you, again I say to you that my soul is getting tired of living among those that hate peace.

Dear friend Friderich, for a long time I have been wanting to write to you but have never taken the liberty, until now, and now I want to pour out my heart, as much as time and space allow. Never did I have heart enough; I was one of the greatest persecutors and slanderers of your brotherhood, but to speak the truth, I always felt an inner contradiction within me.

That I persecuted you is true, and you will have witnesses among you, to whom my arrogance will be well known. Often it is difficult for me, there I sit lonely, everything around me is world, are children of nature, with whom I must converse, often against my will, on account of my office [of schoolmaster]. There is nothing but swearing, cursing, dancing and playing. Often I am also torn away to be present at such noise, although I do not join in, yet I am

²The text above this is written in Hebrew.

³This thinking is entirely according to Jacob Boehme. See: *Einleitung Zum Wahren und gründlichen Erkenntnis Des grossen Geheimnisses der Gottseligkeit: GOTT geoffenbaret im Fleisch.... Auszug Aller...Schriften...Jacob Böhmens...*(Amsterdam 1718), page 663: "No one should think that man before his fall had such animal-like instruments for propagation but rather heavenly, also no entrails, for such stench and source as man has in his body does not belong into the Holy Trinity into Paradise but into the earth, this must again go into its Aether. Man was created immortal and also holy, like the angels, and although he was made of Limbo, he still was clean." Boehme's influence on Rapp and all his followers was of basic importance and that accounts not only for the language of this letter but also for the author's longing to become part of the Harmony Society.

⁴His spelling varies but the meaning is clear, viz. that he was a son of Cain, an evil seed.

⁵God's people, of course, were the members of the Harmony Society.

⁶Mesech and Kedar were warlike people encountered and feared by God's earlier people, the Children of Israel. He regrets having to live among evil and worldly people instead of among the chosen people of God, i.e. the Harmony Society.

⁷Zoar is the place of refuge which Lot found after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. It also was the name other followers of George Rapp gave their community when they came to America in 1817 and settled in Ohio.

present. Although I do not feel well there, yet I am often there, and often must be present for the purpose of recording. You know, worthy, dear friend, how dangerous such circumstances and opportunities can be for a Christian, and also often really are, if one is not always on one's guard — and how often isn't it the case — that he is not so?

Your letter, as already stated, I have received, to my greatest pleasure, also I have nothing to object to in all that you have written me. You have written with care and wisdom, as I can well judge from the entire style of the letter, but without anything that should betray anything that I might have to fear, or which was deliberately cunning, as said — in such a manner that I do not have the least to which I could object. If I should ever have the good fortune with all my heart to become and be one of you, then I will accept what you make of me — for I would probably be the least among you. Of course, I cannot deny, that I would be without any kind of use to the brotherhood.⁶ I like to leave everyone in that degree [*Grade*] in which he stands, therefore I also like to see that I am left to that degree in which I stand — here I understand only that — which one perhaps could and would absolutely use and need perhaps for temporal life.

How my intellectual ability will stand up among you, you could judge better than I, once I would be in your midst. He who tests heart and loins, also knows me, and before Him I too sink into the dust of humility and lowliness and recognize my nothing-at-all. In truth I am nothing — although without being shy I can say I have learned much — which one can call science, and that in external scholarship I am not even the last, which, if one applies it for a good purpose, is not without great use and blessing. Yet I recognize — that insofar as it is based along on conclusions reached by reason, and where one sets it up alone in natural and created things — without the purpose of improving oneself and advancing the good of one's fellow-man, and where one looks upon it only as an end in itself, which never is capable of contributing anything for the purpose of achieving heavenly bliss, there all science and scholarship are nothing — and basically a disadvantage and more harmful than useful. And in understanding nothing is more conducive to the truth of the Gospel and more striking than the statement of the apostle Paul, than when it says, that the wisdom of this world is only folly in the sight of God, but also that there is nothing that could be more certain and irrefutable for those who depend upon conclusions reached by reason, than this: that to them Christ is foolishness and a stumblingblock. This truth I have already experienced in myself,

⁶He probably omitted a "nicht" (not) because he did believe he would be of some use to the Harmonists.

my dear Friedrich! I have already experienced diverse times, even those when nothing seemed more repugnant to me, than dear Jesus, with His dear covenant testament.

