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bank

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forebay

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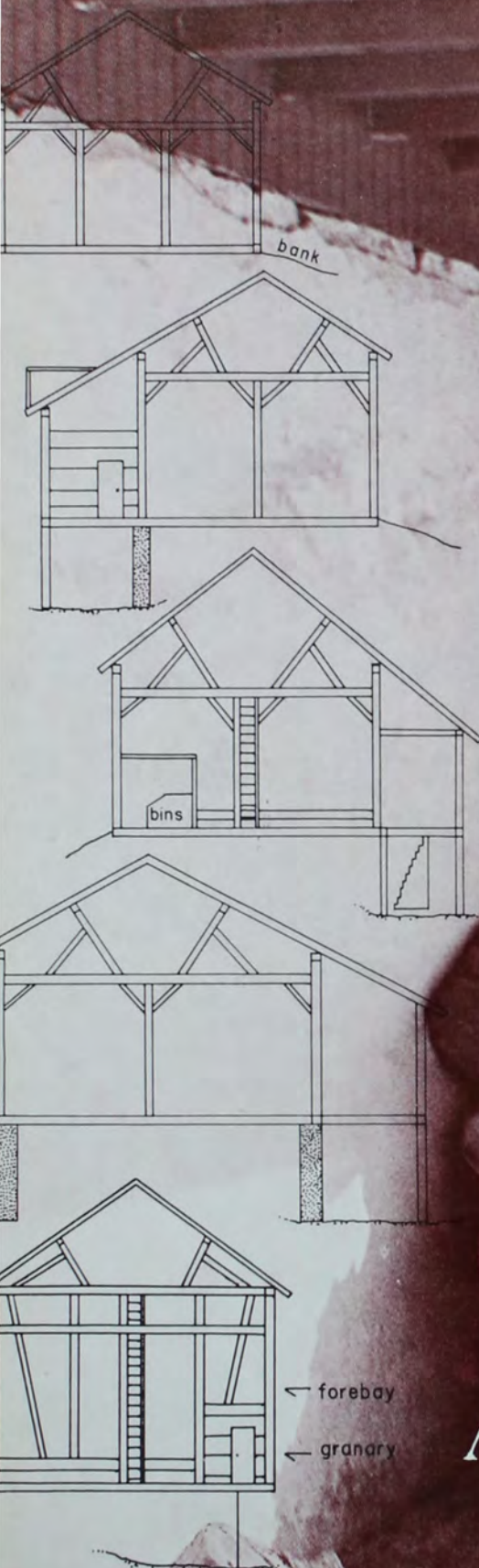
A COMPARISON

Contributors

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MARY LOU ROBSON FLEMING, a native of Pensacola, Florida, lives with her husband James M., Jr. in New Harmony, IN. Mrs. Fleming is a descendant of Dr. Robert Robson of Hexham, England, who held the chair of surgery in a Philadelphia medical school before joining Robert Owen's secular community at New Harmony in 1825; of his wife Eliza E. Parvin of Reading, PA; great-granddaughter of Francis Parvin of Berks Co., and of the Rev. Jacob Schnee and his wife Catharine Krebs of Lebanon, PA, who founded a short-lived religious community near New Harmony in 1827.

JOHN D. KENDIG, of Manheim, PA is a local historian, photographer, and author (*Lancaster County Waysides*). He has written for local newspapers and magazines for more than 35 years, and is a frequent contributor to *Pennsylvania Folklife.* We appreciate his taking the time to make the Boyd material available to us.

WILLIAM T. PARSONS, Ph.D., former editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife,* is professor of history at Ursinus College in Collegeville, PA, and director and archivist of the college's Pennsylvania German Studies Program. In that capacity he arranged for the touring South Moravian Choral, Instrumental and Dance Group to be housed in college residence facilities during part of their stay in the United States in the summer of 1982. As his account of their visit makes clear, it was an arrangement that turned out to have unexpected benefits for all concerned.

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(Inside front cover)

COVER:

*A familiar sight in southeastern and south central
Pennsylvania, the forebay barn is also found outside of
Pennsylvania in areas settled by migrating Pennsylvania
German pioneers. Wisconsin, however, was not such an
area, yet a significant number of forebay barns were built
in several locations there, and a comparative study shows
striking similarities between the Wisconsin forebay barn
and its Pennsylvania counterpart.*

Layout and special photography:
WILLIAM K. MUNRO

The Pennsylvania Barn: It's Distribution and Diffusion

W. STEVENS II

0   50   100 MILES
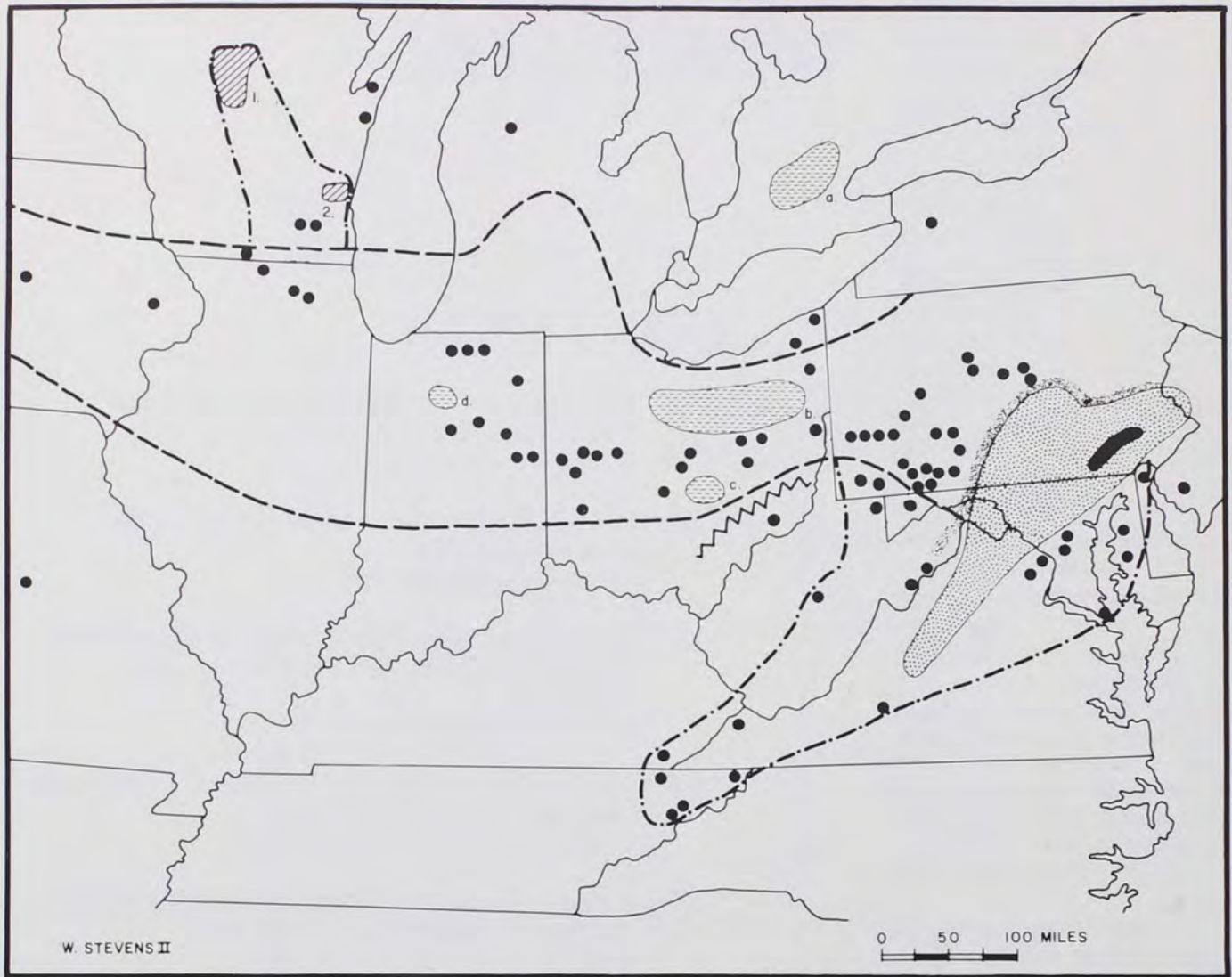
Core — Occurrence of earliest Pennsylvania Barns.

Domain — Dense and continuous distribution of Pennsylvania Barns (Glass).
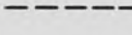
- - - - - Sphere — Scattered and disjunct distributions of Pennsylvania Barns
(Ludwig's Limit of Pennsylvania "Dutch" settlement).
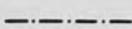
- · - · - Extended Sphere.

Major Pennsylvania Barn Regions outside domain:
a. Waterloo Co., Ontario   c. Lancaster Region, Fairfield Co., Ohio
b. North Central Ohio Axis   d. Cass Co., Indiana
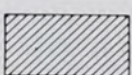
Wisconsin Forebay Barn Regions: 1. Marathon — Lincoln Counties
                                 2. Washington — Ozaukee Counties

• One or more Forebay Barns sighted or reported.
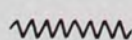
∿∿∿∿∿ Southern limit of Pennsylvania Barn in Southeastern Ohio (Wilhelm)

Allegheny Front

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PENNSYLVANIA AND WISCONSIN FOREBAY BARNS

By Robert F. Ensminger

Central Wisconsin Landscape with forebay barns, Lincoln County, WI.

Koepsel Pomeranian stable (c. 1855), Old World Wisconsin, Eagle, WI. Originally from Dodge County, WI.

The appearance of distinctive regional architectural forms in places remote from their original or "normal" locations would arouse the interest of any keen observer of landscapes. The occurence of significant numbers of forebay barns in several locations in Wisconsin is a case in point which will be examined in this report. Robert Bastian, in 1975, directed attention to the forebay barns of adjacent Marathon and Lincoln counties in Wisconsin, noting their close resemblance to the traditional barns of southeastern Pennsylvania.[1] He concluded that any similarities resulted from independent but parallel development.[2] In this report, we will reexamine this hypothesis as a necessary first step before developing other evidence supporting a different position — that the barns in question are in fact disjunct Pennsylvania barns. We shall also examine other important distributions of forebay barns in Wisconsin that have not been studied by scholars. In all of these cases, comparative morphological data will be presented along with historical and migrational evidence to reinforce the idea of the "Pennsylvania connection."

It is surprising to note that with the exception of but a few scholars, almost no study of these unique forms has been attempted.[3] A recent article by Charles Calkins and Martin Perkins does examine the form and origin of the Pomeranian stable of southeastern

Wisconsin.[4] This interesting vernacular form bears some resemblance to the Pennsylvania barn and occurs just northwest of Milwaukee in close proximity to other forebay barns. The example shown in the text, the Koepsel stable (1855) located at Old World Wisconsin, Eagle, Wisconsin, reveals that Pomeranian stables have short, three foot, cantilevered forebays reminiscent of Pennsylvania barns. They are, however, much smaller, are not banked, and have a different stable arrangement. Comparing the Koepsel stable frame to the frame bent pattern of nearby forebay barns shown at the end of this report will reveal that totally different framing traditions were employed in each type of structure. There is also a 30 to 50 year time gap separating them. Calkins and Perkins have documented North German prototypes (Pomerania) for the stable. They perceive no direct connections to the forebay barns of the same area.[5]

The data for this report was gathered during field surveys in Wisconsin in July of 1980 and May of 1981. Other field surveys from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois which bear on this topic will be examined. Comparative morphological studies across the above-mentioned region will be presented and appropriate information concerning Pennsylvania German settlement there will be included. This evidence will be analyzed and summarized as the resultant conclusions are presented and defended.

Marathon County porch (forebay) barn with supported and arcaded forebay and dormer gable.

Rakow barn, Marathon County showing forebay joists mortised into stable wall sill.

Central Wisconsin Forebay Barns

It is indeed surprising to come across forebay barns almost one thousand miles from southeastern Pennsylvania and near the northern limit of agriculture in Wisconsin. In this distant and disjunct location, Bastian's arguments appear to make sense as he emphasizes differences between Pennsylvania and Wisconsin forebay barns. He does point out that the general external and internal morphology of both barns is similar. In particular, both barns use the forebay form which is called a porch, shed, or lean-to in Wisconsin.[6] This forebay or porch is the diagnostic feature of the Pennsylvania barn.[7] Another key similarity is the ramp or banked setting which provides access to the upper level of both barns.

Bastian then proceeds to enumerate differences which favor his contention that Wisconsin porch barns developed independently of Pennsylvania influence. He lists the following points:[8]

1. Many Wisconsin porch barns are constructed with light balloon frames while Pennsylvania barns are made with heavy timber, mortise and tenon, wood pinned frames.
2. Wisconsin porch barns always have end walls of frame-above-stone basement walls while many Pennsylvania barns have complete gable end stone walls.
3. Forebay support joists on many Pennsylvania barns are cantilevered back into the barn frame eliminating the need for external forebay support. Wisconsin forebays are always supported by a series of wooden posts.
4. Many Wisconsin barns utilize dormer gables above the forebay roof. The statement in this context implies that Pennsylvania barns do not use this form.
5. Wisconsin porch barns do not face south and east as frequently as do Pennsylvania barns. Many have the porch facing north and west, seemingly reflecting the influence of roads aligned by the township and range survey system.
6. The term forebay or overshoot commonly heard in Pennsylvania is not used in Wisconsin where porch, shed, or lean-to is used instead.

The first step in checking the validity of the above statement required a reexamination of barns in Marathon and Lincoln counties. This region in north-central Wisconsin extends from south of Wausau in Marathon County to just north of Merrill in Lincoln County. It continues west from this axis through five townships covering an area of roughly 1000 square miles. A township map prepared by Bastian in 1975 is currently on file at the Marathon County Public Library in Wausau. It defines the region and provides a count of porch barns there; the count totals 125 barns. Others not on the map which I observed to the southwest of Wausau provide for an estimated total of 150 or more porch barns. Some townships just west and north of Wausau reveal a majority of barns having forebays or porches thus generating a strikingly Pennsylvania-like landscape!

My examination of numerous barns in this area disclosed that most were very similar to each other in size and form. All had stone basement walls with vertical siding over frame superstructures. All had deep (12 foot) forebays (sheds or porches) facing the barnyard with doors to the stable usually located under the forebay. Many also had a main stable door centered on the gable end, especially when these walls were not below

Krausie barn (1912), Marathon County showing under forebay double "Dutch" doors and dormer gable.

Herman Schield barn (1908), Lincoln County, WI showing threshing floor, mows, and heavy mortised and pinned frame.

ground level. All forebays were supported by a series of wooden posts which engaged the forebay girt. Forebay joists were not cantilevered back into the barn frame, but rested on the top of the underforebay stable wall which was also made of stone. In some cases, the forebay joists were mortised into a beam resting on this wall. Pictures provided in the text should clarify these particulars of barn morphology.

A major variation among the forebay barns of this region occurs with roof style. Gambrel roofs appear on barns built after 1905. Gable roofs indicate earlier barns although no barns identified go back before 1896. Some barns utilize dormer gables (centered above the forebay) which provide high openings for expelling straw during machine threshing on the wagon floor. All barns surveyed were either built into banks or had ground ramps for access to the second level threshing floor doors opposite the forebay. Large barns of 100 to 120 feet had double threshing floors sometimes separated by central hay mows. The above description could apply to many barns in Pennsylvania. It is just this point which prompts a careful examination of those differences which have been cited to support the evolutionary thesis.

The vast majority of Pennsylvania barns were built before 1880 and therefore utilize a heavy frame of hewn or sawed, mortised and pinned timbers. Since the Wisconsin barns being considered were all built *after* this date, some were constructed with lightweight balloon framing. This would hold true in Pennsylvania as well where forebay barns which are still being built necessarily utilize modern lightweight framing. Furthermore, all of the Wisconsin barns I examined used heavy framing techniques even though they were built after 1900! Differences in framing technique do not, therefore, provide a valid argument favoring an independent evolution for these barns.

Central Wisconsin forebay barns have frame gable ends on stone basement walls as do most later Pennsylvania barns. Many eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century barns in Pennsylvania do have end walls of stone. These were built before the cost of stone masonry was prohibitive. Most barns in the United States and in Pennsylvania which were built after 1860 were made primarily of wood. Comparing old stone Pennsylvania barns to much later Wisconsin barns is not a convincing argument for their independent evolution.

Although more forebays in central Wisconsin face north and west than in Pennsylvania, the majority do face south and east.[9] This orientation—close to that of barns in Pennsylvania which invariably face southeast— suggests a strong Pennsylvania tradition in a region where alignment by the township and range system should result in roughly equivalent numbers of houses and barns set parallel to the cardinal compass points. A traditional Pennsylvania orientation to south and east can also be observed in Iowa where Pennsylvania Germans have settled a township and range landscape.[10]

Thus far the differences cited by Bastian have not held up under more intensive examination. There is one that does. The terms forebay *(vorbau)* and overshoot *(vorschutz)* consistently used in Pennsylvania are not used or recognized by farmers in Wisconsin. This is not too surprising, especially when one discovers that even in Pennsylvania traditional terms derived from German are being forgotten as the dialect fades into disuse. Although farmers from Pennsylvania migrated to many regions across the Midwest, these movements were much earlier than the appearance of the forebay barn in central Wisconsin. This suggests that the diffusion vehicle was something other than direct importation by migrating peoples who would have transplanted traditional terms along with their barns.

Berks County, PA barn; entrance to granary in forebay.

Berks County, PA barn showing granary bins.

Granary in forebay; Fouche barn, Wayne County, OH, dated 1878.

Forebay granary partitions; Smith barn, Ashland County, OH (c. 1840).

One important — almost diagnostic — feature of Pennsylvania barns is the location of the granary on the upper barn level under the mow and in the forebay on one or both sides of the threshing floor. Although Bastian did not mention this key feature, it occurs in the traditional Pennsylvania location in many of the Wisconsin forebay barns I examined. Furthermore, the forebay granary is consistently found in Pennsylvania barns from Ohio and Indiana to southern Wisconsin, thus establishing a continuity of this morphological connection from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin.

Granary in forebay; Martin barn, Washington County, WI (c. 1885).

Granary in forebay; Goetsch barn, Marathon County, WI (C. 1905).

Harter barn Lehigh County, PA (c. 1870); dormer gable above supported and arcaded forebay.

Nelson barn, Blair County, PA (c. 1860); dormer gable above supported and arcaded forebay.

As a prerequisite for this report, I have recently examined late forebay barns in eastern and central Pennsylvania. A striking fact is that many are virtually identical to the forebay barns of central Wisconsin in almost all details of morphology and construction. The photographs in the text comparing these barns will illustrate the following similarities:

1. Deep 12 foot forebays supported by posts.
2. Forebay front siding is trimmed to provide an arcade-like effect.
3. Forebay joists rest on a sill atop the front stable wall and are not cantilevered back into the barn frame.
4. Barns in Pennsylvania of this period (1860-1920) may also have dormer gables above the forebay roof.

Some late nineteenth century Pennsylvania barns utilize a large stable door centered on the gable end basement wall in addition to the openings under the forebay. This plan—which differs from the traditional Pennsylvania arrangement of having primary stable access via 3 to 7 double "Dutch" doors under the forebay—is very common to central Wisconsin forebay barns. The internal stable arrangement is controlled by the location of these access doors. A centered gable-end door will lead into a nave-like center aisle separating

rows of stalls. If access is from the forebay, then stalls are set at right angles to short aisles leading back into the stable. These aisles may join a "feeding" aisle along the back wall of the stable. The traditional and early Pennsylvania plan sometimes includes a door opening at one gable end of the basement wall which is *not* centered, but set near the back corner. This arrangement provided aisles for feeding as well as access to the barnyard via the forebay doors. Although the central nave plan appears to be most common in Wisconsin today, the Pennsylvania plan has also been reported on earlier barns there.[11]

The central nave plan may have been carried to Wisconsin along with the northern basement barn which invariably uses this arrangement. The basement barn is believed to have originated in upstate New York and then to have diffused west across northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to Wisconsin and Minnesota where it constitutes a large proportion of two level banked barns. It is not within the scope of this paper to detail the story of the basement barn. Several citations in the end notes will provide sources for further investigation.[12] Nevertheless, it is recognized that this form may have contributed to barn traditions in all areas of its distribution which include the forebay barn regions of Wisconsin.[13]

New York (northern) basement barn in western Wisconsin showing centered gable end stable access and ramp to upper level.

Wayne Ziebell barn Marathon County, WI (c. 1904) showing center aisle "nave" basement plan in a Wisconsin forebay barn. Mr. Ziebell provided photographs and diagrams of the upper level which show this barn's close correspondence in framing and form to other forebay barns in the area.

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Reifsneider barn, Berks County, PA (c. 1845) showing enclosure of under-forebay area resulting in basement barn form.

Reifsneider barn showing conversion to centered gable end stable access and central nave basement plan.

Another, perhaps better, explanation emerges when one examines the stable arrangement of nineteenth century barns in Pennsylvania that have been remodeled for dairying in the early twentieth century by going to the centered gable-end door and central nave plan. This arrangement provides for efficient use of space; less in aisles and more room for stanchions permitting a larger dairy herd. It also allows for easier feeding, milking, and manure removal, and is appropriate for the maintenance of a large dairy herd. In earlier days when horses, mules, cows and other farm animals were housed together in the basement stable, separate exits for the different stock made sense and having various doors under the forebay to the barnyard was the logical plan.

Many barns in Pennsylvania which were remodeled exclusively for dairying by employing the central nave have also had the under-forebay space enclosed, eliminating the exits there. In effect, they have been converted from forebay to basement barns in keeping with the new dairy function. The argument that Wisconsin forebay barns are different from Pennsylvania barns because they use the central nave plan more frequently and have fewer exits under the forebay does not stand up in light of the evidence above. The conversion of many barns in Pennsylvania to a stable arrangement similar to that of Wisconsin forebay barns during the same period when these barns were being built or modified, indicates an accommodation to the requirements of large scale dairying which was occurring at this time across much of the northeastern United States. The broad acceptance of a uniform basement morphology could be due to the influence of various agricultural publications of that period.[14] These journals provided pictures, plans, and arguments in support of new barn innovations. They also included traditional Pennsylvania barn plans, basement barn plans, and experimental barn plans and specifications. They had, since the mid-nineteenth century, served as a prime vehicle for the diffusion of all types of agricultural ideas which they carried to every corner of rural America. It is therefore not surprising to find forebay barns being built in the latter nineteenth century across a broad belt of the Midwest, many of which employed the central nave plan. In all of these areas, they are called Pennsylvania barns. In this context, the name Pennsylvania barn should logically be extended to include the forebay barns of central Wisconsin.

