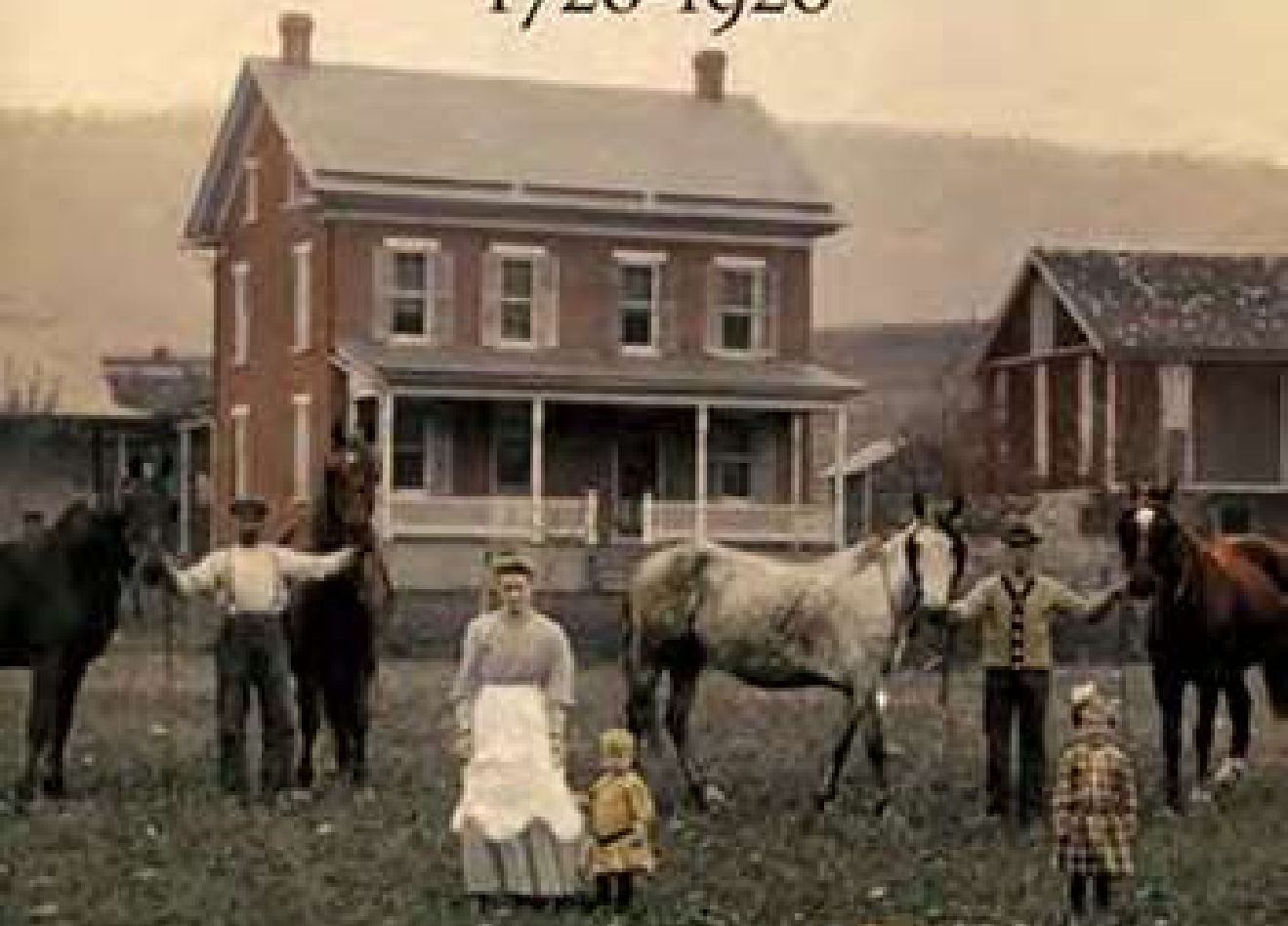
Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920



Edited by

Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen

Architecture and Landscape
of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920

This page intentionally left blank

Architecture and Landscape

of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920

EDITED BY SALLY McMURRY
AND NANCY VAN DOLSEN

PENN

University of Pennsylvania Press
Philadelphia · Oxford

Published by
University of Pennsylvania Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-4112

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Architecture and landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920 / edited by
Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-8122-4278-2 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Vernacular architecture—Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania Dutch Country.
2. Cultural landscapes—Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania Dutch Country.
I. McMurry, Sally Ann, 1954– II. Van Dolsen, Nancy.
NA730.P4A73 2011
720.9748—dc22