Dear worthy brother! a homesickness is driving me powerfully to you. I am of the opinion that among you I could feel at home as long as my time of pilgrimage in this valley of trial lasts; and for these reasons, namely: 1. because of my fellow countrymen and good friends from my fatherland whom I would find there. 2. Because of the institutions or rather way of life, which is that of the Württembergers. 3. Because of the unity which is said to rule among you. 4. Because of the upright sense of brotherhood and sisterhood, from which the unity is derived. 5. and mainly for the sake of my soul and the Kingdom of God, to place my soul in greater safety from the seductions of the world, and to be able to love and serve my faithful God more. Often I sit so alone by myself, meditating upon the past and present time. Thereby my spirit becomes heavy, my heart would often like to weep, when I observe the evil of the children of men. But it weighs most heavily on my heart and when I lose sight of my duties and dear God, and when I can get lost in gaping at the world, as I can often with frivolous spirit watch the spectacle of the children of the world, see how this one and that one plays about on this stage of the world, how one sits by his money-idol and guards him, the other takes his pleasure in drunkenness and gambling and all kinds of lust; how there a crowd of scorners sits together, in godless manner and conversations scoffing at and reproaching the Highest and His Word and all that is holy. Then when I reflect about this and philosophize about the future — I must often think to myself and say: What and how? will things go and what will be the end? See, dear worthy friend! this often drives me so into a corner that I do not know what I should do and what even might in the end become of me. The position of my spirit in observing the present evil and dangerous world — has finally aroused in my soul the heartfelt and irresistible longing, to be nowhere else in this world than among my dear friends from the fatherland, and brethren who love Jesus Christ my Savior and who want to follow him on the narrow way to life, to live and to die, and if it cannot be otherwise, to flee as a little sheep lost from the flock into their loving arms and there to seek, as nearly as possible to God, help and refuge. In this I then also have the confidence in you, that if you can and will help me otherwise and lend me a hand, that you will receive me into your midst even as I am in all my weakness and unworthiness, and give me as a still weak and tottering brother the hand of brothers and sisters and take me along to the home of all of us.

Oh Precious dear Friderich! how great will be your and your fellow-consorts' reward some day when you will personally precede and lead the flock entrusted to you to the pasture of the pure gospel, and in all tempestuous as well as hot days at the evening, yes, certainly the last restful evening of the world will be present and like a war-hero will battle and fight to the blood. You know that no one will be crowned unless he fights right. Hail to your brotherhood, if it remains true to the last end, then your Harmony will be a tabernacle of God among men. For the time being the Lord has assigned you a cavern,⁹ in which so far like Saint Elias you have been safe from the persecution of Ahab and Jezebel. Long since, Jezebel has set up false witnesses in order to stone honest Naboth. The stones already are in the hands of those who will be the tools in this spectacle. In secret thousands already are flying at Naboth. They would like to have the vineyard to make a vegetable garden out of it. What will really happen, when the fruits of their works become evident? Yes, what am I saying, they already are evident enough, but many a one is not yet completely intoxicated, he is still walking a little "piano".¹⁰

Oh, how my heart longs for you, Christian Mahle — the younger Christian Beysser, Peter Flach, and Jacob Pfeil have already written to me. I would have been with you more than 18 months, if I had still been single, or even if in my present state I had enough means, to satisfy those who have supported me in establishing my household, although modest yet so far sufficient, in that condition in which it now is. When I got married, I still had about 8 or 9 dollars, and there the question also was: where do we get bread that these may eat?¹¹ For that reason I was compelled to buy all my household goods with that which other good people loaned me and gave me on credit. I cannot deny that it was not a single man who was capable of it loaned me the money. The entire region loved me, in view of the knowledge with which I could be useful to them and their children. Also, so far they have nothing to object to in my conduct, except that I do not want to go along on everything with many of them. Well now, where to?