A key argument against evolutionary schemes must be stressed. It is that evolution *did not* occur even in Pennsylvania to create the forebay form. I cite my own research, independently corroborated by Terry Jordan,[15] which reveals that a fully developed prototype of the Pennsylvania barn has existed in Prätigau, Canton Graubünder, Switzerland, since the late sixteenth century.[16] This forebay barn was transplanted to southeastern Pennsylvania by Alpine Germans in the early eighteenth century. It became the dominant Pennsylvania barn by the early nineteenth century and from its base diffused away from Pennsylvania first by migrating Pennsylvania farmers and their descendents and later via agricultural literature. It is these processes, not independent evolution, which eventually resulted in the establishment of the Pennsylvania barn in central Wisconsin.

One final misconception which must be discussed deals with Bastian's statement that most of central Wisconsin's forebay barns were built by rural immigrant carpenters who did not use blueprints and were not familiar with the English system of measurements.[17] The settlement history of Marathon County is not consistent with this contention. The first farming pioneers arrived in 1856. Many came directly from Pomerania in North Germany to escape disruption and conscription following the Revolution of 1848.[18] The forebay barns were built 40 to 50 years later by the children and grandchildren of the original rural immigrants. Evidence suggesting acculturation to English language and tradition is supported by the fact that, in 1858, the community of Marathon engaged a schoolmaster whose contract stipulated that he teach German at least four times a week.[19]

Herman Schield barn, Lincoln County, WI; supported and arcaded forebay with under forebay stable doors.

*Bertolet-Coker barn, Berks County, PA (1787); stairway to forebay.*

North German and Pomeranian vernacular architectural forms which could have been transplanted to Central Wisconsin seem to be lacking. Some early log cabins and log and stone three bay ground barns are still standing which date back to the pioneer period. These are typical of pioneer settlement across much of the eastern and central United States. The Pomeranian stable referred to earlier which was established in the southeastern part of the state seems not to have been brought to central Wisconsin and, therefore, played no role in any evolutionary progression to the large, banked forebay barns being considered in this report.

The most convincing evidence undermining the concept of independent evolution by isolated, rural immigrants comes from interviews with farmers and old barn builders residing in the area. I was most fortunate to discover, in Lincoln County, southwest of Merrill, WI, the Herman Schield barn which has a 1908 date stone. This barn is representative of the forebay barns of the region and Herman Schield, now 89 years old, helped to build it as a young man. It was not constructed by immigrant carpenters but rather by a local barn builder named Robert Hackbarth who constructed numerous houses, barns, and factories in the area. Many details of the Schield barn have been provided by a younger brother, Edmund Schield, aged 78, who started carpentering as a young man in 1918 and who, early in his career, built porch (forebay) barns using heavy timber framing. The following information was gathered by phone interviews and letters from Edmund Schield during the fall of 1981.[20]

Most of the shed (forebay) barns in the local townships were built between 1906 and 1920 but the earliest ones date back to 1896. They ranged in size from 100 to 120 feet long and 40 to 50 feet wide. Heavy timber frame barns requiring 40 to 50 men to raise were rarely built after 1920. The barns of this early period were multiple purpose structures housing cows, horses, pigs, sheep, and even chickens in the basement stable. Main stable doors were under the shed (forebay) providing access aisles to various livestock pens. The upper level, reached by bank or ramp opposite the shed, contained threshing floors, wagon floors, hay mows, and extra space in the forebay for storing grain. This description would almost exactly match the layout of any traditional Pennsylvania barn and strongly reinforces my contention that this morphological continuity is a manifestation of the Pennsylvania connection.

Mr. Schield has prepared blueprints and plans of his brother's barn which have been reproduced in this report and serve to illustrate the representative morphology of barns of this region. The original stable plan is from the memory of Edmund Schield since the basement was later remodeled exclusively for dairying. At this time, a centered gable-end door was added along with a central nave plan for greater efficiency. According to Edmund Schield, most local barns were similarly modified. As previously mentioned, this also happened in Pennsylvania and helps to explain the broad distribution of central nave plan stables in forebay barns. It also *lessens* the probability of influence on the morphology of these barns by diffusion of the basement barn plan out of upstate New York.

HERMAN SCHIELD BARN (1908)
Merrill, Lincoln County, Central Wisconsin
Builder - Robert Hackbarth

Basement - original layout
Plan by Edmund Schield, Wausau, Wisconsin

Upper Level - present arrangement

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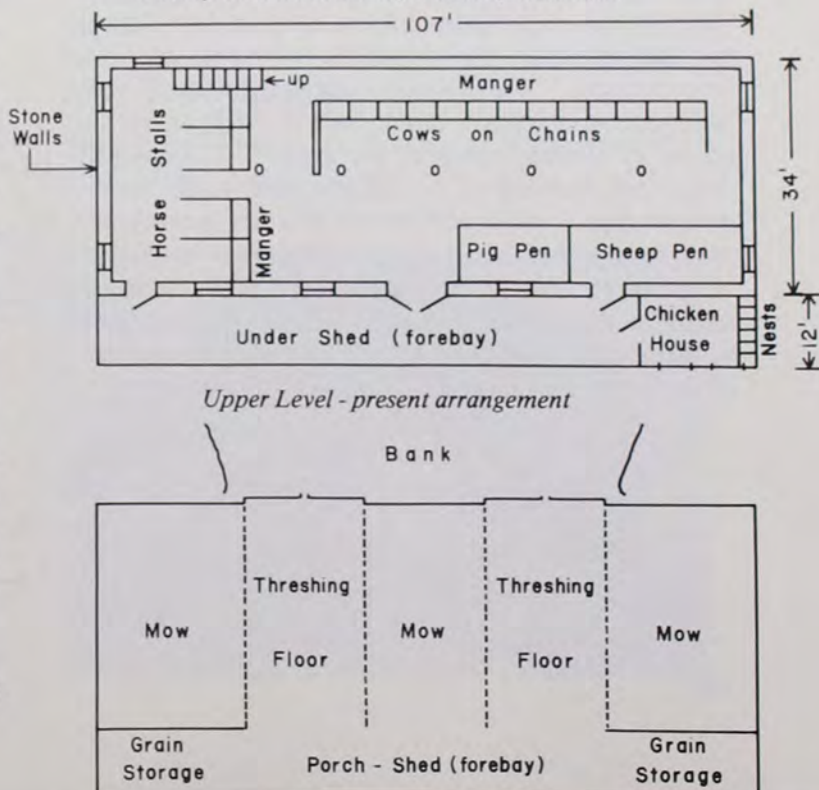
Christian round barn, Marathon County, WI (1895).

Another view of the Christian barn.

The most significant data provided by Mr. Schield concerns the local barn builders of the era, *i.e.* Robert Hackbarth, the Nickle brothers, and the Himtz brothers. All were professional builders who supervised the fabrication of the barn frame from sketches and plans. They frequently competed with each other as teams of farmers "raised the barns" in record times. Robert Hackbarth was the most exemplary of this group. He read and spoke both English and German and was familiar with agricultural and professional journals. He was a master builder and contractor who put up numerous forebay barns in Marathon and Lincoln counties, but he also constructed many other buildings including factories. He later became a machinist and designer-planner for the Hurd Mill of Medford, Wisconsin, where doors, windows, mouldings, and other millwork was produced and sold throughout the United States. He was anything but a "rural immigrant" carpenter.

The strong similarities among central Wisconsin barns has been previously pointed out. This consistency could derive from the above-mentioned practices and skills of the professional barn builders of the area. The presence of two round barns in Marathon County provides additional evidence of the sophistication of the early builders. The Christian barn northwest of Wausau is a case in point. It was built in 1895, *before* the arrival of forebay barns in the area.[21] The complex design and framing of such a structure would require detailed plans and specifications plus the literacy and skill to translate these into a finished structure.[22] It is obvious that these qualities were available in the region at this early date and that they were employed in the construction of the forebay barns which have differentiated this landscape in central Wisconsin.

FOREBAY BARN LOCATIONS
IN SOUTHEASTERN WISCONSIN
by
Charles Calkins and Martin Perkins
(used with permission of the authors)

Forebay Barns in Southern Wisconsin

A significant distribution of forebay barns also occurs in southeastern Wisconsin just north of the city of Milwaukee. This cluster is spread over seven townships (approximately 300 square miles) in Washington and Ozaukee counties and consists of approximately 150 buildings. The map here included which details this location, was prepared by Martin Perkins and Charles Calkins. Although forebay barns account for only 15% of barn structures here, they represent one of the most significant concentrations west of Ohio.[23]

There are some important differences between these barns and those in central Wisconsin. They are generally smaller than those to the north and have much shallower (3 to 6 foot) forebays. The forebay joists are cantilevered back into the barn frame with basement end walls extended to support the forebay girt. No posts are required to support a forebay of this design. Banks or ramps provide access to upper level threshing floors set between end mows, and a granary is typically found in one side of the forebay. All barns surveyed
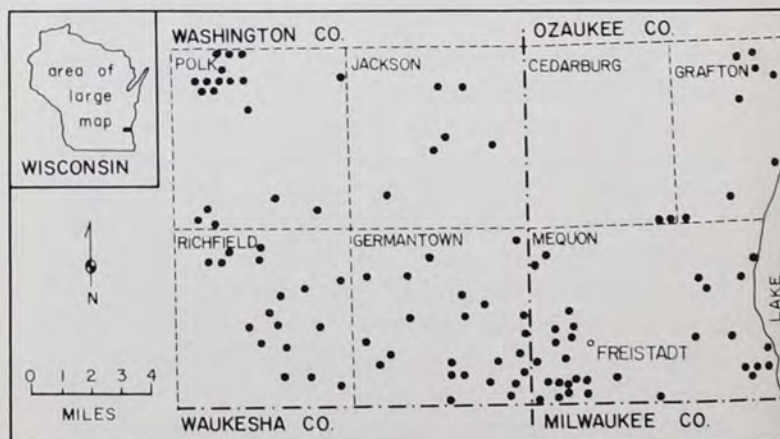
Type H forebay barn, Washington County, southeastern Wisconsin (c. 1890) with stairway to forebay.

Double "Dutch" doors on Type H forebay barn, Washington County, WI (1881).

Leiby barn, Lehigh County, PA; Type H (1871).

John Fouche barn, Wayne County, OH; Type H (1878).

had stone foundations supporting heavy timber mortised and pinned frames. Stable access doors under the forebay with traditional Pennsylvania stable plans are common. Original double "Dutch" doors are sometimes seen. Centered gable end stable access is also common and, as in other forebay barn regions surveyed, signified a central nave basement plan. One barn utilized a harness cupboard set against the inside under-

forebay support wall. This feature is found occasionally in barns in Pennsylvania. Another barn utilized an outside stairway leading from the barnyard up into the forebay. This feature is quite common in the barns of Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon, and Lancaster counties in Pennsylvania. A date stone inscribed 1881 was seen on one barn indicating that the forebay form appeared in southeastern Wisconsin somewhat earlier than in central Wisconsin.

Old Schroyer barn near Pennville, Wayne County, IN; Type H (c. 1860).

Type H forebay barn, U. S. route 20, Stephenson County, northern Illinois (c. 1870).

Schlittler barn, Green County, southern Wisconsin; Type H (c. 1880).

The above description and accompanying photographs quite vividly reveal that the southeastern Wisconsin forebay barns are virtual replications of standard mid-nineteenth century Pennsylvania barns. (Type H according to the classification by Dornbusch and Heyl.[24]) This common type occurs across Ohio, Indiana, northern Illinois and on into Green County Wisconsin. A series of photographs in the text illustrates this progression of forebay barns from Pennsylvania to southern Wisconsin.

I call attention to the maps in this report which depict the geographical distribution of Pennsylvania barns. The forebay barns of Washington and Ozaukee counties have been included in the *extended sphere* of this distribution and lie just to the north of the *sphere* of the Pennsylvania barn region which extends across the midwest into southern Wisconsin. It includes the eleven southernmost counties of Wisconsin which were settled by significant numbers of Pennsylvania Germans who had introduced wheat farming here by 1830.[25] They also may have brought in the first Pennsylvania barns and some are scattered across this region today.[26]

The most interesting examples occur in Jefferson County; I have identified three near the towns of Jefferson and Sullivan. A check of the photographs will reveal that they more closely match the appearance and morphology of Marathon-Lincoln county barns than do those in Washington and Ozaukee counties. There is a good possibility that these could be prototypes of the central Wisconsin forebay barns. Other interesting similarities occur in both locations. For example, forebay joists are mortised into the sill above the stable wall. This technique is sometimes used in central Wisconsin, but is rarely seen in other states. Its function may well be to insure a "tight" stable in the cold climates of these areas. The use of posts with arcaded framing to support the forebay with three under forebay stable doors is also common to both locations. These features can be seen in the James Votsis barn (just north of Sullivan, WI) which dates back to the 1870's and was formerly the Krohn family farmstead. I have not been able to determine

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Votsis barn, Jefferson County, southern Wisconsin showing supported and arcaded forebay and dormer above (c. 1870).

if the Germanic name Krohn is of Pennsylvania or European origin. The barn does have a typical Pennsylvania type granary room in the forebay. The presence of a dormer gable in the forebay roof is also suggestive of a central Wisconsin connection.

The forebay barns of Marathon County are 150 miles north of those in Jefferson County and also those in the Washington-Ozaukee county cluster previously discussed. This appears to be a considerable gap until one examines other forebay barn distributions plotted on the map. Scattered and somewhat disjunct clusters of forebay barns typify the pattern in the sphere of the Pennsylvania barn across the Midwest. Evidence connecting the Marathon County barn region to this sphere in southern Wisconsin and elsewhere would be very supportive of the premise of this paper — that central Wisconsin barns *are* Pennsylvania barns. There is some documentation which points in this direction.

The first case examines the early settlement of the town of Marathon City. Although many settlers entering the area in the 1850's came directly from Germany, the village of Marathon was planned in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by a Catholic church group called "The Pittsburgh German Homestead Society."[27] The members of this club had emigrated from central Germanic Europe and, after working for years in Pittsburgh

Looking into forebay of the Votsis barn from the threshing floor.

mills, desired to acquire land to insure their old age and give their children a start in life. They arrived in 1856 and founded the planned settlement of Marathon City. There is no evidence that people in this group introduced the Pennsylvania barn at this early date; however, a link to Pennsylvania had been established which later might serve to facilitate communication and diffusion from that source.

The second case presents information supplied by Alfred Straub, historian, genealogist, and long time resident of Marathon City.[28] In tracing the movements of his ancestors — from Würtemburg, Germany, to Hanoverton, Ohio, in 1845, and then to southeastern Wisconsin in 1846, and eventually to Marathon County in 1914 — we have an example of a typical migration path to Wisconsin which connects the forebay barn region of eastern Ohio to the forebay barn region of southeastern Wisconsin and thence to the forebay barn region of central Wisconsin. Moves from Washington, Fond du Lac, and other southern German counties to Marathon County for cheaper land were common after 1870.

The third case refers to the Pennsylvania German counties of southern Wisconsin mentioned earlier. There is documentation for overland movements directly from eastern and central Pennsylvania to southern Wisconsin which peaked in 1860.[29] Jefferson County, site of the Votsis-Krohn barn discussed earlier, received significant numbers of Pennsylvania pioneers during this period. We have already pointed out the morphological similarities between this structure and Marathon County barns. Evidence connecting this belt to settlement in central Wisconsin would again reinforce the concept of a connection to areas of Pennsylvania culture. Extension of the railroad into Marathon County could be the key. The Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railroad reached Marathon City in 1890 and new settlers, including many from southern Wisconsin, came to the region at this time.[30] It was during this same period that the first forebay barns appeared in Marathon County! All of this evidence is circumstantial. However, the coincidence of these various events — the arrival of new settlers; the construction of new, larger barns, many with forebays; the introduction of experimental round barns; the utilization of knowledgable barn builders; an agricultural technology shifting more intensely into dairying; new railroad connections to the south — intensified those processes of diffusion and migration which provided potential vehicles to transmit ideas from many places including those containing elements of Pennsylvania culture.

The basic geographical-locational information we have been dealing with has been condensed on the map included in this report. This map summarizes the work of the scholars cited and includes data from my own field surveys.[31] What emerges is a logical pattern of Pennsylvania barns distributed along the routes of out-migration west of the barn's core region in southeastern Pennsylvania. It is not an even distribution but is characterized by regions or clusters loosely connected by scattered examples.

The largest and most concentrated forebay barn regions west of Pennsylvania occur in Ontario and Ohio. The Ontario region includes Waterloo and surrounding counties and was settled by Pennsylvania German pioneers in the early nineteenth century.[32] The early log forebay barns here date back to 1807, but most were built after 1840.[33] The highest frequency of Pennsylvania barns in Ohio forms a belt which stretches west across Stark, Summit, Wayne, Ashland, and Richland counties, and extends south into Holmes and Tuscarawas counties. A majority of the rural inhabitants here are of Pennsylvania German background.[34] Many of these were Mennonites and Amish who began settling Wayne County after the war of 1812.[35] An investigation into the nineteenth century expansion of the United Evangelical Church from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, into Ohio and on across the midwest is one source which will reveal a stream of Pennsylvania German migration.[36] Following the American Revolution, it carried west across Forbes road into southeastern Ohio to Lancaster in Fairfield County.[37] The main stream moved through the counties listed above and on across Indiana and Illinois into Iowa and Wisconsin.

West of Ohio, the pattern of forebay barns consists of smaller and more scattered clusters strung out along the migration routes west. These include a cluster in Cass County in central Indiana[38] and one along U.S. Route 6 in Elkhart and Marshall counties — an area of Pennsylvania German and Mennonite settlement in northern Indiana.[39] Widely scattered forebay barns occur across northern Illinois almost to the state line thus completing a fairly continuous connection between Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Other, more distant, occurrences of forebay barns have been reported which are documented on the map.

The consistent correlation of forebay barns with areas of Pennsylvania German settlement seems clear enough. The frequent occurrence of forebay barns in areas of later European Germanic settlement is not as easily explained. An affinity for ideas from a sister culture may be part of the reason, and the presence of Pennsylvania German pioneers already living in these areas would encourage such an exchange of ideas. The versatility of the Pennsylvania barn made it suitable for a wide range of changing agricultural practices. The reputation of the Pennsylvania barn was actively promoted during the latter half of the nineteenth century by various publications which have already been cited. A combination of the above factors may serve

to explain the presence of Pennsylvania barns in locations far from Pennsylvania including those in Wisconsin we have been dealing with.

Forebay barn near Jefferson, Jefferson County, WI showing under-forebay stable door and forebay joists mortised into sill above stable wall (c. 1870).

Barn Bent Comparisons

One final type of evidence bearing on this study will be examined. The configuration of the prefabricated, heavy timbered framework of early barns is called the bent. Bents were pulled up from the foundation and connected to each other with cross girts to complete the barn frame during "barn raisings." Bents show variation through time, from place to place, and from culture to culture. Henry Glassie has demonstrated the use of bent typology to compare barns in Otsego County, New York.[40] I have included a sampling of forebay barn bents from Pennsylvania, the Midwest, and Wisconsin. A careful examination of these will be necessary to benefit from the following discussion. Interior bents adjacent to the mows have been used because they are always visible and also show the position of the granary.