2010022113

Contents

Illustrations

Architecture and Landscape
of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920

This page intentionally left blank

INTRODUCTION

Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920

Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen

The phrase "Pennsylvania German architecture" calls forth a certain mental image, likely conjuring up first the "Continental" three-room house, with its huge hearth, five-plate stoves, tiny windows, perhaps a vaulted cellar, exposed beams, and colorful decorative motifs. The huge Pennsylvania bank barn with its projecting overshoot also enters the picture. Construction techniques such as *Fachwerk*, the *liegender Stuhl* truss, and paled insulation have long been associated with antecedents from German-speaking regions of early modern Europe. These and other distinctive building qualities have prompted the interest of a wide audience, ranging from tourists and genealogists to architectural historians, antiquarians, and folklorists.

Since the late nineteenth century, scholars have engaged in field measurement and drawing, photographic documentation, and careful observation; these have in turn resulted in an extended conversation about Pennsylvania German building traditions, spatial sensibilities, and aesthetic culture. What cultural patterns were being expressed in these buildings? How did shifting social, technological, and economic forces shape architectural changes? Since those early forays, our understanding has moved well beyond the three-room house and the forebay barn. This volume assembles contemporary scholarly insights about the Pennsylvania German contributions to American architectural expression. The essays draw both from previous generations' interpretations and from current intellectual perspectives.

What do we mean by "Pennsylvania German"? The "Pennsylvania Germans" descended from those German-speaking colonists who arrived in North America from various parts of German-speaking Europe between 1683 and the American Revolution, and whose progeny evolved a local dialect, planted institutions, and joined the fabric of American life. Beyond this widely accepted definition, the complexities are daunting. To begin with, both the terms "Pennsylvania Dutch" and "Pennsylvania German" came into usage to refer to the group. "Pennsylvania Dutch" probably originated as an anglicized corruption of *Deutsch* or *Deitsch*, words denoting the German language or Pennsylvania dialects of it. "Pennsylvania German" was also commonly used from the nineteenth century onward. Some Pennsylvania Germans were uncomfortable with the term "Dutch," believing that it not only obscured their German heritage, but was too easily paired with epithets such as "dumb."

Pennsylvania's German-speaking immigrants during the colonial period came from several different areas in Europe, and they came from varied religious and economic backgrounds, too. Not all settled in present-day Pennsylvania, either; some colonial-era German immigrants ended up in the upper South, and as far north as Ontario. This volume focuses on the region in Pennsylvania where German settlement and social influence were notably concentrated.[1]

Early small-scale migrations beginning in 1683 brought German speakers to Germantown, Pennsylvania (near Philadelphia) from the Netherlands, Switzerland, and other parts of central Europe. But the largest migration—about 100,000—occurred between about 1730 and 1783, and originated primarily in the German-speaking states and principalities of the Rhine Valley; the Palatinate alone contributed about half. Many of these people were, in turn, only a generation or two removed from Swiss or Alsatian families. The first wave of migrants (roughly up to the French and Indian War) consisted mainly of propertied families, while thereafter the character shifted to young, poor men and women. Altogether, probably around ten percent of these immigrants were radical Protestant dissenters such as the Anabaptist Mennonites, Brethren, and Amish; the vast majority were Lutheran or German Reformed, with a sprinkling of Catholics. Most migrants came for economic betterment, leaving areas where opportunities were diminishing. By the Revolutionary War era, Pennsylvania's population was fully one-third German-speaking. This group became the Pennsylvania Germans.[2]

The war in North America combined with imperial proscription of emigration in Europe to effectively cut emigration to a trickle until about 1830, leaving the pre-Independence group a generation to form a settled society and evolve the distinctive local dialect and customs. During the antebellum period and then again after the Civil War, large new influxes of German speakers intro-

duced tensions between recent arrivals and Pennsylvania natives. Indeed, the presence of the new Germans prompted the "Pennsylvania Germans" toward a greater self-consciousness of their own group identity. Certainly mingling took place, but in general, the differences were keenly felt: new Germans headed for the cities while Pennsylvania Germans tended to be concentrated in rural places; the two groups shared a written language, but the immigrant High German speakers often scorned the Pennsylvania German dialect. Folklorist Don Yoder writes, "by the nineteenth century most Pennsylvania Germans could speak in ethnic terms of *unser Satt Leit*—'our kind of people.' "[3]