Dear worthy Friderich! in the circumstances thus reported, tremendous mountains on all sides, which darken the prospect of coming to you. Within me is a restless and almost irresistible longing and hearty desire to come to you. Here I stand at the window so often. With downcast eyes and heart

full of sadness I look through the window pane with fixed gaze, up to heaven to the father of men, and sigh in my heart as my hands tremble. Isn't it possible for you, O Father, hear! if it is your will then answer me soon! You are the ruler — commander of hearts — alas! then rule, alas Faithful One, if it please you then bring help down to me, do open human hearts to help poor me. If you would have mercy — open these hearts in fatherly manner!

O my dear, worthy friend Friederich! it would do me much good and would be well if I were among you, but as stated, that which I have reported above darkens all my expectations. Taken for granted that I could come, I do not believe that it could be done for four or five years, if I am to pay my debts without support, pay them by my wages and earnings which scarcely suffice for keeping my house. I am at present on a place with 75 acres belonging to it, of which 30 acres are tillable or planted land, and the remaining 45 acres are woodland. Because the land is by the schoolhouse, I must instruct a child three months for one dollar. Now I will figure that I can hold school ten months in the year, and will figure on 25 children through the ten months through each month. On the average, however, I can figure on not more than 20 children through the ten months; although in the winter from the half of January on to the end of February often 50 to 60 children come; yet, this lasts only for six weeks. Among these there are also such people from whom I cannot get a thing. In the Spring, as soon as March begins, school gets weaker and weaker, so that often at special times when the people again can work outside the house, or later when they have much work to do, scarcely 10, sometimes 12 or 15 and on rainy days perhaps up to 20 children appear in school. The days when their children do not come to school and when they are still small and cannot be of help, they do not want to pay for either. Here I should write down days. Then, of course, many a child goes to school on scattered days, and when summer comes round, it probably amounts to about one or two shillings of school money. Here you can observe, how great my income is. So figure 20 children through the year as noted above and then school money amounts to 200 half crowns in one year and this makes 66 dollars and 5 shillings. In spite of hard effort and much running about I do not get even all of that, and then in such scattered manner, that it slips into housekeeping and often when I need money I do not have any. Now I paid out 18 dollars, partly for plowing and partly for making two crops of hay and other day laborers without figuring keep, so there remains 48 dollars and 62 and ½ pence. With this small sum I am to take care of my household for the entire year, in everything that is needed. Now you can easily imagine that paying off debts at

⁹"Höhle," based on the earlier example of 1 Kings XVIII, 13,

¹⁰1 Kings XXI. There was considerable hatred for the Harmony Society among the Germans of Pennsylvania, especially around Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The attacks on the Harmonie are compared to the unjust Jezebel-inspired attacks on Naboth, who under false charges was stoned to death in order that Ahab might take over his property.

¹¹Reference to the miraculous feeding of the multitude in Matthew XV, 33.

that rate cannot go so rapidly. Land in this region also is not so productive as with you. Four acres produced only 36 bushels of corn, of which last year I received only one third. I planted four bushels for this year, so may expect more from the next harvest, if the Lord gives his blessing to it, so that then I could turn some of my overflow into money. So you see, that before four years or perhaps a short year less, if all goes well, I cannot get out of the area, until I have paid all those who have supported me.