Postell Barn
(Circa 1865)
Zieglerville
Montgomery County
Pennsylvania
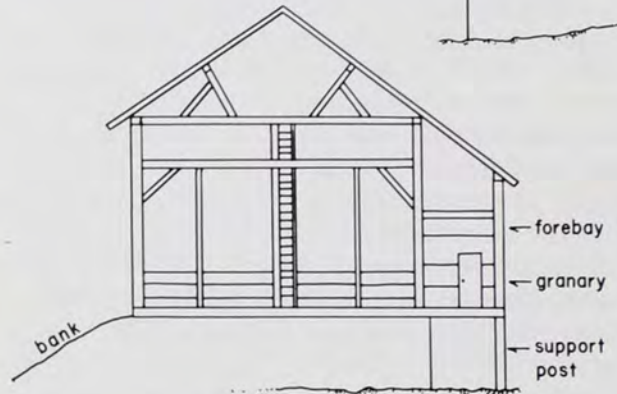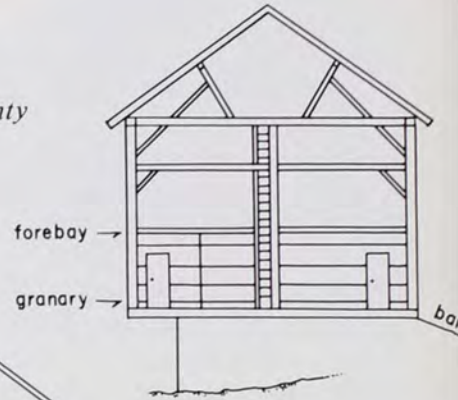
Lester Harter Barn
(Circa 1870)
Lehigh Furnace
Lehigh County
Pennsylvania
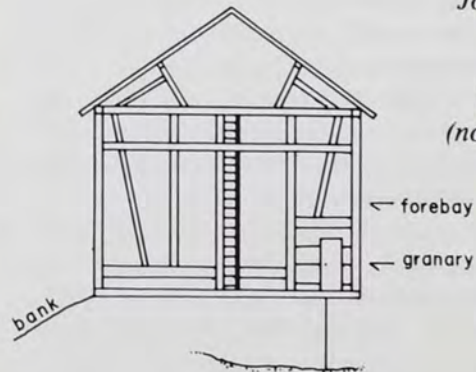
John Fouche Barn
1878
Creston
Wayne County
(north-central) Ohio

Ralph Kressley Barn
(Circa 1835)
Claussville
Lehigh County
Pennsylvania
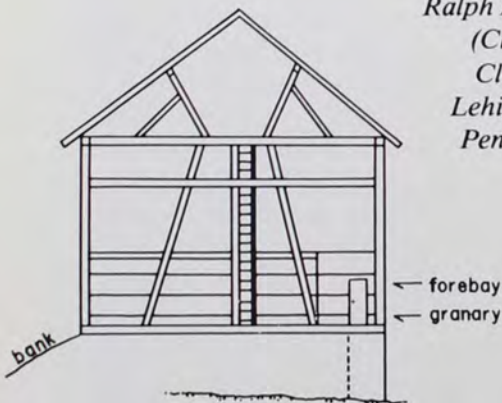
Barn on
Old Route U.S. 40
(circa 1860)
(near) Arlington
Montgomery County
(western) Ohio
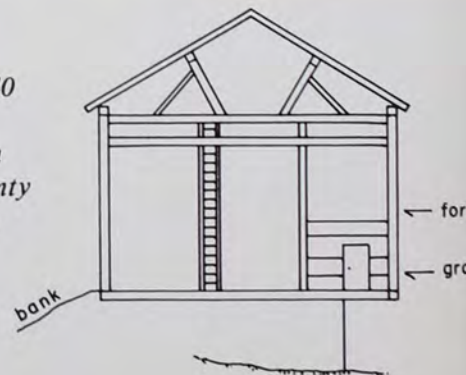
Old Hynes Barn - upper level
Forebay Double Decker (end bent)
(circa 1870)
Cass County
(north-central) Indiana
(see footnote 37)

bank
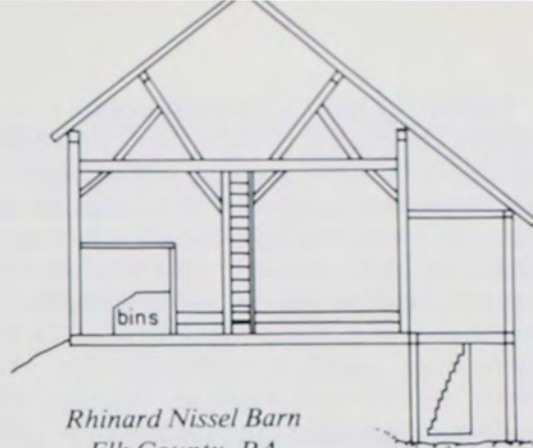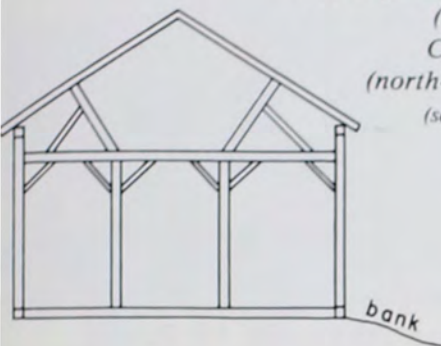
Rhinard Nissel Barn
Elk County, PA
(Circa 1880)

bins
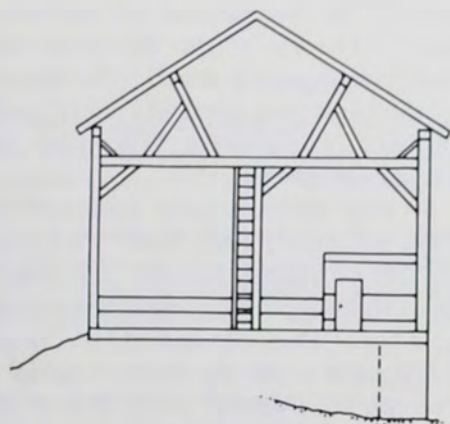
Joe Giger Barn
Bloomsburg
Columbia County, PA
(Circa 1869)
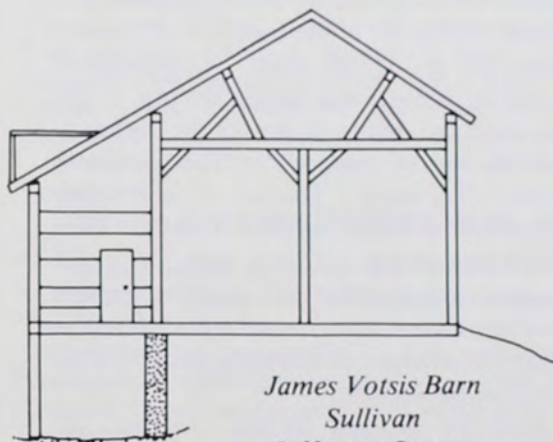
James Votsis Barn
Sullivan
Jefferson County
Wisconsin
(Circa 1870)
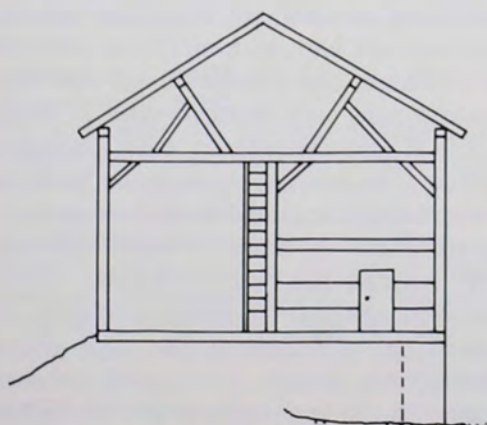
Martin Barn
Washington County
(southeastern) Wisconsin
(Circa 1880)
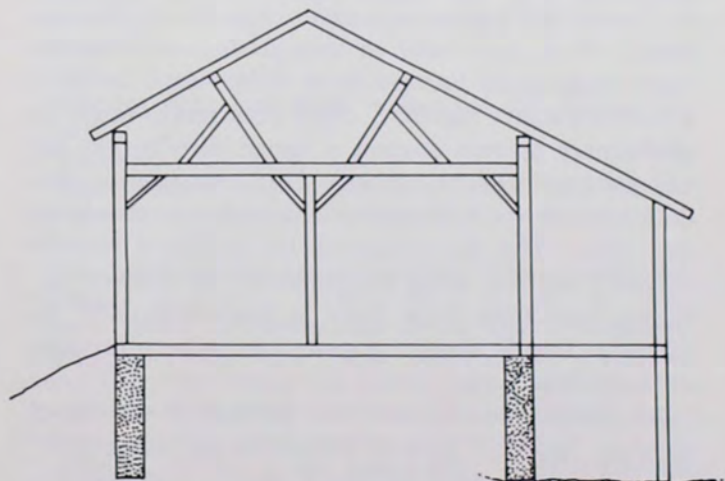
Herman Schield Barn
Lincoln County
Merrill, Lincoln 1908
Plan by Edmund Schield
Wausau, Wisconsin
November 1981

The forebay barns of Pennsylvania show considerable variation in pattern. Earlier barns (pre-1850) tend to utilize several inner posts to reinforce the main girt which typically is mortised into plates on *top* of the end posts. The inner posts include vertical and diagonal beams, or both, extending from floor to a *secondary girt* two or three feet below the main girt to which they also may connect. This very sturdy pattern extends from southeastern Pennsylvania into central Ohio. By the mid-nineteenth century, the pattern was being simplified by the elimination of some interior posts and the secondary girt and going to one central post. This pattern extends from Pennsylvania across the Midwest to Wisconsin.

Glassie suggests in his Otsego County study that bent configurations of northern barns (New York and New England) derive from medieval English traditions and therefore differ from those of Pennsylvania.[41] One fundamental difference is the location of connection of the main girt to the end posts. In traditional Pennsylvania barns, articulation occurs on top of the end posts. In northern barns, it occurs six inches to two feet below the top of the post.[42] The secondary girt is, therefore, eliminated. The use of one center post with small diagonal braces between it and the main girt is also diagnostic of the northern bent. A check of Wisconsin barns reveals that the northern pattern applies there. The logical reaction is to connect Wisconsin barn frame traditions to northern barns via the basement barn from New York.

The story may not be that simple. In fact, the northern bent is common in the Susquehanna Valley of Central Pennsylvania from Schuylkill through Northumberland, Montour, and Columbia counties, and has been observed in barns dating back to the 1840's.[43] Furthermore, this same bent is found in some barns in Chester and Lancaster counties in southern Pennsylvania. It is even used in several disjunct Pennsylvania barns on the Eastern Shore of Maryland far from a northern source region.[44] Such occurrences based on preliminary surveys suggest a broad distribution for this pattern in Pennsylvania. They cast considerable doubt on northern claims as the exclusive source of this type. The occurrence of the northern bent in northern Indiana along the trajectory of Yankee diffusion west from New York is more logical.[45] Its extension into Wisconsin appears to reinforce the idea of ties to New York.

An examination of the bent pattern of the Nissel barn (*c.* 1880) St. Marys, Pennsylvania, raises additional questions about the above ideas. Compare this barn to the Schield barn in central Wisconsin or to the Votsis barn in southern Wisconsin.[46] Note that all three bents are basically identical. The external and internal morphology of the three barns is, therefore, very similar. Forebay joists in the Nissel barn are mortised into the sill above the stable wall as they are

Nissel barn near St. Marys, Elk County, PA showing arcaded and supported forebay (c. 1880).

in many central Wisconsin barns. Mr. Nissel uses the term "overshoot" for the forebay but sometimes calls it the "shed." The use of the Wisconsin term is indeed surprising even though it may be coincidental. A comparison of the Giger barn (central Pennsylvania) and the Martin barn (southeastern Wisconsin) will reveal a parallel set of similarities.

The surveys of bent patterns here presented are broad, general, and admittedly superficial; much more should be done. They do suggest, however, that patterns are very complex — that simple diffusional progressions do not always hold out. They also indicate that prototypes for the bent patterns of the forebay barns of Wisconsin can be found in similar barns from Pennsylvania which are generally earlier. This observation lends additional support to the idea of the Pennsylvania connection.

Conclusion

The presence of forebay barns in disjunct locations like Wisconsin could be due to various forces and events: independent but parallel evolution; the diffusion and synthesis of barn elements from different sources; the diffusion and relocation of the fully developed Pennsylvania barn from its core in southeastern and central Pennsylvania or other secondary locations in Ohio. In this paper, evidence based on comparative morphology, spatial distributions and connections, migration and settlement history, and comparison of bent patterns has been considered. Being a native Pennsylvanian of Germanic ancestry, my bias has favored the diffusion of the barn out of regions of Pennsylvania culture. Fortunately, the evidence here presented strongly supports this contention.

I recognize that synthesis of some elements, especially from New York state is a logical possibility. Nevertheless, the persistence of the forebay barn in association with Germanic peoples can be demonstrated across thousands of miles from eastern Switzerland to Pennsylvania, and to Wisconsin and beyond. This has occurred in spite of competition from other two

level barns which dominate statistically in many places along this trajectory. The forebay, while offering some advantages for protection and storage, is not that superior a form, or else all two level barns would have incorporated it. Rather, it is a tradition that has been retained or adopted by peoples of Germanic ancestry and heritage. First introduced into Colonial Pennsylvania two hundred and fifty years ago, the forebay barn was successfully modified and utilized for changing agricultural needs. It has also been carried west for one thousand miles and, in central Wisconsin, the viability and adaptability of the Pennsylvania barn continues to maintain a significant influence on rural landscapes today.

ENDNOTES

[1] Robert W. Bastian, "Southeastern Pennsylvania and Central Wisconsin Barns, Examples of Independent Parallel Development," *Professional Geographer*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (May 1975), pp. 200-204.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 203

[3] Loyal Durand, Jr. "Dairy Barns of Southeastern Wisconsin," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 19 (Jan. 1943), pp. 37-44; Richard W. E. Perrin, *Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey of Pioneer Architecture, 1835-1870* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1962), p. 43.

[4] Charles F. Calkins and Martin C. Perkins, "The Pomeranian Stable of Southeastern Wisconsin," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Fall 1980), pp. 121-25.

[5] My field work was greatly enhanced by Charles Calkins and Martin Perkins who took time off from busy schedules in June of 1981 to show me barns in southeastern Wisconsin. They have already surveyed and documented many early buildings in this area. The statement cited was cleared by both Charles Calkins and Martin Perkins in the Fall of 1981.

[6] Bastian, op. cit., p. 201.

[7] Robert F. Ensminger, "A Search for the Origin of the Pennsylvania Barn," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (Winter 1980-81), p. 50.

[8] Bastian, op cit., pp. 202-03.

[9] Bastian, op. cit., p. 202.

[10] G. M. Ludwig, "The Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the Middle West," *Yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, Vol. 10 (Allentown: 1945), p. 36.

[11] See basement plan of Herman Schield barn, central Wisconsin, prepared by Edmund Schield in November 1981.

[12] Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 135, 140-41; Henry Glassie, "The Variation of Concepts within Tradition: Barn Buildings within Otsego County, New York," *Geoscience and Man, Volume V: Man and His Cultural Heritage* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), pp. 177-235; Loyal Durand, Jr., op cit., pp. 39-43.

[13] John Fraser Hart, *The Look of the Land*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), pp. 128-219; Martin Perkins, in a conversation in November 1981, noted that the earliest basement barn in southeastern Wisconsin of which he is aware is dated 1862. Assuming that this date is accurate, and that Glassie's date of about 1850 for the emergence of basement barns in New York state is correct, the time required to diffuse 1000 miles to the west was rapid indeed.

[14] Richard Rawson, *Old Barn Plans*, (New York: Mayflower Books Inc., 1979). This is a broad collection of pictures and plans from publications of the middle nineteenth into the early twentieth century; Alfred Shoemaker, *The Pennsylvania Barn*, (Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959), pp. 6-21; Glassie, *Pattern*, note references on the bottom of page 140.

[15] Terry G. Jordan, "Alpine Alemannic and American Log Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (June 1980), pp. 154-80.

[16] Emsminger, op. cit., p. 68.

[17] Bastian, op. cit., p. 203.

[18] Alfred Straub, *The History of Marathon Wisconsin, 1857-1957*, (Published by the Marathon Times, Marathon Wisconsin, 1957), p. 8. I wish to acknowledge the help provided by Alfred Straub, now 77, who shared with me his local expertise during an interview in June 1981.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[20] My investigations of Wisconsin forebay barns were aided and inspired by first-hand accounts, plans, and diagrams provided by Edmund Schield of Wausau, WI, with whom I communicated from October 1981 through January 1982. Edmund is one of the few old time barn builders of the area still living. He learned carpentering from two older brothers, now deceased, who had been taught the trade by Robert Hackbarth whose father also had been a carpenter. Thus, Edmund Schield will end a tradition of skill and knowledge of barn framing that goes back at least three generations.

[21] Interview with William Christian, Wausau, Wisconsin, June 1981.

[22] Richard Rawson, op. cit., pp. 23-24, 93-105.

[23] Details of forebay barn distributions in southeastern Wisconsin were provided by Charles Calkins and Martin Perkins and were derived from their personal field notes and maps. They have given permission to include that data in this report. They pointed out that external forebay support posts occur on 22 barns located mainly in the town of Grafton; this reveals an exception to my statement that the type H barns in this area require no such support.

[24] Charles Dornbusch and John Heyl, *Pennsylvania German Barns*, (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Vol. 21, 1956), pp. 153-215.

[25] N. Walter Dunmore, "The Pennsylvania Germans in Wisconsin," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, Vol. XIX, (Allentown: 1954), p. 76.

[26] Perrin, op. cit., p. 43.

[27] Straub, op. cit., pp. 8-13.

[28] Interview with Alfred Straub in Marathon City, WI on June 1, 1981.

[29] Dunmore, op. cit., pp. 59, 70, 80.

[30] Louis Marchetti, *History of Marathon County, Wisconsin, and Representative Citizens*, (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1913), pp. 144, 160.

[31] Map distributions based on my own field surveys, interviews, and writings of the following scholars: Ludwig, op. cit., pp. 28-29; Terry D. Jordan, "A Forebay Bank Barn in Texas" *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (Winter 1980-81), map on page 73; Joseph Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region:* A Geographical Interpretation of Barns and Farm Houses, Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University Department of Geography (1971), p. 38; Peter Ennals, op. cit., p. 261; Allen Noble, "Barns or Elements in the Settlement Landscape of Ohio," *Pioneer America*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (July 1977), pp. 62, 79; Wilhelm op. cit.; Schreiber, op. cit.; Ridlen, op. cit.; Bastian, op. cit.; Henry Glassie, "The Pennsylvania Barn in the South, Part II," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Summer 1966), pp. 14-20; Henry Glassie, "The Pennsylvania Barn in the South, Part I," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (Winter 1965-66), p. 9, footnote 2; Brian Coffee, "Nineteenth Century Barns of Geauga County, Ohio" *Pioneer America*, Vol.

10, No. 2 (December 1978), p. 55; Charles van Ravensway, *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri,* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977), p. 269; David Sutton, "A West Virginia Swiss Community: The Aegerter Photographs of Helvetia, Randolph County," *Goldenseal,* Vol. 6, No. 2, (April-June 1980), pp. 9-22; Keifer, op. cit.; Peter O. Wacker, "Traditional House and Barn Types in New Jersey," *Geoscience and Man, Vol. V: Man and His Cultural Heritage,* (Baton Route: Louisiana State University, 1974), pp. 173-74; Donald A. Hutslar, *The Log Architecture of Ohio,* (Columbus: The Ohio State Historical Society, 1977), p. 50; George Fletcher Bennett, *The Perennial Apprentice: 60 Year Scrapbook: Architecture 1916-1976,* (Wilmington, DE: Tri Mark Publishing, Inc., 1977), p. 112; Roger A. Leetsma "The Muskegon River Basin Michigan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1951), p. 99, Figs. 74 and 75 which provide views of a farm in Clare County, northern Michigan revealing a banked barn with shallow forebay supported by basement walls; Tom Cooper *Iowa's Natural Heritage,* Iowa Natural Heritage Foundation and the Iowa Academy of Science, 1982, pp. 294-95. Picture of Amish forebay barn north of Kalona, Johnson County, eastern Iowa; *Ibid.,* p. 296, This area was settled by Amish farmers from Pennsylvania and Ohio in the early 1840's; forebay barns occur in Green and Fayette counties in southwestern Pennsylvania. Their presence was first reported to me by Marguerite Keeler, curator of the Folkcraft Center, Witmer, Pennsylvania, and verified by LeRoy Schultz of the University of West Virginia who has surveyed barns in West Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania. Ms. Keeler has also identified several forebay barns in Monongalia County, West Virginia, which may represent diffusion up the Monongahela Valley from Pennsylvania; conversation with Allen Noble in October 1981, in which he reported seeing a large forebay barn just south of Des Moines, Iowa; conversation with Allen Noble in May, 1982, in which he confirmed the sighting of forebay barns in Door County, WI; conversation with Karen Moore, native of Cumberland, MD, in December 1981 in which she reported sighting forebay barns in Garrett County, Western Maryland; My own investigations of forebay barns at tidewater on the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland was aided by Orlando Ridout of the Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis; The following citations recognize forebay barn occurrences which are *not* on the map: William Montell and Michael Morse, *Kentucky Folk Architecture,* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), p. 78. Statement that some bank barns that occur in north-central Kentucky may have forebays is vague and provides no specific locations; Jordan, in the article and map cited at the beginning of this endnote has identified 2 forebay barns in east Texas beyond the coverage of this map; Eric Arthur and Dudley Whitney *The Barn,* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1972), pp. 122, 132 show forebay barns from eastern Quebec also beyond the coverage of this map; the existence of a forebay barn in the Willamette Valley has been verified by Allen Epp of the Oxbow Museum at Aurora, Oregon. This barn near Aurora, a region of early Pennsylvania settlement, has been examined by Philip Dole of the University of Oregon. He dates the barn in the latter nineteenth century and his description of the structure suggests a standard Type H Pennsylvania barn; forebay barns occurring outside the boundaries of the domain and spheres have recently been reported to the author. Hubert Wilhelm at Ohio University has indicated that some do occur in southeastern Ohio, south of his barn line as shown on the map. Herbert Richardson of Glassboro State College, New Jersey, has identified several forebay barns in Salem and Gloucester counties in south Jersey. William G. Laatsch of the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay has reported a group of forebay barns in those sections of Kewaunee and Manitowoc counties, Wisconsin which were settled by Bohemian and Czech pioneers.

[32] A. D. Graeff, "The Pennsylvania Germans in Ontario, Canada" *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society,* Vol. XI (Allentown: 1946).

[33] Peter Ennals, "Nineteenth Century Barns in Southern Ontario," *The Canadian Geographer,* Vol. 16 (1972), pp. 265-69.

[34] William I. Schreiber, "The Pennsylvania Dutch Barn in Ohio," *Journal of the Ohio Folklore Society,* Vol. 2 (Spring 1967), p. 15.

[35] William I. Schreiber, *Our Amish Neighbors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 13-25, 49.

[36] Ludwig, op. cit., pp. 45-50.

[37] Hubert G.H. Wilhelm, "The Pennsylvania Dutch Barn in Southeastern Ohio," *Geoscience and Man, Volume V: Man and His Cultural Heritage,* (Baton Route: Louisiana State University, 1974), pp. 155-62.

[38] Susanne S. Ridlen, "Bank Barns in Cass County, Indiana," *Pioneer America,* Vol. VI, No. 2 (July 1972), pp. 25-43. The sketch of old Hymes barn bent is taken from this article.

[39] Wayne Kiefer, "An Agricultural Settlement Complex in Indiana," *Annals Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 62, (1972), pp. 494-500.

[40] Glassie, "Variation of Concepts," pp. 177-235.

[41] *Ibid.,* pp. 220, 226, 228.

[42] I wish to acknowledge the help of Tom Umholtz of Valley View, PA who has surveyed many early barns in Schuylkill County, PA.

[43] Glassie, "Variation of Concepts," p. 207.

[44] Field surveys in Cecil and Queen Annes counties in spring and fall of 1981. Examination of Willis Redden barn, Ruthsburg, MD.

[45] Ridlen, op. cit.

[46] Diagrams and data concerning this barn were graciously provided by the owners, Mr. and Mrs. James Votsis.

THE SOUTH MORAVIAN CHORAL GROUP'S 1982 UNITED STATES TOUR

By William T. Parsons

SpielSchar emblem

Members of the South Moravian musical group assembled at their adopted Feststadt of Geislingen in Württemberg, ready to depart.

Die Süd Mährische Sing-und SpielSchar (South Moravian Choral, Instrumental and Dance Group) was formed in Stuttgart, Württemberg, West Germany, in September 1952, by a number of refugee South Moravians. Their homeland — in the former southern Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, or in nearby Austria — was eliminated when the map of Eastern Europe was redrawn after World War II. The German population from those areas which comprised South Moravia in the 1930's and earlier, either moved out voluntarily during final days of the war, or were bodily resettled westward in 1945 in days immediately following the war. For over eight hundred years, their people had settled, cultivated, and learned to love the area of the Thaya Valley, just fifty miles (eighty kilometers) north of Vienna. There they learned agricultural and commercial procedures, and also developed an intensely musical folk tradition among their families. Nearly everyone played some kind of small portable instru-

ment, for thereby they acquired both basic entertainment and a local social cohesion. Not only was it normal to expect that all children would take music lessons on some formal instrument, but, even while growing up, older children taught younger brothers and sisters how to play folk and formal instruments.

While originally the South Moravian Choral Group was composed entirely of native-born from that region, the post-war regional mixture in South Germany now works against that. They do continue to have a heavy representation of descendants of that basically Sudeten German group. All three founders of the *SpielSchar* — Rudl Bar, Walter Gstettner and Herbert Wessely — were born in the chief South Moravian community of Znaim, while Hans Proksch, Choral Director for the first twenty years, came from Iglau. Widmar Hader, musician, composer and current director who led the United States tour, was born in Elbogen a,d, Eger.

