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AUTUMN 1978, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1

CONTENTS

2 Women, Servants and Family Life in Early America
   MARTHA B. KRIEBEL

10 "Be It Remembered that These Indentured Servants and Apprentices . . ."
   WILLIAM T. & PHYLLIS VIBBARD PARSONS

25 Gute Socha fer Hame tzu Nemma
   ANTJE SOMMER

29 TAUFSCHEINE - A New Index For People Hunters
   JUDITH FRYER

45 Aldes/Neies

Contributors
   (Inside front cover)

COVER:
A woman's viewpoint on the colonial world; through such windows she stood on the inside and looked out. Figuratively and literally, Martha Kriebel provides a means of looking into the eighteenth century with her text and drawings.
A particular view of women in the Pennsylvania German community and their status in the family; statistical data on the women of Schwenkfelder Households.

During seminary days, in a class on preaching, the professor advised: "Never carry your tool box and rough wood into the pulpit. Take only the finished product!" In no way can this presentation be labelled a sermon, nor is it in danger of sounding "preach-y." I have intentionally brought the "rough wood" and "tools" so that any product will be what we build together. I believe this is an obligation on the part of someone who tries to reconstruct life in the past. Listeners and readers should know what references are being used to arrive at impressions and conclusions. You deserve the right to "handle" the "tools" and work the "wood."

In this case, primary sources tend to be both basic, and rough! No well-polished pieces will be displayed. The resources and references are samplings from five primary accounts of family life in Colonial Pennsylvania:

1. Indentured servant agreements:
   a. from Northampton (Allentown), 1785-1790, Record [Docket] of Peter Rhoads, President Judge and Justice of the Peace.
   b. from Upper Salford (Green Lane, Sumneytown), 1787-1794, Docket of Michael Croll, Justice of the Peace.


4. Letters by Schwenkfelders from 1734 to 1799.

5. Newspaper advertisements in Christopher Sauer's Pensylvanische Berichte and Henrich Miller's Pennsylvanische Staatsbote. For a number of these references, I am indebted to Sara Bieler, John C. Shetler and William T. Parsons.

Using these resources as "tools" and "wood" let's build a window into history and scan the scene to see what family life was like, especially for the German female immigrants who settled in Colonial Pennsylvania.

The moment a ship landed in Philadelphia, the female passengers, with all other passengers, had two possible lifestyles. Those whose passage was paid stepped on shore ready to start a new life in the new world. Those who had to pay their fare to a shipping company or sea captain or creditor had a different assignment. They were redemptioners who had to work off the debt through years of service to a master. The number of servants was increased by others who were indentured: children assigned to a master because of a parent's death, youth registered as apprentices, debtors, or prisoners working off a sentence.
Fortunately for us, these servants were in Pennsylvania where provincial law, dating from April 25, 1682, decreed: "There shall be a register of all servants, where their names, time, wages, and day of payment shall be registered." That law was expanded on May 5, 1682 to include:

that all children within this province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want... That servants be not kept longer than their time, and such as are careful be both justly and kindly used in the service, and put in fitting equipage at the end thereof, according to custom.

A year later, additional safeguards to the law prohibited the selling of servants and set the maximum age for service at twenty-two. All redemptioners had to be registered within three months of their arrival; at that time all terms of service were also recorded by the county judge, or justice of the peace. The same safeguards applied to indentured servants. It is these records which are a supply of "rough wood" waiting to be worked into details about life among the Pennsylvania Germans.

In Northampton Town (Allentown, Pa.), Justice of the Peace Peter Rhoads registered indentured servant agreements over the five year period of 1785-1790. His records provide the following statistics. Twenty-seven boys and young men were indentured, sixteen of them for six years or less, of whom most appear to be true apprentices. The remaining eleven were bound in service necessitated by the death of one or both parents. These children served for more than six years each, indeed, generally for the balance of time from their age at indenture until they reached the age of eighteen. Among those apprenticed, four trained to be weavers, three shoemakers, two carpenters and one each blacksmith, hatter and "tanner and currier." Three learned husbandry while three others were just apprentices for unidentified occupations and seven carried the designation of servant. Freedom terms ranged from a full suit of Sunday and everyday clothes, full supply of tools of the trade, sum of money — to "no worse clothing than now has" (March 4, 1789) or "nothing in particular" (January 28, 1788).

Of the sixteen females provided for in the records which were kept by Peter Rhoads, only five were apprenticed for six years or less, all of them to learn the art of being a servant, or to learn "common housekeeping, spinning, sewing and knitting." On the other hand, eleven were legally bound for more than six years each after the death of their mother or father or both. Freedom terms were as little as new and old clothes, but ranged to full bedding with all accessories, cow or heifer, spinning wheel, and chest.

The records also required schooling and religious instruction for most males. Out of twenty-seven, seven must get enough schooling to be able to read, eight more to learn to read and write, while nine must get sufficient instruction to be prepared to receive the Lord's Supper. Eleven females must be taught to read, one more both to read and write, with seven to be sufficiently prepared to be able to receive the Lord's Supper.

Two agreements stressed that the girl's literacy be "in German." One girl's religious instruction was to be for German Reformed Communion, another was to be communion in the Lutheran congregation. And, a freedom payment for one girl was to include "Reformed hymnal and German New Testament" (February 4, 1786).
to become "servant" or to learn the "housekeeping trade" remained the only choices. A statistical summary reads: of 48 boys indentured, 35 were for six years or less, while seven served longer terms after their parents died. Nineteen females served for six years or less while twelve served more.  

An interesting addition which is absent from the Northampton records is the assignment of a male whose terms suggest he was either a debtor or a prisoner working off a sentence; the assignment of "Negro James" and "Molly, molattoe slave" because of their master's death; placement of a male "poor" and a female "poor"; and service by a girl from "House of Employment of the City of Philadelphia."  

Freedom dues for the men vary only in the respect that money is mentioned more frequently, in lieu of clothing, and the amount is high, 10 pounds or more. For the women, freedom dues specify 5 pounds or more. One payment of 3 pounds was to be given to the girl's father. One requested a chest painted a color she named; another asked for a chest worth 25 shillings. The best payment and the most detailed agreement was Hannah Woody's (February 16, 1795) who after 4 years, 10 months, 3 days was to have:  

new chest painted blue with lock and handle, new spinning wheel, cow that had a second calf and freedom to consist of a Bonnet, a Chintz gown, Lawn apron and handkerchief, calf skin shoes and cotton stockings and the other necessaries belonging to fit out the freedom dues.  

Schooling and religious instruction are indicated in one-half of the boys' agreements (the older boys may have received schooling and catechetical instruction before their assignments.) Out of forty-eight males, ten should get schooling to read; nine to read and write, while ten others would get instruction to receive the Lord's Supper. Out of 19 females, nine were to be schooled to read, five to read and write, and nine must have sufficient training to be able to take instruction to receive the Lord's Supper. Only one girl's agreement stressed communion be Lutheran, and in the case of Negroe James, Molly and Hannah Woody a different phrase for religious instruction was used. Most read "time to receive instruction ..." either for "the Holy Sacrament" or "the Lord's Supper," but the three noted above read: 'be taken to the Minister to receive the Lord's Supper." Molly's training was also to learn to "read the Bible." All other terms were simply "to read."  

Several tendencies are obvious when both the Northampton and Upper Salford agreements are read and compared. Boys tended to be indentured for apprenticeships. Girls were "put out" less for service, more for a home to rear a child who had lost one or both parents. Or, another reason which has not been men- tioned: a large family, and so a girl was indentured to a household of a childless or older couple. Word-of-mouth accounts among the Schwenkfelders name girls who were placed in a home where there were boys but no girls, or vice versa; however, no formal contract was written. The child grew up as a full member of the family.

German newspapers of Christopher Sauer or Henrich Miller, carried ads which show that some servants gave their masters problems. Runaways were described and rewards offered for their return. The most sensational item was the hanging of a servant who had the distinction of being the first German immigrant to be executed. He was Hans Ulrich Seiler, a Swiss redemptioner brought to Pennsylvania in 1749 to work for the Schwenkfelder surveyor, David Shultze. The victim was David's wife, Rosina. David gave the most detailed account in his Journals.  

Ads also reveal how many heartbreaks turned a servant's life into a search for brothers, sisters, parents, children. Another author has also quoted several examples from Sauer's paper.  

Johannes Recher, from Brattle, 2 hours above Basel, a lacemaker's son, was put in service 11 years ago and also his brother and sisters; since that time he has heard nothing of where they are. If his brother Friedrich Recher, and sisters Elisabeth and Margaretha are still living, they shall let the printer know or their brother, at Peter Rockenfelder's, in Anweil.  

A widow by the name of Christina Pfau, from Sulz in Wurttemburg, over a year ago placed her son Hans Michel Pfau in service with an Englishman but did not ask him where he lived. She begs that if a German lives anywhere near him, he will communicate with David Taschler in Philadelphia that she may find where her child is.  

On the other hand, Samuel K. Brecht in his Genealogical Record and many letters of Schwenkfelder families in Colonial Pennsylvania provide references which contrast with the records of indentured servants. Schwenkfelders had their poor; however, a Charity Fund was started upon arrival in 1734 with money not spent for passage costs. Later, well-to-do Schwenkfelders enlarged the account through their bequests.  

In contrast to the word-picture drawn from servant agreements, Schwenkfelder correspondence, family records, and wills show a people who hired servants rather than being servants, and the differences are obvious. One difference was education. It was more than reading and writing with a legible hand. Writing was in German and English. "They may even do something with Latin" was the permission granted by the rules for Hosenhak Academy, 1790-1842, a free school for boys and girls regardless of religious affilia-
tion. Some did “something with Latin,” and more. Extant workbooks and letters by students show a text in Latin with quotes in Hebrew and Greek!

Arithmetic, geography, Bible reading, catechism, completed the curriculum which was taught to all students. The workbook of 15 year old Susanna Yeakel has been preserved and shows

Teacher Stocks dictated to her 113 propositions on revealed theology which she faithfully wrote into her notebook, also several hymns.20

Another difference was health. Family statistics add up to a much better count for Schwenkfelders than for other German immigrant groups. A total of marriages between 1734 and 1799 indicates four striking facts. One, Schwenkfelders tended to marry as much as ten years later than their neighbors; Schwenkfelder men married at the average age of 27.8 years, the women at 24.6 years. Two, children per family was a 5.9 average; lower than other Colonial families. Three, their infant/child mortality rate was 10.9% of total births, a startlingly low percentage since the figure was based on any death from newborn to age seventeen! Four, the life span was a remarkable record. 68.3 years for Schwenkfelder men; 67.1 for the women. Again, that was very striking, because the figure included women who died during childbirth.21

There is only one similarity between statistics on the Colonial Schwenkfelder family and the records of indentured servants. It is religious nurture. Servant agreements from both Northampton and Upper Salford required religious instruction for approximately 20 to 30% of the boys and 40 to 50% of the girls, which may suggest that the majority had no religious affiliation, or that they did not consider it a matter for contractual agreement.22 Among the Schwenkfelders marriage to non-Schwenkfelders introduced the same tendency into their families (if marrying a non-Schwenkfelder is equated with having no religious affiliation, and it was, according to Howard W. Kriebel, author of Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania.)

Their marriage statistics reveal the following interesting results. Seventeen out of fifty-four, or 31.5% of the original Schwenkfelder immigrants, married non-Schwenkfelders. Forty-two out of ninety-six, or 43.1% children of the first Schwenkfelder immigrants married non-Schwenkfelders, while fifty-three of one hundred thirty, or 40.7% among all their grandchildren married outside the original group. Seven out of eleven great-grandchildren of the 1734 settlers, or 63.6% married persons who were not Schwenkfelders, a high percentage but probably statistically invalid because of the small number who had reached marriageable age by 1799.23

Schwenkfelders were greatly concerned over the loss of their young adults through marriage to non-Schwenkfelders. I venture to suggest a reason for their loss, based on a personal observation. Two factors prompt my comment. One has been given in the statistics of indentured servants, specifically, the directives concerning schooling and religious instruction. Note how many girls were schooled in reading, and how many were prepared to receive the Lord’s Supper. Almost fifty percent were catechetized, as compared with thirty percent for boys. The other factor is illustrated in the following section, namely, specification in wills, placing the Bible and religious books in the care of the widow and daughters. In other words, I believe, among the neighbors of the Schwenkfelders, many of whom were Lutherans and Reformed, religion, especially the catechism, was taught in the family by the women.

Among the Schwenkfelders, who were very pious and given to regular (daily and weekly) practice of prayer, devotional reading, and meditation, the catechism was taught by the minister who traveled from class to class or carried on a correspondence course. When the catechism was taught in the curriculum at Hosensack Academy, the school policy stressed:

... religious instruction, however, was to be absolutely free from any indoctrination. The religious beliefs and creeds of this or that denomination were to remain outside of the curriculum of this school.24

My observation is raised as a question: Did the Colonial Schwenkfelder practice of non-sectarian religious instruction cause their young people “to leave the fold,” thus creating statistics which resembled the religious interests of indentured servants? There is, however, another
observation which accompanies my question. Given the characteristics of a Schwenkfelder of the Colonial period, the non-Schwenkfelder spouse could not have selected a better mate!

A Lutheran, George Carl Stocks, who knew the Schwenkfelders quite well, because he was the first teacher (1790-1792) in their Hosensack Academy, gave this description of a Schwenkfelder. His words are a sample of what may have been the Schwenkfelders’ greatest contribution to family life and Colonial Pennsylvania:

I may go where I will and live as long as I may, I must testify that among all Sects and Religious opinions (for I have traveled far and wide) I have met no people with whose life I was so satisfied. I have lived so long among you and must say, I have heard no profanity, saw no drunkard, among you. You are kind and charitable to everyone, especially the poor. You are industrious, orderly and thrifty, do not waste money on luxurious clothes, keep yourselves apart from the world and try to keep your children from it in that you do not let your children rove about, neither Sundays nor week-days, but hold them to study of Holy Scripture.

One more source of “tools” and “rough wood” is to be found in a country’s record of wills. They contribute more information than any other source, and they sharpen up the picture of the German woman’s role in family and community. The bequests also strike a contrast between the dowry of a free woman and the freedom dues of a servant.

A typical will recorded in Berks County in 1773 gave the widow:

one cow to be kept for her in Summer in pasture and in Winter in good Fother & Stabling, also a good Riding Mare to be kept in the same Manner for her; the Cow my Wife may take from among my Cows, but the Mare shall be provided by my Son David and his Successors; the Third Part of the Garden, a row of Apple Trees in the Orchard to be Chosen by her yearly, good Bedding Clothing and Shoes as much as is necessary to be provided for her, good and sufficient small cut Fire Wood to

be delivered to her House, fourteen Bushels of good Wheat to be hauled to the Mill for her as she wants it and the Meal to be brought to her House, one Hog of a hundred Pounds Weight and in Age and Sickness she shall be supplied with Medicines and good Attendance, and the new House on my Place shall be kept in good Repair for her Dwelling during such time.