The establishment of the Pennsylvania German Society in 1891 marked a formal outcome to a process that had been taking place for decades. The Society flourished as a venue for Pennsylvania Germans from the majority "church" groups (Lutherans and German Reformed) for cultural, historical, and social expression. At least in part, the Society's early publications were aimed at fostering a positive view of the Pennsylvania Germans. Spokesmen like George Baer and William Uhler Hensel wanted to restore the Pennsylvania Germans to what they felt was their people's rightful place in American history and culture; yet in doing so they also (implicitly or explicitly) rejected some traits that were often labeled Pennsylvania German, particularly those associated with the increasingly distinctive Amish, whose reputed anti-intellectualism, rigidity, and lack of refinement the mainstream Pennsylvania Germans were anxious to condemn. David Weaver-Zercher has shown how, around the turn of the twentieth century, class, geography, and sectarian affiliation divided the various groups that together comprised the Pennsylvania Germans.[4]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the colonial revival movement brought a nostalgic, often elitist embrace of the distant past. Henry Chapman Mercer pioneered in this rediscovery in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His exhibit "Tools of the Nation Maker" and his work on fraktur brought Pennsylvania decorative arts out of obscurity. Following his lead, prominent collectors like Abby Aldrich Rockefeller helped promote Pennsylvania German decorative arts including fraktur painting, furniture making, and quilting; the opening of the Metropolitan Museum's American Wing in 1924 legitimized colonial decorative arts as never before. Fiction writer Elsie Singmaster (1879–1958) helped to disseminate local color and a fond portrayal of Pennsylvania German life through her novels and short stories. Memoirs by writers such as Cornelius Weygandt (*The Red Hills*, 1929) brought into popular view a romanticized "Dutch Country."

Pennsylvania German people both participated in these broader cultural movements and shaped them. Before about 1950, most treatments of Pennsylvania German history and material culture indulged unapologetically in uncritical

celebrations of ethnic "firsts," quaint folk customs, and aesthetic achievements. Some approached the subject through rigorous, object-centered connoisseurship, but still from a perspective that reserved the highest praise for objects with characteristics regarded as purely Pennsylvania German. In the 1950s and 1960s, reaction set in as scholarly research began to challenge key assumptions about Pennsylvania German distinctiveness. In writings and speeches, folklorist Don Yoder—himself of Pennsylvania German extraction—cautioned against approaches that focused too much on isolated Pennsylvania German achievements and personalities, and ignored cultural blending and social change. Geographer James Lemon attacked the popular assumption that the Pennsylvania German pursued ethnically distinctive (and superior) farming practices.[5]

The revisionists also pointed to internal differences within the Pennsylvania German community. Yoder led the way in seeking a balance that recognized the vitality of Pennsylvania German culture while placing it within a wider context. In a famous 1985 essay, he reviewed "Three Centuries of Identity Crisis" among the Pennsylvania Germans and efforts to address it. Yoder noted splits over how to relate to "Anglo" America (itself a constructed and contested category) and (later) to the new-wave immigrant *Deitschlenner*. Some favored Americanization, others took a "Germanizing" approach, while in the early twentieth century a "dialectizing" movement flourished. Even referential terms (especially "Pennsylvania Dutch" versus "Pennsylvania German") were contested.

Also in the 1980s, material culture scholar Scott Swank suggested that Pennsylvania Germans chose among three basic positions along a continuum: total assimilation, controlled acculturation, and rejection.[6] At one end, he argued, Pennsylvania Germans disappeared into a cultural "mainstream." At the other, they rejected that course for a self-consciously separate expression. Many chose to retain some customs and discard others; this strategy Swank called "controlled acculturation." Architectural historians have tended to place buildings as representative of either "assimilation" or "controlled acculturation."

Since the 1990s, scholarship has concentrated on carefully dissecting the interplay between German speakers and others in the American context. The premise is that German American identities were not shaped in social isolation, but forged through intimate contact with many groups. A. G. Roeber's historical scholarship analyzed the dialogue between European and British American political ideologies in the Pennsylvania context. He argued that Palatines integrated Continental notions of "liberty and property" with emerging American ones. More recently, historian Steven Nolt has argued for a process he calls "ethnicization as Americanization," in which "Germans in Pennsylvania" became "Pennsylvania Germans"—simultaneously ethnic *and* American—between about 1780 and 1848. Architectural historians Cynthia Falk and Gabri-

elle Lanier have suggested that cultural interaction should be understood not as a process in which a minority culture always reacts to the dominant culture, but rather as a give and take (Lanier calls it "creolization") in which both sides participate on a more or less equal basis. Falk sees Germans in Pennsylvania as more interested in expressing class status than in expressing ethnic solidarity.[7]