If I had or could carry on my trade, then I would undertake to pay off my debts in a short year, but in this maner it goes very slowly. As far as the suggestions are concerned which you made to me, I would be satisfied to that degree, and I do not doubt that if George Schaal, who works in Philadelphia with Fink, would hear that I went into the Harmony, he would also come, so that we could keep 2 looms going. In case he would not come, I could taken an apprentice, who within a quarter of a year would be able to weave stockings. To weave stockings in itself is easy and learned soon. The greatest art consists of keeping the looms in order. Once the weaving of stockings is in progress, I do not doubt, and I am also certain of it, that you in the Harmony would derive considerable advantage from it, especially, if gradually it would be so arranged that a factory of six or more looms could be kept going. All over America there is a lack of stocking weavers and if there were more of them, then this profession would beyond doubt be one of the most advantageous. As far as the price of the looms is concerned, it is different. There are two kinds of looms for stocking weaving, such as those entirely of iron, and roller looms [*Walzerstühle*]; the latter type is mostly of wood, except for parts which necessarily must be of iron. The first type again is different, such as fine and coarse; of the finer type the number six or sixer is the most common. On it beautiful and fine wares of worsted — or so that you may understand it well — that kind of wool is worked which has been so prepared by the wool combers, and which demands that part of the wool or is made from the wool which is fine and somewhat long, which then is spun and worked double or even threefold. Stockings of this kind sell for two dollars and above. Further, there are also looms number 7 and number 8. The iron number 8 looms are equal to the wood or roller looms insofar as the thickness or quality of the stitch is concerned. An iron loom runs to about 136 also 120 and below and some also 140 and 150 dollars. A roller loom [*Walzerstuhl*] runs to about 100 to 110 dollars. Occasionally one can get them made also for 80 and 90 dollars. Late last year when I visited my in-laws in Lancaster, I saw a roller loom at Gerhart the stocking weaver's place which did not cost him more than 25 pounds and was made not

far from Lancaster, a very good loom which does good work. But this man, as I heard, started something else. The roller looms, when they are made well, are very suitable and all kinds of common stockings for winter are made on them, both of fine and coarse wool. Yes, one finds roller looms which are not in the least inferior to the iron ones in number and quality of wares. If then you should be willing to take me into your Harmony, or anyone else, then I would advise you to get an iron sixer and a good roller loom, the iron one for fine worsted and cotton wares, and a roller loom for ordinary stockings. At the beginning this would be the most useful, or if you would want two iron ones, one eighter and one sixer, although I consider the first to be better. I would still have to write to you about a number of articles which are unavoidably and absolutely necessary. But I will wait for a reply from you, because my present situation does not allow me to see my dear brethren, although that is the most honest and unselfish wish of my heart, especially as already outlined, for the sake of the welfare of my own soul and the wellbeing of my wife, who is of the same mind with me, and has just as eager a wish to join you as I have.

It weighs heavily enough on my heart that I cannot do as I would like to. Of course, a number of wealthy persons have let me know, that they want to set me up in my trade, or loan me money so that I can set it up, so that I could earn more than by keeping school alone. — But no! how can I follow up this suggestion, which might easily be accepted with thanks, when since more than 18 months this region is not at all according to my wishes. There is nothing but cursing, swearing, fighting, carousing and feasting among the common people. With those of somewhat better morals I found, because I occasionally converse with them, that not one among them assents to the Holy Scriptures. Most of them are Deists, and when one judges their words by the testimony of Scripture, they are Atheists. They do not even hesitate, as several among them really told me to my face, to say: I am a Deist. You see, thus I really in all respects live very much in danger. Among common people I hear and see nothing but godless behavior, among the more elevated nothing but sensuous and lighthearted living without a religion of the heart.— Oh! how difficult it often becomes for me. As an official obligation I must concern myself with all people, and what is the worst, a schoolmaster in this country is to live so as to please everyone, and how can I do this without violating my conscience? And in this respect I cannot and will not remain among them, and will not accept their well-meant suggesions. In myself I am a very poor and perverse [*verkehrter*] human being, and what else could I become?