Russell Wieder Gilbert searched through county records and read volumes of wills of Pennsylvania German families. He concluded, “One is forced to see mother’s guiding hand even though father may theoretically have been head of the house. Mother became the chief beneficiary in the wills. Her rank became visible in the idea of choice.” Gilbert then added significantly, “The husband distinctly catered to her wants and fancies. After all, she was the keeper of the cradle and the home for him. Right, liberty, and privilege are the crowning words intended largely for her. They are words the reader constantly meets.”

The wills also provide a wealth of impressions on family life among the Pennsylvania Germans. Phrases which define “right” or “privilege” reveal the quality of life in the home. A few observations are noted below, along with brief quotes to illustrate them. Wills were an attempt to accomplish many desired ends here enumerated:

1. To minimize tension between in-laws and generations.

Liberty in the Kitchen to Cook at the same Fire and Liberty to put her Victuals and any other Thing in the Cellar or Spring house as it will suit her best.
[In case of disagreement, the son must build for the widow] a little convenient House not far from the old one for her to live in by herself without hindrance and unmolested.  

2. To provide care, in the home, in sickness and old age.

I desire that my children use their Mother well.

3. To encourage a child to be loyal and responsible.

Silver Watch and Silver Snuf Box for “her faithful Service in my Housekeeping” to a daughter who served her father well after the mother’s death.

but if my Daughter Modalena Marry contrary to the Desire of her Mother and Takes a Scandalous ill Natured man to husband: then shall my said Daughter have but fifty pound Pennsylvania Currency.

4. To keep the family together.

The father showed grave concern for his sons. Actually it was concern for the family circle when one considers the eldest son’s frequent management of the farm.

5. To keep religion in the “bosom of the family.”

The Bible often became the property of the son or wife. The prized reward for any member of the family was the so-called family Bible or “large Bible.” [But sometimes] the daughter, too received the “big Bible.” Because it held distinction, it had to remain [in] the family.

6. To express love through bequests of personal possessions and special permission. Value was placed on everyday items and customs rather than on ceremonial use or on money.

She shall have yearly a quarter of flax land sown on my plantation, and to be broke and swingled by the person whom I shall give and bequeath my plantation. [My son] shall weave one piece of linen (flaxen) yearly gratis, during her widowhood.

[She shall likewise enjoy] the Liberty of Cutting Grass for her Cows in the Fence Corners and Grass Spots on my Premisses without Hindrance.

It is my will that my wife Mary shall live in the house we now live in and shall have the use of one half of the garden, one half of the cellar, right to the spring house, right to the bake oven, privilege in the pig sty [i.e., permission to put her hogs into the sty belonging to her son.]

Another value which may seem strange to us is the love a husband had for his first wife, strange because death during childbirth meant some husbands had to remarry once, twice, three times!

Generally . . . the Pennsylvania Germans did not seem to favor a second marriage: real love could exist only once for them, and so one had to show respect for the original partner . . . Consequently, most wills allowed only the dower or the third [of a husband’s personal estate] for a mate who remarried . . . As a rule, remarriage required the new master to assume responsibilities for the former widow, although the first husband proudly and dutifully felt the burden of support for his own children.

Some examples are most clearly stated in blunt language and leave no doubt as to the sentiments of the dying husband. They somehow fail to take into account the shortage of women in the colonial American world.
The sum of Twenty Pounds together with one bed and bedding, one Chest and all that is in it. Two Iron Pots and What other House Hold Goods shee shall Want, one Cow one Mare and half the Grain in the Barn, but if shee Should Mar[rly], then she is to have Nothing but the Bed.\(^4\)

My parish experiences confirm the respect a Pennsylvan­ian German had for his original partner. Visits to a home in the 1960's and 1970's were living proof! The gentleman who lost his first wife after three years of marriage, then married again and marked the golden anniversary with his second wife whom he tended faithfully during the last ten years of her life, sat by her side and talked lovingly of the best wife he ever had: his bride of three years! A study of by-gone days reveals that some details have not slipped away. History may be alive as well as informative.

There is one impression which is prompted by information given in the wills. Books were an important part of the Pennsylvania German home, as illustrated in Gilbert's writing and in Schwenkfelder records. The books were bequeathed equally to wife, sons, daughters. And they were read, for even indentured servants were literate.

A Bicentennial supplement in the National Ob­server newspaper, Fall, 1975, noted that 60% of the eighteenth century New Englanders could sign their names; however, only 40% were literate. According to the lists of immigrant signatures registered in Phila­delphia after 1725, 76% of the Germans wrote in elegant German script and all who were instructed to receive the Lord's Supper were literate. They learned to read by reading the catechism, song book, and Bible.

A rare example exists to show that at least one German wife used her training in the classroom as well as the home. In New Providence, Michael Schlatter (German Reformed minister) opened a school on February 16, 1755 with Charles Cornelius Raboteau as master at 25 pounds per year and his wife received ten pounds to teach poor children reading and sewing.\(^5\)

There are other examples of women from Pennsyl­vania German households who illustrate many of the quotations already mentioned. They stand out as im­pressive figures in Pennsylvania's Colonial scene. Each is unique and, at the same time, representative of the New World's "mädchen" or "frau."

Among the Schwenkfelders there was Rosina, wife of Melchior Kriebel, daughter of the composer and pro­lific copier of hymns, Christopher Hubner. Melchior described his wife as being "able to sing practically every melody in the song book, quiet, modest, avoiding frivolous gadding about, especially on Sunday, except that she diligently attended meetings."\(^6\) Melchior and Rosina were married in October, 1772. Three and one-half years later, she lay dying. Those around her began to sing:

\[
\text{"Trost dich Gott liebe Seele mein."} \\
\text{(Comfort, O God, my dear soul.)}
\]

At the fifth verse:

\[
\text{"Ach was wird das fur freude seyn."} \\
\text{(O! What a splendid joy that will be.)}
\]

Rosina interrupted their verse and sang:

\[
\text{"Ich komme diese mal noch nicht dahin, ich muss noch ein wenig warten."} \\
\text{(I'm not going to die yet. I must wait a while still.)}
\]

Then she gave instructions for her service, what to sing and what to preach. The sermon was to be comforting and spiritually edifying. Finally she spoke to her hus­band and expressed her great joy in being able to leave this world for the heavenly places.\(^7\)

"Mary, the Abbess" she was called in the 1790 Federal Census, but she was really Anna Maria Jung (Young), an immigrant born about 1749 in Frankfurt­am-Main in Germany. Hearsay information fills in the details:

Mary was born near Frankfurt-Main. She came to Germantown where she spun cotton on a wheel, living with her father, mother and two sisters. The father died. After the battle of Germantown (October 1777) she took refuge in the Oley Hills with her mother and sisters. After their deaths Mary lived alone. She was a recluse for 30 years.\(^8\)

There are more details. Neighbors came to her for medical and spiritual advice. Her insights were more than human. She was industrious, had three or four cows, raised food and herbs in her meadow, gave her cattle the best care so that they produced much butter which she carried on her head to a neighbor three miles away who took it to market. She had bees and honey. Her will is evidence that her endeavors produced a considerable amount of money. She willed 203 pounds, books, and 42 acres to nieces and a brother-in-law.\(^9\)
A stone monument erected by Berks County Daughters of the American Revolution, in 1934, reads:

"A pioneer nurse, comforter of body and soul, benevolent, pious, brave and charitable."

And to this day people speak about "Mountain Mary."**

At the other end of Berks County, in Stouchsburg, Pennsylvania, an unusual monument appears in the cemetery next to the Lutheran Church. It is unusual because of the story behind the stone's inscription:

**REGINA LEININGER IN LEGEND
REGINA HARTMAN
As a small child held Indian captive 1755-1763 identified by her mother singing the hymn "Allein und doch nicht ganz allein."

Marie Graeff, of Robesonia, Pennsylvania, a researcher and historian of the Tulpehocken region and of German Reformed genealogies and histories makes the story live again in a moving way:

Men of the area brought back six children who had been taken off by Indians almost nine years ago. Now the children were much older; how would their parents identify them?

Mothers and fathers looked up and down the line of faces. They couldn't be sure. Too many years had passed; the children had changed.

Then one mother began to sing a hymn she had sung to her daughter as a cradle song:

"Allein und doch nicht ganz allein."

And Regina ran to her mother!

It is that story which confirms the bequests of Bibles, the training in the catechism, the indentured servant agreement that asked for a "German Reformed hymnal and German New Testament."* Religion was nurtured in the "bosom of the family!"

This look into the window of history may seem to be a very long gaze; it is only a quick glance! There is much more to see. But this is sufficient to realize that many details from the past have not disappeared — nor should they!


**Ibid.

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2. Ibid.

3. MS Record of Peter Rhoads of Northampton Town, 1784-1814, Charles R. Roberts Papers, Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives, Myrin Library, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa., unnumbered pages at the rear of this Record book which served as his own record of the docket of court cases.


5. Record of Peter Rhoads.

6. Ibid.


8. Ibid., I, pp. 44-45.

9. Ibid., I, p. 45.

10. Ibid., I, pp. 39-45.


19. I am indebted to Dr. Dollin who used a computer to glean this data from *The Genealogical Record of Schwenkfelder Families*. This information was also provided by Dr. Dollin's computer print-out.


23. "Ibid., pp. 7-8 (Berks County, 1773, Will Book II, p. 177.)


27. "Ibid., p. 103 (Lancaster County, 1779, Will Book II-X, p. 151.)

28. "Ibid., p. 59 (Northampton County, 1790, Will Book II, p. 221.)

29. "Ibid., p. 61 (Berks County, 1758, Will Book I, p. 53.)


31. "Ibid., p. 86.

32. "Ibid., p. 22 (Union County, 1822, Will Book A, pp. 163 ff.)

33. "Ibid., p. 14 (Berks County, 1774, Will Book II, p. 196.)

34. "Ibid., p. 15 (Snyder County, 1858, Will Book I, p. 65.)


36. "Ibid., p. 55 (Berks County, 1774, Will Book II, p. 197.)

37. "Ibid., (Berks County, 1766, Will Book II, p. 16.)


42. *Ibid., p. 17.

43. *Ibid., p. 66.

44. "Record of Peter Rhoads, Penna. Folklife Society Archives, Myrin Library, Collegeville, Pa.
Indentured servants have never achieved great popularity in American culture, either as a social concept or as an economic necessity. Somehow the contradiction evoked by unfree status in the idyllic New World, has burdened the imagination of those who have contemplated it. The phenomenon carries negative implications of struggle, hardship, failure and subordination. The very process of legally regulated work for others smacks of a lack of initiative and responsibility. That it was a partial legacy of the older European guild system hardly commended it to a favorable consideration by Americans who celebrated merits of a laissez-faire free enterprise system even if they failed occasionally to put it into practice.

People who inquire into genealogical antecedents in twentieth century America generally do not consider ancestors who were indentured servants as positive virtues on the family tree. We have played down the process and many of the eighteenth century indenture records have disappeared so that most people really are not aware of any ancestors who were indentured. Nor do they know who were masters.

Over the years, “the land of the free and the home of the brave” has had little toleration for the young people of earlier times who were “bound out” in service or apprenticeship. Abbot Smith recently wrote, “Concerning the servants themselves, as individuals in the new world, we do not read very much. In studying the servants we drop . . . to the undifferentiated body of the people: obscure shopkeepers, field laborers, mechanics, schoolteachers [and] pioneer farmers.”

We suggest you look at indentured servants in a different light, for though we recognize they belong to an amorphous and largely unrecognized class, they are individuals in the full meaning that carries in our society. Each person entering service in the documents which follow, entered voluntarily or by the recommendation or agreement of a parent or guardian. Each indenture was tailored to fit the individual and his situation, though much of the wording was copied from earlier standard forms tailored to the language of the pertinent laws. Each person who served under indenture established a base level from which he rose in
society. He took a decisive step in his own self-improvement by a contract which, when fulfilled in teaching him a trade and providing him the essential tools, made him eminently more employable.

Indeed, contrary to the negative image ordinarily associated with indentured service, we have found apprentice training, even though lengthy and at a low pay scale, to be relatively tolerable. Yet the indentured servant, differing only slightly from the apprentice and surrounded by numerous legal safeguards, was considered unworthy. After 1793 indentured servitude for minor children was legally abolished. To bind a young apprentice to place, time, and master, though the wording was almost identical to that for an indentured servant, remained legal.

Throughout the English North American coastal colonies, the indenture carried the reciprocal guarantees of English law. The master was assured of the right to the servants' labor for the specified period. Time must be defined. That was the essential difference between slavery and indentured servitude. It was a guarantee to the servant; he could not be held in prolonged servitude nor remain ignorant of the specific date when his freedom must be granted. He was to receive the settlement in goods, tools and/or cash as "freedom dues." These were customary or authorized by law, and by 1785, were variously (and differently) specified in each contract.

Many servants resorted to the popular and all too familiar way of protesting the master's failure to live up to terms. They simply ran away. A better way, though only as efficacious as the local system, was to present a legal protest and bring the weight of the community to bear upon the master. Indeed both remedies were used. Newspaper notices of runaway servants have become a part of American literature and the local authorities often jailed vagrants or indigent itinerants as "suspected runaways" and soon notified local masters who were looking for departed workers. Occasional formal complaints of harsh treatment or failure of a master to live up to a contract have also survived and occur in the official records or executive minutes of each province as well as rare inclusion in the docket of local and regional courts.

The labor shortage in America prior to 1800 was acute, so workers enjoyed a number of advantages over their European counterparts. Nor was that lost on craft workers, farmers' helpers and servants on either side of the Atlantic. Yet such things are always a matter of interpretation. Some years before the American Revolution William Allen wistfully observed that Pennsylvania was "the best poor man's country in the world." Even Gottlieb Mittelberger, who complained about the hopelessness of Philadelphia County and the venality of its females, twisted the commonplace that Pennsylvania was "paradise for women, purgatory for preachers and hell for horses" to show the advantage workers enjoyed. "They have a saying here: Pennsylvania is heaven for farmers, paradise for artisans and hell for officials and preachers."

Labor in the New World took three forms: free labor, indentured servants, and slave labor. No matter how kindly treated, nor how well protected in theory by contract law, the indentured servants were not free workers. They might be remanded to that status by legal process, by custom or by voluntary agreement, though terms of service, working conditions and separation payments ("freedom dues") varied dramatically.

Among many students of Pennsylvania history, the terms "indentured servants" and "redemptioners" have been used virtually interchangeably. In much the same way, the terms "indentured servant" and "apprentice" have as well. While it is true that a large number were reduced to indentured service in order to pay the cost of passage from the Old World to the New, and thus to "redeem their debt," others were bound out after some time in Pennsylvania.

The indentured servant held an intermediate position between free worker and slave. The custom may well have originated in Virginia. That, at least, was the official judgment of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, who found that the customary term of five years service was, in the case of children, more often ignored than observed.