1982 USA Tour program used at each stop. (Inside: map of South Moravia and schematic map of USA tour; graphics by Sibylle Kruck.)

Widmar Hader leading the choral singing, New Goshenhoppen Park.

One of the goals of this South Moravian musical group has been to travel abroad in order to participate in folk cultural festivals. Another is to go at the invitation of interested groups in other countries who wish to meet them and thus to learn more about the South Moravian musical and cultural heritage. The late-twentieth century world seems to agree that person-to-person contacts are incalculably valuable; so also, the possibility of seeing people in everyday home situations provides handsome exchange dividends. The reputation of the *SpielSchar* as purveyors and practitioners of the finest in folk and formal musical traditions has grown rapidly.

Within two years of the date of their founding, they journeyed to Finland to sing in 1954 (and went again in 1962) with another Scandinavian trip to Norway in 1961. Other singing tours of the 60's held closer to home, with visits to Austria in 1963 and 1967, and in 1969, into the South Tyrol.

During the 70's, this performing group really broadened their horizons with musical tours to England, to Brittany in France, and, in 1976, to Brazil. From an outsider's point of view, I have the feeling that these trips were highly successful, and it was presumed that a similar musical trip into Czechoslovakia in 1978 would be the same. Moreover, such a trip would initiate Iron Curtain nation contacts and provide an opportunity to visit the area which had been the "Old Homeland." On prior travels, however, a major degree of their success had been based upon personal contacts and exchanges of ideas. That plane of activity, cut out of excursions to East Bloc countries, changed the complexion of their tour and made it less of a success. To be reduced to the status of simple visitors was not what the *SpielSchar* members had in mind, though obviously to see the old home locations would bring nostalgia to some. Or would it? What they really noticed, what travel through the former Sudeten lands and old birthplaces revealed, was the major change that politics had brought about.

In 1980, on a subsequent tour of Hungary, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, major obstacles arose over their wish to perform unconventional musical materials, and the tour of Rumania was curtailed. For the South Moravians, members and leaders alike, the receptivity of the Franciscans in Northern Jugoslavia compensated for the other difficulties of this trip. But by all means and in every way, the most ambitious project, meaningful goal and crowning achievement of these South Moravian musicians, was their United States tour of summer, 1982. Its importance stemmed not only from the fact that it was a visit to the U S A (where they would see results of the Spiritual Moravian Brethren who had settled and colonized more than two hundred years before) but the year itself would mark the thirtieth anniversary of the group's founding.

The rationale for the invitation to *Süd Mährische Sing-und SpielSchar* to participate in the Ursinus College program and be housed in residence facilities was simple: they will be in America and can contribute to the program in several ways; since the *SpielSchar* is pressed for a single central location while on tour in the U S A, and college dorms are available during summer vacations, we benefit mutually. Much of this worked out, but some aspects of the cooperation revealed more divergence than reinforcement. In general both parties profited much.

The Pennsylvania German Studies summer course, SEMINAR 421-423 Comparative Dialect Poetry w/ Translations, ran from Monday 12 July to Friday 30 July 1982. During that last week, while the South Moravians were in residence in Collegeville, a valuable input resulted. Since all of that select number of students then in the course had already earned Masters' Degrees, they found the additional examples cited by Widmar Hader and performed by his group to be especially valuable. Further comments appear at an appropriate spot in the schedule of the South Moravian *Sing-und SpielSchar* U S A Tour.

On 24 July 1982, the *Süd Mährische Sing-und Spiel-Schar* departed from Frankfurt on its three-week tour of east-central regions of the United States, particularly areas where German groups had settled during the past three hundred years. Since the cultural media—art, education and music — had been important to many of the Germans in Pennsylvania settlements, the vast majority of the South Moravians' efforts would be centered here.

Landing at J. F. Kennedy Airport in New York at the end of a flight from Frankfurt, the singers joined Franz and Katharina Streitwieser, and daughter Christiana, to motor to Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley. The Choral, Instrumental and Dance Group could not have wished for a more beautiful nor more appropriate start for their U S A Tour than to begin in Bethlehem. For here it was that, in 1740, the Moravian Brethren under Count von Zinzendorf founded a religious community; from those beginnings a community has continuously functioned there and religious followers of von Zinzendorf are still called Moravians in America today. Bethlehem in the eighteenth century was also a musical center and has been famous for things musical over the decades. Indeed, they were among the very first in America to hold concerts of classical music, and works by some of the greatest European composers were performed here for the very first time in America: pieces by Bach, Haydn and Mozart, among others. Great works of art in painting by Johann Valentine Haidt were also to be found here where he painted them; his style was far above any American con-

Recorder ensemble: l. to r., Ingrid Hader, psalter; Volker Lukas and Martin Rösler, krummhorns; Annette Reiter, kortholt; Franz Streitwieser and Eva Kruck, blockflöte.

Martin Rösler leading the recorder ensemble. Note the three visible bass recorders on the right.

The String ensemble accompanying the folkdancers.

temporary, quite similar to Moravian formal music written and performed in the neighborhood. Today, Moravians are also located in other towns they founded: Nazareth, Lititz, and Emmaus in Pennsylvania and Winston-Salem in North Carolina.

The first public appearance of the *SpielSchar* in America was at Sunday morning church service in the massive Central Moravian Church in Bethlehem, on 25 July 1982. There they sang *Oh Father of All Goodness* by Andreas Hammerschmidt, Sudeten German Baroque master, and two motets with orchestral accompaniment, written by American Moravian Brethren: Christian Gragor's *Glory to God* and *Rejoice, Thou Lamb's Beloved Bride,* by Johann Christian Till (b. 1762 Gnadenthal /d. 1844 Phila.) whose father came from Kunewald in Moravia. Instrumental occasional music performed also included Heinrich Biber's *Sonata pro Tabula* for strings and recorders, and Gottfried Finger's *Sonata in D-Major for Trumpet and Strings,* with Franz Streitwieser as trumpet soloist.

A happy consequence of the performances in Bethlehem was the opportunity to meet Richard and Monica Schantz, both organists and choir directors at Moravian College and at Central Moravian Church. They plan to tour South Germany in 1983, with Stuttgart as a part of their itinerary.

Sunday Evening, 25 July 1982, *Die Süd Mährische Sing-und SpielSchar* presented a program of folk and formal music in Prosser Auditorium at Moravian College. This was to be the standard fare of their tour, and with each appearance word of the excellence of their performance grew. Enthusiastic applause was generously sprinkled throughout the evening's program as appreciative audiences listened to both cheerful and haunting music most professionally performed. From the time of their appearance on the Moravian

College campus, word spread, preceding them to many of the locations at which they later performed. American audiences are sometimes regarded as somewhat immoveable; the *SpielSchar* seems not to have encountered that sort of reception at all and, as relatives and friends told acquaintances of future appearances, on at least two occasions performances had to be moved outdoors on short notice because of the prospect of overflow crowds in the facility where the program had originally been scheduled.

The program generally proceeded in this (or a similar) manner: At or near the start of the program, two or three Latin songs from the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Century were played, followed by music from the Middle Ages from the Prague Codex XI E 9. All that caused great stir and excitement. Many questions were posed during intermissions, or in hallways, or after performances, concerning the music, music manuscripts, the antique instruments or, indeed, about the performers. Not only did the krummhorns, *kortholt,* psalter, portative, drums and old-time cornet fascinate the listeners, but in many ways the ancient instruments raised most eyebrows. The large recorder ensemble under the leadership of Martin Rösler, included, among others, four bass recorders, which are scarcely known and rarely heard in the U S A at all. This ensemble was impressive for its precision and clarity as the players performed old and new music by Christoph Demantius and Heinrich Biber, as well as music from a suite of South Moravian folk themes composed by Widmar Hader himself. A string ensemble of other performers joined the recorder ensemble for some of the pieces. The string ensemble also provided a light, energetic accompaniment to the folk dances and the folk ballet, as well as to several other formal pieces by Johann Caspar Horn.

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Songs which the chorus sang included items by Gregor Peschin (a sixteenth century composer from Heidelberg), Franz Slawik (last music director at Znaim) and music written by Rolf Hempel who currently teaches at the Stuttgart Conservatory of Music. More than from the pen of any other composer, however, the South Moravian Choral Group has sung the music of its leader, Widmar Hader, who is also the arranger of a great many folk tunes and country concepts from the South Moravian spirit. Hader's music is lilting, precocious, and sentimental, yet it strides along with a driving beat which persists through an entire series of variations. Hader, in short, seems to have caught that element so difficult to define, the very essence of the folk drive in folk music. His lively arrangements, played *presto,* strike a spark with the audience.

The attendants of Vanity deliver her chest which holds the temptations that are set before the peoples of the world. (Photographed by Charles Steitz, Jr.)

Since the South Moravian musicians both sang and danced to melodies from Widmar Hader compositions, those performers were able to contribute to the feeling of the occasion also. From the American audiences who attended and heard the singings, and especially from persons who speak the German language, the clear articulation and clear bright sound of the chorus was repeatedly praised. Moreover, the singers knew their parts and did not have to sing from sheetmusic.

Dances which regularly appeared on the program included three from W. Hader's scenic cantata of a decade ago, *At the Znaim Wine Pressing:* Treskow Minuet, Lüneburg Windmill Dance, and the Hunter-Nines. At nearly every engagement participating personnel in these dances changed, so that almost everyone took part, at least so far as possible. At each location, the dances were subject to local variations as the size and shape of the dance-floor or the dancing-space varied. Dance rehearsals were the responsibility of Eva Kruck, who was also responsible for the rotation of personnel and to take into account the limitations of stage or lawn. The dances always seemed to stand at the center of attention, not only because of the intricacy of move- ment and the flow of action, but also as a result of the interest created by the vibrance and color of the South Moravian costumes.

At the heart of the program, and certainly chief among the specialties of the entire South Moravian performance, was the folk ballet *On Vanity,* which first appeared in 1663 and was written by Johann Casper Horn for students at the University of Leipzig to perform. Horn (b. 1636 Chemnitz / d.1722 Dresden) was descended from a South Moravian family, though his father came from Feldsberg, just within the Lower Austrian boundary. The orchestral suite to which the ballet was to be danced, was the very last so used in the Germanies.

But that posed a major problem since there were few clues as to how the ballet *On Vanity* should actually be danced. Christiane Kirchner of Munich, after years of research and study, settled upon a choreography which she believes does solve these problems. This is the program which the *SpielSchar* dances today. The re- hearsals and experimental performances were carried out in accordance with Kirchner's directions and sug- gestions which she laid out in particular for the South Moravian Choral, Instrumental and Dance Group. Skull sessions were carried out during which Kirchner, Rösler and Kruck, the three principals involved, ran over the music, the stage business, and the personnel as it changed from scene to scene.

Since this is folk ballet and not classic ballet, there are times when the combination of music and dance action appears to approximate some of the early operatic efforts, but with dance substituted for singing. This is a blend of story-business dance and show- piece dance. Supporting parts are tailored so that succeeding dances all contribute a bit to the spot- light solo dance of Vanity, crux of it all.

All of the costumes for the production were created and sewed by *SpielSchar* members from designs created by Sybille Kruck; all properties were constructed ac- cording to models built by Michael Nickel and produced himself; the music was arranged by Gottfried Till and Widmar Hader from instructions in the unique copy found in the library at Uppsala (Sweden) and adapted for performance as a stage-piece. Micro- film of that item was consulted in the German In- stitute for Music Research at Kassel. Finally, after that full year of rehearsal-time and preparation, The South Moravian Singing, Instrumental and Dance Group was able to present, for the first time since Horn's own lifetime, his ballet, *On Vanity.*

In six scenes the ballet demonstrates how, in time, Vanity affects the whole world; how even youths throw away their garlands of flowers and are tempted to reach for golden crowns; how Rising Orders embrace it; how States bow to it; and the way in which conceit will even celebrate its triumph over death. Only children at play fail to fall under Vanity's enticements and prevail over her in the end when the ball of a child strikes Vanity, who falls to the ground, carrying her entire retinue with her.

Karin Rösler and Adelheid Kruck alternated in the lead role of Vanity from one performance to the next; together, their interpretation inspired the entire ballet as they led all twenty-eight members of the musical group who composed the ballet troup to a splendid success, achieved in concert with the festival orchestra. Throughout the program, Angelika Feichtmayr announced program notes and made introductions in faultless English as Mistress of Ceremonies, so to speak.

Especially valuable in getting to understand a country and its people, is private accomodation of guests by host families. Thus at several places on the tour — Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Bethlehem — visits with families produced the kind of friendships that, hopefully, will remain valuable to all concerned. During what most considered to be an all-to-short stay in Bethlehem, PA, the South Moravians found some time for sight-seeing through that community and into neighboring Moravian locations, including Nazareth. There they had an opportunity to become acquainted with Dr. Lothar Madeheim, of the Moravian Archives, a veritable source of details about the Moravians. He not only led a fact-filled tour, but he also spelled out a living description of the early history of the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania.

Another side-trip took the visiting musicians to Northeast Philadelphia where they were the guests of the German-Hungarians (Donau-Schwaben) and performed at their spacious center to a sizeable audience. Their president, Andy Weyerhäuser, welcomed the many Philadelphia Germans who attended as well as those of differing nationalities altogether, who seemed to enjoy the performance nonetheless.

The longest time spent in one particular living quarters was the location of the South Moravian group in Beardwood and Paisley halls of Ursinus College, where they maintained continuous residence in dormitory rooms while moving about for one-night performances over the Pennsylvania countryside. The arrangement worked well and students from the college summer course provided extensive contact for members of the Stuttgart Group; even a Japanese Professor of German, Professor Takao Hirama (who was attached to a Japanese study group in American Studies at Ursinus College) met with the Germans and travelled occasionally with them.

During the final week of the Pennsylvania German Studies Seminar 423:Comparative Dialect Poetry, Widmar Hader gave a lecture, "Eastern German Folksongs in Dialect — Today and Yesterday." The South Moravian choral group also participated, pre-

Vanity (Adelheid Kruck) glories in the baubles and jewels from her chest of wonders.

Eva Kruck (l.), and Annette Reiter (r.), as Medieval and Ancient civilizations who also feel the presence of Vanity.

senting dialect songs and a few short poems as musical and dialect examples and illustrations for Hader's lecture. Two examples of folksong lyrics as dialect poetry are:

OXN — KANON

Dos Wossa gibt den Oxn Kroft,
den Leitln nur der Rebensoft.
Drum daunk holt Gott als guada Christ,
dass du ka Rindviech wordn bist!

Oxen — Round
[Text from inscription in a wine cellar
in South Moravia.]
Water gives the oxen strength
Men get theirs from wine, at length.
So thank your God most heartily,
He made you more than beast to be!

SCHWORZ SAN DE KERSCHTN

Schworz san de Kerschtn, ihr könnts mas glaubn,
so san meiner Herzliabstn ihre Augn.
Ihre Zähnd san so weiss wie a Elfnban,
ihr Fleisch is so hort wie a Stoa.
Striali. rialjo, strialio, strialio, aho!

Drum san jo die Buam olli neidi mir
und i konn jo meiner Seel nix dafür,
dass ihre Augna so kerzngrod
auf mi a so hergworfa hot.
Striali, rialjo, strialio, strialio, aho!

THE CHERRIES ARE BLACK
[Bratelsbrunn melody]
The cherries are black, that you can believe,
And so are my Sweetheart's bright eyes.
Her teeth are as white as a fairy-trail
She is pleasingly plump, all the while!
Striali, ----.

All about, the boys stand right next to me,
I don't know my true feelings for them;
But their eyes they just fix upon me,
That they look me through and through.
Striali, ----.

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Video-tape cassettes were made for college class use, and on the folk dance videotape the *SpielSchar* did the *Keltertanz* (Wine-Stomping Dance), *Treskower Minuet* and other folk dances under professional direction in the television studio of the college. A second taping session permitted the production of Horn's ballet, *On Vanity,* for which even the best capabilities of brand new cameras were strained to the limit in televising. As cameramen, Edward Stemmler, Joyce Henry and I pushed the apparatus to the limit and beyond, to give the troupe what they desired on camera. One might say that the apparatus exceeded its specified limits in the process. Copies of the tapes were furnished to the musicians group. Moreover, given all the concomitant difficulties of production, we now have a tape in the video cassette library [PGS] not only of the ballet, but of the ballet with both Karen Rösler *and* Adelheid Kruck in separate performances as prima ballerina dancing Vanity.

A second special meeting of the class brought students to observe a full morning rehearsal and to question and discuss the interrelationship of music, dialect, dance and the entire run of stage arts. The *Spiel-*

Schar did rehearse some folksong and folkdance, but in particular, adjusted the production of their folk ballet, *On Vanity,* to the dimensions and limitations of the stage and props in Wismer Hall. Class members felt especially privileged to observe the practical operation of the troupe and the solution of special problems, as when a compromise was finally reached to provide extra space for the ballet orchestra in an improvised stage pit.

The evening performance in Ursinus College's Wismer Hall was a *tour de force.* All seats were occupied and standing room overflowed so no single place remained empty. Given that encouragement, the Choral, Instrumental and Dance Group performed surperbly, buoyed along by the hearty enthusiasm of their audience. In his brief words of thanks and appreciation, college president Richard P. Richter expressed his delight at such a fine performance. He noted what kind of positive expression was possible without electronic components, and lauded the beneficent effect music has upon peoples. After the performance, refreshments were served and a small German-American brass band played on the lawn outside the rooms of Wismer Hall as some danced and others conversed.

Preparation for videotaping; Dr. Joyce Henry applies make-up to Beate Steinhauf as Waltraud Ströhle, Volker Lukas, Susan Loewe, and Volker Hoffman (obscured) look on. Hader and Parsons confer about settings while Ed Stemmler (far left) prepares video camera.

The two prima ballerinas, Karin Rösler (top) and Adelheid Kruck caught on the television screen in the videotape cassette version of Horn's folk ballet, De La Vanite.

Folk Dance, Treskower Minuet, in the videotaping studio, Ritter Hall, Ursinus College. Volker Lukas (c.) facing camera, looking toward Adelheid Kruck and Martin Rösler, those faces visible.

At the request of *SpielSchar* leaders, I gave a talk on the Pennsylvania Germans, especially the Amish people in Pennsylvania. On tour with Dr. Evan S. Snyder later, the visitors went to an Amish farm near Intercourse, PA. There they had a tour about the farm and also met Amos Fisher, his sons, and other relatives of the place. They exchanged singings of spiritual songs: the South Moravians sang hymns and folksongs and the four Amish farmers responded by singing from the *Ausbund*, their worship-hymnbook, in a most impressive manner. The South Moravians also visited the Ephrata Cloisters, toured the Moravian center at Lititz, and paid a visit to Longwood Gardens and the Winterthur botanical center on the Delaware-Pennsylvania line. Using Collegeville as base, the singers also went to Rose Tree Media, Strasburg, Pottstown and East Greenville to perform.

In the open air park at Streitwieser's Trumpet Museum, nestled against a hillside, the performance of Sunday, 1 August, was a delight. The folk songs and dances in a fresh rural setting gave just the proper tone to the entire production. Once again, the components here combined to bring out the best of performers and production: the day was bright and sunny; old friends and acquaintances, the Streitwiesers, were hosts for the occasion; and for an initial outdoor performance on those grounds, a crowd which taxed the capacity of available chairs to seat all those who arrived filled everyone with delight. Among the many friends who appeared at that performance were Hermann Jäger and Hermann, Junior, of Bad Bergzabern in the Palatinate.

For the Tuesday evening performance sponsored by the Goschenhoppen Historians, Inc., original plans to perform on the indoor stage in Red Men's Hall, Green Lane, PA, were changed a few days before the show when it became apparent that too few seats were available there. Instead, the site was moved to the band shell in the New Goshenhoppen Park, East Greenville, where afternoon rehearsal drills attempted to solve problems of a narrow stage and a cantankerous public address system. The quite minimal depth of the stage tested the skill and the ingenuity of dance choreographers, but the elevated band shell provided marvelous acoustics.

The New Goshenhoppen Park church picnic grounds provided such relaxed and homey late afternoon and then quite appropriate evening accomodations, that it was a near-perfect setting. The Stuttgart singers and dancers performed there as though inspired, a fact which may be almost visible in the photography produced on that occasion. Charles Steitz, local photographer, took numerous camera shots (some of which appear in this issue) and Paul Hausmann acted as spokesman for the Goschenhoppen Historians. Thankful for the many blessings they had received, the

Paul Hausmann, representing the Goschenhoppen Historians, hosts for the East Greenville performance, welcomes Widmar Hader, Angelika Feuchtmayr and the Choral and Instrumental Group to the Perkiomen region on their USA Tour.

South Moravians gave two additional performances in the near neighborhood. The first was at Manatawny Manor, a retirement Home near Pottstown, while the second visit was to Kimberton Hills, a retarded children's settlement, west of Phoenixville.

One special event held on the college campus — a covered-dish picnic which introduced local Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties to the visitors — provided a fine chance for relaxation and fellowship, for the exchanging of ideas, and for townspeople and visitors to become better acquainted. Pennsylvanians who wished to meet the Germans brought family and friends along, and from mealtime until well after dusk, enjoyed food, stories, jokes, spontaneous folk dances, and folk singing.

South Moravians and Pennsylvanians alike commented on the pleasant congeniality of the arrangements and the advantages of using college community facilities for such a travelling troupe. Beardwood Hall of Ursinus College (and the corner of Paisley Hall along with it) where all forty of the South Moravian Song, Dance and Instrumental Group lived together for much of the two-week visit, afforded them more

*Folk Dance: The **Jäger-Neuner** [Hunting-Nines] during late rehearsal and photo session, New Goshenhoppen Park. (Photographed by Charles Steitz, Jr.)*

time together than they generally have at one time, even on the monthly rehearsal week-ends in Stuttgart during the year. That the South Moravians felt a special tenderness for the home at Ursinus in Collegeville, became evident in many ways as time grew short. Perhaps Eva and Adelheid Kruck expressed it best, well after their return to Germany, in a note sent back for the holidays: "The college was the best [location] we had had on our tour. We always thought that we were at home. We never had had such luck."