I know of no way soon to get out of this region to you in the Harmony. My in-law, who for a time was very angry with me, because of our marriage, now is again better inclined toward me. She treated me well when I visited her last October. As far as was in her power she encouraged me to come to Lancaster or at least into the area, so that she could stay with us. At present she is in Lancaster with her son Carl Stos, who has set up his trade there. I do not doubt in the least that if I should want to move into the area of Lancaster, she and other good friends would help me, so that I could get away from Moore Township, but as well as I like the area around Lancaster, I by no means will go because of the region. There are, of course, very many honest and well-thinking people there. However, one thing would displease me, as will be known to you: there are 1. Anabaptists, or Dunkers, Menists [Mennonites], Separatists, Methodists, Amish, and also regular church people there. Against all that I would have no objection. In future I want to let everyone be what he is and see for myself, but that each party when it finds it possible tries to draw one to itself, that I consider wrong. Each consider itself better than the

other, and each would also want me to join them. It always seems to me that the external name and confession of the mouth is a zero which counts for nothing, and that the kindness of heart in the love for God and the living faith that brings salvation combined with a pious Enoch-like¹² life is much better and more useful.

Dear Friderich Rapp! something occurs to me: my father has a brother here in America about whom I have frequently heard that he lived here or there, but I have never been able to ascertain anything certain about him and his place of residence, until last October on my return from Lancaster, I heard from a certain Gottfried Renner with whom I conversed in an inn not far from Reading while the hostess was preparing our meal, that he had recently come from Greensburg. This man also said one thing and another about the Harmony and finally he asked my family name, which I told him together

¹²Reference to the Enoch or Henoch who walked with God and, at the age of 365, in the midst of the age of life at that time was carried away without seeing death. See: Hebrews XI, 5: "By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God has translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleases God."

Town Hall and Rapp Mansion, Old Economy, Ambridge, Pennsylvania.





Side View of Town Hall and garden of Rapp Mansion.

with my fatherland and birthplace, whereupon he replied that he knew a man in Greensburg bearing my name, who also was a Württemberger, who came from Schorndorf, from my father's birthplace. He also gave me his approximate age within a range of one or two years, which is correct if he happens to be the person. He also told me many other things which apply to him and belong to his life, from all of which I concluded that he must be the one. He is supposed to be a well-to-do man. If this should be so, then I have no doubt that he would be happy if he heard something from me, especially because I would be the only one of the entire numerous blood relationship, who is in this western country. Dear Friderich! you could perhaps better make inquiry than I. If it should be so, then he could, as I do not doubt, find me an English or a German school in the Greensburg area. Also I believe that he would show me so much friendship to send me enough money that I could leave my present place honorably and pay my debts, and there keep school long enough until I could pay him back and then enter the Harmony.

Also I would be closer at hand, to visit you, and gradually to set up the stocking-weaving business, in order to be able to begin with it soon. I have already dreamed that I have made stockings in the Harmony. If this plan, however, should go wrong, I know of no other, unless it be that you could supply me with that much. I would then also keep school in the vicinity of the Harmony until I could again satisfy you, so that nothing would be taken from the Brotherhood, and as soon as I would be free of debt I would go to the Harmony to you and become your brother joyously with all my will and with all my heart, and I would be happy having reached the goal of my longing. These two plans, worthy dear Friederich! surely flow from an honest source. I am seeking nothing selfish thereby, as you can easily judge. I cannot act more honestly; the Lord knows it, that I mean it the way I write. But if nothing should come of either, then I know no other way but that I must drag myself on for several years through this Sodom-like region, for which He may give me His spirit, that I may not be completely

torn along by the current and would no longer wish to see your face. The Lord will strengthen me, I hope and believe it, as long as I am still under Mesech and Kedar, and if it is His will I again will find a way on which I can continue my pilgrimage to you. From the bottom of my heart I wished to be with you. This present time is especially important for me and it seems to me that the Lord would soon make an end of mankind on earth. For that reason the irrevocable will has arisen in me, if at all possible, to join with you and with you to dedicate my life to the despised merciful Jesus, and to conclude my life among you.