Penn, in his laws formulated for the province in 1682, provided for such service as a means of recovery of debts or to punish felons, procedures more humane
than imprisonment for debt with further accumulation of board costs, for example. In 1684, at New Castle in the Lower Counties (later Delaware) the young proprietor made further provision. His clearest and most effective regulation appeared in the "Act for Better Regulation of Servants" in 1700. In required mandatory freedom dues on completion of service: "Every servant that shall faithfully serve four years or more, shall, at the expiration of their servitude, have a discharge and shall be duly clothed with two complete suits of apparel, whereof one shall be new and shall be furnished with one new axe, one grubbing-hoe, and one weeding-hoe, at the charge of their master or mistress."

Only in 1771 was the law changed eliminating the need to provide the axe and two hoes as freedom dues. In 1785, by law, the State Assembly required that all indentures of newly arrived Germans be recorded and copies kept. This list which follows, as kept by Peter Rhoads in his function as Justice of the Peace, though he was also President Judge of Northampton County, was very likely an extension of that law to cover local persons being indentured. Most studies of indenture to date have concerned themselves with the newly arrived, though it seems apparent that with this collection by Peter Rhoads and the similar though slightly later recorded series by Michael Croll in Upper Salford Township, Montgomery County, were typical of dozens of such lists and hundreds of such indentures.

The payment of ax, maul rings and wedges or other such tools and items was made in 1785 by mutual consent since it was no longer required by law. Not until 1810 did the State Assembly require six weeks of schooling for each year of servitude, a matter that was spelled out by competency education in the Northampton County indentures and agreements. The entire question of lengthy indentures of eight, ten or fifteen years to children came to public attention with publications of excesses of the system. Of course, especially where the contract entailed apprentice training, the child was simply bound until his (her) eighteenth birthday. Odd terms of service and extremely long ones resulted if the infant child was eighteen to forty months old. He (she) served during some quite unproductive years of early youth when the master could hardly expect to recover his expenses.

To satisfy the folk cultural, historical and genealogical interest of the reader, we have attempted to identify and supply pertinent information about all personalities mentioned in the indentures. If you have not ventured into the Census of the United States of 1790 in search of German names recorded by English oriented clerks printed by twentieth century functionaries entirely casual about the German family names, this will introduce you to a new kind of detective work. Fortunately Peter Rhoads kept records not only as Justice of the Peace and as President Judge, but he also kept meticulous records of his trade on North Seventh Street in Northampton town (today's Allentown). We are indebted to Charles Rhoads Roberts for preserving those records, a number of which we enjoy as part of the Archives of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society.
at Ursinus College today. We have also used extensively Charles R. Roberts' *History of Lehigh County* to help identify some of these personalities. That three volume History is an exhaustive work not likely to be superseded very soon.

Identity sketches of the person (child) bound out, his parent or guardian, and the master have been supplied after each individual indenture.

**INDENTURES 1785 - 1790**

1. Northampton County ss: October 18th 1785
   ANTHONY NICHOLAS by the Consent of his mother Barbara Ebert Bound himself Apprentice unto Philip Christian of Allen township weaver for five years. Is to have in the mean time, Meat Drink Clothing washing Lodging and shooping to Learn Read & write. At the Expiration, one Intire New suit of Cloaths besides the old ones in ordinary use, and to be Instructed in the Weaver’s Trade.

   Philip Christian kept an account between 28 August 1786 and 19 December 1789 at Peter Rhoads General Store which operated at 197 North Seventh Street from 1768 to 1814. On one occasion Christian was debited “for sundry writings done.”

2. Northampton County ss: Novem. 4th 1785
   JOHN HELD, son of John Held of Macungie Township, in Consideration £17.-.-. Paid to the father, Bound him self by the Consent of his father, servant to Peter Butts of the same Place, Carpenter, for the Term of Ten years & six months from this Day. Is to be Taught the House Carpenter’s Trade and have Meat Drink washing Lodging & Apparel, five months shooping & Instructions for taking the Lord’s Supper. At the End, one Intire New suit of Cloaths besides old ones.

   John Held, son of John Held, was likely John Jacob Held who once lived near Rittenhouse Gap. John Held appears as John Heltz in the 1790 Census.

   Peter Butts or Butz, carpenter, son of Peter and Anna Barbara Carl Butz, was baptised 8 April 1754; he kept an account at the Peter Rhoads store, buying actively but sporadically, especially in the years 1775-76, 1785-88 and 1795-1800. Among the detailed entries is a purchase of “3 half sets of bed screws,” and his credit balance was regularly improved as he supplied whiskey for sale to other Rhoads customers.

3. Northampton County ss: February 4th 1786
   SUSANAH GROEMAN aged about 8 years, Daughter of Rudolph Groeman, Springfield Township Bucks County, Pennsylvania, with the Consent of her father, Bound herself for the Consideration of Eight Pounds Paid to her father, by Philip Geissinger of Upper Saucon Township Northampton County, servant unto the said Philip Geissinger for the term of Ten Years from the First day of April Next Ensuing. In the Mean Time the master is to find & Provide for said servant Meat Drink Washing Lodging apparel & other Necessaries Needful for such a servant and sufficient shooping to Learn the art of Reading. At the End, Give her one Intire New set of Cloaths besides the old ones in ordinary use, one Bed with 12 lbs. of feathers, Bedstead Curtains, a spinning wheel a Reformed Hymn book and a German Testament.

   Philip Geissinger, Jr., farmer and distiller, owned a two hundred thirty acre farm in Upper Saucon Township in 1785. The son of Philip and Mary Geissinger, he was born 14 March 1732 and died 21 August 1808. Since there were no children, indentured service answered household needs. Philip Geissinger appears as Philip Gysinger in the 1790 Census.

4. Memorandum February 14th 1786
   SUSANAH FLEXER aged about 12 years Daughter of John Flexer of Whitehall Township Northampton County - with the Consent of her father, for the Consideration of Ten Pounds Paid to her father by Jacob Leibelsperger of Salisbury Township in said County, Bound herself servant unto the said Jacob Leibelsperger by the Consent of her father for the Term of six Years from the 27th Day of March Next. In Meantime this servant is to have Meat Drink Washing Lodging apparel & other Necessaries Needful for such a servant & shooping to Learn the art of Reading. At the End of said time, One Intire New Suit of Cloaths besides the old ones in ordinary use, the Colour to be Chosen by the servant, one Good New feather bed with Check Cases.

   John Flexer kept an account of long standing at the Peter Rhoads store, dealing from 3 May 1784 to 4
March 1797. Purchases of “callicco and beeswax” are typical of normal household needs Flexer attended.22

Jacob F. Leibelsberger may well be the Frederick Lisesberger who appears in the 1790 Census.

5. Northampton County February 15th 1786
HENRY GEBHARD, son of Nicholas Gebhard of Macungie Township, aged about Ten years with the Consent of his father, Bound himself for the Consideration of £15. Paid his father by Jonathan Trexler of same Place, servant unto the said Jonathan Trexler for Ten Years from the first day of March Next. The master is in the Mean time to find & Provide Meat Drink washing Lodging Apparel & other Necessaries fit & Convenient for such a servant, six months shafting Instructions for Taking the Lord’s Supper. At the Expiration, one New suit of Cloaths or six Pounds at the option of the servant, besides old ones, and Three Pounds Cash.

Nicholas Gebhard appears in the 1790 Census as Nicholas Kiphart.

Jonathan Trexler, farmer near Breinigsville, was the son of Peter 2nd and Catharine Wink Trexler. He was born 1 May 1762 and died 11 May 1846. He served in the militia of Northampton County in the American Revolution and later married Elizabeth Horlacher. At the time of the 1790 Census he was not head of household.23

6. Northampton April 9th 1786
Be it Remembered that CATHARINE BOCK, Daughter of Conrad Bock of Salisbury Township, Bound herself Apprentice unto Michael Horlacher. Term Nine Years. To Learn Common House Keeping sewing & spinning. Is to have Meat Drink Cloathing washing & Lodging, shooling to Learn Read & write Instructions for the Lord’s Supper. At the End, one New suit of Cloathing besides old ones, and Four Pounds in Cash.

Conrad Bock kept an account at the Peter Rhoads store from 3 April 1782 to 5 October 1787.24 The researcher may safely presume that his wife died, leaving Bock, a laborer who must continue working for sustenance, to bind out his children, a difficult choice. Yet that assured them of apprentice and servants’ training to learn to earn a livelihood. See Indentures numbered seven through eleven.

Michael Horlacher, farmer, kept an account at Peter Rhoads’ store from 16 June 1784 to 29 July 1808. To implement the credit side of his ledger, Horlacher sold products from his land, butter, flaxseed and timber to the merchant for resale. Michael Horlacher appears in the 1790 Census as Michael Horlocker.25

7. Northampton April 17th 1786
Conrad Bock of Salisbury Township, Labourer, Binds his Daughter MARY ELIZABETH [BOCK] to John Boerstler of the Allen township. Term Nine Years Eight month Learn Comon Housekeeping sewing & spinning. Is to have Meat Drink Cloathing washing & Lodging, shooling to Learn Read & write Instructions for the Lord’s Supper. At the End, one Bed with Bedstead one chest one spinning wheel & one Entire New suit of Cloathing besides old ones.

John Boerstler appears in the Rhoads MSS Records as customer entry in the index to the Journal. Unfortunately that portion of the early Journal appears to have been destroyed; only earlier years survive.26

8. Northampton County April 28th 1786
The same Conrad Bock Binds his Daughter MARGARET [BOCK] unto Henry Baer of Whitehall Township. Term sixteen year & Eight months. To Learn Comon House Keeping sewing & spinning. Is to have Meat Drink Washing Lodging & cloathing, shooling to Learn Read & write Instruction for the Lord’s Supper. At the End, five Pounds in money, one Bed with Bedstead one Chest one spinning wheel a half Doz. Pewter Plates one Dozen Pewter spoons and one Intire New suit of Cloaths besides the old ones in ordinary use.

Henry Baer, also known as John Henry Baer, shoemaker, was the son of John Peter and Elizabeth Baer. His listing as a taxable on the 1781 Assessment list indicates he was then already a landowner in Whitehall Township, the area which later became North Whitehall. The couple in 1786 was still childless or had no surviving children. Henry Baer appears as Henry Bare in the Census of 1790, which also reflects the inclusion of the indentured Bock children into the shoemaker’s household. The tally of the census ran, one male over 16: Henry Baer; one male under 16, who was Nicholas Bock, by then ten or eleven years old (see Indenture #10) two females, his wife and Margaret Bock who was five by mid-1790.27

9. Northampton May 3 1786
The same Conrad Bock’s Daughter MARY [BOCK] Binds herself by the Consent of her father unto Martin Ritter of Salisbury. Term Five years and three month. To have Meat Drink Washing & Lodging, shooling to Learn Read & write, & Instruction for the Lord’s Supper. At End of Term, one Cow & Two sheeps the Choice of the stock & flock, one Bed with Bedstead one Chest, one spinning wheel six Pewter Plates, one dozen Pewter spoons, one Laddle, scumer & flesh fork and one Intire New Suit of Cloaths besides the old ones in ordinary use, also one Pewter Bason and one Iron Pot.

Martin Ritter, tailor, farmer and tax collector, and
son of Henry Ritter, was born 10 November 1749 and died 2 November 1827. He married Anna Margaret Steininger (1752-1838) and they had seven children. He appears in the 1790 Census. He was elected Tax Collector of Salisbury Township. Identified in the company books as “Martin Ritter, son of Henry,” he kept an account with Peter Rhoads starting before 17 June 1774 and still active on 7 December 1804. In October 1788, Ritter purchased from the Rhoads Seventh Street establishment, “one Indian Plancket” at a cost of thirteen shillings sixpence.

10. Northampton County ss: May the 5th 1786
Be it Remembered that Conrad Bock of salisbury Township in the County aforesaid, Bound his son NICHOLAS BOCK Apprentice unto Henry Baer of Whitehall Township shoemaker. Term Eleven Years & three months. To be Instructed in the art &ca. of a Shoemaker. To have Meat Drink Cloathing washing & Lodging, Shooling to Learn Read & Write. At the End one Intire new suit of Cloaths beside the old ones in ordinary use and one whole set of Shoemakers Tools.

See Indenture #6 for Conrad Bock and #8 for Henry Baer and Nicholas Bock.

11. Northampton County ss: May 5th 1786
Be it Remembered that Conrad Bock of salisbury Township Bound his Daugr. ELIZABETH BOCK Apprentice unto Marcus Kieffer of the same Township. Term Fourteen Years and six months. To Learn Comon House Keeping Spinning & sewing. Is to Have Meat Drink Cloathing washing & Lodging, shoosing to Learn to Read, and Instruction for Taking the Lord’s Supper. At the End, one Cow, one Chest one spinning wheel and an Intire New suit of Cloaths besides the old ones.

Marcus Kieffer, who with his young, new family, lived in Salisbury Township in 1786, had moved across the township line to bordering Allen Township by 1790. Finding Kieffer in the 1790 Census proved to be the greatest challenge of this research project, though in the end, one can almost hear the conversation, shades of Bill Troxell’s later “Der Census-Numerater.” “Your name?” from the Census taker. “Marc’s Kieffer” (all run together,) would have been the response. Whereupon this farmer is inscribed on the Census of “Mark Skefer” and so you may find him in the Allen Township, Northampton County List today.

12. Northampton County May 27th 1786
Be it Remembered that ELIZABETH KOCH, aged 11 years and six month, Daughter of Jacob Koch of Lower sacon [Saucon] Township - hath with the Consent of her father for the Consideration of Four Pounds, & other Causes & Consideration, Bound herself servant unto Michel Heller of the Same Place, oil Miller. Term Six years & six months. To have Meat Drink Apparel Lodging washing & other Necessaries. At the End of the said Term Eleven Pounds besides her Good Cloathings besides in the Meantime 6 Months shoolling & Instruction for the Taking of the Lord’s Supper.

Jacob Koch was baptised John Jacob Koch, the son of John George and Catharine Mohr Koch, but as many others of his fellow-Germans in Pennsylvania he virtually always dropped the initial given name. Michel Heller, “oyl miller,” also known as Michael Heller, Jr., was the son of Christopher and Mary Keiper Heller, and the grandson of Christopher (Stoffel) Heller the original immigrant, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1738, with his family, including young Christopher then age seven. Michael the oil miller bore the name of his uncle Michael who had also arrived in 1738 on the Winter Galley. As he grew up the younger man was known in the neighborhood as Michael, Junior, while Michael’s own son Michael was known as “Creek Mike.” Our oil miller was, in fact recorded in the 1790 Census as Michael Heller, Jun’r. In the store account of Peter Rhoads, this Michael is identified throughout as Michael Heller, oyl miller. Transaction between 20 December 1788 and 7 January 1794, include several in which he supplied Rhoads with “flax seed and flax seed oyl” for sale to his other customers.