Before the final departure of the South Moravians from Collegeville on 7 August 1982, members gathered after breakfast and prepared to say their "good-byes." True to their traditions, they warmed up in the morning with a friendship folkdance and several *Abschiedslieder* [folksongs of parting]. After announcing that they were about to present a special gift, Widmar Hader and Eva Kruck led an old English folkdance, "The Parsons' Dance," which Adelheid Kruck had choreographed utilizing ideosyncracies and personal gestures of the professor. Everyone laughed until they cried. Such moments are evanescent; no camera, nor even tape recorder captured it, but those who took part will remember that moment for a long time.

Bus now packed with performance-gear, the Stuttgart singers boarded and headed for points south; they arrived in Maryland that evening. A further highlight of this tour was an appearance for The German-American Citizens Association at the University of Maryland-Baltimore. To this Maryland performance came Dr. Frank Scimonelli, of Washington, D.C., a peerless performer, world-famous on the posthorn. Scimonelli had been a leader of brass chamber music at the Fifth Sudeten German Music Days in 1982; this evening he spoke extra words of praise and greeting. He had particularly glowing comments to make about Widmar Hader as composer, director and multi-talented innovator.

The final three days of the journey through the east-central United States were spent in Washington, D.C. and Alexandria, Virginia. Additional performances were given at Historic Fort Ward and at the Open Air Theatre of Alexandria Market, where local musicians added to the program. For a variety of reasons, original plans to continue south into Salem, North Carolina, were abandoned, of necessity, as an early judgment in trans-Atlantic planning.

Further honors awaited the South Moravian Choral and Dance Group upon their return, just as they had already been awarded recognition by the Town of Geislingen and by the Organization of South Moravian Germans, a Prize for Cultural Achievement. In September, anniversary festival and special program combined recognition joined with their own concert efforts in the Mozart Hall of the Stuttgart Academy of Music. In Pennsylvania, formal assessments also followed, and a summary and final recommendation report fully complimented the *SpielSchar* and "the grand success" of the tour. Of greatest lasting benefit were the class encounters and the cassette results, both audio and video. In sum, on both sides of the Atlantic the tour was considered to be a major success!

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PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN *BRAUCHE* 'TO CHARM' AND HEBREW *BERAKHAH* 'BENEDICTION': A NEW ETYMOLOGY

By John R. Costello

§1. Introduction

In this paper I offer evidence that the root of the Pennsylvania German word *brauche* 'to charm' is a borrowing, via Yiddish, of the Hebrew word *berakhah* 'benediction.'[1] For those not familiar with the Pennsylvania German verb *brauche* 'to charm' or some of its derivatives, like *Braucher* 'powwow doctor' and *Braucherei* 'powwow, the practice of charming,' a brief explanation is in order. Among the Germanic peoples, the charm goes back to prehistoric pagan days when magic was practiced, rather than religion. The charm is recited in magic as the prayer is in religion. In magic as well as in religion, man attempts to deal with forces and situations which are beyond his physical control. The magic charm is a spoken formula, sometimes accompanied by a gesture or some other actions, which is supposed to alleviate a predicament by the power inherent in the formula itself and in the words of which it consists. The prayer, on the other hand, is a request to a deity to intercede on behalf of those who are praying. After the Germanic tribes were converted to Christianity, the early church attempted to replace the charm and its magical implications with the prayer, but as may be seen to this day among many Pennsylvania Germans, neither the pre-Reformation Roman Catholic Church nor the Protestant denominations that replaced it were completely successful in eradicating this vestige of early Germanic culture.

Etymology involves tracing (a) the origins and history of words with special attention to their sounds and their meanings; and (b) the relationship that words in one language have to corresponding words in another language or languages. When attempting to argue that a word *X* in one language is cognate with a word *Y* in another language (i.e. that they both descend from a common ancestor word), we try to satisfy certain well-known criteria:

1. *X* and *Y* should resemble one another phonically;
2. semantically, *X* and *Y* should overlap plausibly;
3. in addition to *X* and *Y*, there should be words in other genealogically related languages that appear to be cognate with *X* and *Y;*
4. *X*, *Y*, and all other suspected cognates are more convincing as a cognate set if they are relatively long words rather than relatively short ones;

5. *X*, *Y*, and all other suspected cognates are more convincing as a cognate set if they evidence parallel irregular alternations (e.g. English *sing* alternates irregularly with *sang* and *sung* just as its cognate in German, *singen*, alternates irregularly with *sang*, and *gesungen*); and
6. *X* and *Y* should evidence regular phonic correspondences which are found among other sets of cognates that also satisfy the previous five criteria (e.g. English *ten* and Latin *decem* evidence several regular phonic correspondences, one of which is English *t* and Latin *d*, which is found also in the cognate sets English *two*, Latin *duo*, English *tooth*, Latin *dent-*, English *foot*, Latin *ped-*, and so on).[2]

A seventh criterion might be added to the above:

7. Optimally, no (ad hoc) sporadic sound changes should be resorted to in order to link *X*, *Y*, and all other suspected cognates. (A sporadic sound change is one that occurs upredictably, that is, irregularly, in a particular phonic environment: e.g. in some areas of the United States, people will change the pronunciation of *-ven* in *eleven* to *elebm*, but they will not alter the pronunication of *-ven* in *leaven*.)

In reality, of course, the etymologist cannot expect to satisfy each of these criteria in every case; thus, in general, the higher the number of criteria satisfied, the more acceptable the etymology. In trying to determine the etymology of Pennsylvania German *brauche* in the sense 'to charm,' it will be seen that where the relationship that exists between two words corresponding to one another in two languages (or among several words in several languages) is suspected to be because of lexical borrowing rather than because of inheritance from a common ancestor, criteria (3) and (5) can rarely be satisfied. On the other hand, optimally, additional criteria that are of little, if any, relevance in establishing a common genealogical origin between *X* and *Y* are extremely helpful in determining that a word in one language has been borrowed from another language. The first additional criterion is that there be overlapping features or characteristics in the real-world manifestations (the *signifié* of de Saussure) of the lexical items

under discussion. The second is that there should be demonstrable sociocultural contact between the speakers of the languages from which the words under investigation come.

Before I present my own views on Pennsylvania German *brauche* 'to charm,' I will discuss the etymology of this word that is to be inferred from Lambert's decision to treat Pennsylvania German *brauche* as one word with several meanings (called a polysemous morpheme in linguistic terminology) rather than as three homonyms (§2). I will then present an alternative analysis, in which Pennsylvania German *brauche* in two of its meanings, 'to use' and 'to need' is related to European German *gebrauchen* 'to use' and *brauchen* 'to need,' respectively, but Pennsylvania German *brauche* meaning 'to charm' is viewed as a borrowing from Yiddish, ultimately from Hebrew (§3).

§2. Lambert's Analysis of Pennsylvania German *brache*

In his *Dictionary of the Non-English Words in the Pennsylvania German Dialect,* Lambert glossed *brauche,* which he derived from European German *brauchen,* as 'to use; need, stand in need of; powwow.'[3] From this, one might infer that the meaning 'to charm' is a metaphorical extension of the meaning 'to use,' since Pennsylvania German *Braucherei* 'powwow, the practice of charming' is intended, to be sure, to be useful; indeed, Lambert's derivation of the polysemous Pennsylvania German *brauche* in each of its three meanings from European German *brauchen* leaves us no other choice. Interestingly, the more recently published *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch,* which contains Pennsylvania German as well as European German data, treats the Palatinate word *brauche(n)* just as Lambert did.[4] (In the remainder of this article, I shall not be concerned with Pennsylvania German *brauche* in the sense of 'to need,' since it has no bearing on the etymology of *brauche* 'to charm.')

At first blush, this etymology appears to be satisfactory with respect to two of the above-mentioned criteria: Pennsylvania German *brauche* 'to use, make use of' and *brauche* 'to charm' are (a) phonically identical; and (b) semantically connected by a link that might be called RESULT: i.e. *using* [something] (in a certain way) may RESULT in *charming.*[5] However, the following examples demonstrate that evaluating every set of homonyms as a polysemous descendant of an older root having only one meaning, on the basis of the phonic and semantic criteria mentioned in (1) and (2) in §1, may be erroneous. In English, for example, the word *hang (hung, hung)*' to fasten from above with no support from below, suspend' is phonically identical to the word *hang (hanged, hanged)* 'to execute by suspending by the neck,' and one might say that these words are connected by the link RESULT: i.e. the former *hanging* may RESULT in the latter *hanging.* In this instance, written documentation from earlier

periods of English confirm that we are justified in deriving the former *hang* and the latter *hang* from one common root with only one meaning in an earlier period. (For a detailed discussion, see *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary,* 1971:1252.) On the other hand, the English word *halt,* which in one sense means 'to be defective or to proceed poorly' is phonically identical to the English word *halt* which means 'to stop, pause;' moreover, one might say that these words are also semantically connected by the link RESULT: i.e. the former *halting* may RESULT in the latter *halting.* In this case, however, documentation from older periods of English tells us that *halt* 'to be defective or proceed poorly' is a reflex of the Old English verb *healtian,* which goes back to Proto-Germanic *halton* 'to limp'; *halt* 'to stop, pause,' on the other hand, is a borrowing from German, ultimately going back to Proto-Germanic *halthan* 'to keep or pasture cattle; to stop, hold back.' (For a more detailed discussion, see Morris 1969:595, 1521, and *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary,* 1971:1246.) Thus the conclusion that the former *halt* and the latter *halt* are homonyms which may be derived from a single older root having only one meaning would be erroneous. In other words, the above examples from English demonstrate that homonyms which can be semantically connected by a link like RESULT need not have evolved from a common ancestor; they may just as well have descended from two words which formerly sounded alike, and coincidentally were not very far apart in meaning.

§3. Pennsylvania German *brauche* 'to charm' as a Borrowing from Western Yiddish[6] *broukhe* 'benediction'

Since the etymology of Pennsylvania German *brauche* 'to charm' that follows from Lambert's derivation cannot be confirmed by written documentation, and since it is linguistically inconclusive, I offer an alternative etymology: Pennsylvania German *brauche* 'to charm' is a borrowing from Westerm Yiddish *broukhe* 'benediction,' itself a borrowing from Hebrew *berakhah* 'benediction.' This etymology receives strong support on several counts:

1. Phonically, Pennsylvania German *brauche* 'to charm' corresponds to Western Yiddish *broukhe* just as does one other Pennsylvania German word that is certain to have been borrowed from Western Yiddish, and ultimately from Hebrew. Cf. §3.3.1.

2. Semantically, a benediction and a charm differ mainly in that the former is an appeal to a deity for assistance, whereas the latter is an appeal to a magical power for assistance.

3. Structurally, both the benediction and the charm are manifested by a formulaic expression. Cf. §3.1.2.

4. Socioculturally, the links between the Jewish and

gentile population of the Palatinate were intimate and intense for centuries before the expulsion of the majority of the Jewish inhabitants in the Middle Ages, and in fact, contact between individuals of each group probably remained unbroken until the ancestors of the Pennsylvania Germans left Europe. Cf. §3.1.3 and Costello 1980:138-142.

As far as the first seven criteria mentioned in §1 of this article are concerned, in addition to satisfying criteria (1) and (2), the etymology I am proposing also satisfies criteria (4)—Pennsylvania German *brauche* and Western Yiddish *broukhe* are not excessively short words — and (6); Cf. §3.1.1.

§3.1. Detail

§3.1.1. Phonic. According to Birnbaum (1979: 102ff.), words with a long *a* in Hebrew are borrowed into Western Yiddish with corresponding *ou* varying with long *o*. Thus I propose that the phonic events in the borrowing of Hebrew *berakhah* took place as follows: In order better to conform to the Germanic sound pattern of Yiddish, the first long *a* of Hebrew *berakhah* received the lexical stress, and was shifted to *ou* varying with long *o*, whereupon the first vowel, which was very weakly stressed in Hebrew, was syncopated, and the third vowel was reduced to shwa, the sound represented by *a* in the English word puma. This rendered Western Yiddish *broukhe* varying with *brokhe*. The pronunciation *broukhe* survived in the Pennsylvania German borrowing *brauche,* whereas the pronunciation *brokhe* survives in Eastern Yiddish. A phonic parallel may be seen in the development of Hebrew *kasher* 'fit.'⁸ Again, in order better to conform to the Germanic sound pattern of Yiddish, the first long *a* of Hebrew *kasher* received the lexical stress, and was shifted to *ou* varying with long *o*, whereupon the vowel of the last syllable was reduced to shwa, rendering Western Yiddish *kousher* varying with *kosher* (cf. Birnbaum 1979:102ff., Grimm and Grimm 1873:362, and Kluge 1963:395). The pronunciation *kousher* survives as *kauscher* in Pennsylvania German (cf. Lambert 1919:92) and in some regional varieties of European German, whereas the pronunciation *kosher* survives in Eastern Yiddish (as well as in other varieties of European German).

§3.1.2. Structural. Although both the Jewish *broukhe* and the Pennsylvania German charm are characterized by a formulaic expression, the formula of the one is not identical to the formula of the other, nor should we expect them to be so, considering their diverse origins. (For a discussion of the structure of the charm, cf. De Boor and Newald 1949:89-91, and Costello 1977:101.)

The *broukhes* have become, over the ages, essential components of ritual prayers such as the *Amidah,* a prayer which is recited at religious services while the worshipper stands. As such, their structure is regularized

to contain (a) a *universal proclamation;* (b) *petitions,* and (c) an *appositive proclamation,* as the following *broukhes* show:

A BROUKHE FOR HEALING
Universal proclamation:
Blessed art Thou, O lord, our God, King of the Universe.
Petitions:
Heal us, O God, and we shall be healed; save us and we shall be saved, for You are our praise. And let perfect healing come to all our ills, for You, O God Who reigns as King, are a faithful and compassionate Healer.
Appositive proclamation:
Blessed be You God, Who heals the sick among His people, Yisreal.

A BROUKHE FOR A BOUNTIFUL YEAR
Universal proclamation:
Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe.
Petitions:
Bless for us, O *God,* our God, this year, and all the varieties of its produce for the best, and bestow dew and rain for a blessing upon the face of the earth. Satisfy us from Your bounty and bless our year like other good years.
Appositive proclamation:
Blessed be You *God,* Who blesses the years.⁹

The Pennsylvania German charms hark back to the pre-Christian period of the ancestors of the Germans. Although only two charms from this period, the so-called Merseburg Charms, have survived down to our own day, the structure of each of these ancient charms is identical, and leads us to infer that this structure was common, if not universal, in such incantations. The *prologue,* which recalls a past situation in Germanic mythology where the magic formula achieved the desired effect, is followed by the *formula* itself, as the following English translation of one of the charms shows (cf. Braune 1965:89 for the original):

Prologue:
Phol and Wodan rode in the woods.
The hoof of Balder's horse was hurt.
First Sinthgunt charmed it, then Sonne, her sister;
Then Frija charmed it, then Volla, her sister;
Then Wodan charmed it, as he well could:
Formula:
Be it wounded bone, wounded vein, or wounded limb:
Bone to bone, vein to vein,
Limb to limb, as if they were one!

Considering the fact that the charm was banned by the church (which sought to replace it by its religious counterpart, the prayer) and the fact that no form of pagan worship survived into the Christian period in which charms were essential components, it is not sur-

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prising that the outward character of the charm should become diversified through the passage of time. Thus, among today's Pennsylvania Germans, at least three types of charms may be found which, though their intent is uniform, differ from one another in their degree of outward assimilation to Christianity: (a) charms which have not taken on Christian traits, but which have relinquished specific references to Germanic mythology; (b) charms which make reference to aspects of Christianity; and (c) charms which consist of a Christian prayer or a passage from the Bible. Of the latter type is a Bible verse that was recited by Jacob Wagner, a bailiff living in Liverpool, Perry County, in the mid-nineteenth century, who was said to be able to stop blood. This verse conforms remarkably to the structure of the Merseburg Charm cited above:

Prologue:

And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee *when thou wast* in thy blood,

Formula:

Live! (Ezekiel 16:6)[10]

According to Leo Rosten (1968:52), "In the second century, Rabbi Meir declared it to be the duty of everyone to say no fewer than 100 *broches* daily!" As Rosten mentioned, it is appropriate to say a *broukhe* on diverse occasions, including returning from a dangerous journey, observing such phenomena as lightening or a beautiful sunset, receiving bad news, and so on. Considering then the coexistence of the two groups (cf. §3.1.3.) and the overlap of the content of selected *broukhes* and charms, as is evidenced by the *broukhe* for healing and the two charms cited above, the ancestors of the Pennsylvania Germans could easily have heard of Jewish (non-Christian) invocations, and erroneously compared them to or even equated them with their own non-Christian incantations.

§3.1.3. Sociocultural. Centuries of sociocultural contact between the Jews and gentiles in Germany has resulted in dozens of Yiddish/Hebrew words that have been borrowed into Modern Standard German, such as *besebeln* 'to deceive' from Hebrew *zebel* 'manure'; *Schlemihl* 'unlucky person' from Hebrew *shelomoil* 'good-for-nothing'; and *Stuss* 'nonsense' from Hebrew *shtuth* 'foolishness,' and countless additional borrowings in regional varieties of German, often with striking phonological, morphological, and semantic modifications, as exemplified in the preceding examples. (Cf. Bach 1961:229, 261 for additional examples.) Thus there is little or nothing in the sociocultural matrix that would have discouraged the adoption of Western Yiddish *broukhe,* and much that would have encouraged it. In particular, since Yiddish contained a readily available corpus of lexical items which were not likely to be understood by governmental (and clerical) authorities, it is not surprising that native German words that represented activities and items that were frowned upon

or forbidden might have been replaced in certain circles by their Yiddish counterparts. (In fact, this practice became so widespread in the nineteenth century in Bavaria that von Train, a constable, was able to compile a sizeable dictionary of such Yiddish/Hebrew terms.) Since *Braucherei* has been condemned by the church going back at least to the days of Ludwig the Pious, it is fully conceivable that Western Yiddish *broukhe* could have been borrowed to replace a tabooed native word.

§3.2. Evaluation. An etymology with arguments such as the ones proposed above has a ready prototype in many documented English borrowings from Latin, and in fact, in some instances, the English etymologies appear to be phonically and semantically somewhat weaker than the one proposed above for Pennsylvania German and Yiddish/Hebrew. Consider, for example, the English work *chalk* which was borrowed from Latin *calx* 'stone, pebble.' Following a regular phonic development, Latin *c* becomes English *ch*, just as it does in the case of Latin *cerasus* 'cherry tree' borrowed as English *cherry*. Semantically, there is an overlap in meaning between Latin *calx* and English *chalk,* although it seems to be less than that between Pennsylvania German *brauche* and Western Yiddish *broukhe.* Finally, the direct sociocultural links between the English and the Romans, while intense on paper, were in a literal sense all but non-existent; by the time that we can speak of an English language or nation, any trace of the glory that was Rome had been erased by Odoacer. By comparison, the direct sociocultural contacts between the Jews and the gentiles in the Palatinate were strong and very real before most of the Jews left the area.

§4. Conclusion. I conclude that in view of phonic, semantic, structural, and sociocultural evidence presented above, the Pennsylvania German word *brauche* meaning 'to charm' (including its derivatives) is a borrowing from Western Yiddish *broukhe* 'benediction,' itself a forrowing of Hebrew *berakhah* 'benediction.' Regular phonic and plausible semantic correspondences link these words, which designate highly structured invocations found among the ancestors of the Pennsylvania Germans and the Ashkenazic Jews, two groups that dwelt together for centuries in the Palatinate. Moreover, I claim that when one is attempting to establish that a word in one language is a borrowing of a word in another language, one must not be content to satisfy only those etymological criteria (like the existence of phonic and semantic correspondences) which point to inherited cognates. On the contrary, one must also compare the features or characteristics in the real-world manifestations of the lexical items under investigation, and one must attempt to determine the extent of sociocultural contact among the language communities concerned.

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ENDNOTES

[1]The correct Hebrew spelling of this word is as follows: pointed-*beth*-with-*shwa*, *resh*-with-*qamets*, *kaph*-with-*qamets*, *he*. In this paper I will transliterate the word consistently as *berakhah*.

[2]Cf. Greenberg 1957:35-45 (particularly page 45) for a detailed discussion of these criteria.

[3]Cf. Lambert 1919:31. Speakers of Modern Standard German will note, of course, that the verbs *gebrauchen* and *brauchen* have merged in Pennsylvania German, and moreover, most speakers of Modern Standard German will be unfamiliar with the third meaning, 'to charm.'

[4]According to Christmann and Krämer (1965-1968:1167), the meaning 'to charm' has also been documented in the Palatinate in the areas of Bergzabern and Kusel. Clearly then, we are dealing with a phenomenon of European, not American, origin.

[5]It is imperative that in such discussions one think primarily in terms of meanings rather than in terms of parts of speech; moreover, additional semantic links of lesser importance, like NARROWING, cannot be ruled out, although it is not crucial to include them in the present discussion.

[6]Western Yiddish designates varieties of European Yiddish spoken roughly to the west of the eighteenth meridian, and Eastern Yiddish, varieties spoken roughly to the east of the twenty-fourth meridian. The area inbetween is called Central Yiddish. Cf. Weinreich 1971:43.

[7]Normally Yiddish is written with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, but in this article I will follow the transcription of Birnbaum 1979:102-105 except when I quote from the work of other Yiddishists.

[8]The Hebrew spelling of this word is: pointed-*kaph*-with-*qamats*, *shin*-with-*sere*, *resh*.

[9]These *broukhes* are from Hirsch 1969:137; I am grateful to the publisher, Mr. Philipp Feldheim, for his kind permission to reproduce the English translation of them here.

[10]This information was conveyed to me in 1959 by Robert Luther Wagner, grandson of Jacob Wagner.

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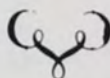
PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH PRIDE

Walking home from church
My parents, brother and I
Passed the Eagle's Club.

Our small family
Passed the Eagle's Club and stopped
To watch a Santa
Giving toys to poor children:
Basket balls, games, red skooters.

Santa gave them out
And I wanted a skooter
More than anything.
Before leaving home that day
We all unwrapped our presents.
My brother and I
Each got a new pair of gloves
As a Christmas gift.
Father got a dime store tie
And mother a paring knife.

Her music pupils
Helped to pay for rent and food,
He worked in a store.
There was never money left
For basket balls and skooters.

"Can we join the line?"
My brother and I both asked.
"On no" Father said
"That is only for children
From poor homes in our city."

So they took our hands
And proudly led us away
Home to celebrate.

Alfred L. Creager
Professor, Emeritus
Ursinus College,
Collegeville, PA

Jacob Schnee's house in Schneeville, Posey County, IN.