Most of this scholarship assumes an identifiable Pennsylvania German ethnicity on one level or another, and further assumes that ethnicity is expressed architecturally. The presence on the landscape of buildings and patterns clearly identified with German Pennsylvanians and visually differentiated from the dominant cultural pattern seems to warrant this assumption. However, Dell Upton has challenged scholars to move beyond positivistic, static notions of ethnicity to "understand ethnicity as a synthesis of imposed and adopted characteristics that is forged through contact and conflict. It is a role played for the benefit of others." Upton stresses that ethnicity is not inherent or essential, but rather that it depends on the situation. From Upton's perspective, then, the very notion of "authenticity" is a red herring; the "synthetic process of ethnic definition" involves both creolization and commodification, borne of contact between groups, and ultimately is also affected by individual self-fashioning.[8]

In general, current scholarship detects an invented "Pennsylvania German" community by the nineteenth century, a community that had demographic, geographic, political, and cultural dimensions. It also seems clear that Pennsylvania German self awareness developed through several processes: demographic consolidation; common cultural (especially linguistic) practices; interaction with the mainstream culture; contact with later waves of German immigrants; and change over time in response to larger economic and social trends. It is important to note that ethnicity was only one kind of identity available to Pennsylvania German; occupation, class, religion, or even region intertwined with ethnicity. By far the majority of those identified as Pennsylvania Germans did not belong to the Plain Sect groups, but rather were either Lutheran or German Reformed. Another critical contextual factor is that Pennsylvania Germans were not always internally cohesive: class, religious, and political divisions occurred within Pennsylvania German society, just as in the wider society.

We can conclude that the Pennsylvania German community had a definite, if complex, geographic and demographic origin, and that "Germans in Pennsylvania" became "Pennsylvania Germans" through an evolution that involved not just tangible processes (such as forging a more or less common dialect) but also collective "inventions," which changed over time. Of course, Pennsylvania Germans were never monolithic, but nonetheless their collective cultural self-conceptualizations were very powerful, because they drew on widely shared memories and experiences, from harvest rituals to foodways to holidays. Penn-

sylvania German "peoplehood" arguably reached its zenith in the late nineteenth century. With the twentieth century came a more historical consciousness as long-held traditions began to pass away. Pennsylvania German collective historical understanding was shaped by a complex interaction among popular memory (as expressed for example in linguistic or craft revivals, historical fiction, etc.) and academic historical documentation.

These shifts found expression in the landscape. In general, we can see that Pennsylvania German cultural self-consciousness and landscape expression broadly coincided. In the early years, Old World traits appeared prominently as "Germans in Pennsylvania" brought their traditions with them. Then, as "Pennsylvania Germans" cohered as a people, they blended Old World spatial, aesthetic, and technical values with American ones. At first these combinations were somewhat forced, but before long a more nuanced blending helped to shape a distinctive regional landscape. Remnants of this nineteenth-century world still have a strong presence in today's Commonwealth. In the twentieth century, entrepreneurs seized on the "Pennsylvania Dutch" theme and reworked it into a tourist-oriented commercial experience that had little to do with actual Pennsylvania German life. In parallel, organizations like the Pennsylvania German Society renewed their insistence on what they regarded as authenticity. These conflicting notions are still being worked out today, but the fabricated commercial presentation—often conflating "Pennsylvania German" with "Amish"—is prominent in the landscape.

The historic Pennsylvania German landscape still exerts a powerful attraction. In 2004, the Vernacular Architecture Forum devoted its annual meeting to the theme "Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920." The conference organizers planned seven study tours, which explored Pennsylvania German landscapes in Lancaster, Berks, Lebanon, and Cumberland Counties, fanning out from a base in Harrisburg. Extensive field documentation preceded the conference, resulting in a large archive of original measured drawings, plans, and photographs. The conference stimulated organizers to synthesize the current scholarship about Pennsylvania German architecture and landscape in an interpretive guidebook that accompanied the tours; now, these essays have been revised and are collected here so that a broader audience can learn from them. Most of the examples in the book are drawn from the VAF 2004 study area, which is located in an area of strong Pennsylvania German settlement and cultural influence. The buildings discussed here represent types common throughout Pennsylvania German country, so though this book's reach does not consistently extend to the geographic edges of the region as it is commonly defined (much less to the Greater Pennsylvania German region

beyond the state's borders), it does treat the most important Pennsylvania German architectural and landscape expressions.