13. Northampton County May 30th 1786
JACOB REICHARD son of Henry Reichard of Salisbury township, Bound himself by the Consent of his father Servant unto Jacob Geissinger [sic] of the same Place. Term Eleven years and Three Months from the sixth day of this Present May. Is in the Mean time to have Meat Drink Apparel washing Lodging & other Necessaries for & Convenient, 6 Month shoolling & Instruction for Taking the Lord’s Supper. At the Expiration, one Intire New suit of Cloath besides the old ones in ordinary use, a Grubing hew, ax, Maul rings and wedges. Consideration Twenty Pounds.

Henry Reichard, son of John Leonard and Sarah Weaver Reichard, was born in Upper Mount Bethel Township. Henry Reichard appears in the 1790 Census as Henry Rygert. He kept an account at Rhoads’ store, sometimes listed as Henry Reuchard, dating before 15 September 1774 and running until 27 May 1793.

Jacob Geissinger, weaver, was the second son of Philip and Mary ( )Geissinger. He married and had five children. Jacob Geissinger appears as Jacob Gisenger in the 1790 Census. Jacob kept an account at the store of Peter Rhoads, though for the brief period 2 March until 9 May 1776 only.

14. Northampton County August 11th 1786
FREDERICK KLECKNER of the Town of Northampton 21 years Bound himself on his own free will &
accord Apprentice unto Abraham Rinker, Hatter, of the same Place, to Learn the Art and Trade of a Hatter. Term four years. Is to have Meat Drink washing & Lodging, one Coat & Jacket of Broad Cloth at 14/per yd. six New flax or hemp Shirts Two Pair Trowsers, five Pair shoes & stockings sufficient for said Term and Every Harvest six days to do work for him.

Adam Rinker, hatter, resided in Salisbury Township before a portion of that township differentiated into Allentown or Northampton town, for he is named on various tax and assessment lists there. In 1765 he was assessed for house and lot, horse and cow, but with no profession indicated. By 1768 he had accumulated eighteen acres of land he cultivated, but in 1782 was listed for one house only in his occupation as hatter. He appears on the 1790 Census list which still lists Allentown residents under Salisbury. He kept an account (Rincker) with Peter Rhoads from 10 December 1784 to 12 July 1790 and on several occasions provided products of his trade as partial payment of the store bill, "By his account, credit for 2 Hats - £2.12. -." 33

Abraham Griesemer appears as Abraham Krisamer in the 1790 Census. 35

16. November 7th 1786
CONRAD REIKERT, son of Adam Reikert, by the Consent of his father, for the Consideration of £15 - Bound himself servant unto Abraham Griesemer of Whitehall Township in the County of Northampton. Term 10 years. Is to have meat Drink Washing Lodg-
17. December 18th 1786
HENRY DUTH, son of George Duth, by the Consent of his father, Bound himself Apprentice unto George Blonk the younger of the Town of Northampton, Taylor. Term Three years & Two Months. Is to have Meat Drink Lodging & Washing, one Month’s shooping and Every year in harvest Eight days to work for himself. The apprentice agrees to work at times other work besides on his Trade. At the Expiration he is to have nothing.

George Duth kept an account with Peter Rhoads from a date prior to 2 May 1774 through 5 October 1789. On 9 January, 1779 he was debited “To drawing a Bond,” and twice borrowed large sums, £100 and £615, from Rhoads. The smaller of the major loans he paid off himself and the larger was secured by Leonard Jacoby & Co. George Duth appears in the listing for Salisbury Township as George Tute in the 1790 Census, which also lists one male under 16. Christian Duth opened an account with Peter Rhoads on 17 July 1795, which suggests a new generation after George.16

George Blonk, the Younger, tailor, was the son of John George Blonk and cousin of George Adam Blonk (see Indenture #28.) Rhoads carefully spelled out the full designation “Geo. Blonk, yngr, Taylor,” as a heading in the company books for an account from 17 June 1784 to 28 November 1789. He appears as resident of Macungie Township in the 1790 Census.17

18. February 1st 1787
CHRISTOPHER MYER, son of John Myer of Easton, by the Consent of his Father, Bound himself Apprentice unto George Shriver of the Town of Northampton, Shoemaker, to Learn his art and Trade. Term, Three years. Is to have, Meat Drink Cloathing Lodging and Washing, fitting such an Apprentice. At the Expiration one New Cloth Coat, Jacket & Breeches, one Hat, a Hammor, Pincer, Nifes and six awls.

John Myer of Easton is most likely the person whose account at Peter Rhoads store is labelled, “John Myer on the Lehi,” though another John Myer, weaver, did business later. Identification in the 1790 Census is difficult because of the very common name. One John Myer is to be found in Bethlehem Township (where “on the Lehi” would fit) though in Easton one finds John Moyer in the same 1790 listing.18

George Shriver or John George Schreiber, “Who was a shoemaker and kept a store in Allentown for many years,” (Roberts) was born 6 December 1739 at Skip-pack, the son of John Jacob and Anna Roth Schreiber. John Jacob arrived on the Ship Hope in 1733; George was baptised at Jordan Church in 1740. He married Juliana Deshler and they lived on South Seventh Street, Allentown, but had no children. He was taxed as innkeeper or shopkeeper as early as 1766 and as late as the 1790’s. George Shriver appears in the 1790 Census for Salisbury Township. He died 6 November 1800. George Shreiber kept an active account with the Peter Rhoads store just across Hamilton Street from his own shop, starting before 2 May 1774 and running until 25 November 1800, three weeks after his death. An account was opened for Juliana Shriver (Shreiber) 20 January 1801.19

19. March 1st 1787
Be it Remembered that CATHARINA RICKERT, Daughter of Adam Rickert, by the Consent of her father, for the Consideration of £9 — paid to her father who is also Party, by Adam Weedor junr of Uper Millford Township in the County of Northampton in the state of Pennsylvania, Yeoman. Term 14 years an Two Months Next Coming. Is to have Meat Drink Lodging Washing apparel and suitable Education, at the End, one New Bede one Cow and an Intire new Suit of Cloaths besides the old one in ordinary use.
Adam Rickert appears to be a person other than Adam Reikert (see Indenture #16), for the names though similar, are carefully recorded in the two separate forms and spellings. Adam Rickert kept an account at the Peter Rhoads store from 14 March 1791 to 15 November 1808. He purchased “One Pr. Leather Breeches,” and on 20 March 1800, worked to earn “Credit by Bruning 80 Aple Trees,” suggesting agrarian or worker status.49

(John) Adam Weedor, Junior, farmer, was the son of John Adam and Anna Margaret ( ) Wieder. John Adam, Sr., immigrated on the St. Mark in 1741 where he is recorded as Johannes Meder. The younger John Adam was born 13 October 1750 and served in the military during the Revolution. He married Christina Duth and they had ten children. He died 20 July 1825. (John) Adam Wieder, Jr., appears as Adam Weeder in the 1790 Census. Adam Weedor, Jr. made his first purchases at the Rhoads store on his father’s account (prior to 1774) and established his own separate account when Rhoads began a new Ledger 2 May 1774. Young Adam continued trading until 8 June 1797.41

20. Northampton County ss: April 12th 1787
Be it Remembered that JOHN WARD, aged about 16 years, son of John Ward, late of the Town & County of Northampton, Hath Put himself on his own free will & accord Apprentice unto John Keiper of the Town & County aforesaid. Term Five Years. Is to be found in Sufficient Meat Drink Cloathing Washing & Lodging and at the End to have one Intire New Suit of Cloaths besides the old ones.

John Keiper, tobacconist, was born 19 October 1751 at Meissenheim, Zweibrücken and died 3 July 1833. He and his wife Mary Catherine and their family lived in at his tobacco shop near Schreibers on South Seventh Street, Allentown. The sign at his shop, a boy with tobacco leaves and cigars, was familiar for years. Belonging to that business complex north and south on Seventh Street, he found it natural to keep an account with Peter Rhoads, which ran from 1 January 1776 to 5 April 1811, though he had also dealt with Rhoads through Henry Keiper, his brother’s account in January 1775. Rhoads recorded him as “John Keipper, Tobacconist,” and John Keiper appears in Salisbury Township in the 1790 Census as John Kyper.42

21. April 1787
Be it Remembered that SIMON ENGELER, son of Jacob Engeler of Plainfield Township, Deceased, aged about 18 years, Hath of his own free will & accord Put himself Apprentice, unto George Lazarus of Allen Township, Blacksmith, to Learn his art & Trade. Term three years from the 6th day of April 1787. Is to have Meat Drink Cloathing Lodging & washing and Every Harvest six days for himself, and at the End of said Term Eight Pounds Pennsylvania Currency, Horse shoeing Tools one Hammer and Two Setters.

John Jacob Engler arrived in Pennsylvania at the start of the five years of the so-called Great Migration on 7 October 1749, in the Ship Leslie. He signed the required oath just four names after Gottfried Grunzweig. Engler settled in Plainfield Township and Grunzweig, after some adventures in Jersey, located in Towamensing Township, Northampton (now Carbon) County. Adam Angler, son or brother of Jacob, appears on the 1790 Census in Plainfield Township, which lists with him another adult male, possibly Simon, just clear of his indentured service.43

George Lazarus kept an account at Rhoads’ store from 15 April 1795 to 8 February 1796.44

22. April 19th 1787
Be it Remembered that ABRAHAM MUENCH Son of Peter Muench Late of Allen township, Dec’d, by the Consent of George Roudenbush as his Guardian, bound himself Apprentice unto John Keim of Bethlehem Township, Weaver. Term Three Years from this Day. In the Meantime is to have Meat Drink Washing Lodging & Aparrel, Two Months shoolding and Every Harvest four days to work for himself. At the Expiration one Good Intire New Suit of Cloths besides a good Suit Every days Cloaths & Two New Shirts.

Abraham Muench, having fulfilled his contract has returned to Allen Township by late Summer, 1790 when the First Federal Census was taken. By the census tally where he is found as Abraham Minsh, he seems to have assumed responsibility for family affairs since the late Peter Muench had died, with two males over 16, four males under 16 and five females.

George Roudenbush kept a longstanding account from an early date, before 1 July 1774 to 26 March 1790, at the Peter Rhoads store.45

John Keim, weaver, kept a later, though active account with Rhoads, from 6 April 1793 to 17 December 1804. John Keim appears in the 1790 Census as John Kine.46

23. August 4th 1787
Be it Remembered that DAVID HAINSEL, aged about 20 years, Hath of his own voluntary free will & accord Placd & Bound himself Apprentice unto Christopher Eshback of Salisbury Township in Northampton County. Term Three years from this Day. To Receive with in the Term, Meat Drink washing & Lodging, Two pair Tow Trowsers, Two hemp or flaxen New Shirts and Six-pounds in Money, As he may want the same.

Christopher Eshbach kept an account at the Peter
Rhoads store from 14 December 1789 to 28 April 1797. He appears on the 1790 Census as Christopher Ishbaugh.47

24. August 4th 1787
Be it Remembered Francis Hoover of Bethlehem Township Bound his Daughter ANNA MARIA [HOOVER] aged 3 years & 2 Months Yester Day, to Mathias Hummel of Allen township to serve 14 years and ten Months from Yesterday. Is to Learn housekeeping Spinning knitting and Sewing, Reading and have Information for Taking the Lord’s Super in the Lutheran Congregation. At the Expiration, freedom Cloaths, one spinning wheel and a Breeding heifer or four Pounds in Money at her option.

Francis Hoover kept an account at the store of Peter Rhoads for a brief period, from 23 May 1774 to 26 August 1777.48

Mathias Hummel appears in the 1790 Census but with a listing of only one male over 16, three males under 16 and one female, which would leave six-year-old Annamaria Hoover as the only woman of the household, unless, for some reason, she is not counted at all.

25. August 9th 1787
Be it Remembered that Francis Hoover of Bethlehem Township Bound his Son GEORGE HOOVER, aged 5 years and 4 Months, to John Smith of the same Place, Husbandman, to Serve 12 years & 8 Months from this Day, to Learn Husbandry Reading & Writing and have Information for Taking the sacrement of the Lord’s Super, and to have Meat Drink Washing Lodging and Apparel. At the Expiration, a Complete Freedom Suit besides the old Cloaths in use.

John Smith, husbandman, identified by Peter Rhoads in his Ledger as “John Smith on Lehi” as an old customer at the Seventh Street establishment. His account, which originated while the initial Ledger was active, sometime before 2 May 1774, continued active until 10 June 1777. Cash to pay the final bill and close out the account for Smith was paid by Benedict Neidlinger. John Smith offered apprenticeship to George Hoover in his home township and according to the 1790 Census, Smith ran an entirely male household.49

26. Northampton County May 1st 1787
Be it Remembered that CHRISTIAN HEPPLE, son of Jacob Hepler of Chestnuthill Township, for the Consideration of Twelve Pounds paid by John Sternner the younger of Allen Township to his said father, Bound himself servant unto the said John Sternner the younger. Term Six years from this Date. Is to have Durring the said Term, Meat, Drink, Sundays & Every days Cloaths washing & Lodging, also Sufficient schooling to Learn Reading & writing, and Instruction for Taking the Lord’s Super. At the Expiration, one Good New ax.

John Hepler continued north of the Blue Mountain and appears as Jacob Hopels in the 1790 Census.

27. November 26th 1787
Be it Remembered that GEORGE SOUTTER, son of Michael Soutter of the state of New Jerzy, Labourrer, by the Consent of his said father, Bound himself Apprentice unto Conrad Zettel of Salisbury Township in the state of Pennsylvania, Husbandman, to Learn his art &ca. Term Nine years & Two Month. Is to have in the Mean time Meat Drink Clothing washing & Lodging, and one years Shooling. At the Expiration, one Intire New Suit of Cloth be sides the old ones & a Middling Size Horse.

Conrad Zettel, husbandman and miller, was assessed in 1782 for 200 acres of land and one grist mill. He kept an account at the Peter Rhoads store from 10 December 1782 to 25 April 1789.51

28. January 5th 1788
Be it Remembered that David Stout of Whitehall Township Northampton County, Cordwainer, Bound his son, PHILIP STOUT, aged 2 years & 7 months, Apprentice to George Adam Blonk of the same Place Husbandman. Term Eighteen years & five months in the Mean time to have Meat Drink Washing Lodging and Cloatings Necessary for such an apprentice Shooling to Learn Reading & writing and Instruction for Taking the Lord’s Super. At the End of the Term, one Intire New Suit of Cloaths at the option of the Ap-
rentice, one New ax, Two Maul Rings and wedges.

George Adam Blonk of Whitehall Township (later North Whitehall) was the son of Christopher Blonk and thus cousin of George Blonk, the Younger, of Northampton-town (see Indenture #17.) He should not be confused with George Adam Blonk of Salisbury Township, his uncle, whose name he carried in the custom familiar in German parts of Pennsylvania. George Adam of Whitehall kept an account with Peter Rhoads, who identified him clearly in the company records, “George Adam Blonk, son of Stoph'l.” The later dates of the account, 12 December 1793 to 2 January 1808, help identify the correct George Adam. The only Whitehall Blonk named in the Census of 1790 is Peter Plank.2

29. January 28th 1788

Be it remembered that THOMAS DOUGHERTY, son of Thomas Dougherty of the state of New York, Deceased, by the Consent of his Guardian, Andrew Christie, Hath Bound himself Apprentice unto Thomas McWhorter of the Town & County of Northampton in the state of Pennsylvania, to Lear[n] his art & Mystery of Tanning & Currying. Term four Years. In the Meantime to have Meat Drink Cloathing Washing & Lodging, and Night shooling in winter times. At the Expiration, Nothing in Particular.