JACOB SCHNEE: PREACHER, PUBLISHER, PRINTER AND UTOPIAN COMMUNITY PIONEER

By Mary Lou Robson Fleming

In the spring of 1965 Geraldine Youngblood (a seventy-five year old cousin) and I visited the Schnee family cemetery, high on a hill overlooking the site of Schneeville in Posey County, Indiana. Two miles east of New Harmony, the area is known as Schnee's Hill and, on the hill, cedars of Lebanon mark the location of two identical tombstones — upright slabs of marble with a weeping willow carved at the top — complete with the usual information: Catharine Schnee, 1786-1837, and Jacob Schnee, 1784-1838; both born in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. I copied the epitaphs; for Catharine:

> Passing spirit, gently fled,
> Sustained by Grace divine
> O may such grace on us be shed
> And make our end like thine.

and for Jacob, a gentle invitation that has since become a mandate to me:

> Stranger, pause & see who here does rest,
> A friend & comforter to the distressed,
> Whose virtue & benevolence to all mankind
> With Peace, Love & Charity combined.
> He is gone to that Heavenly throne
> To dwell with spirits who never return.

Geraldine pointed out a small cottage a half-mile distant from the crest of the hill. "There is the site of the fourteen-room house great-grandfather Jacob Schnee built in 1828. My mother, Mary Schnee, and your grandmother, Louisa Schnee, were born there in the same year; they were first cousins. Great-grandfather made the bricks for the house from clay that was nearby, but too much sand in the clay proved its undoing almost a century later. The Kemmerlings [third owners] did not know how to correct the damp walls, and, in 1917, they tore the house down."

Later, when looking at a picture of the house, I was intrigued by its size for, even considering the size of the family (fifteen members in 1828), it was impressive. The rooms were 20' by 20' and the interior walls were three bricks thick. It had a wide entrance hall with an imposing walnut staircase, double front doors with a fanlight, long french windows across the front of the pillared porch, and painted floors stenciled with Pennsylvania Dutch designs. Writing in 1930, the editor of the New Harmony *Times* called it a "beautiful brick dwelling . . . with a spacious aristocratic look . . . that

Geraldine Youngblood standing next to Jacob Schnee's bed.

Jacob Schnee's chest and mirror.

Jacob Schnee's chair.

was said by authorities to have been the best example of colonial architecture in Posey County. It was probably an idea and a love of beauty brought from his home in Pennsylvania.''

The Jacob Schnee story might have ended for me with this visit to Schnee's Hill had not Dr. Karl J. R. Arndt published his first volume on the Harmonist Society. I eagerly read *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* in order to glimpse the people who had walked these streets before me. Listed in the index — and identified as one who had set up a religious community at old Harmonie, Pennsylvania, in 1817-1818 — was an H. Schnee. Was this Henry Schnee, one of Jacob's six brothers? An error in the index Dr. Arndt informed me by return mail; it was actually Jacob Schnee. Then, with Dr. Arndt's gift of the Schnee letters (all of which he has since published) from the Harmonist Archives at *Ekonomie,* Pennsylvania, I began my quest for the historical Jacob Schnee.

Born May 14, 1784, in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, Jacob was the second son of John (Johannes) and Anna Maria (Renninger) Schnee.[1] There were seven children in the family, all boys: John, Jacob, Joseph (the Lebanon printer of Fraktur pieces?), Henry, Philip, Michael, and George. John Schnee served in the American Revolution as a substitute for his employer; he was a private, second class, in Captain David Krause's Fourth Company, Second Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia. The Schnee family were members of Salem Lutheran Church in Lebanon; indeed, John Schnee was one of the signers of the church's constitution and, as an elder of the congregation, his name is inscribed on the cornerstone laid in 1796,[2] when a stone building was erected to take the place of the original log structure.

Jacob Schnee was baptized in Salem Church in the summer of 1784, the Reverend William Kurtz officiating. The Reverend Kurtz was also Jacob's teacher in the log schoolhouse built near the church. His further education included the three years he was indentured to a printer to learn his trade, and the three years he studied under an ordained minister to prepare for the ministry. On March 25, 1806, Jacob, then 22, and Catharine Krebs,[3] 20, were married and set up housekeeping in the town. An eyewitness description of Lebanon as it was in their lifetime is found in the diary of Morris Birkbeck, an English Quaker. On June 22, 1817, Birkbeck wrote:

> . . . we had a pleasant ride to Lebanon, which is not a mountain of cedars, but a valley, so beautiful and fertile that it seemed on its first opening on our view, enriched as it was by the tints of evening, rather of fancy than a real backwoods scene.
>
> Lebanon is itself one of the wonders which are a natural growth of these backwoods. In fourteen years [*sic*] from two or three cabins of half-savage hunters, it has grown to be the residence of a thousand persons, with habits and looks no way differing from their brethren in the East. Before we entered the town we heard the supper bells of the tavern, and arrived just in time to take our seats at the table, among just such a set as I should have expected to meet at the ordinary in Richmond: travellers like ourselves with a number of storekeepers, lawyers, and doctors — men who board at the taverns, and make up a standing company for the daily public table.
>
> This morning we made our escape from this busy scene, in defiance of threatening rain. A crowded tavern in an American town, though managed with great civility, is a place from which you are always willing to depart. After all, the wonder is, that so many comforts are provided for you at so early a period.[4]

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Jacob Schnee was the first printer and publisher in Lebanon. At the time of his marriage he had already been in business seven years, having set up his printing press in 1799 in an old stone house known as the Greenawald building on the southeast corner of Eighth and Willow Streets. He is known to have "issued numerous German books, nearly all of a religious character."[5] The first, in 1799, was a small manual on growing fruit trees entitled *Der Wohlerfahrene Baum-Gaertner.* In 1808 he published *Directions to a Christian Life and Happy Death* and had this to say about it:

> All who wish to read something thrilling and calculated to draw their souls to God are advised to secure this book. All who read it must bear testimony to the excellent truth which it contains.

In the same year Schnee also published a prospectus for a one thousand page book *Explanation of the Book of Revelation* and, in the following year, he printed the *Heidelberg Catechism;* the daily journal of the state senate; an almanac (which he published for many years); and Seiler's *Biblishe Religion*[6]. In 1810, *The Life of Washington* was printed:[7]

> Quite an enterprising literary venture for a little town of Pennsylvania Germans! But then Lebanon had patriotic giants in those days, some surviving soldiers, who had fought with Washington the battles of the Revolution.[8]

Jacob also published *The Life of Dr. George Benneville* (the first preacher of the Universalist doctrine in America), and in 1814, *Das Neue Gesangbuch* and Habermann's *Gebetuechlein.*

On January 1, 1807 Schnee published *Der Libanoner Friemüthige* (The Free Lebanoner), the town's first newspaper. This paper continued under the name of *Der Libanoner Morgenstern* (The Lebanon Morningstar) when it changed hands in 1809; its third owner discontinued publication in 1837. The first number of Schnee's paper "contained articles on the Congress of the United States, on Aaron Burr, a regular column of European news, an article on Bonaparte's Tyranny, and a translation of a Hebrew letter which proved that Napoleon Bonaparte was a Jew."[9]

A typical issue — such as that of February 10, 1808[10] — of *Der Libanoner Friemühige* was four pages long, with three columns to a 16" by 25" page. The paper contained interesting items of world, national, and state news, but no local news except several advertisements of real and personal property. On the world front, Schnee reported on the strained relations between England and the United States; that "the people of England and France do not expect that war between our country and England will result"; on crop failures in Ireland, which brought famine and "a strong demand for American breadstuffs." On the national front he reported that Congress had nominated James Madison for President and George Clinton for Vice-President. State legislatures were busy enacting laws; several states had organized militia systems; the problem of unemployment in New York City was being met by a commendable plan that resembled the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's. State news included a report on the impeachment of Governor McKean and accounts of violent attacks on farmers conveying produce to Philadelphia. There was even a human interest story on longevity; in all, a well-edited newspaper even for this day.

According to church records,[11] Jacob Schnee's ministry in the Lutheran Church began at least by 1813, the year he accepted a call from a congregation in Pittsburgh. This was, of course, a turning point in his life,[12] and we will examine the synodical history to explain some of the church's influence on Jacob. The Liturgy — in detail — by which Jacob worshiped as a child and which he followed as a minister, was set up by the first convention in Philadelphia in 1748. The preparation of a candidate for ordination is also described in the first convention report. A candidate was required to prepare a sketch of his life "as brief as possible" which would include its chief events and an account of his academic studies. He would also tell of his first awakening; of the way in which God furthered the work of grace in his heart; what had moved him to study for the holy ministry; and where, in what branches, and under whose direction, he had attempted to prepare himself.

The ministerial candidate was also asked what books he owned; for an explanation of theology and the Evangelical Lutheran stand on "justifying and saving faith"; and for the preparation of an outline and theme for a sermon based on a selected Bible verse. The 1789 church convention adopted the requirements of licentiates: to study the original languages, Hebrew and Greek, and other theological branches; and to keep diaries of their daily activities as ministers and turn them in with four complete sermons which were then read and graded by the Synod.

The 1813 convention of the Synod was held at Reading and was composed of 47 preachers and 34 lay members. One of the twenty-seven communications to the Synod was a call to Mr. Jacob Schnee from the congregation of Pittsburgh. Concerning this it was decided "that the congregation be given into the care of Mr. Schnee, provided he pass the examination."[13] It was "noted with pleasure, that the papers of the candidates were all worked out in such a manner that their licenses could be renewed with a good conscience."[14] To the question of whether the applicants should receive licenses to serve as candidates in their respective "congregations which have called them, a unanimous 'yes' was given":

> The licenses of the candidates were then filled out by the officers, and the President handed them to the respective parties, after he had first solemnly read their duties to them

and they by word of mouth, and the joining of hands had promised before God, faithfully to perform them as evangelical pastors.[1]

There could be no deviation as to what was taught the congregations.

Finally all the members present bent their knees— committed themselves and the congregations in their charge to the further care of their Good Shepherd—prayer for the forgiveness of their former unfaithfulness—made the firm resolution to work on in His service with renewed earnestness—and closed with an appropriate hymn.[1]

According to the *History of the Pittsburgh Synod* by Burgess, the congregation which called the Reverend Schnee was a Union church, the majority of whom were Reformed, but "the presence of a number of Lutherans among them is evidenced by the fact that the Unaltered Augsburg Confession is specified in the original grant of building ground by the Penns, June 18, 1787, to the newly organized German Church."[17] The communicants were made up of Germans who had settled about the forks of the Ohio. Pastor Johann Wilhelm Weber had organized this group as the Smithfield Street German Evangelical Church in 1782, now the oldest religious organization of Pittsburgh. Weber was a Reformed minister who lived in Westmoreland County and was responsible for founding many of the Reformed churches in western Pennsylvania. His assistant was a Lutheran pastor, John Michael Steck, who occasionally visited the congregation. Burgess wrote: "In 1813 the congregation selected Rev. Jacob Schnee, an honored member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, as pastor."[18]

Obviously Schnee had a successful first year. In June 5-8, 1814, he attended the Synodical meeting at Easton and reported that he had baptized 97, confirmed 59, had 155 communicants, conducted 15 burials and had four schools. Schnee served the German Evangelical Church of Pittsburgh (now called the Smithfield Congregational Church, 620 Smithfield St., Pittsburgh) from 1813 to 1818. He was followed by Lutheran pastors Heinrich Geiszenhainer and Heinrich Kurtz. During that same period he occasionally preached at the Buechle home, which eventually became St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Lancaster Township, Butler County, Pennsylvania.

The third major interest in Jacob Schnee's life was his strong desire to found a religious community. It may have been spurred on by the close proximity of Pittsburgh to Harmonie in Butler County, where the Harmony Society had built their first community in 1804. The idea of community is very old, both in Europe and in America. A.E. Bestor, Jr. in his study, *Backwoods Utopias,* lists 130 religious and secular communities in America from 1663 to 1860, six prior to 1783 and 28 between 1783-1824. Schnee certainly would have been familiar with Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County and, of course, the Harmony Society

itself long before he came to Pittsburgh. Schnee was twenty years old when George Rapp and his band of Separatists migrated from Württemberg. He certainly knew of their encampment on Busch Hill, just north of the old city limits of Philadelphia "on the 153 acres of meadowland with the elegant and spacious country house"[19] that Andrew Hamilton had built in 1740; and he knew that the Harmonist Society had received financial aid from the German Society of Philadelphia and from subscription lists that had been circulated in the city. Rapp had made friends in the German communities in southeastern Pennsylvania. Schnee would have known that the group of Harmonists who had landed at Baltimore had gone inland to Pittsburgh, others to New Philadelphia, Ohio.

The material success of the Harmony Society in building the first Harmonie and the high rate of economic growth of this communal group was well-publicized on both sides of the Atlantic. That Schnee, like George Rapp, had turned to a scrutiny of the *Book of Revelation* is demonstrated in his 1807 prospectus for a 1000-page book, *Explanation of the Book of Revelation.* By 1814 he definitely had the idea of organizing a religious community himself.

In 1813-14 rumors abounded that the Harmony Society in Butler County planned to sell their property and move to another location where they might have larger acreage for their expanding operations, on a waterway opening up to the New Orleans and West Indies markets. Concrete evidence appeared in the Pittsburgh paper when an advertisement was published offering the town of Harmonie on the Connoquenessing in Butler County, Pennsylvania, for sale for the sum of $200,000. Response from prospective buyers was fairly good, but no one was willing to pay the asking price. The Society preferred to dispose of the property as a single unit, but by July 2, 1814, there is an indication that they would be willing to sell in smaller lots. The first contingent of Harmonists had departed for Indiana on June 20, 1814.

The first Schnee letter in the Economy Archives shows that on July 16, 1814, the Reverend Schnee asked to rent a few rooms and a kitchen for his family. Six months later, on January 25, 1815, Jacob Schnee & Co. offered the Rapps $100,000 for all the Harmony Society property, payable in five payments at 8%. There is no record of the Harmonists' reply to this offer, but another letter from Schnee (dated February 13, 1815) to Frederich Rapp — the business manager of the Harmony Society — indicates that the Harmonists had made a counter offer which Schnee could not afford to accept.[20]

One may safely assume that Rapp had considered the possibility of a sale to Schnee, but was not sufficiently convinced that the financial backing of Schnee's religious organization was as sound as that of the Mennonite who eventually did buy the property.

Frederich wrote to George Rapp on May 8, 1815, announcing that he had sold the town:

> . . . six men from the vicinity of Bethlehem came here to view Harmonie. We were together for three days. One of them a monist, by the name of Abraham Ziegler, purchased it . . . Tomorrow I will give him the deed.[21]

Ziegler contracted to buy the property for $100,000 but was never able to complete the payments; his heirs settled the debt for something less after his death. The Harmonists' decision to sell at half-price may have been due to the rapid deterioration of the vacant town. Frederick wrote:

> For a while we felt like strangers in Harmony. The strangers who live here now took every opportunity to insult us, roamed through all the houses and gardens. I attempted to stop this nuisance, but my efforts were all in vain.[22]

Ziegler in the beginning fared well with Harmonie. Unfortunately, he did not make the expected sales to his friends in the East. Frederick wrote George Rapp that only four farmers of the thirty who "moved along with Ziegler"[23] had bought from him, but they were "good Farmers." A year after the sale was made, however, Ziegler was defaulting on his payments because his money sources in the East were defaulting; he was, for the most part, a victim of economic conditions beyond his control.

Letters in the Harmonist Archives dating from 1815 to 1819 describe in detail the severe financial depression which gripped both America and Europe in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1814) and the War of 1812. During the latter war the ports of the United States were under blockade by the British fleet and trade was almost brought to a standstill. Frederick wrote David Shields in 1819:

> What Calamity has in these days befallen the people in general, that they are no longer able to fulfill their engagements? Which can be the original cause of this pressure, cry for money among all the classes and particularly destructive among merchants, throughout America and Europe.[24]

Money was scarce everywhere. Eastern merchants complained of the "derangement of bank note currency,"[25] which was not interchangeable in the trade marts of the country. As the situation in Philadelphia gradually grew worse, banks were closed; in New York a prominent merchant house had been shut down; Pennsylvania felt the crunch. Ziegler wrote:

> In the richest counties of Pennsylvania, especially in Lancaster, the sheriff has never before created such havoc as he is doing now. The shortage of money there is like the pestilence which creeps in the dark, and the sheriff like the plague which destroys at noon.[26]

In January, 1817, Ziegler, still extremely hard-pressed financially, found his salvation (or so he hoped): he sold Harmonie and 500 acres for $64,000 to the "honorable Mr. Jacob Schnee and a company associated with him."[27] Ziegler wrote:

> These gentlemen want to establish a printing establishment and an advanced school here. My acquaintances who are moving into this region no longer buy any land from me, because they can buy much cheaper in this region. For according to the price which I must pay for mine, I can not sell as cheaply as others sell theirs.[28]

Pressure was immediately applied to Schnee to make his first payment of $8,000 in April in order for Ziegler to pay the Rapps; this continued for the year and a half that the Harmony Institute of Jacob Schnee & Co. occupied the town.

Who were the religious followers of the Reverend Schnee who occupied the town? We may assume that part, if not all, of his congregation from the Smithfield church had joined him as he is listed in the Pittsburgh Synod as the pastor of the German Evangelical Church from 1813-1818. The Reverend Schnee had attended the 1815 meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Frederichtown. He had reported 65 baptisms, 47 confirmations, 149 communicants, 8 deceased, and two schools.[29] One item on the agenda gives a clue to the Reverend Schnee's whereabouts earlier: Congregations in Monongehela County, Virginia, requested a preacher. "Resolved that any preacher of our connection to take charge and that Messrs. Henkel and Schnee shall give fuller account of said region to anyone who may desire it."[30]

Before I extract the Jacob Schnee episode from the Economy Archives, it may be worthwhile to identify David Shields. Shields, a lawyer from Washington, PA, held power of attorney and handled legal affairs for the Harmony Society in Pennsylvania. Shields also acted as buying agent for the Society in the East and was empowered to redeem emigrants in Philadelphia who were bound for the community in New Harmony and needed passage money. His most pressing duty during the depression of that period was the collection of debts, and he was a relentless pursuer of the Society's debtors — including, of course, Abraham Ziegler.

When on January 20, 1817, Ziegler announced the sale of Harmonie and 500 acres to "the honorable Mr. Schnee and a company of gentlemen from Pittsburgh,"[31] Shields made an appointment with Ziegler and Schnee in Pittsburgh to discuss the transaction. Like Ziegler, Schnee had not been asked for a down payment. Shields scrutinized Schnee's plans for a printing establishment, bank, and an advanced school for girls (in a day when education for females was considered a frivolous waste). He reported to the Rapps that "Sneigh" once "talked with you about buying Harmonie" and gave his opinion, "yet withal it appeared to me possible, it might not yet turn out a bargain."[32] (Shields was never able to remember the Reverend Jacob Schnee's name and always called him Sneigh or Snead.)

Harmonie Institute banknotes; Jacob Schnee, president.

On June 30, 1817, Shields reported that Ziegler was behind in his April payment again, this time because Schnee had not made his first payment in April as agreed, but instead asked for deferment until November first. Shields reported he had not yet lost confidence in Ziegler, but "Snead appears to me rather uncertain."[33] Three weeks later Frederick reported to George Rapp that the money shortage was growing worse. He added, "I don't think much of the sale (to Schnee) and I believe it will fall back on him."[34] Frederick described conditions in Harmonie:

Schnee has a bank and money notes in circulation, further-more he wishes to develop a school for girls. The teacher by the name of Ekstein really has moved here from Phila-delphia . . . They really are building up two chimneys from bottom up. Many blockhouses have been torn down and some are close to caving in. Few gardens are culti-vated . . . Almost all the fruit trees are dead.[35]

So it seemed that Schnee was gradually correcting the deplorable condition in which he found Harmonie.

In the same letter Frederick also reported on the great hordes of emigrants fleeing the poverty of Ger-many, many of whom were pleading to join the Society and asking for passage money. To George's comments about the lack of "morals" of these new people, whom he had had difficulty in "taming," Frederick commented, "I imagine that the people are driven more by poverty in their wish to come to us than by a drive for truth and love of community."[36]

A year and three months after the sale of Harmonie to Schnee (May 12, 1818), Ziegler — still hard pressed by Rapp and himself pressing his creditors back East by "facing them in person to make it more difficult for them to refuse" — wrote to Rapp that the money shortage in the East grew even more severe and that he had returned empty-handed to the greater shortage in western Pennsylvania:

. . . for when I was on my journey home I heard that Mr. Schnee's banknotes had been denounced; the people rushed to him with his notes so rapidly that he could not cash them . . . instead of getting money from him, I have had to add some for his sake . . . he himself saw that he could not keep his contract with me and the result was that I have had to take back the town of Harmonie and the land.[37]

However, Ziegler did not lose faith in Schnee. He renegotiated a contract with Schnee for part of the town, "namely the two dwellings, the church, the school-house, the granary, your former dwelling, and the lots . . . northward . . . to the Connoquenessing, to-gether with a part of the orchard; the whole includes about 18 acres";[38] this for $16,000, payable in ten years. An important comment in the letter: "He wants to remain living here and continue the school which he has founded."[39]

Ziegler commented on the value of Schnee's bank:

Pastor Schnee's notes for a time seemed to be in good credit; people liked to take them, because they were of the opinion that The Harmony Institute was founded by a company of righteous and rich people, and because they be-lieved also that a bank here in Harmonie would be useful to this region and would encourage trade and activity.[40]

In the next entry, July 6, 1818, Shields wrote to Rapp:

Snead has failed entirely, and the sale by Ziegler to him becomes void and of no account. Thomas Cromwell of Pittsburgh and some others are trying to keep up the School establishments of Harmony.[41]

The final entry, dated two weeks later, came from Schields' partner in a wholesale store in Pittsburgh, Abashai Way & Co. Way announced to Frederick that the Harmony Institute had "broken up monstrously."[42] The importance of this communication is that it is the first time in the Archives that John Schnee's name is mentioned. Way named John as "head" of Jacob Schnee & Co. and held him responsible for bills made at his store for the Institute.

The wall of silence that surrounds the year and a half duration of the Harmony Institute of Jacob Schnee & Co. leaves one puzzled. One wishes to lo-cate a cache of letters and documents to show the Reverend Schnee's side of the "bargain." Who were the members of the Institute? How was it financed? What were the provisions of the Constitution? Where are the bank records? The school records? Besides banknotes, what else was printed in Harmonie? Where did Jacob Schnee go after the failure of the Institute? John Schnee, after a brief visit to the Rapps in New Harmony, went to Mechanicsburg, Ohio, where he be-came a superintendent in a woolen mill. Eventually, both brothers would settle in Indiana; John was the first to go.