Dearest friends, now do what you think is good, believe me, even if I had a fortune amounting to thousands, I would be just as serious about giving it all to you and to be among you. Judge and advise as you wish, only do not judge unjustly. I would not fear to make my living and to care for myself and my family, if I were of a mind to continue to live in company with the animal-like humanity. I could show you a letter which was handed to me by two deputies of a congregation from Wilsberry¹³ to accept a position as preacher where annually five congregations would pay me up to 300 pounds money, not counting what I would still make with marriages, funeral sermons, and confirming of children. Various clergymen have also encouraged me to do this, but I do not like to be a hireling preacher, also I am not of their faith, although I am called a Lutheran. I am writing this to you not to present myself to you as a big man and to boast of my literally small amount of learning, which you know well what it is without the spirit from God, and even if you should not be able to read. There is always something in my heart that I cannot really explain to myself, but so much is clear to me that I always feel a great pleasure and have love and respect within me for a servant of Christ. This I sense whenever I am in company where Jesus is demoted to a mere man. Then I become zealous within myself or quite sorrowful. With this I want to close. As soon as possible, dear worthy Friederich! I hope that you will write me your intention whatever the case may be, I humbly ask you not to count anything as crude or bad and also to forgive me my many weaknesses and natural attachments, and to greet for me heartily and fraternally all who know and love me. If you should find it proper you may read this letter to your worthy brethren and colleagues and let them judge. The Lord be with you all and give His gracious increase to that which you plant and water. Farewell in Christ Jesus, the first of the brethren.

In all humility I am your most devoted but also least brother *Karl Friderich Theodor Seybold*.
School Master in Moore Township Northampton County. 1813.

Write the address as before.

N.B. I would still have several things to write about different circumstances concerning the trip, will wait, however, until I again have a reply and know your mind. I hope you will advise well, as friends from the fatherland and friends through and in Christ. At the same time I beg that you would think nothing ill of me. I wrote as it is, Gladly, very gladly I would be among you, but I myself know no way at this time, so I thought that you could perhaps somehow stand by me with counsel and brotherly aid. Hence I expect, if it please you, that you will soon inform me of your opinion, whatever the case may be. Farewell — Again our special greetings to the Beysser family, to Mahle, Flach, Pfeil, Biehler and Nachtrieb and to the Schaalens, who in part were my travel companions.¹⁴

The above letter is addressed: “*Mr Frederick Rapp and J.G. Rapp Co: Harmonie 30 Miles from Pittsbourgh in the State of Ohio.*” It is hand postmarked: “*Kreidersville, Pa. Jany 17th*”. Postage mark is “17” and it is endorsed “*Carl F.T. Seybold Jan: 1813.*”

At the conclusion of this translation it gives me great pleasure to say that Professor Don Yoder informed me that the author of this beautifully written letter was also a Pennsylvania Fraktur artist and that one of his works of art is in Professor Yoder’s collection. This information caused me to check the Heaney and Weiser *Pennsylvania German Fraktur of the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Breinigs-ville and Philadelphia, 1976), where I was delighted to find that titles 375, 376, and 377 in volume two were by the author of the letter presented here.

¹³Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

¹⁴Most of the persons named came to America after the Harmonie had been established and apparently were not on the early ships *Aurora*, *Atlantic*, and *Margaret*, but the *Aurora* passenger list, the first ship to arrive, has not been found. If he had come on one of the early boats before 1806, he probably would already have been a member of the Society.

Annotated Bibliography of Pennsylvania Folk Medicine

By Barbara Reimensnyder

The purpose of this paper is to provide an annotated bibliography as well as a brief critical survey of works on Pennsylvania folk medicine. First I will summarize the range of existing material on Pennsylvania folk medicine; I would also like to offer some suggestions for future research which were indicated by the material which I examined.

Although there are a few articles available on Cornish and Russian folk medical practices near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania folk medicine is for the most part regarded as the folk medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans. Although the urban populations of the state are comprised of other ethnic groups, who no doubt practice or remember the folk medicine of their culture, these have thus far been given little consideration. An exception is Gifford's work on the evil eye in south Philadelphia (1958, 1960, 1971). The rural population of Pennsylvania is in large measure descended from German-speaking immigrants; the largest rural groups which might be considered true "folk societies" (in Redfield's sense of the term) are the Amish and Mennonite groups.