Thomas McWhorter, tanner, was located in Allen-town where his family had essentially grown up by the time he was recorded in the Census of 1790. His Scots-Irish name was garbled as badly as were the German ones, suggesting a rather heavy brogue in his speech. He appears as Thomas Mehruter in the census and his account at the Peter Rhoads store identifies him as "Thomas Moharter, Tanner," in his active trading from 25 May 1782 to 14 March 1794. True, Rhoads corrected the name to McWhorter when he changed Ledgers in 1794; the account is credited with value accrued "by Tanning." By 1813, when the account was reopened, it was in the name of Sarah McWhorter, presumably by then, his widow.3

30. February 2nd 1788

Be it Remembered that Adam Yohe Now of Easton Hath Assigned over unto John Murphy of the Town & County of Northampton a Certain Servant’s Indenture Dated November 22nd, 1786, whereby SOPHIA WILHELMINA was bound Servant unto Peter Dory, [illegible] for the Time of five years, who assigned the same over unto Col. Isaac Setman & who Assigned the same over to said Adam Yohe. Said John Murphy is to fulfill & Perform the articles & Covenants in said Indenture Mentioned, for the Master to Perform. Be it Remembered that Adam Yohe Now of Easton Hath Assigned over unto John Murphy of the Town & County of Northampton an Indenture Dated September 20th, 1787, whereby the OverSeers of the Township of Northern Liberties, Phila’ a. County, Bound a Certain Mulattoo Boy Named JOHN WILHELMINA unto the said Adam Yohe for the term of Twenty-three years & eight months, the said John Murphy is to fulfill the Covenants on the Master’s Part.

Colonel Isaac Setman appears in the 1790 Census in Easton as Isaac Sedman, with a rather varied household:

Adam Yohe at the same place appears as Adam I ohe in that first Federal Census, with a relatively young family.

John Murphy appears with other residents of Allen-town under Salisbury Township in the 1790 Census, but the Wilhelminas, mother and son, apparently do not. He kept an account at the store of Peter Rhoads from 10 August 1775 to 28 June 1793. Items from that account give us clues as to his occupation and social standing. In 1787 his account was credited to the value of £18. For a Clock & Repairing a Watch,” suggesting he knew the watchmaker’s trade. Murphy was affluent enough to buy “1 Ten Plated Stove” in October 1775 for five pound, ten shillings. He transferred for credit, “a Bond from Jno. Smith” in 1789.4

32. Aug. 6th, (1788)

Be it Remembered that William Ryan, a Sojourner, Placed & Bound his Daughter PATIENCE RYAN unto George Friedericks of the Town of Northampton in the County of Northampton, Blacksmith, for the Term of Sixteen Years and Eight months. Is to have Meat, Drink, washing, Lodging & Apparel. Instruct her in the art of Common house keeping, spinning, sewing & knitting, and Sufficient Shooling to Learn Reading. At the End of the Term she is to have An Intire new Suit of Cloaths besides the old ones in ordinary use.

George Friedericks, blacksmith, kept an account at
the store of Peter Rhoads from 15 December 1785 to 3 May 1793, leaving an unpaid balance which was fully satisfied 3 February 1797. Friedericks bought an "English testament" on 27 January 1787 and "1 Testament," obviously German, on 16 February 1788. Another account in the same business ledgers for "Andrew Friederick at Ealers" is of interest both because of the subsequent transfer of indentured service (see Indenture #33) and in view of the tally of persons in the 1790 Census. There we find George Friedericks in Salisbury Township, with George as head of household, three other males over 16 and three females. 59

33. Aug. 7, 1788
Be it Remembered that George Friedericks of the Town & County of Northampton Hath Assigned & Made over unto Peter Ealer, Esquire, of Whitehall Township, a Certain Indenture whereby PATIENCE RYAN, an Infant aged about one Year and four Months, is Bound to him until she Comes to the age of Eighteen years. The said Peter Ealer to fulfill the Covenants on the Part of the Master.

Peter Ealer (Peter Oehler in the Rhoads accounts) dealt with the mercantile establishment on North Seventh Street from 10 August 1774 to 16 November 1801. Peter Ealer is listed in the 1790 Census when his household included one male under 16 and six females. 66

34. Septem'r 13th, 1788
Be it Remembered that NICHOLAS MINK, son of Philip Mink of Northampton County, for Good Considerations Bound him self servant to Godfreed Knous of Whitehall Township, Yeoman. Term Thirteen Years. In the Mean time to have Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Lodging & Instruction for Taking the Lord's Super, and at the Expiration of the said Term, one Intire New Suit of Cloaths besides the old ones.

Philip Mink (Meng?) appears as Philip Minks in Heidelberg Township in the Census of 1790, when any other small children in the family are female.

Gottfried Knauss, Jr., blacksmith and farmer, was born 15 January 1742, son of immigrant Gottfried Knauss, Sr., who had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1723. Young Knauss was confirmed in 1754 at Egypt, married Anna Maria Griesemer, sister of Felix (see Indenture #41) and John (see Indenture #15) and they enjoyed a family of nine children. Gottfried Knauss, Jr., entered military service during the American Revolution and 22 May 1783 became Captain of Militia. In 1803 he was elected a Commissioner of Northampton County. As Gottfried Knauss, he kept a long standing active account at Peter Rhoads' store from a date prior to 2 May 1774 until 24 May 1808. Rhoads differentiated between father and son only by listing

Gotfreed Knauss, Sen'r, who did business there until 1 January 1776. Gottfried Knauss, Jr., appears as Godfred Knous in the Census of 1790. 57

35. January 1st, 1789
Be it Remembered that WILLIAM HOOVER of Uper Milford Township, Northampton County, Bound him self Apprentice unto Conrad Miller of Uper Sacone Township, Cordwainer. Term Two Years & Ten Months. Is to Receve & have in the Mean time, Meat Drink, Cloathing, washing & Lodging fitting for such an Apprentice. And at the Expiration of the said Term, one Intire New Suit of Cloaths besides the old ones.

Conrad Miller, cordwainer, appears in Upper Saucon in the 1790 Census with two males over sixteen, four males under sixteen and six females in the household. A "Conrad Miller of Whitehall," in the Peter Rhoads records is simply another person by the same name.

36. March 4th, 1789
Be it Remembered that DAVID MUSEY, son of Samuel Musey, Late of Whitehall Township, Dec'd., by the Consent of his Mother Dorothy Knodler (Knoeller?) Bound him self Apprentice unto Michael Weeder of Whitehall Township in the County of Northampton, Weaver. Term Two Years. The Apprentice to (be) Taught the Weavers Trade and to have Meat, Drink Cloathing, Lodging & Washing Durring the Term. At the End to have no worse Clothing then he, the said Apprentice, Now has.

David Musey appears as David Mussy, who kept an account with Peter Rhoads, though he did not upon it until 8 January 1799 and kept it active until 11 May 1807. 58

An old account at the Peter Rhoads store in the name of George Knoelter was closed on 19 March 1777, but his relationship, if any, to Dorothy Knodler is not evident. 59

Michael Weeder, weaver, son of John Adam Wieder, Sr., the immigrant, and brother of Adam Weedor (see Indenture #19) was born 7 April 1763. He kept an account at Rhoads’ store from 30 April 1874, three weeks after his twenty-first birthday, until 29 March 1802. 60

37. April 27th, 1789
Be it Remembered that ANTHONY MOORE, aged 13 Years, by the Consent of Caspar Shoenebruck, Bound him self Apprentice unto Jacob Kaess of Lehi Township, Weaver. To serve three years. Is to have in the Mean Time, Meat, Drink, Cloathings, Lodging & washing and Two weeks schooling. At the End one Intire New Suit of Cloaths besides old ones & Six Pounds in Cash.
Caspar Schoenebruck kept a very active account at Peter Rhoads' store from 23 May 1774 to 30 November 1810. On 14 April 1791 a credit of £3.19.2 was posted to his account “by merchandize 100 lb. Nails,” and a year later he bought “one lb. Chocolate” from the merchant-jurist. Other credits to the Schoenebruck tally were added for “cartage, 500 rails, and one Hogshead cider” between 1794 and 1797.

Caspar Shoenebruck appears as Caspar Shanabough in Whitehall Township, 1790 Census. 61

Jacob Kaess appears as Jacob Case in the 1790 Census when his household included seven males and five females.

38. Northampton County ss: April 27th 1790
Be it Remembered that JOSEPH WALKER of Salisbury Township, in Consideration of £11.- Pounds Paid to his use to the Administrators of Henry Fetter, Dec’d., by Adam Everoth, he Bound himself servant unto the said Adam Everoth. Term one Year from this Date. To have Meat, Drink, Clothings, washing, Lodging and at the End of the said Term, Two suits of Cloaths, one New.

Adam Everoth appears as Adam Eberot in Salisbury Township in the 1790 Census, with only four persons in the household.

39. May 10, 1790
Be it Remembered that GEORGE PETER GRuber, Son of George Peter Gruber of Uper Sacone Township, in Consideration of £8. Paid to his use to his said father by Jacob Bogert of Salisbury Township, with the Consent of his said Father, Bound him self Servant onto the said J. Bogert. Term fifteen Years & six months.

To have Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging & Apparrel, shooping to Learn Reading & writing & Instruction for Taking the Lord's Supper. At the End of the Term, £8.-.- in Cash, one New suit of Cloath's, one ax, Maul rings & Wedges.

Peter Gruber kept an account at Peter Rhoads' store from 21 September 1794 to 2 September 1795. 62

Jacob Bogert appears in the 1790 Census with three males over sixteen and eight females in his household.

40. May 10th, 1790
Be it Remembered that CATHARINA BASTIAN, Daughter of William Bastian, Deceased, by the Consent of her Mother, Mary Bastian, Bound her self Apprentice to Jacob Beaver of Salisbury Township, Northampton County. Term Eight Years & Ten Months from this Day. Is to have Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Washing & Lodging, shooping to Learn to Read German and Instruction for Taking the Lord's Supper in the German Reformed Manner. At the End, £5.-.- in Cash, one Bed & Bed stead, one Chest, one spinning Wheel, one Cow, & an Intire New Suit of Cloaths, besides the old ones in ordinary use.

William Bastian was an old customer of the Peter Rhoads establishment; his account was opened prior to 1 May 1774 and ran until 5 August 1777. 63

Jacob Beaver appears as Jacob Bieber in the record of his account with Peter Rhoads from 25 January to 31 March 1791; however, he appears as Jacob Bever in the 1790 Census with the appearance of an active young household. 64

41. May 18th, 1790
Be it Remembered that SUSANNAH STEINER, Daughter of Barbara Keiper, by the Consent of her Mother, Bound her self Apprentice unto Felix Griesemer of the Town & County of Northampton, Husbandman. Term Eleven Years & seven months from this Day. Is to have Meat, Drink, Clothings, washing, Lodging Sufficient to Learn to Read well Instruction for the Lords's Supper. At End, one Heifer one year old, a spining wheel, one Chest, one Bed with Bedstead & an Intire New Suit of apparel, besides the old ones.

Felix Griesemer, born in July 1749, and died 17 January 1827, was the second son of John and Maria Brunner Griesemer, and thus an older brother of Abraham Griesemer (see Indenture #15.) Felix married Juliana Margaret Knauss, sister of Gottfried Knauss, Jr. (see Indenture #34,) but they had no children. Felix served in the Northampton County Militia in the Revolutionary War. He kept an account at the Peter Rhoads store from 18 April 1776 to 18 December 1794. Among his purchases were “2 Pewter Basons & 1 Straw knife.” Felix Griesemer appears as Phelix Kresamer in Salisbury Township in the 1790 Census. 65
42. May 31, 1790
Be it Remembered that JOHN MUENCH, Son of Peter Muench of Allen township, Deceased, with the Consent of his mother Sibila Fox, Bound him self Apprentice unto John Keim of Bethlehem Township. Term Two Years & six months from this Day. Is to have Meat, Drink, Cloathing, washing & Lodging. At the End of the Said Term, Two Suits of Cloaths one New for Sundays the other Good for everyday, and Two New Shirts. The Apprentice Reserves 4 days for him Every Harvest.

See Indenture #22 for John Keim, weaver, born 20 July 1754, who immigrated with his parents Johannes and Maria ( ) Keim. He died near Schoenersville 9 August 1815. 66

43. June 4, 1790
Be it Remembered that Adam Miller junr of Elizabeth-Town, Maryland, Bound his Daughter ELIZABETH [MILLER], aged 5 Years, as Apprentice unto his Father Adam Miller of Whitehall Township in the County of Northampton, State of Pennsylvania. Term 6 Years from this Day. Is to have Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging Apparrel & other things Necessary for such an Apprentice to be Educated & Instructed in House Keeping, but if the Master should Die before the Expiration of the said Term, the Child shall be free.

Adam Miller, Sr., appears on the 1781 Tax Assessment list from Whitehall Township. He kept an account, starting earlier than 2 May 1774 and running until 22 February 1793. On 24 January 1792, he obtained a “German Testament” at Rhoads’ store. Census and indenture information do not seem to agree in the case of Adam Miller, Sr. 67

44. August 2d, 1790
Be it Remembered that CHARLES HARTMAN, son of Jacob Hartman, Dec’d., By the advice of his mother Bound him self Apprentice to Leonnard Weiss of Northampton, House-Carpenter. Term three years & Three months. Is to have Meat, Drink, Washing & Lodging, and 21 Pounds Lawful Money of Pennsylvania in three Payments; The first of £3.-.- at the End of the first year; the Second of Nine Pounds at the End of the second Year; the last of Nine Pounds at or before the End of the said Term. And six days Every Harvest for the use of the Apprentice.

Charles Hartman, also known as Charles Peter Hartman, opened his account at the store of Peter Rhoads on 11 December 1790 and continued it through 23 February 1796. That he worked at his new craft of housecarpenter seems to be verified by the purchase on 26 November 1792 of “one Screw Augur,” for which he paid three shillings. Rhoads seemed to help actively to set up new craftsmen in their trade and forwarded cash to that end on several occasions. 68

Jacob Hartman [Sr.] of Whitehall was a customer of long standing at the Rhoads store; he dealt there in the early 1770’s and carried it in active status through 10 April 1788. Jacob Hartman may be the immigrant George Jacob Hartman who arrived in Philadelphia on the Edinburgh 5 September 1748, in company with Jacob Hiltzheimer of Mannheim and John Valentine Klages, though both latter persons remained in the city to become officials in the Old First Reformed Church. Hartman felt the pinch of wartime inflation in 1781: “By Discount for Depreciation at the Rate of 8 for 1.” 69 The Jacob Hartman Account at Peter Rhoads’ was transferred to Jacob Jr., in the early 1790’s, and the Jacob Hartman listed in the 1790 Census is probably Jacob, Jr.