The essays benefit from fieldwork done through the VAF conference process; many sites were newly documented. Measured drawings, plans, and site plans were produced for over forty-six sites, encompassing well over a hundred buildings. In itself, this documentation has added to our understanding. Also, since the last major overview of Pennsylvania German architecture (Scott Swank's 1983 volume, *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*), scholarship in a number of disciplines—especially history, anthropology, and literature—has raised several new issues. First, while previous scholarship focused on expressions considered to be quintessentially Pennsylvania German, more recent work considers German Pennsylvania within a much broader context, and considers the continual process of interaction among social groups that took place right from the beginning. Second, Pennsylvania German cultural productions are being re-examined as the theory of ethnicity changes. Third, the relationship between the Pennsylvania Germans and Europe, formerly assumed, has been re-examined and shown in many cases to be less a wholesale importation of Old World forms than an innovative reshaping of these forms in a new environment. Fourth, where most previous scholarship on Pennsylvania German material culture focused on rural areas in the eighteenth century, this volume treats farms, towns, and cities, and extends into the early twentieth century. Thus the interpretations offered here bring together current scholarly perspectives.

The time frame treated in this volume is bounded by two important watersheds. The year 1720 represents the point when German-speaking peoples' migration to Pennsylvania began to accelerate notably, and it also represents the earliest extant buildings. At the other end, by 1920 the transformations wrought by World War I had asserted themselves; Pennsylvania German people would continue to celebrate their heritage, but in a new context, as the dialect declined and the mainstream "church" people became (at least externally) more Americanized. From this point onward, touristic constructions of the "Dutch Country" and outsiders' nostalgic preoccupation with Amish life fundamentally transformed popular understandings of the Pennsylvania Germans.

Conceptually, the present volume collects seven substantive chapters, six of which are devoted to specific building categories, from dwellings to farm buildings to commercial architecture. Like the German-speaking immigrants with their disparate backgrounds and cultures who settled in Pennsylvania and who eventually became "Pennsylvania Germans," these essays take varied perspectives as they interpret these much-admired buildings. The essays discuss not only the Pennsylvania Germans' complex relationship with American or

"English" culture, but also their wrestling with the forces of modernity and industrialization.

In her essay on rural house types, Sally McMurry discusses various house forms, spatial patterns, and construction techniques traditionally associated with Pennsylvania Germans in rural areas. She synthesizes current and past scholarship that debates the significance of the "Continental" house type, particularly the extent to which it can be considered an "ethnic" expression. The essay also assesses the later nineteenth-century developments, including the subtle but perceptible connection between Pennsylvania German culture and the "Pennsylvania farmhouse" type identified by cultural geographers. Philip E. Pendleton discusses the domestic outbuildings surrounding farmhouses and townhouses, which have received little scholarly attention in the past. Pendleton provides a history of the development of the outbuilding tradition and a discussion of types, focusing on the ancillary house, which he views as a cultural marker illustrating the reorganization of the Pennsylvania German farm as it evolved between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century.

Sally McMurry and J. Ritchie Garrison reexamine that quintessential Pennsylvania German building, the bank barn with projecting forebay, and its accompanying outbuildings. In these agricultural buildings, they see a continual reworking of German-derived attributes, molded and remolded by agricultural modernization. McMurry and Garrison pose questions regarding aspects of Pennsylvania German culture and agriculture that have not yet been studied: gender, tenancy, and the possible connection between developing Pennsylvania German cultural consciousness, particularly as connected with foodways, and agricultural landscape features.

Very little scholarly work has focused upon the urban landscapes of heavily Pennsylvania German cities and towns, such as Lancaster, Schaefferstown, and Strasburg. Bernard L. Herman, Thomas Ryan, and David Schuyler take a look at the houses and streetscapes of Lancaster City to examine the formative and competing urban dwelling traditions, and to explore the impact of industrialization on the dwelling fabric of the city. They find that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century three major design traditions were found in almost every town in the Pennsylvania German region: the three-story brick residences of the class of urban residents linked less by ethnic and national identities than by association through trade and government; dwellings that conformed to well-established rural Pennsylvania German plans adapted to an urban setting; and residences that drew on a distinct Pennsylvania German town house design tradition, first formulated in Europe. In general, their piece shows Pennsylvania German remnants within an urban context that was more commercial and civic than ethnic in nature.