Most works on these groups contain some reference to their folk-medical beliefs and practices. However, this information is generally scattered through larger works or isolated in articles whose subjects range from witchcraft to veterinary medicine. This diversity is due to the nature of the subject matter; Pennsylvania folk medicine is of basically two types: occult and non-occult. Thus it is closely related to witchcraft, religion, and folk belief systems on one hand, and to botany and material culture on the other.

Information on Pennsylvania folk medicine as it is found in primary sources transcends the boundaries of the folkloristic concept of "genre". Sources may be songs, poems, jokes, proverbs, wills, sermons, tracts, newspaper articles, farm ledgers and account books, and recipe books. Narrative sources may be in the form of witch and ghost stories, personal reminiscences of a healing experience, and stories about local healers which may have overtones of legend; actual instructions may or may not incorporate narrative as a teaching device.

Some of the best secondary sources are as follows. The most detailed catalogues of information are: Fogel's *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1915), Brendle and Lick's *Plant Names and*

Plant Lore of the Pennsylvania Germans (1923) and Brendle and Unger's *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures*. For information on the occult cures, the best source is a book actually used by powwowers, John George Hohman's *The Long Lost Friend*. For an overview of the field with attention to European backgrounds as well as American developments, Don Yoder's article on folk medicine in Dorson's *Folklore and Folklife* (1972) is invaluable. Theoretical approaches to the study of folk medicine are most clearly considered in David Hufford's *Folklore Studies and Health: An Approach to Applied Folklore* (1974).

My first suggestion for research is the correlation of existing data. Within individual works, indexes should be provided for particular treatments, e.g., plant names as well as names for diseases. Within the field, articles could be annotated with reference to Fogel and Hohman, at least, just as folktales are annotated with regard to the motif index. An article by Mac Barrick (1964) does just that. Correlation of existing data would also show that what in many cases appear to be contradictions in information are actually variables within the tradition. In accounts of powwowing, for example, one author may report that the faith of the patient is an absolute prerequisite, while another asserts that the faith of the patient is irrelevant. Each may be true for the particular practitioner about whom they are speaking, but within the tradition that particular aspect is a variable rather than a general rule. Other variables appear to be: requirements and process of learning to powwow, effects of treatment on the powwow doctor, necessity of secrecy in treatment, necessity of cross-sex treatment, religious faith of practitioner, and necessity of payment for effective treatment.

Recent theoretical developments in folklore also call for accompanying researches in folk medicine. Hufford suggests that more information on the life histories of healers is necessary if we are to understand the process of becoming a healer. Kenneth Goldstein outlines the degrees of belief (and disbelief) which individuals in a community may hold while maintaining a tradition. This suggests that community-oriented studies would be invaluable in outlining the place of folk medicine within a particular community at a particular time. In each community there

may be a full time practitioner of folk medicine (a sort of folk doctor on whom people will call); on the other hand there may be basic home remedies or powwow formulas which many members of the community know and use when necessary. These may or may not be used in conjunction with doctors, chiropractors, drug store medicines, etc. Little work has been done on the total medical system of a community or individual. John A. Hostetler's work on the Amish gives some indication of this. He describes on what occasions people will call a doctor, chiropractor, or use their own methods.

Lack of information in these areas may be due in part to the difficulty of obtaining such information. People who still use or can recall the use of folk medicine are also aware that they live in a modern industrial society; thus they fear ridicule if they acknowledge their own use of folk medicine. Additional problems in interviewing practitioners are: their fear of prosecution by law, fear of losing their power if they articulate their practices, as well as their observation of the taboo which prevents them from revealing information to someone of the same sex as themselves.

In spite of these difficulties, much information is available on Pennsylvania folk medicine in both the 19th and 20th Centuries. Much information is still available through fieldwork in the rural areas; much is remembered from the earlier part of the century and much can be observed as current practice.

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF
CONGRESS OF AUGUST 12, 1970

(Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

Of *Pennsylvania Folklife*, published 5 times yearly at Lancaster, Pa., for October 1, 1977.