Leonard Weiss, housecarpenter, kept one of the most active accounts on the books of Peter Rhoads Company between 24 May 1788 and 12 January 1813. Weiss obviously did some trading on his own, for on 25 May 1789 he was credited £1.7.0 “by Merchandise in Homemade Linen.” Leonard Weiss appears in the Salisbury Township as Leonard Wise. His relationship to “Jacob Weiss over Mountain” is not clear from the context. 70

FOOTNOTES

68 Ibid., pp. 5, 6.
69Abbot Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 16-17.
70Abbot Smith, Colonists in Bondage (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 84-86.
74Herrick, White Servitude in Pennsylvania, pp. 2, 3.
75Abbot Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 20-23; Record of Indentures of Individuals Bound Out as Apprentices, Servants, Etc., of the City of Philadelphia, October 3, 1771 to October 5, 1773
(Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1907) pp. 1-325. This is Volume XVI of the Proceedings of that Society and constitutes the most comprehensive summary of indentures which have survived. Other similar records have disappeared in the meantime.

11 Herrick, White Servitude in Pennsylvania, p. 3.
12 Ibid., p. 289, 292.

Record of Peter Rhoads of Northampton Town (Allentown) 1785-1814, including Indentures 1785-1790, Charles R. Roberts Papers, Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives, Myrin Library, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.


13 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
16 Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 423.
17 Ledger B, p. 28; Ledger C, p. 5.
18 Roberts, Lehigh County, III, pp. 1318, 1320.
19 Ledger B, p. 141.
20 Ibid., pp. 8, 96; Ledger C, pp. 108, 114.
22 Roberts, Lehigh County, I, p. 843; II, p. 34.
24 Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 721.
27 Ledger B, p. 53; Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 423.
28 Ledger B, p. 65; Roberts, Lehigh County, I, pp. 390, 392, 413.
31 Ledger AA, p. 142; Ledger B, p. 72; Ledger C, p. 124.
33 Ledger B, pp. 189, 234.
34 "Ledger AA; Ledger B, pp. 60, 156, 272; Ledger C, pp. 77, 163; Roberts, Lehigh County, I, pp. 391-392; III, pp. 1169-1170; S-H, Pa. Ger. Pioneers, I, p. 120.
35 Ledger B, p. 110; Ledger C, p. 27.
37 Ledger B, p. 71; Ledger C, p. 91; Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 624.
39 Ledger C, p. 120.
40 Ledger AA, p. 156; Ledger B, p. 165.
42 Ledger B, p. 33, 36; Ledger C, p. 7.
43 Ledger B, p. 100.
44 Ledger AA, p. 282; Ledger B, pp. 48, 100.
45 Ledger B, p. 57; Ledger C, p. 13; Roberts, Lehigh County, III, p. 1284.
46 Ledger B, p. 28; Roberts, Lehigh County, I, p. 413.
47 Ledger B, p. 261; Ledger C, pp. 74, 144, 149; Roberts, Lehigh County, II, pp. 104-106.
48 Ledger B, p. 217; Ledger C, pp. 50, 54.
49 Ledger B, pp. 59, 86, 229.
50 "Ibid., pp. 116, 210, 214; Ledger C, pp. 28, 52.
51 Ledger B, p. 193; Ledger C, p. 49.
52 Ledger B, pp. 47, 48; Ledger C, p. 97; Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 697.
53 Ledger C, p. 175.
54 Ledger AA, p. 50; Ledger B, p. 237.
55 Ledger B, pp. 78, 82; Ledger C, p. 131; Roberts, Lehigh County, III, p. 1406.
56 Ledger B, pp. 101, 211, 227; Ledger C, pp. 60, 105-106.
57 Ledger C, p. 107.
58 Ledger AA, p. 227; Ledger B, p. 53.
60 Ledger B, p. 186; Ledger C, p. 110; Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 458.
61 Roberts, Lehigh County, II, p. 622.
63 Ledger B, p. 240; Ledger C, p. 65.
65 Ledger B, pp. 125, 206, 209; Ledger C, pp. 50, 139, 178, 198, 207.

Norhampton County. May 30th 1786.

Jacob Reinsch of Henry Reinsch of Holbury Township, having himself, by the consent of his father, servant to Jacob DeLong in the same place, from the sixth day of this present May in the mean time to have Meat, Drink, Apparel wearing, Lodging in the house of Jacob DeLong and all the ordinary use of the same. To Be considered twenty shillings.

Northampton County. August 11th 1786.

Frederick Stuehler of the town of Northampton, aged 21 years.
Many good things to take home, indeed, you will find at Kutztown Folk Festival! The surprise was even greater as I had not just come up for a day’s outing from Bethlehem or Harrisburg, but it was from the “Old Country” itself I had come over for the first time; and from such a congenial place as Heidelberg at that. From our schooldays onwards we have certainly been prepared for such truisms as the saying that America is a country of many faces, but “Welshkarn uf ’em Kulva,” “Epple Knepp” and “Drechter Kucha”?

Rural Pennsylvania, which presents its inherited skills, tastes and sounds in such a colourful variety at Kutztown, astonishes me with an entirely new experience. It was like travelling across half of the world and then suddenly bumping into your next door neighbor, who doesn’t look surprised or even recognize you. In this way, Pennsylvania Dutch Culture, though an entity for over two hundred years, to me still consisted of an amazing blend of strikingly familiar features on one side and then again of strange parts entirely of “New World” origin.

This doesn’t only apply to “Brode Warsh” and “Gongna Kucha” or to the Dutch dialect, but even the countryside itself seems to have been transferred, and perhaps a little polished up while on its way. Driving up from Collegeville on a beautifully fresh early morning, the resemblance of the country to some parts of Southern Germany was so obvious that I could easily understand why all those people from the Palatinate, the Black Forest, Alsace or the Suabian Alb felt immediately at home. And it was their faces I met wandering along the lanes at Kutztown Festival. Sometimes the familiarity was so baffling that I must have smiled at complete strangers, because I felt I had often met them before.

This experience added a touch of the unreal to the whole scenery and made me feel that I was walking through enchanted Vinneta, the sunken city, condemned to the bottom of the sea, which comes to life for only a single day every hundred years. But there the analogy ended, as in the story only the smallest current coin is needed to buy something and thus redeem the city. Real money, however, and not only small coins, changed hands liberally at Kutztown, even if the owners wore some sort of old time costume.

Certainly one important aspect of Kutztown is down to earth business, and in this the festival undoubtedly corresponds very well with the spirit of the rural ancestors of all those old skills involved. They wouldn’t have seen any sense in purism for its own sake. Their work basically had to bring or save money-value with a little ornament added as time and means allowed. Therefore as academic as the study of folkart and folklife necessarily must be, it doesn’t do it any harm to renew every now and then, its contacts with the tastes and preferences of contemporary folks. In
this process, of course, some compromise cannot be avoided, but there is no doubt that, in the end, you know more about funnel cake as soon as you have tasted a piece or tried to make one, even if it was done in a deep-fat fryer. And isn't it entirely legitimate to hope that some people, who just came to enjoy the festival, are lured into a real interest in folklore by a hex waffle?

No one can help getting interested at Kutztown Festival, so wide is its range. For me it was such a strange combination as "Welshkarn" and quilts, which are both acquisitions of the New World. Although the immigrants obviously knew corn before they came over (as the term "welsh" means something coming from the Romanic countries) the word must have lost some of its derogatory meaning right after the first bite into such a delicious ear, in just the same way as it happened to me. Quilts, however, I am sure, were unknown in Southern Germany. And regardless of all this talk about the thrifty idea of using bits of leftover material, I judge quilts as a sign of some affluence and leisure. On top of that I have the strong suspicion that the farmers’ wives, who worked these quilts, even used this thrifty idea as an excuse to proudly display their skill in composition and indulge in making something gaudy which otherwise would have been derided as lack of modesty. Looking at the ladies stitching happily away at this huge frame in the quilt hall it occurred to me that quilting could show one of the roots of the spirit of American teamwork, with perhaps some reminiscences of European perseverance thrown in for good measure.

The Folk Festival is very up-to-date in offering that opportunity to develop a real feeling for natural material. Whether it is the gentle colours of herb dyed wool, the smooth structure of polished wood, the sweet smell and creamy texture of bees-wax candles, the functional simplicity of handcrafted pottery or straw baskets, you can train your taste to appreciate the value of natural material, to find forms that match its structure and bring out its characteristics, while at the same time taking into account its technical limitations. Of course one shouldn’t forget that this fashion of the "natural" is a completely modern development, for the Pennsylvania Dutch did not have any choice about it. But their tools or objects of art can invite us to try out our own inventiveness and skill: the only remedy against the boredom in our affluent society that offers you any imaginable form in pink plastic if you choose to buy it.

The real attraction and success of Kutztown Festival lies in keeping a balanced combination of entertainment, information and the opportunity to buy nice handmade things. It is an advantage and a danger at the same time that these different components center only loosely around the Pennsylvania Dutch farm of
Children's Powwowing

Grandmothers used to powwow for a child who had hurt himself by saying: "Haily, haily, hinkel dreck, bis morrhoa free 155 olles weck." (Heal, heal, chicken droppings, by morning the pain will be gone.) In Dutch country when a child loses a tooth, he throws it in a mouse hole & says, "Mousey, here is my tooth, give me a new one in its stead."
old. Apart from the mere display of tools and techniques belonging to that time, like corn shelling, shingle making or the blacksmith, there is a wide range of farm products for sale which are perfectly appropriate. Along with interesting information about everyday objects of bygone times that have become valuable “antiques”, you can enjoy and take home their modern adaptations in tin or glass painting, rug or lace making, or handwoven fabrics or toys. Old costumes, customs and beliefs are brought back in play and discussions and form the background of information that is offered at the different stands of groups from present-day communities of these people.

So it will be essential for the Festival not to move too far from this center of the farm, or from the genuine handicraft and the Dutch inheritance in decoration and in language. All of the participants should be encouraged to decorate their stands perhaps in the style of this marvelous fence (with informative sign-boards about the Dutch ways and inheritance) that unfortunately is a bit hidden behind the tents. Otherwise there is no objection to the enjoyment of a “Dutch” handbag, which, although it is hardly authentic, shows an excellent make in lovely material, or to have your own name written in Fraktur. And even if I would have liked to find a small size model of a real Barn Sign perhaps bearing the name of the place where it can still be found on a barn, it certainly wouldn't have been more original, come to think of it, than the cheerful idea of dedicating one to your own trailer.

Matters of taste are always difficult to discuss. However no discussion is needed about the food, it is simply excellent. The country kitchen and the marvelous meals cooked there every day, would be worth a show of its own; there is no doubt of that, which the visitor can verify for himself that those complicated old recipes can be done with the old equipment and even done in predictable time! A symbolic and quite tasty contrast to those elaborate menus is offered with the simple Dutch fries. Wouldn't those visitors who enjoy a bag of fries be very surprised that they are eating the most authentic reminder of the scarcity and hardship the emigrants tried to escape. Dutch fries had the advantage not to need fat and there are quite a variety of other dishes from the old Palatinate which spring from the same idea. Looking at all the frying and frizzling that goes on at Kutztown Festival, to be sure, it is not too far-fetched to imagine how that immigrants happily indulged in the new luxury of plentiful fat. A concerned weight-watcher might get the impression that they just couldn't get enough of it; nothing was safe from being dipped into it, even corn was turned into a new variety of fritters. They obviously enjoyed that richness of fat and sweetening; just think of funny cake and shoo-fly pie.

They did not forget how rare meat had once been and kept up the habit of using up everything that could be turned into something edible after slaughtering a pig. “Everything was used except the squeal”! One should have imagined that they had had enough of “Panhaas,” the so-called “substitute rabbit in the pan,” even if it was made out of corn meal now instead of from barley, as at home. Applebutter is another example. Although some sort of similar apple dish is made in Germany, it is not as well known, but we use the same preserving technique with plums or apricots. Perhaps in comparison to the Pennsylvania fruit, our apples were too sour, and thus, more suitable for cider anyway.

This brings me finally to the topic of beverage. As honestly as I tried, I just could not warm myself to birch beer or root beer. Sipping at some sweet cider during midday heat, I just couldn't help such sacrilegious contemplations as to how well a nice glass of beer would fit my excellent “brode washt.” Or in the evening, when the day's business died down and only the square dance melodies hung in the air, how nice would have been a little chat - in a mixture of Suabian German dialect and the Pennsylvania Dutch of Berks County, for we tried it - over a good glass of wine. But perhaps this was the price our ancestors had to pay to be admitted to the favourable conditions of life in Pennsylvania. I, myself, would most willingly drink myself through a whole barrel of rooty birch beer to come back to the Festival once again.
Early birth and baptismal certificates contain a wealth of information for genealogists and social historians. The general designation Geburts- und Taufschein is frequently shortened to Taufschein (baptismal certificate), although some record only the birth information. In addition to the name and birth date of the child, the average Taufschein gives information about the child's parents (including place of residence and
mother’s maiden name) and spiritual family (sponsors and minister). It has been said that in no other section of the country were such records so carefully kept at such an early date.

Taufscheine are a large category within the whole of Fraktur. As a group they have many similarities but at the same time contain many examples of individual artistic expression. The text, even in hand written certificates, seems to evolve through a definite progression, becoming more or less standardized around 1800. Decoration ranges from dots and dashes through uncolored printed figures to elaborately hand drawn and colored motifs, with many variations in between. In most cases the artist did not sign the work, but diligent detectives, by using tiny clues, occasionally fit another piece into the puzzle of identification.

The collection of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society contains 80 Taufscheine, some of which are completely hand drawn and lettered, though most are at least partially printed. Many of them are from Berks County, with a good representation from Lebanon, Lehigh, Northampton, and Schuylkill Counties. In order to make the information from these certificates more readily available, each has been transcribed onto the form which is reproduced below. Any fact that was not included on the Taufschein is left blank, and in printing the summaries, blank spaces have been omitted. The first part of each summary describes the certificate, the middle section contains information about the child for whom the Taufschein was prepared, and the last section contains additional information from the certificate or additional description of it, if useful. In the future we hope to have photographs at Ursinus College of all the Taufscheine, for further study.

For indexing purposes, each certificate has been assigned a T-number (Taufschein number). The indexing of all names appearing on the Taufscheine in the Pennsylvania Folklife collection is divided into four parts. The first pertains to the child for whom the certificate was prepared. The family name is given, followed by the T-number. Each member of the same family mentioned on the certificate is listed under the family name, with the relationship to the child. This includes mothers’ maiden names and sponsors.

The second index is of townships. Only the T-number and the family name are given. This will refer you to the correct descriptive summary for more information.