A threatening document in the Harmonist Archives describes an event which may have been responsible

for John's moving to Indiana in December 1818. As early as November, 1817, a letter is found in which a Posey County citizen complained of the Society's refusal to grind grain for people outside the Society.[43] In January, 1818, twenty irate citizens called a meeting and signed a petition to the State Assembly (Indiana became a state in 1816) for redress of their grievances against the Harmony Society. The petition was followed by a riot and then by a threatening letter, signed *A Friend,* in which a prophecy is made that God will send down his wrath and destroy the wicked town, this time with fire. Old-timers in New Harmony today are fond of pointing out the ventilation slots in the Granary, which they call the Fort-Granary, telling that the building was used for storing grain and the slots to be used by the Harmonists for their guns should an attack be made on the village by hostile neighbors.

The Harmonists were alarmed and made plans to protect themselves. Arndt wrote:

> To overcome the unfriendly feeling towards the Germans in the new State the Harmonists did all in their power to bring more German settlers to Indiana. A number of German-Americans who did not belong to the Society in Pennsylvania, but who liked to live near a settlement offering so many "luxuries" and conveniences moved to Indiana.[44]

John Schnee was one of them. Letters in the Archives show that he had visited the Society in July 1818 and had agreed to move his family and four other German families to Springfield, the new county seat seven miles from New Harmony, as "soon as the river rises." He asked to be accommodated with a rental house and wagons to haul 10-12 loads of household goods from Mt. Vernon on the Ohio River to Springfield.

John Schnee opened an inn (one of five in the busy little town) which became a center for political discussions among frontier politicians and hangers-on. Schnee's interest soon led to involvement and he was appointed justice of the peace (an important small court in its day), was elected the third treasurer of Posey County, and served a term n the Indiana House at Corydon in 1823-24. John Law, who was also serving in the legislature, wrote to Frederick Rapp, "Mr. Schnee is a very useful and good member he has introduced a Memorial upon the Subject of Domestick Manufacturers which has been adopted by both Houses. The memorial prays for the Encouragement by Congress of Domestick Manufactures"[45] Many of the western states were calling for a protective tariff against imports from England. The Harmonists were especially interested as the Society was noted for the fine quality of their woolen cloth and its manufacture was their leading industry.

In June 1823 Schnee was appointed interpreter for the depositions for the *Miller* vs. *Rapp* case — to be tried in Pittsburgh — in which John G. Miller, a former member of the Society, sued for back wages.[46] In May 1824 when the Society decided to sell the New Harmony property and return to Pennsylvania, the Society gave Frederick Rapp power of attorney to handle the sale. Isaac Blackford, a judge of the Indiana Supreme Court, was called to New Harmony to draft the document and sign as witness. John Schnee signed as second witness.[47] The signatures of the entire community were required and filled nine pages of the Posey County Record.

In December 1824 Robert Owen and party arrived at New Harmony to view the town and in January 1825 purchased it for $125,000. Owen, part-owner and superintendent of the cotton mills in New Lanark, Scotland, planned to inaugurate his New Moral World in New Harmony. John Schnee was immediately caught up in enthusiasm for the venture and joined Owen's secular community in April 1825. Rapp, who shared Owen's interest in textiles, recommended Schnee for superintendent of the woolen mill. Owen was quite impressed with Schnee and appointed him to the sensitive position of superintendent of farms, one of the seven superintendents to control the town. Schnee was appointed principal selling agent by Owen and at the same time was a business agent for the Rapps after they left Indiana. John Schnee later lost the job as superintendent of farms, but became the first postmaster of New Harmony; at that time the second highest ranking post-office in the state.

The record of the Reverend Jacob Schnee is vague after the ending of the Harmony Institute. The year 1819 is completely missing, but the census of 1820 shows him living in Swatara, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. In May, 1820 he attended the annual meeting of the Synod at Lancaster as a delegate from Middletown, Pennsylvania. There were 107 members present. Schnee made no report of his activities for the past year, nor did he pay anything into the Synodical treasury. A new Constitution was submitted to the Synod. The report from a committee appointed "to prepare and print a plan for a common seminary" was not ready. In discussion from the floor, Schnee took part, showing his continued interest in schools:

> Candidate Schnee arose and gave the Synod a report of an institution in Middletown, Pennsylvania, known under the name of "Freyische Waisenhaus". He held out to the Synod the pleasing prospect that under the guidance of God, the same might be built up in the future, perhaps, as a Theological Seminary for the Lutheran Church in this country.[48]

At the 1821 Synodical meeting in Chambersburg, Schnee was absent with excuse:

> A paper from Candidate Schnee, in which he reports he does not attend the Synod because he has no congregations, also has performed no ministerial acts during the past year; he hopes, however, soon to receive congregations again, and therefore desires the renewal of his license.[49]

It was resolved that the Synod would renew his license

as soon as he received congregations, and that as soon as he was inclined to seek congregations he be given a copy of the resolution, signed by the officers of the convention.

During the period 1820-22 Schnee was in Lancaster where he published two newspapers: *Die Stimme des Volks* (The Voice of the People) and *Die Posaune der Christlichen Religion* (The Trumpet of the Christian Religion).[30] In 1824 he was living in Middletown, Maryland, and, as a letter from the Economy Archives makes clear, still dreaming of establishing a religious community. The letter (dated February 17, 1824) is addressed to Frederick Rapp, and answers questions Rapp had asked about a man named Gräss. Schnee wrote:

> I did not become well acquainted with Mr. Gräss before he left this region, he was in my house several times as I have heard he owns property of several acres with house, etc. on it . . . At the time that Gräss left here there was much talk about moving West, then I showed him the outline of a constitution which I had made to form a society, on which I had worked a while before several people who had seen the plan, have expressed their pleasure in it. There is still zealous hope and thought that something will come of it — up to now those who would be willing are too poor to buy necessary land, etc. and put the matter across.[31]

At last I had found Schnee's ideas in his own words. Dr. Arndt translated this letter from German:

> In company with several good people I should most like to spend my life, not only because I believe that this would be the most purposeful way of winning a happy living in time; but also because I believe that this comes closest to the religion of Jesus, that one likes to have one's fellow brother enjoy the same fortunes which one enjoys oneself — and that God prefers to apply his blessings with more pleasure there — and Jesus likes most to fulfill his promises there where one observes his words most practically, when one says "by this all men will recognize that you are my disciples, if you show love to one another." That it is difficult, however, to establish such a congregation has been shown always, Christ already says about the stepping back of a rich man: "How difficult it will be for a rich man to get into the kingdom of God" (in that passage about the Kingdom of God, I understand this to mean the communal life which the apostles had). I do not know whether any one in our days understands the good of a society better than *you*. Since I have learned to know the Harmony Society only superficially, it has engendered in me the thought, that such a life has many advantages and that there the spirit and purpose of the Christian religion could best be achieved. Whether I will be so fortunate as to bring something into being time must show.[32]

Schnee expressed his desire of finding some land in the vicinity of New Harmony, but again his timing was wrong. Four days before he wrote the letter to Rapp, a group had set out for Pennsylvania to locate a site for the third Harmonist community, this time *Ekonomie* on the Ohio River.

In 1826 the Reverend Schnee came to New Harmony to discuss his plans with Robert Owen. Owen had had two defections from New Harmony; both settled east of the town. One group was made up of the remnants of Morris Birkbeck's Albion after Birkbeck drowned in the Fox River in 1825 on his way home from a visit to Owen. They leased separate acreage from New Harmony because they wanted to retain their "Englishness." The second defection was due to religious differences with Robert Owen, who objected to organized religion. Owen leased land on Gresham Creek to this group, land they promptly misnamed Macluria (William Maclure, Owen's partner, held views on religion similar to Owen's). After building several log cabins, this community squabbled over their constitution and disbanded. It was this property — 806 acres — which Owen leased to Schnee for his religious community.

When Owen announced the end of the New Harmony community in March 1827, he spoke of the German farmers who would arrive in a few weeks and of the English community already established. Upon them he placed his hopes and gave his blessing. The Germans to whom Owen referred were the Reverend Jacob Schnee and 12-15 families of Pennsylvania German farmers, descendants of the Franks and Alemmani of Central Europe, who for 30 generations had made their lands the garden spot of the continent. Their descendants in America likewise had produced "the most bounteous crops on the North American continent"[33] and during the American Revolution had been the commissary for the Colonial frontier. Second-guessing history, I wonder what would have happened to the Owen experiment had the Germans arrived the year before.

The Reverend Schnee's second attempt at founding a religious community was doomed from the start. Again the timing was wrong, through no fault of his. His first attempt had failed due to the financial depression following the War of 1812. Whatever reasons may be assigned to the failure of his second community, it must be taken into consideration the trauma of arriving just as the Owen community was breaking up. People were leaving; some would return to the scene of their dreams, but the communal days were over. It seemed fatal to attempt a communal society on the sites of the Harmonists' towns: Schnee's Harmony Institute at old Harmony lasted one year, five months, and one day; Robert Owen's New Moral World at New Harmony lasted two years, two months, and twenty-four days; however, the Harmony Society continued with great success for over a hundred years.

Schnee's followers in 1827 moved to Indianapolis after one planting season, but the disappointed minister went to Cincinnati and opened an apothecary shop. He probably took along with him Johan Sweitzer, about whom he had written Rapp in 1824:

> There is a man staying here with the name Johan Sweitzer (a Swiss) and he keeps an apothecary shop. He and his friend who lives with him will probably move into that region this

coming summer (even if I can't make it that early). He will take his apothecary business with him, together with other Swiss wares, Calico, Muslin, etc., which he has with him (if God wills).[14]

The following year Schnee returned to Indiana and leased for twenty-one years the 806 acres called Macluria; he renamed it Schneeville. Son David wrote:

> Some 300 acres of the land was cleared and for this Father paid $1.60 per acre rent. What he cleared and the timber he had free of rent. He built a small granary and distillery on Gresham Creek, a half mile below the bridge, where he conducted business for a number of years.[55]

Schnee's Mill is listed in "Early Mills in Harmony Township." At first he used oxen in a tread, but in 1834 he bought a steam engine in Cincinnati to replace the oxen, expanded his mill to include a flour mill, saw mill, and distillery all in one operation, and moved the concern across the road from his residence. David injured his knee in the machinery and was crippled for life.

In a letter to me Dr. Arndt wrote that he considers this 1828 settlement as Schnee's third attempt at a religious community. If so, we may consider this third attempt successful. In the 1824 letter to Frederick Rapp, Schnee had written, "Even if this planned society does not go into effect, I nevertheless should like to settle down in that region with my family." So here was the answer to the puzzle about the large brick mansion. Whether or not any of his friends lived with him I do not know. His children ranged in age at that time from six to twenty-two years. The eldest three daughters were married. As the others matured and married, they remained, at least for a time, in the family complex. Of the fifty-one grandchildren, most were born at the mansion, eleven before Catharine and Jacob died.

For the children and other church members in the area, Schnee established a very good church school in a small building to the left of his house; it continued to operate until after the Civil War. Angeline Reeder (1835-77), a granddaughter who was educated in the school, also taught there afterward. The Reverend Schnee also held Union services for the Lutherans and Reformed Lutherans in his double parlor, whose folding doors opened to make a room 20' by 40' with two enormous fireplaces.

Like his brother John, Jacob Schnee took a prominent part in the political life of Posey County; he even ran for the state assembly on the Whig ticket, but was defeated by Robert Dale Owen, the Democratic candidate. He served at least one five-year elective term as judge of the Circuit Court of Posey County. There were 52 counties in Indiana at that time, and Posey County was one of nine counties in the circuit served by three judges, of whom Jacob Schnee was one. Like Abraham Lincoln in Springfield Illinois, a few years later, the judges and lawyers (and sometimes the prisoners)

travelled together in wagons or on horseback to the county seats where the cases were to be tried. The pay was $700 annually.

In 1835 the state legislature appointed three commissioners to survey and build a state road from New Harmony to Evansville, a distance of twenty-seven miles. The Reverend Schnee was one of those commissioners named and instructed "to proceed to make and locate the said road, the nearest and best way of a width not less than 30 or more than 60 feet as they deem propper."[56] For cutting the trees, grubbing, and grading the road the commissioners received $1.50 per day.

Also in 1835 the State Assembly passed two acts for the improvement and encouragement of agriculture in the state.[57] As a result, six county agricultural societies were formed; Posey County was one and Jacob Schnee was elected its president. As president — and with his Pennsylvania background—he was a good choice to inaugurate the first county fair in backwoods southwestern Indiana; it was held in October, 1836, and was extremely successful.[58]

The Reverend Jacob Schnee died August 14, 1838, a year and a half after Catharine was laid to rest on Schnee's Hill. His eldest son Gellert Schnee, William Creese Pelham, and Robert Dale Owen were named to administer his estate, which was valued by the court for administration purposes at $30,000. Some of the family continued living in the mansion until after the Civil War, when the estate was sold to William Creese Pelham; later Gellert Schnee was an administrator for the W.C. Pelham estate. A footnote to the friendship between the Schnee and Pelham families is that David Schnee's daughter, Eleanora, and William Creese Pelham's son, Louis, were married in 1884. It was their son, Wilbur Pelham, who preserved most of the Schnee family memorabilia.

No Schnees live in New Harmony today. After the death of their parents, the ten children and their families spread out, several joining the trek to the Far West. Anna Maria, the eldest daughter, and her husband Jacob Bauer joined his family in Indianapolis; they were part of the wagon train in 1827. Salome moved to nearby Poseyville, then to Evansville; and Louisa, widow of Captain George Washington Saltzman and mother of Angeline Reeder by her first marriage, remained in New Harmony. Augustus Franken Schnee and his wife Catherine Feit, Susanna Schnee and her husband John Allen, and Charlotte Schnee and her husband Albert Foster, all acquired farms in Montfort, Grant Co., Wisconsin in 1845. Caroline Schnee Bonnner died in 1848; Luther Schnee—also a Lutheran minister—died in 1850. Gellert Schnee, the eldest son, married late in life and moved to Arkansas City, Kansas. David Schnee, the tenth child, remained in New Harmony, where he died in 1909, the last of the communitarians who came to Posey County during the Owen period.

The Schnee-Pelham Cemetery on the original Schnee farm east of New Harmony, IN.

Jacob Schnee's tombstone.

Catharine Schnee's tombstone.

In summing up the whole man, one first of all is impressed with his goodness. His tombstone states, "A friend & comforter to the distressed." He himself reiterates this love of his fellowman in his 1824 letter to Frederick Rapp, interpreting his idea about the almost impossible commandment of Jesus, " . . . that ye love one another." How much was he a part of the democratization of the religious experience as evinced in the Second Great Awakening in the East? How much was he affected by the 1801 Pentecostal experience in Kentucky, where the pioneers (many of whom were his neighbors in Indiana) were exhorted to return to the simple faith of the apostles, to accept their destiny, that

they could make the frontier an unspoiled paradise of brotherhood? Or the central message of the Awakening, that the new nation has a unique destiny, not only to free man from ancient political tyrannies, but also to unshackle Christians from formal creeds and ecclesiastical organizations?

Schnee's lifelong concern with education reflects his roots in the Alemannic tribes of Switzerland from whence his ancestors came. Kuhns discusses the characteristic traits of the Germanic tribes of Rheinfranken and Alemanni in his book on the Pennsylvania Germans. One should check the list for traits Jacob displayed: high degree of intelligence and refinement, indomitable industry, keen wit, strength of character, personal dignity, extraordinary skill in agriculture, frugality, joy in labor, a spirit of independence, a hatred of tyranny, and a serious view of responsibility.[59]

Schnee was definitely one of these "bearers to the New World of another civilization," who like their Alemannic ancestors of the 4th century "entered the unbroken wilderness, clearing first the lands in the valleys and along the river courses, . . . climbing the sides of the mountains and everywhere changing the primeval forest into fields covered with grain . . . " and contributing their skills to the orderly development of our great nation.[60]

[1]David M. Schnee, "Family History and Genealogy" (Unpublished manuscript, Working Men's Institute, Special Collections, New Harmony), p. 1. David, born in Lebanon in 1820, recorded the manner of his grandfather's death: "It was a little strange the way Grandfather came to his death. Uncle John had been living out West for some six or seven years when he went to visit his father and brother in Pennsylvania. He and all the brothers concluded they would get together and visit the old man and surprise him. They marched into his house one evening unannounced. He was sitting at his supper eating mush and milk when all his sons entered. He was so overcome with a feeling of joy that he arose and began shaking all over until he dropped dead at their feet."

[2]Theodore E. Schmauck, *Old Salem of Lebanon* (Lancaster, 1898), p. 139.

[3]Catharine was the daughter of Michael Krebs, one of twelve Revolutionary war soldiers whose names are inscribed on a bronze plaque in the church vestibule. Krebs is buried in the old cemetery in back of the church with his wife Maria Margaret Fortuné, daughter of Melchior and Barbara Fortuné. Melchior Fortuné (Fordney, etc.) was a French Huguenot who had fled France during the persecution

of the Huguenots going to Otterburg in the Palatinate and later migrated to Pennsylvania, arriving August 30, 1737. Melchior had four brothers who came to America: David, Francis, Michael, and Jonas. In the *History of the Reformed Church of Lancaster,* the Fordneys are listed among "prominent members of the congregation of 1750."

[4] Harlow Lindley, ed., *Indiana as seen by Early Indian Travelers* (Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), p. 171.

[5] Daniel Miller, *The German Newspapers of Lebanon County* (Lebanon County Historical Society, 1910), Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 147. See also pp. 132-37.

[6] Schmauck, *op. cit.*, p. 152-53.

[7] Schmauck credits *Jacob* Schnee; P.C. Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley* (Lebanon, 1895), p. 267 credits *John* Schnee with translating it into German and printing it.

[8] Croll, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[9] Schmauck, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[10] Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[11] *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 455.

[12] Jacob would now draw closer to his older brother John and eventually they would cast their lot together in the Mid-West.

[13] *Documentary History . . . Ministerium . . .* , p. 455.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 459.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 460.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Ellis B. Burgess, *History of the Pittsburgh Synod* (Pittsburgh, 1932), p. 232.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[19] Karl J.R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 69.

[20] Karl J.R. Arndt, *Harmony on the Connoquenessing* (Worcester, 1980), p. 950; see also p. 944.

[21] Karl J.R. Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society 1814-1819,* Vol. I (Indianapolis, 1975), p. 126.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 126. See also pp. 151, 161.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 365. See also pp. 129, 144, 212; see also Arndt's *George Rapp's Harmony,* p. 140.

[24] Arndt, *Indiana Decade . . .* Vol. 1, p. 740.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 643. For depth of the financial depression see also pp. 598, 603, 621, 630-31, 640, 664.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Documentary History . . . Ministerium . . .* , p. 481.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 477.

[31] Arndt, . . . *Indiana Decade . . .* Vol. I, p. 299.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 522.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 523.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 546.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

[43] Ibid., pp. 413, 440-42.

[44] Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony . . .* ,p. 182.

[45] Karl J. R. Arndt, *Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society 1814-1824,* Vol. II (Indianapolis, 1978), p. 781.

[46] Ibid., p. 599.

[47] Ibid., p. 900.

[48] *Documentary History . . . Ministerium . . .* , p. 559.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 575.

[50] *The Pennsylvania Dutchman,* Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Checklist of the German-Language Newspapers of Lancaster County," pp. 4, 8; Shoemaker, "Biographies of Lancaster Publishers," p. 8, (Lancaster, Vol. III, No. 22, April 15, 1952).

[51] Arndt, *Indiana Decade . . .* II, p. 787.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 796.

[53] Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, 1901), pp. 7, 61, 222.

[54] Arndt, *Indiana Decade . . .* II, p. 797.

[55] Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[56] *The Disseminator,* Maclure School of Industry, New Harmony, April 4, 1835.

[57] Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker, comp., *Readings in Indiana History,* Ind. Hist. Collections, Vol. XXXVI (Indianapolis, 1956), p. 384.

[58] The excitement of the fair crackles through the pages of the Posey County Agricultural Society's Account Book, Oct. 1836-Oct. 1841—the last year the Fair was held after the bankruptcy of the State government. Despite pouring rain on opening day and the ignorance of some of the populace in the ways of a Fair, there was good attendance and representation of entrants in all categories, especially in those of horses and cattle. A specially designed diploma and premiums valued between $200-300 were offered. Prizes consisted of sets of silver spoons, a dressing table, coffee pot, dairy pottery, a waistcoat, hat, boots, vest pattern, skirting leather and bridle, one of Evans' ploughs, two volumes of the *Cultivator,* a subscription to the *Disseminator,* cash prizes, etc.

Entries included stallions, brood mares, draught horses, riding horses, yearling colts, jacks, bulls, milch cows, yokes of oxen, beef cattle, spring calves, rams, ewes, boars, sows, fatted hogs, shoats; many articles of produce such as best ten acres of corn, onions, potatoes, wheat, oats; 50 bu. of charcoal; a wagonload of coal; lot of staves; lot of shingles; lot of Merino lamb's wool; cooperage; dozen calf skins; and a number of home-manufactured domestics: raw silk, coverlids, best 20 yds. of Jane's, six pr. knit socks, best piece of flannel, blanket's wool, et cetera.

A ploughing match was held. On the third day of the Fair, there was a disposal of all livestock and of all articles of domestic industry by public or private sale. Jacob Schnee won cash prizes for the best dozen shoats, best boar and best sow. His son Augustus Franken won the first three prizes for milch cows. Not a bad beginning for a first Fair in the frontier days of the Mid-West!

[59] The qualities of the Reverend Schnee show up frequently in his descendants. An example is George Washington Snow—son of Augustus Franken Schnee—who was born in the Schnee Mansion in 1842. His qualities of leadership as one of the earliest and most industrious pioneers of the Dakota Territory contributed to the rapid development of its finance, commerce, and agriculture, according to one of his biographers. After serving in the Union Army during the Civil War, Snow moved into the Dakota Territory in 1869, initially in search of gold in the Black Hills. He found some gold, but opted to sell supplies to the miners which proved more profitable. Snow acquired large acreages of big timber and set up a sawmill along the banks of the Missouri River; he made a fortune in real estate, and at one time or other "owned nearly every tract of land in the township where Springfield is located." He also amassed about 4500 acres of fine farming and grazing lands, 1700 of which were under cultivation, in adjacent counties; established the Bank of Springfield and an insurance company; helped establish the South Dakota State Normal School; served as a member of the Board of Education; was treasurer of Bon Homme County; was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1885; served in both Houses of the State legislature and served two terms as Lieutenant Governor of South Dakota. Kingsbury stated that "few have done more in shaping the affairs, not only of the home locality but in the state at large."