1. The names and addresses of publisher, editor, business manager are: Publisher—Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Lancaster, Pa., Editor—Dr. Don Yoder, Philadelphia, Pa., Business Manager—Mark R. Eaby, Jr., Lancaster, Pa.

2. The owner is: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Box 1053 or 3 Central Plaza, Lancaster, Pa. 17602 and Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 19426.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Mark R. Eaby, Jr.
Business Manager

Pictures in the Home:

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 49

The homes of mankind, from the prehistoric cave to the modern high rise apartment, have always been decorated. In addition to color in walls, floor coverings, furniture, linens, etc., in most homes there have been pictorial materials. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information from our readers on the types of pictures, prints, and other pictorial materials which they remember from the homes with which they are familiar in Pennsylvania.

1. *Portraits.* Were family portraits found in homes you grew up in or are familiar with from the past? If oil paintings, where were they normally hung — over fireplaces, in stair halls, in rooms? Who were the subjects and why were they important to the family?

2. *Crayon Portraits.* In the Victorian era it was fashionable to have "crayon portraits" of grandfather and grandmother, or other relatives, in one's home. These were drawn from photographs and represented the democratizing of the oil portrait that earlier, and usually wealthier Pennsylvanians had. Where were these hung in the house? Was the room in which these were hung considered somewhat of a special, even "sacred" space in the house?

3. *Photographs.* Beginning with the Civil War era many Pennsylvanians hung portrait photographs on their walls, usually portraits of family members. These were often in shadow-box frames, oval or rectangular. Or photographs of one's house or farm were displayed. In modern times, the upright piano was often covered with portrait photographs. If you remember these customs, please comment on them for us.

4. *Photograph Albums.* Most Americans of the 19th Century had Victorian photograph albums, again, beginning with the "carte de visite" or cabinet photograph, on cardboard, which became popular in the Civil War era. Where were these albums kept? When were they looked at? What other materials besides portraits of the family were kept in them?

5. *Landscapes and Other Pictures.* Describe the favorite pictures hanging in your childhood home, or other homes that you are familiar with from your childhood. What were the themes of these pictures as you recall them?

6. *Calendars.* Colorful calendars still are found in Pennsylvania houses. How did the earlier ones which

you remember differ from those in circulation today? Who printed the local calendars, and who circulated them? What firms did they advertise? Where were these calendars usually hung in the house? What types of calendar illustrations do you remember?

7. *Samplers, Mottoes, and Personal Documents.* If samplers or Victorian mottoes were part of your earlier homes, describe them. What was their importance to the family? What were the inscriptions on the mottoes which you remember? Were fraktur "Taufscheine" or other documents ever framed and displayed on walls in the past?

8. *Religious Prints.* Many homes had prints of a religious or allegorical nature. Catholic homes normally had pictures of saints or other focus of Catholic devotion. Describe these for us. Where were they hung in the house? Was there an actual "holy corner" for them as in European farmhouses? What types of religious and allegorical prints were found on the walls of Protestant houses? What was their function in the lives of the family members? Were "Himmelsbriefe" (Letters from Heaven) ever hung on the walls of Pennsylvania German homes? If not, where were they found in the house?

9. *Painted Walls and Furniture.* A minority of Pennsylvania houses had painted walls with landscapes or other scenes, or decorated ceilings. If you are familiar with these, describe them for us. The painted ceiling with stars and other geometrical patterns (rather than pictures) has been documented from the Susquehanna Valley, but we need additional evidence, from readers, of old houses with this form of decoration. Also, what pieces of furniture were painted with pictures in Pennsylvania?

10. *Change in Taste.* How do you account for the change in taste which has banished most of the earlier forms of pictorial art from our houses? For comparative data, list and describe all the pictorial materials you have today on the walls of your present home, whether it is a farmhouse, a townhouse, or an urban apartment.

Send your replies to:

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174



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

The Festival and its Sponsorship

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