Ministers comprise the third index, and in this case only the T-number is given, and refers you to Taufscheine as above.

The fourth index includes artists, printers, scriveners, and watermarks. Since these bear no direct relationship to the child for whom the certificate was prepared, only the T-number is given. A brief description of the Taufschein, by which the artistic attribution was determined, can be found in the descriptive summary.

Names of people, townships, and counties are transcribed exactly as they appear on the certificate. All places are in Pennsylvania unless otherwise stated, and the English abbreviation Twp. and Co. are used. If a place name needs clarification, it is done in brackets. Months are transcribed in English, but if an older German form (for example Hornung) is used, it is transcribed exactly, followed by the English in brackets. Scrivener’s crossed out errors are included in the summaries and crossed out. These bits of information just might provide a clue for some hard-working detective. Additional notes are translated into English and summarized. A printer’s name, town, or date not appearing on the certificate is enclosed in brackets. Portions of dates which are printed on the Taufschein are underlined in the summary. For printed certificates, designations of style as Angel III, etc., follow Shelley.

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**FOOTNOTES**


2 Ibid., pp. 149-155.
Sources to compare examples


TAUFSCHEIN SUMMARY

TAUFSCHEIN 1 (T 1)
size: 31 x 37.5 cm. horizontal cutdown from original size laid paper all hand drawn, lettered, and colored; Adam and Eve in Paradise, side borders of birds, drawn in ink, then colored, red, green, blue, yellow letters M or N F in design at bottom

child: Margretha Fetzerbergen
birth date: February 27, 1778 Friday, 8:00 p.m.
sponsors: Johann [last name missing - torn away or possibly never included] and his wife Elisabetha

TAUFSCHEIN 2 (T 2)
printed by: Heinrich Otto
place: [Berks Co.]
date: [active to 1788]
style: block print, colored; names, etc., also printed red, green, blue, tan
size: 33 x 40.5 cm. horizontal

color: Peter Bock
parents: Balthaser Bock, Susanna
birth date: May 8, 1786 2:00 a.m. sign of Jungfrau [Virgo]
baptised on: June 18
by: Lemann (Lutheran)
sponsors: Michael Hollenbach and his wife Margretha

TAUFSCHEIN 3 (T 3)
artist: Friederich Speyer
date: August 5, 1791
medium: printed text in heart; hand drawn and colored border designs; cross-legged angels, mermaids, crown, elegant people, birds, flowers
printed by: Barton und Jungmann
place: Reading
size: 31.5 x 40.5 cm. horizontal

child: Andreas Deller
parents: Ege ege Wilhelm Deller, Elisabetha uner
friedin Volkin
birth date: February 9, 1789 4:00 a.m. sign of Loe [Leo]
place: Heidelberg Twp., Berks Co.
baptized on: February 15, 1789
by: Imanues Shultz, Lutheran
sponsors: George Ege and his wife Elisabetha

* * * * *

Taufschein 4 (T 4)
artist: Friederich Speyer
date: [active to 1800]
size: 33.5 x 41 cm. horizontal laid paper printed
text in heart; hand drawn and colored border
designs, lions, pelicans, oriental-appearing couple

TAUFSCHEIN 5 (T 5)
style: Otto-type bird panels; cherub top center; hand
drawn motifs flanking; colored olive, yellow, red
size: 33 x 39.5 cm. horizontal

child: Michael Glück
parents: Ludwig Glück, Barbara Dürkes
birth date: January 6, 1789
place: Hanover Twp., Dauphin Co.
by: Ludwig Lupp

sponsors: Johannes Handshu and his wife Susanna

* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 6 (T 6)
date: [c.1795 ?]
style: block printed; Otto style birds, cherub at center
TAUFSCHEIN 7 (T 7)
date: [c. 1785?]
size: 33 x 40.5 cm. horizontal laid paper watermark, CB enclosed in scrollwork; block printed form, including Otto-style birds; hand drawn flowers top and bottom, hairy angel at bottom center; some gloss in colors

TAUFSCHEIN 8 (T 8)
sty: hand drawn, colored, on printed text; birds, flowers, angel heads on hearts

TAUFSCHEIN 9 (T 9)
date: [c.1785?]
style: block printed; Otto style birds, textile design at top; colored in pale colors, green predominates

TAUFSCHEIN 10 (T 10)
stype: Otto-type bird panels; cherub top center; hand drawn motifs flanking; colored green, orange, gold, brown

TAUFSCHEIN 11 (T 11)
date: [c.1800]
style: Otto style birds; cherub at bottom center, beehive at top center; colored red, yellow, olive
child: Michael Stober  
parents: Friederich Stober, Anna Heklern  
birth date: May 16, 1793  
place: Haines Twp., Centre Co.  
by: Jasensky  
sponsors: Michael Rohn and his wife Elizabeth

written at the bottom in English:  
Michael Stover died June 20, 1868 aged 75...4

TAUFSCHEIN 12 (T 12)  
printed by: Barton und Jungmann  
place: Reading

child: Magdalena Ruthin  
parents: Peter Ruth, Anna [Margrat (mostly obliterated by a hole)] Shäferin  
birth date: December 25, 1790 10:00 a.m. sign Löb [Leo?]  
place: Cumri Twp., Berks Co.  
baptized on: Hornung [February] 7, 1791  
by: Johannes Haamon  
sponsors: Juliana Shäferin

date: 179-  
style: decorated with block prints of man, woman, birds, flowers: colored unknown artist  
size: 33 x 41 cm. horizontal
TAUFSCHEIN 13 (T 13)
date: [c.1800?]
style: text enclosed in oblong flower border; top of page = Ich bin getauft... enclosed in heart delicately colored in light red
time: 20 x 23 cm. horizontal

child: Susanna Bauer
parents: Casper Bauer, Amaria Hoffmanin
birth date: March 25, 1753
place: Wiesenburch Twp., Northampton Co.
baptized on: April 2, 1753
by: Ludwig Sherdel
sponsors: Jacob Klein and Sussanna Bauerin, both single

TAUFSCHEIN 14 (T 14)
printed by: [probably Jacob Stöver]
place: [Lebanon]
style: flat top heart, colored red, yellow, green
size: 31.5 x 39.5 cm. horizontal upper left corner missing

child: Daniel Loss
parents: Jacob Loss, Cadarina
birth date: October 11, 1792
sponsors: Georg Shwartz and his wife Marweta
medium: painted and dot decoration in red, blue, green on printed heart form
printed by: C. J. Hütter
place: Easton
size: 33 x 40.5 cm. horizontal laid paper

* * * * *

child: Johannes Heil
parents: Johannes Heil, Annamaria Silfisin
birth date: December 24, 1779
baptized on: January 19, 1780
sponsors: Johannes Huku and his wife Margaretha

* * * * *

Text: An inward Baptism of pure fire,
Wherewith to be Baptiz'd I have;
'Tis all my longing Soul's desire
This, only this, my soul can save.

* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 18 (T 18)
printed by: Samuel Baumann

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child: Mary Maust
parents: Jacob Maust, Sophia Devine
birth date: January 25, 1801
place: Salsbury Twp., Lancaster Co.
by: John Faber
sponsors: Barbara Stephan

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TAUFSCHEIN 19 (T 19)
print by: Samuel Baumann

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child: Ana Barbara Bauch
parents: Heinrich Bauch, Anna Margreda Grünwaldin
birth date: June 25, 1790
place: Ephrata
date: [c.1812]
style: heart, springing deer, colored
size: 31 x 40.5 cm. horizontal laid paper

* * * * *
sponsors: Johannes Miller and his wife Barbara

written on back:
died November 19 year apparently cut off
aged 77 years, 4 months, 24 days

* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 20 (T 20)
printed by: Heinrich Merklein
place: Chambersburg
date: [c. 1800]
style: block print; square text; colored; fruit, children, women
size: 32 x 37.5 cm. horizontal laid paper, star watermark

child: unnamed daughter
parents: Jacob Hege, Martha Lecher
birth date: December 15, 1812
place: Franklin Co.

* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 21 (T 21)
size: 34 x 41 cm. horizontal laid paper
text enclosed in wide circle broken by a heart top, bottom and each side; flying angels, flowers, drawn in pencil and ink, then colored, glossy colors red, olive, gold.
child: Daniel Hinderleiter
parents: Jacob Hinderleiter, Esther Breyfogelin
birth date: February 10, 1800
place: Maxatany Twp., Berks Co.
by: Johan Henrich Helffrich, Evangelical Reformed
sponsors: Matthaus Hinderleiter, grandfather of the child, and his wife.

written in bottom heart: schadet
in same hand and ink as sponsor's name

TAUFSCHEIN 22 (T 22)
artist: [Reading-Berks Artist?]
locale: [Berks Co.]
date: [late 18th C.]
size: 21 x 33.5 cm. horizontal
large parrot on each side; dark glossy colors, red, yellow, blue, black

child: Joseph Hey
parents: Philipp Hey, Anna Maria Gilbertin
birth date: December 17, 1795
place: Braunschweig Twp., Berks Co.
baptized on: March 6, 1796
by: Henrich Hertzel
sponsors: Martin Werner and his wife

cf Shelley, plate 203
hand lettered text continues: was confirmed in the Evangelical Reformed religion by Rev. Philip Meyer, at age 19 in the Christ Church.
further information written in different hands and inks:
He was married to Anna Maria Shneitern on March 27, 1821 by Philip Meier.

TAUFSCHEIN 23 (T 23)
size: 33.5 x 40.5 cm. horizontal laid paper
text enclosed in wide circle; flowers in upper corners, heart at each side, circle in each lower corner, highly decorated, in pen; glossy colors, red, yellow, blue, brown

child: Carl Beck
parents: Jacob Beck, Susanna (daughter of Conrad Has)
birth date: February 5, 1813 5:30 a.m.
place: Nazareth Twp., Northampton Co.
baptized on: February 25, 1813
by: Johann Conrad Jäger, Lutheran
sponsors: Henrich Beck and his wife Catharina, grandparents of the child
TAUFSCHEIN 24 (T 24)
artist: Johann Valentin Schuller
locale: [worked in Mahantango Valley, Northumberland Co.]
size: 19.5 x 32 cm. horizontal laid paper
square printed text; urn or flowers on each side
red paint = slightly glossy

TAUFSCHEIN 25 (T 25)
artist: [Cross-Legged Angel Artist]
locale: Dauphin Co.
date: early 19th century
size: 32 x 39.5 cm. horizontal laid paper?
angel, two parrots, geometric designs, borders
designs outlined in ink, then colored brown, red,
yellow, green

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child: Elisabeth Baumgärtner
parents: Michael Baumgärtner, Catharina Scherg
birth date: May 17, 1812
sign: Lowe [Leo]

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child: Johannes Lap
parents: Andres Lap, Maria Elisabeth
birth date: November 24, 1809 11:00 a.m.
sign: Kreps [Cancer]
place: Heidelberg Twp., Tapfen [Dauphin] Co.
baptized on: May 21
by: Hendel
sponsors: Adam Kehl
TAUFSCHEIN 26 (T 26)
date: [c. 1810?]
style: angels with trumpets, text in rounded square
        colored red, green, yellow
size: 33.5 x 41.5 cm. horizontal laid paper

child: Catharina Heilman
parents: Johann Heilman, Anna Maria Heilman
birth date: April 12, 1774
place: Lebanon Taunschip
baptized on: May 14
sponsors: Anstasius Heilman and his wife

* * * * *
cf Pa. German Society, v. 11, plate 462
* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 27 (T 27)
style: women in togas; block printed; soft colors,
purple, green, orange
size: 32 x 38 cm. horizontal

child: Johannes Huber
parents: Benjamin Huber, Elizabeth Kifferin
birth date: August 23, 1809
place: Franklin Co.

* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 28 (T 28)
size: 19 x 30 cm. horizontal
Kuster style birds on flowers, colored blue, green,
brown, yellow; slightly glossy; hand lettered text
in square format

child: Christina Merckel
parents: Benjamin Merckel, Efa [Eva] Schneidern
birth date: March 6, 1822
by: [Strewel ?]
sponsors: Samuel Wiest and his wife E [the rest
is torn off]
TAUFSCHEIN 29 (T 29)
size: 20.5 x 33.5 cm. horizontal laid paper
hand lettered text, square format; Schuller-type flower on each side

child: Wilhelm Daubert
parents: Johannes Daubert, Christina Dewaldin
birth date: November 29, 1815 6:00 p.m.
place: Manheim Twp., Schuylkill Co.
baptized on: December 31, 1815
by: Münch, evangelisch lutherischen Prediger
sponsors: Daniel Schappel and his wife Catharina

* * * * *

child's name and sponsor's name in different hand and ink from rest of information

TAUFSCHEIN 32 (T 32)
printed by: Jacob Thoma
place: Orwigsburg
date: [c.1830 or later]
style: angel V, brightly colored
size: 32 x 37 cm.

child: Catharina Border
parents: Henrich Border, Catharina Minnig
birth date: July 31, 1828
baptized on: September 9, 1828
by: Eyster
sponsors: Jacob Artz and his wife Catharina

* * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 33 (T 33)
printed by: Johann Ritter und Comp.
place: Reading
date: [c.1812]
style: angel I, uncolored
size: 34 x 42 cm.

child: Heinrich Christ
parents: Konrad Christ, Elisabeth Degler
birth date: September 30, 1795
place: Bethel Twp., Berks Co.
sponsors: Heinrich Rieth, wife Elisabeth

* * * * *

written in bottom margin: married March 22, 1818

TAUFSCHEIN 34 (T 34)
printed by: Philip Hantsch
place: Reading
date: [c.1830 or later]
style: angel V, colored, gold border
size: 32.5 x 41.5 cm.

child: Susanna Zeller
parents: Peter Zeller, Elisabeth Millerin
birth date: September 8, 1827
place: Elisabeth Twp., Lancaster Co.
baptized on: November 22, 1827
by: Wm. Bates
sponsors: Lydia Zeller

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TAUFSCHEIN 35 (T 35)
printed by: Johann Ritter
place: Reading
date: [c. 1814]
style: angel I, colored red, green, tan glossy paint
size: 33 x 41.5 cm.

child: Sara Schmoyer
parents: Johannes Schmoyer, Eva Dieterich
birth date: August 16, 1822
place: Allen Twp., Northampton Co.
baptized on: August 25, 1822
by: Jacob C. Lecker
sponsors: Maria Dieterich

TAUFSCHEIN 36 (T 36)
printed by: Carl A. Bruckman
place: Reading
style: angel I, uncolored
size: 33.5 x 41 cm. laid paper

child: Susana Letsche Wieder
parents: Valantin Wieder, Susana Leibertin
birth date: February 25, 1819
baptized on: 1819
by: Weiss
sponsors: Jacob Knaus and his wife Maria and the grandmother Maria Knausen