[60] Kuhns, *Op. cit.*, pp. 7, 61, 222.

A TOUR OF AMERICA'S MOST SUCCESSFUL UTOPIA: HARMONIE, PENNSYLVANIA 1803-1815

By Karl J. R. Arndt

As motto for his *The Story of Utopias,*[1] Lewis Mumford prints the view "A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at." Because most modern maps fail to meet this standard of excellence, a manuscript map of America's most successful utopia, Harmonie, Pennsylvania, 1803-1815, is herewith provided with a tour of the town so that readers may add this unique information to their atlases for improvement. Mumford's fine book also has great words of praise for Andreae's conception of a utopia, his *Christianopolis,*[2] and he places him shoulder to shoulder with Plato.[3] What pleases me particularly about this compliment is that Andreae dedicated his book to Johann Arndt and Harmonie, Pennsylvania, in a sense is an incarnation of *Christianopolis,* which was written at Vaihingen an der Enz, quite near Iptingen from whence George Rapp went forth to Western Pennsylvania to build his utopia, Harmonie. At this time I am limiting myself entirely to a tour of Rapp's utopia using as our guide the map drawn by the inhabitant Walrath Weingärtner; but readers — after completing this tour and being interested in the full account of the idealists who carved this town out of the forests of Western Pennsylvania — are invited to consult my *George Rapp's Separatists, 1700-1803* and *Harmony on the*

Connoquenessing, 1803-1815.[4] If their local library does not possess these documentary histories, they can be purchased directly from the author.

Before beginning our tour let me ask that you consider the evaluation which the American economist Matthew Carey placed upon the record of Rapp's Harmonists: "The settlement made more rapid advances in wealth and prosperity, than any equal body of men in the world at any period of time, more, in one year, than other parts of the United States . . . have done in ten."[5]

Follow me now as I point out each building and its purpose, and each house and the name of the family living there:

TOUR OF THE TOWN

Entering by the road on the extreme NE [i.e. top left] corner of the map, moving toward the bridge, first building right *Schaafstall* = sheep stable, next right *Heuhaus* = hay barn, left *Schaafstall* = sheep stable: turning right on road: left *Farb Scheerhaus* = dye shearing house, right *teickel haus* = conduit house, left *Krauter,* near creek *Gerberschab* = Tanner's shop; left to bridge *Rindenhaus* = tan house, *weisgerberschab* = tawer's shop, *Leibrant, alt stilhaus* = old still; right *Philip Keppler, D. Veckenbusch, alt Keppler,* unmarked building, behind these: *Wiese*-meadow, below on right: *Docter garten* = doctor's garden (botanical garden). Crossing bridge at left *Gutscher;* above *J. Reichert,* then rope walk to *alte Oelmühl*-old oil mill, *Seilerschab* = rope maker's shop; *Kieferschab* = cooper's shop, *Stillhaus* = still; *L. Schreiber;* East side of street below: *Beiser, Kepler, Schanbacher, Herman, Wörner, Alte Scholle.* Then *Wiese* = meadow. Opposite stillhouse going South: *Bessan, F. Frank, Trautwein, G. Rühle.* Turning right and West one block on left SE corner: *Starck;* SW corner: *F. Haug;* along street going North: right *J. Ehman, D. Schäffer, C. Eigner, Klingenstein, Hurlebaus, Juliana Ehman, D. Läupple;* crossing street: *Konselman;* on slanting street: *Hutmacher Schab* = hatmaker's shop; across street North: *J. Schreiber, Scheur* = barn. Returning South on West side of street: *A. Reif, C. Bauer, Schab* = shop, *Riesch, S. Weidenbach, C. Leucht, C. Miller;* across street: *Maschenen Haus* = machine house (manufacturing house.) *Blockscheure* = barn;
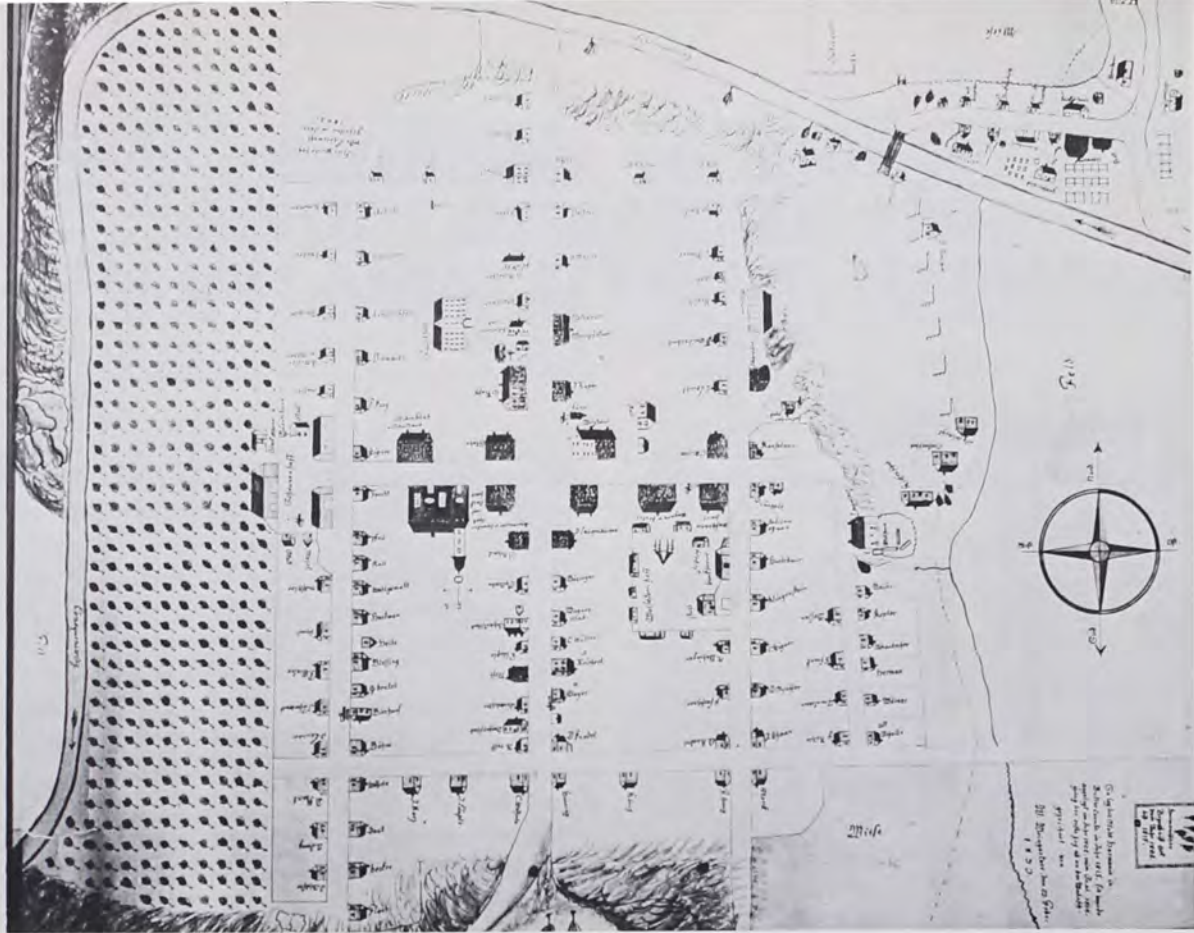
behind this: *Heuhof* = hay yard, *stall* = stable, behind stable *Welschkornhoff* = Indian corn storage; continuing on the road: *G. Vahinger, G. Forschner, A. Knodel.* Left on street going West: *König;* SW corner: *Hining.* Going North along right side of the street: *D. Knodel, A. Gayer, J. Reichert, C. Muller, Wagner schab* = cartwright's shop, *Böringer, J. Langenbacher,* unmarked building; across street at corner: *Wirzhaus* = inn, *Küche* = kitchen, behind kitchen: *Stall* = stable, *F. Rapp, Nathaneal Weingärtner, M. Scholle, Vester;* across street: *Wagner* returning on West side of this street going South: *H. Läupple, Hinger, Schühle;* across street: *Epple, A. Schreiber, Waldman, Schreiner schab* = carpenter shop, *stall* = stable, behind carpenter shop: *Fruchthaus* = granary, *G. Rapp, Stohr* = store; across street: *Schuhmacher u. Schneider Schab u. Packhaus* = shoemaker and tailor shop and packing house, *G. Schmit, Gotterba, Schmitshab* = blacksmith's shop, *F. Lauple, Neff, Dürwächter, Dreherschab* = turner's shop, *R. Ruff;* across street: *C. Wöhrle.* Going west of left: *J. Läuple, J. Kurz.* Starting at South end of first street above orchard going North on right: *Flach, Becker, Daut, Wöhrle;* across street: *Böhm, Bierhaus* = brewery, *G. Bentel, Blessing, Heile (Heinle), Hartman, Wohlgemuth, Rall, Pfeil, Feucht;* across street: *Eigner, F. Kurz, Viemaier, Bensenhöfer, Schnebere, Autrith;* across street: *Scheel.* Back on West side going South: *Kramer, Benger, Dengler, D. Miller u. Silber, Mahle, Stall* = stable, *Leimhaus* = clay house, *Block Scheur* = block barn, *Scheurenhoff* = barn yard, *Mezel* = slaughter house, *Stall* = stable, *Mutschler, Schaal, F. Bieler, J.*

Thorwart, J. Launer; across street: *D. Kant, A. Jung, J. Schäfer.* First cross street running East going West below bridge beside Connoquenessing, *Seifenschab* = soap shop, *Leize;* right: *J. Reif, alt Mutschler, Kreil, Scheel.* To right in field: *Hier wurde das erste Liebesmahl gehalten im Jahr 1805.* (Here the first agape was held in the year 1805.) Second street from East going West: in second block on left, *Wagner u. Bentel;* third block on left side, the church. Third cross street from East going West: middle of second block on left, *König,* middle of third block on left, *J. Läupple, J. Kurtz.*

In 1815 the Harmonists sold this utopia to Abraham Ziegler, a real Pennsylvania Dutchman, and moved to the Wabash in Indiana, where they built another utopia better than the first. After ten years they sold this second utopia to Robert Owen from Scotland and moved back to Pennsylvania and below Pittsburgh built their third utopia "Economy on the Ohio." Here the Society remained until it was dissolved in 1916.

ENDNOTES

[1] Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias,* New York: The Viking Press, 1962. Title page.

[2] J.V. Andreae; *Christianopolis,* Philipp Reclam Jun. Stuttgart. 1975. *Aus dem Late-nischen übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort herausgegeben von* Wolfgang Biesterfeld. (Original Latin edition 1619)

[3] Mumford, *op. cit.* p. 99.

[4] Both published 1980 and 1981 by Harmony Society Press, Box A 57, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

[5] Matthew Carey, preface to his *Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry,* Sixth edition, Philadelphia, 1822.

Among the Pennsylvania Dutch

By Jack Boyd

[Boyd describes Manheim as he observed it shortly before the turn of the century. This item first appeared in the *Stiegel News*, February 11, 1971, and is made available through the courtesy of John D. Kendig.]

I think I was about twelve years old when my father first took me to Manheim, Pennsylvania — in Lancaster County — to visit his relations. This was the first time I was conscious of the fact that I had relatives. The town was chuck full of Boyds of all ages and both sexes. He and I spent two weeks there and I never wanted to go back to Philadelphia.

For the first time I knew the fun and pride of calling people aunt and uncle instead of Mr. and Mrs. For the first time I knew the pleasure and pain of going barefoot, of swimming in a muddy creek, of watching farmers harvest their crops, of wearing only a shirt and a pair of "overhalls" and listening to people speak the fascinating Pennsylvania Dutch language. I learned to play baseball and experienced the custom of getting "dressed for the evening." In Philadelphia I got dressed in the morning and stayed dressed all day. For the first time I knew the thrill of being in a Jenny Lind, a rubber-tired buggy behind a fast moving horse. For the first time I caught a fish. For the first time I saw "plain people."

Finding me a place to board, my father left me in Manheim for the rest of the summer. After that first summer I went back almost every year until I was through high school and started working.

What appealed to me most was the fact that practically everything a boy wanted to do was within a short walking or bicycling distance of where he slept and ate. No motor cars were needed and there was no need of a trolley car. There was a trolley line to the city of Lancaster, but that town could be reached by bicycle in an hour's time at no cost.

There also were girls. Beautiful girls everywhere. Girls to play tennis with, girls to plan — and prepare for — picnics, parties and dances. Girls to walk home from church on Wednesday and Sunday evenings, girls to treat to ice cream, girls to be kissed good night at nine-thirty or thereabouts at their front doors. Girls who played piano and sang.

There also was a group of boys who could play mandolins — and fortunately one boy who could play a guitar and who had a true ear for the right chords. There were about eight of us and in the absence of radios and phonographs we really made music that people enjoyed or said they did. We sang barber-shop style too, and I learned to sing the hardest part — a good first bass.

Our instrumental music was so good that we were once engaged at a dollar a head to play for a Saturday night jamboree at a cross-road hotel at Brickerville — five miles north of Manheim. As I recall it there were about ten of us taken to the scene in a hired two-horse bus. Eight of us played and two went along with borrowed mandolins who touched not a single string. I think that everybody present was more or less intoxicated before the evening was over except we mandolin players. We ate ourselves into a coma on the free lunch, but we got no liquor.

I recall another similar musical interlude at which three of us went to Reading for a fireman's parade as temporary members of the fife and drum corps. The contract called for a certain number of musicians but three playing members didn't show up. So three of us boys donned uniforms and carried fifes. We of course merely went through the motions of fife playing but we got paid and had a whale of a time.

Manheim Decoration (Memorial) Day Parade in May, 1894.

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Another source of music was to be found in the homes of several of the girls where there were pianos and girls who could really play them. I could play piano, too, but not as well as most of the girls. We sang all the popular songs of the time such as: "Alexander's Rag Time Band," "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee," "My Hannah Lady," "Lamb, Lamb, Lamb," "Mr. Dooley," "Just One Girl," "The Banks of the Wabash," "Wait Till the Sun Shines Nellie," and so on. After some hours of this we would adjourn to the ice cream parlor and eat ice cream and pretzels.

Pretzels! What a flood of memories just the word recalls. The old Manheim and Lititz pretzels in those days were an accepted part — and a big part — of the Lancaster County dietary. They took the place of the modern hot-dog and the hamburger. They are still made but they don't seem to have the old time taste. I guess perhaps I have changed more than the pretzels.

There was a pretzel bakery in Manheim down near the railroad station run by a man named Yocum, where we boys were always welcome. We purchased broken pretzels called "cripples" for almost nothing a pound and on one occasion I remember one of my many cousins actually stole about two pounds of cheese at his grandfather's store and with a bag of cripples we had a feast at the swimming hole, a repast washed down with cold water from a nearby spring. It's hard to imagine anything that ever tasted more delicious.

What used to fascinate me about pretzels was to watch the "benders" — as they were called — make a pretzel out of a piece of dough by the seeming miraculous action of merely throwing the rolled out dough into the air. It went up as a piece of dough, it came down a pretzel, knot and all. The aroma around the old time brick pretzel oven was something that cannot be described. It was something like the smell in an old kitchen when bread was being baked in a wood stove.

As I said before, pretzels were always served with a plate of ice cream. I had never tasted this combination in Philadelphia but it was far superior to ice cream and cake. The contrast between the sweet ice cream and the salty pretzel seemed as perfect as that of ham and eggs, corned beef and cabbage, liver and bacon and other well known inseparables. Pennsylvania Dutch cooking in general, so often messed up by modern Lancaster County cooks for the bus-tourist trade, will be mis-treated in a special chapter — recipes and all.

Many of the Boyd relatives were "plain people" — Mennonites or Dunkards. I had no Amish relatives. In fact there were almost no Amish farmers around Manheim. They were, and still are, concentrated in the eastern part of the county. One of my many boarding places was located next door to a Dunkard Church and that like the smell of a pretzel bakery, defies adequate description. In the summer with the windows open the sound effects on the ears of a rather quiet, conservative Arch Street methodist, were more than startling. Not being allowed the use of any kind of musical instrument the hymn singing was particularly unique. Since even a pitiful little tuning fork was proscribed, the song leader had to set the pitch of a hymn himself. Usually the first setting was far too high and the second much too low, but as a general rule the third attempt would be about right for the congregation. And they really sang. LOUD! When the hymn business was over and the congregation utterly exhausted, a long-bearded old man would preach and pray in German in a bellowing voice that could be heard a good half mile. Maybe he thought he had to shout so that the folks in Heaven could hear him. The absence of a public address system was not noticed. Every preacher was perforce a loud speaker per se.

I soon discovered that there was very little social contact between farm youngsters and those of town. In the daytime the farm boys who were old enough to lift a hoe were at work in the fields and all girls over ten at work in the kitchen. These youngsters were never around town in the daytime. In the evening the farm boys would get dressed, hitch up their horses and take their best girls driving in their gleaming buggies. I believe every farm boy — plain or fancy — had a slick buggy and a girl and a fast horse. And they all drove like Jehu. The country roads were not altogether safe for pedestrians or regular drivers after dark.

One modern touch which seemed not to exist in a small town fifty years ago was juvenile delinquency. We juveniles had lots of fun but I do not recall that any of us got into any serious trouble with the authorities. I know that the town had no policeman, but there was a constable and a justice of the peace, but they never had occasion to hale us before them.

One of my cousins used to get into trouble with his father almost daily and I remember many instances where he was given a "licking." One day he wore his father's Sunday shoes to call on one of his girlfriends at Mt. Joy. The shoes were not missed until evening when his father needed them to attend a lodge meeting. When Harry returned the resulting chastisement which took place all over the house was a serio-comic affair I will never forget. I felt keenly for Harry every time the rod caught him, but his leaping over chairs, tables and beds like an antelope was highly ludicrous.

One of our established hangouts was a barber shop the proprietor of which was an overgrown boy with a fund of ideas. He would think up things like this: the Reformed preacher had in his living room a large, revolving bookcase. A few of us were to visit the reverend gentleman upon some pretext and given the

Scenes of Yesteryear:

Start of the Manheim Decoration Day Parade of 1895, across Market Square, with the present Rettew's Store building in the left background and the old Abraham Kline House on the right, where the present Faith Independent Church is now located, at the corner of East High and South Main Streets. (All photographs courtesy of the Manheim Historical Society.)

Knights of Golden Eagle 1896 - Parade.

On the march - Decoration Day, 1896.

Decoration Day '97.

Manheim's Decoration Day Parade of 1897.

The Reverend Tobias speaks at the cemetery program — 1974.

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Memorial Day - May 30, 1977.

All alone - its Post members gone.

opportunity, to tie a piece of fish line to the top of the book-case and carry the other end of string outside the house. When the preacher got settled the string was pulled and down crashed the book-case. Naturally no boys were near the house when the preacher recovered and got to the door.

This barber and some of the town boys also showed me how to catch elbatritches. The victim of this game was stationed somewhere in the country after dark and told to stay in a fence corner with a bag, while the other boys drove the elbatritches to the spot. Of course, all hands went home leaving the victim to figure the thing out for himself.

All that sort of brings us up to date, for you will still find present day practical jokers in all parts of the Pennsylvania Dutch country who talk of hunting elbatritches. Some of the best of them, or those who are storytellers, at least, have accumulations of countless tales of the traps, plans, gullible fellows or just greenhorns and their long cold wet nights, leaning against an old maple tree and holding the open end of a burlap sack for hours on end. And all that while their friends and tormentors sat, laughing, by the fire, or raised yet another glass to the ultimate lesson to be learned by the victim.

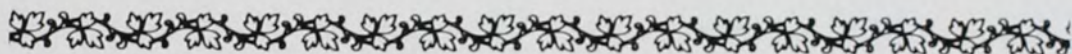*John D. Kendig on left.   May 1894.*

ABOUT JACK BOYD

His real name was Leo Boyd and he was born in Philadelphia about 1886. His mother died at an early age, and the boy and his father moved from the outskirts of the city into an apartment at 1333 Arch Street that was nearer to the father's work. Jack was often left much on his own and soon developed an avid interest in the city life around him. At eight years of age he was taken to see Shakespearean plays, and at twelve he was a camera bug. He was also interested in music and took piano lessons and played other instruments.

After graduating from Central High School in 1904 with a B.S. degree in Economics, he got a clerical position with the Girard estate at the grand salary of $30.00 per month. After a year of this, he entered the Wharton School in the sophomore class at the University of Pennsylvania. There he met Jess Gingrich of Manheim. From then on he spent most of his summers in Lancaster County and, eventually, moved there permanently. He worked as an advertising man for a Lititz company and was an active member of the Lititz Camera Club for many years. He was married late in life and not very happily for his wife soon became an invalid. Jack was a very friendly and interesting man to know; he died about 1957.

John D. Kendig.

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...AND WHAT DO YOU FEED IT?

Pennsylvania German Studies Seminars
Ursinus College 1983

Each summer for the past ten years, we have offered Folk Culture courses which carry college credit; we do so again in July-August 1983. Students of Ursinus College and others interested may enroll through: The Director, Summer School, Ursinus College, Collegeville, PA 19426. These Seminars constitute an Official Perkiomen Region Tricentennial Event.

PGS 424. SEMINAR:Migration/Pfalz   Dr. PARSONS   July 27-Aug 2 [9-12]

German migration to Penna, esp. Mennonite & Palatine 1683-1815. Origins of German-speaking emigrants to Penna, from first landing through waves of Palatine, Zweibrücken and other Rhinelanders. *One semester hour.*

PGS 425. SEMINAR:Migration/Swabian, Swiss.   Dr. PARSONS   Aug. 3-9 [9-12]

1683-1815 settlements of Neckar Valley, Swabian, Swiss, Hessian and Alsatian Germans and their amalgamation. *One semester hour.*

PGS 426. SEMINAR:Migration/Schwenkfelder   Dr. PARSONS   Aug. 10-16 [9-12]

To 1815. Schwenkfelders, Moravians, German Seventh Day Baptists and Amish, along with other Old Order people, their origins and subsequent settlements in Penna. *One semester hour.*

SEMINAR:GERMAN MIGRATIONS
PGS 424,425,426.   PARSONS (Session D)   27 Jul.-16 Aug.

1683-1815. Modular schedule; combined three-credit unit comprehending all three weeks listed above, w/comparative bibliography and special concern for similarities and differences. *Three semester hours.*

STUDENTS electing this SEMINAR are encouraged to consider the 1983 Penna German Heritage Tour, July 11-25, conducted by Marie K. Graeff, as intensive preparation and invaluable experience for this class. Inquire for details.

34th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

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7·8·9·10, 1983

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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.

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