TAUFSCHEIN 37 (T 37)
printed by: [possibly John Baumann]
place: [Ephrata]
date: [c. 1800]
style: heart, birds printed in red and black inks
size: 32.5 x 40.5 cm. horizontal

child: not filled in

TAUFSCHEIN 38 (T 38)
printed by: Ig. Kohler
place: Philadelphia
date: 1855
style: lithographed scenes, colored; in English mostly red, yellow
size: 27 x 39 cm.

child: not filled in

TAUFSCHEIN 39 (T 39)
printed by: G. A. Sage

place: Allentown
date: [c. 1840]
style: confrontal angels with flowers, colored
size: 35.5 x 44 cm.

child: not filled in

TAUFSCHEIN 40 (T 40)
printed by: John Ritter & Co.
place: Reading
style: angel I, English, colored, carefully decorated dresses on angels
size: 32.5 x 40 cm.

child: not filled in

TAUFSCHEIN 41 (T 41)
printed by: [possibly Joseph Schnee]
place: [Lebanon]
style: block printed; praying children, butterflies, colored
size: 33 x 36 cm.; laid paper

child: Maria Zerger
parents: Johannes Zerger, Maria Paffly
birth date: March 13, 1806
baptized on: November 20, 1891
by: O. [?] S. Scheirer

baptismal information in another hand [possibly death information instead?]
TAUFSCHEIN 42 (T 42)
printed by: A. und W. Blumer
place: Allentown
date: 1840
style: angel IV, uncolored
size: 33 x 42 cm.

child: William Buchmann
parents: Andreas Buchmann, Magdalena Leienberger
birth date: December 17, 1825
baptized on: February 11, 1826
by: Becker
sponsors: William Schumacher, Catharina Leienberger

same hand and ink: confirmed March 13, 1842 by Gerhart

TAUFSCHEIN 43 (T 43)
size: 21 x 33.5 cm. horizontal folded to 21 x 28.5 cm. (the extra is on the right hand margin) on printed form with text in heart; hand drawn and colored stylized flowers

child: Johanna Montelius
parents: Peter Montelius, Margretha Stitzer
birth date: July 14, 1825 Saturday, 10:30 p.m.
place: Buffaloe Twp., Union Co.
baptized on: August 3, 1825 Wednesday
by: Joh. Georg Keim, Ev. Lutherischem Prediger, im Schulhause daselbst
sponsors: parents

written on back: wife of John Shaffer, died June 4, 1872
cf Pa. German Society, v. 11, plate 479

TAUFSCHEIN 44 (T 44)
printed by: Jacob Stöver
place: Libanon
style: flat top heart, uncolored; names, etc. are also printed
size: 33 x 39 cm. horizontal irregularly cut soft gray paper

child: Georg Lang
parents: David Lang, Catharina
birth date: October 30, 1825

place: Anville Twp., Libanon Co.
by: Heister
sponsors: David and Catharina Lang

TAUFSCHEIN 45 (T 45)
printed by: H. Ebner und Comp.
place: Allentown
date: [c.1820]
style: angel I, colored with chalk
size: 34 x 41 cm.

child: Jacob Edwein Labach
parents: Christian Labach, Elisabeth Dechen
birth date: December 10, 1825
baptized on: 1826
by: Gobrecht
sponsors: Gotfried Peter and his wife Elisabeth

TAUFSCHEIN 46 (T 46)
printed by: Johann Ritter
place: Reading
date: [c.1814]
style: angel I, uncolored
size: 33 x 41.5 cm.

child: Gertraut Nayen
parents: Michael Nay, Maria Zilligen
birth date: October 10, 1828
place: Ober Dalba Haken [Upper Tulpehocken] Twp., Berks Co., Binsulvania
baptized on: September 15, 1834
by: Herman
sponsors: Barbara Keich

baptismal information in different hand and ink
TAUFSCHEIN 47 (T 47)
printed by: Johann Ritter
place: Reading
date: c. 1814
style: angel I, colored red, green, yellow
size: 33.5 x 41.5 cm.

*T * * * * 
child: not filled in
*T * * * *

TAUFSCHEIN 48 (T48)
printed by: [probably John Baumann]
place: Ephrata
date: c. 1800
style: heart, birds colored soft pink, yellow
size: 33.5 x 40.5 horizontal

*T * * * *
child: Margreta Pohl
parents: Adam Pohl, Barbara Kapp
birth date: May 27, 1808 9:00 p.m.
place: Heidelberg Twp., Bercks Co.

by: Emanuel Schultze
sponsors: Cattrina Uhllig

*T * * * *
minister’s name seems to be in a different hand, and
sponsor’s name in still another
birth year, mother’s maiden name, and several decorative lines are in red ink and a different hand
in red ink, on bird in upper left corner:
1825
27
8

This article will be continued in the next issue (Winter, 1978) of THE PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE magazine.
With this issue a new hand assumes editorial functions and responsibilities for Pennsylvania Folklife. Professor William T. Parsons of Ursinus College succeeds Professor Don Yoder of the University of Pennsylvania, both in the footsteps of Professor Alfred L. Shoemaker, of Franklin and Marshall College, founder of The Pennsylvania Dutchman and The Dutchman both forerunners of Pennsylvania Folklife. Don Yoder has resigned the editorship under pressure of other duties, the most recent his appointment as Winterthur Fellow for 1978-79. He has set a standard of excellence which your new editor will find a real challenge. You will no doubt agree that the nearly three decades of publication under just two editors bespeaks a solidarity of purpose and a meeting of minds. Words of thanks to Yoder and Shoemaker are hardly sufficient to convey the real debt of gratitude we all owe them. To continue the publication at its current high level and to innovate in some areas will be marks of thanks from the new staff.

Your new editor, Parsons, has edited the Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County (Pa.), one of the finest local history journals in the nation. He has issued the Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Series of Ethnic Studies and Bicentennial pamphlet and booklet items, roughly a dozen in all, for classroom, civic and church use. He has been assistant editor of Pennsylvania Folklife for the past several years and has appeared on the same speakers platform and in the same classroom as teacher with Don Yoder on several occasions. Yoder and Parsons both

The Archives of Pennsylvania Folklife Society, housed in Myrin Library on the Ursinus campus, will yield numerous articles of general and scholarly interest, the new editor suggests, as three major items in this first issue will attest. He trusts that researchers among the readership will use the archives' rich document and printed collections, files and indexes wherever applicable to their own projects. Several genealogical, historical and folk cultural topics have already been enriched by data found in the PFS Archives. Come and use them.

Merely using our own resources more extensively will result in a higher percentage of articles on the Pennsylvania Dutch (Pennsylvania Germans, if you prefer, why argue?) though fine folk cultural writings on other ethnic or religious groups on Pennsylvania will also appear.

Whenever dialect writings are used, the literary form and orthographical integrity of the original read papers in the Pfälzer-Palatine Symposium at Enkenbach-Kaiseraltert in January 1976.

Was Häupt Der ...

Kasper Hufnagel?
author will be respected unless absolutely unreadable. But Barba or Harter, like Reitnauer, Brendle, Frey or Kemp will appear as originally written. Authors of new works in the dialect will be encouraged (but not forced) to use the Buffington-Barba German sound orthography, as the editor himself will do, with minor variations, in his own efforts.

But the sound is the thing! We are dealing with an oral language which has no official authorized spelling. Who would authorize it, at that?

It seems high time to quit haggling about the spelling, since agreement on one system seems impossible and get back to the spirit of John Birmelin's “Wie soll mer Schpelle?”:

Iss es Schpelle? - Buchstawiere?
Frogt mer weiter net dernooch;
Un fer was dann dischbediere?
's iss yo doch die Mutterschproch!

Schpelle for spell? or buchstabieren?
No further questions about that anymore;
Why all this constant arguing?
It's still, in fact, the Mother-tongue!

Which reminds me that whenever dialect articles, poems or sentences appear, they will be accompanied by English translation, at least the sense of the original. Let us busy ourselves to preserve the dialect and folk-life traditions. Take time to send in your suggestions. We are vitally interested.

This editor will, if readers express sufficient interest, make dialect articles available on audio-tape cassettes to those subscribers willing to pay the cost of duplicating tapes plus handling and mailing. One cassette copy will be available in the Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives in Collegeville, but duplication can be undertaken only if there is sufficient demand and if the process pays its own way. Those interested shall notify the editor. A major dialect article is planned for the Winter 78 issue.

Dr. Edith von Zemenszky, co-editor of the Steuben Papers Project, recently inquired about the present location of a diary or journal of the Reverend John William Runkel (1749-1832) reputedly the source of an often repeated statement that Runkel translated for General von Steuben at Valley Forge. Hearing of the request, Dr. George H. Bricker, Philip Schaff Library of Seminary in Lancaster, sent a copy of an excerpted version which Henry Harbaugh had used more than a century ago. The excerpts, now forwarded to Dr. von Zemenszky, make no mention of Valley Forge or the translations, a strange omission if in fact they did occur.

Any reader with information on the missing diary, or with any other documentary substantiation for this story, is requested to contact Dr. von Zemenszky, Steuben Project, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania. They have found and are editing approximately 6500 letters and documents to date.
See here once, Kaiserslautern! An Altes/Neies Rediscov­ery: Pastor Frederick Louis Henop’s copy of a volume of Jockisch Expedition Prediger!!!

Found where it was not lost, but where the association with Henop had not been celebrated, in the Rare and Special Books section of the Myrin Library, William T. Parsons was surprised to find an original printing, still apparently in original binding, though with loose covers, Martin Jockisch, Expedition Prediger, *Das ist Ausführliche Dispositiones über die aller­herrlichsten Sprüche der heiligen Schrift...* 25. Teil, (Freystadt: Gottlob Hebold, 1764.) But this 25th Part of Jockisch, *The Preacher’s Study, or Detailed Explanations on the greatest Passages from Scripture* is inscribed “Dieses buch gehört Friderich Ludwig Henop, Predigern zu Friderichstaun in der americanischen Provinz Mar­ienland.” “This book belongs to Frederick Louis Henop, Minister at Frederickstown in the American Province of Maryland.” Since Frederick Henop (1740-1784) a German Reformed pastor, was born in Kaisers­lautern, came to America in 1765 and served at Frederick from 1770 until his death, it seems reasonable to assume he probably obtained the book in the 1770’s, prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. The book was a gift of the Reverend G. W. Glessner, an early friend of the Library.

A little gem of local history and folk culture has just crossed the Editor’s desk. *Neidlingen gestern und heute* (Neidlingen yesterday and today) is the name of this small opus. I am indebted to Bürgermeister Ulrich Rieker for my copy, one of the very last available, I understand. One of the many small towns along the Swabian Alb which sent some of its young people to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century, it offers scenic beauty and local history which reaches back nearly twelve hundred years. Gross Dank!

Congratulations to the Education Committee of the Pennsylvania German Society, Richard Druckenbrod, Chairman, Mary Alice Minderhout, John Zug, Irwin Klinger and all, for their Educator’s Workshop, 23 September, 1978 at Myerstown, Pa. Local History, Fraktur, Folk Music and old-time drama delighted the participants and suggested additional ways to celebrate Pennsylvania German traditions and culture, and in particular to keep the dialect alive. From Boston area, Connecticut and North Jersey came some hardy participants. If interested be sure to mark this Saturday in September 1979 for the Third Annual Educator’s Workshop.

To the numerous readers who told us they read Don Yoder’s article on Dialect Church Services with interest, those gatherings have resumed in Eastern Pennsylvania in late summer and the fall. October has produced such gatherings at Barto, Pennsburg and Howertown, while on November 12, 1978 at 3 p.m. in St. Paul’s Lutheran Church, Fleetwood, their annual gathering is scheduled. May 20, 1979 at 2:30 p.m., the Huffa Karrich Sundaag Schule will again convene for its Twelvft Yohrlich Brogrom. Donald Geschwind, Richard Druckenbrod and both Earl Moyer and Clarence Reitnauer from Huffs Church have spoken at a number of these services.
STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 12, 1970

(Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

Of Pennsylvania Folklife, published 5 times yearly at Lancaster, Pa., for October 1, 1978.

1. The names and addresses of publisher, editor, business manager are: Publisher - Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Lancaster, Pa., Acting Editor - William T. Parsons, Business Manager - Mark R. Eaby, Jr., Lancaster, Pa.

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

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

4. Extent and Nature of Circulation


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

Mark R. Eaby, Jr.
Business Manager
Welcome to the Archives Collection of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society. We are housed in Room 301 Myrin Library at Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. The Collection, a result of some thirty years of accumulation, donation and purchase, includes old and local books and imprints. It also contains many documents, records and manuscripts, some photographs and color slides, audio-tape cassettes and other materials pertinent to the Pennsylvania German (popularly called the Pennsylvania Dutch) settlements of Pennsylvania and neighboring areas. These materials are supplemented by printed sources about the Pennsylvania Germans and similar materials on other groups for comparative study done by various societies and organizations in the United States and Europe.

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives Collection functions as a research center for all facets of history and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans, but especially for the folklife, folk culture and all that these encompass. In the Myrin Library the scholar may consult the Alfred L. Shoemaker File, a unique index to folk-cultural information explicitly about museums or cultural-historical collections. It consists of 80,000 cross-reference cards listing information from books, journals and newspapers. In addition, abstracted information from thousands of folk-cultural informants' interviews, letters and other comments is to be found in the files. The letters and interview notes may be used, also, for research purposes.

Photographs, color slides and audio-tape cassettes of activities in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country are another useful part of the collection to be found in Room 301. A personality card file has been begun which documents names, families, points of origin and locations of American settlements having thousands of Pennsylvania German migrants.

The Archives of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society in Room 301 Myrin Library are open regularly on Monday afternoons of the school term between 1:00 and 4:00 p.m. or at other times by special arrangement in advance. Inquiries should be directed to:

Professor William T. Parsons, Archivist
Pennsylvania Folklife Society
301 Myrin Library, Ursinus College
712 Chestnut Street,
Collegeville, Pa. 19426

COLLECTIONS

Charles R. Roberts Manuscript Collection
Account books, ledgers, order books and other bound manuscript items (1762-1818), especially those of Peter Rhoads and Frederick Schenkel; letters and documents 1756-1875, including some correspondence of the Reverend Abraham Blumer (1736-1822).

Walter Boyer Collection
Books, pamphlets and prints in German and English; Rhineland and Pennsylvania imprints, on the history, dialect, folk culture and heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans, including some items purchased by Boyer from the earlier Henry S. Bornemann Collection.

William T. Parsons - Evan S. Snyder Cassette Collection
Audio-tape cassettes of Fersommlinge, Karrichdinscht and other program use of Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch (the Pennsylvania German Dialect); interviews and commentary in Deitsch and English; Folk Culture and Oral History from Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Classes at Ursinus; Rhineland and Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs.

William T. Parsons Color Slide Collection
Approximately 750 slides of items, artifacts, locations and personalities in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, reflecting the heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans; slides of German and Swiss locations from which these travelers emigrated.
The Festival and its Sponsorship

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

FOR THE FOLK FESTIVAL BROCHURE WRITE TO:

Pennsylvania Folklife Society
College Blvd. & Vine, Kutztown, Pa. 19530