In their study of commercial architecture, Diane Wenger and J. Ritchie Garrison present findings that tally well with the work done by Schuyler, Ryan, and Herman. They find that the Germans first retained traditional home–work combinations such as "housemills," but these existed along with, and eventually seemed to be superseded by, forms that were not identifiably ethnic, at least not in the public areas. The Pennsylvania German merchant and trader transacted business with members of all ethnicities, "seeking those who would give . . . the best deal on the goods . . . needed rather than limiting himself only to Pennsylvania German businessmen," as noted by Wenger and Ritchie. In contrast to the scholars who study rural buildings, then, Wenger, Garrison, Ryan, Herman, and Schuyler do not see much ethnic expression at all in commercial architecture.

Jerry Clouse provides a history of the multitude of German religious groups that settled Pennsylvania, and how they developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Clouse describes the architecture of the churches and meetinghouses, and traces how changes in church doctrine affected the plans and ornament of the buildings. In ecclesiastical architecture, the Pennsylvania Germans paralleled other nationalities, but they generally adopted new church architecture much later. For example, the Pennsylvania Germans abandoned the "meeting house" form long after their Presbyterian or Episcopalian counterparts. Architectural conservatism, we may venture, was a Pennsylvania German characteristic in ecclesiastical buildings.

Gabrielle Lanier's essay on "Landscapes" places all of these building types in a much larger context. It traces landscape expressions through time and shows how they evolved in response not only to cultural impulses but to market forces and even tourist stereotypes. It carefully weighs perceptions against documentable cultural practices, and finds that historically there was a complex interaction between them, which continues down to the present.

Together, these seven essays point to new directions for future scholars. We hope these pieces will collectively stimulate further discussion and new understandings, even as the "Pennsylvania German" landscape continues to evolve.

CHAPTER ONE

Landscapes

Gabrielle Lanier

As Thomas Cooper passed through Carlisle and Lancaster County in 1794, he remarked on the link between the national origins of the region's population and the lands they cultivated. "At Carlisle and Lancaster, and throughout the Pennsylvania part of the Shenandoah valley," he wrote, "the Dutch settlers are numerous; their unremitting industry and attachment to place always makes land comparatively dear in their neighborhood." In a single sentence, Cooper managed to echo the observations of many of his contemporaries, underscoring several perceptions about the "Dutch" or Pennsylvania Germans that were widespread in his time: public perceptions held that Pennsylvania Germans tended to settle together, they typically remained in one place, and their industriousness and superior farming abilities enhanced productivity and land values. Such notions, as it turns out, were not only widespread, they were also long-lived, for they continue to influence prevailing perceptions of the Pennsylvania German landscape today. Twenty-first-century tourist literature promotes many of the same basic ideas. "In Lancaster County, farming is more than a profession, it's a way of life," proclaimed the website of the Pennsylvania Dutch Convention & Visitors Bureau recently. This is "a land where life remains simple, natural, and unrushed," a land that is "renowned for its rich farming heritage" as well as its "strong agricultural traditions and sense of stewardship," a land in which "our farmers take pride in a long day's work, knowing that their labor will produce some of the freshest, tastiest, and most sought after fruits and vegetables in the country."[1]

Ever since German immigrants began settling in the region in the late seventeenth century, their presence has been linked with a distinctive imprint upon the Pennsylvania countryside. Even before the Revolution, German-settled Lancaster County became known as the "Garden Spot of America" due to its fertile soil, its productivity, and Lancaster's early establishment as a major inland market town. Similarly, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers often marveled at the cathedral-like bank barns, skillfully tended fields, carefully managed woodlots, and orderly farmscapes that they encountered in German-settled parts of the Philadelphia backcountry, and they often attributed the landscape characteristics they saw to the national origins of the region's inhabitants. Today, as the population of the southeastern Pennsylvania region has burgeoned, as large tracts of farmland have been recast into subdivisions and shopping complexes, and as the backcountry has intertwined with urban sprawl, the landscapes that these travelers once remarked upon have been largely transformed. Yet, for better or worse, significant vestiges of those earlier perceptions of the Pennsylvania German landscape remain. For while these areas present a far different physical prospect to modern observers, twenty-first century tourists seem equally smitten with the distinctiveness of this particular landscape: its rolling farmland, its open space, and its "picturesque" Amish population form essential elements of the "Pennsylvania Dutch Country" experience.[2]

While this landscape has long been celebrated for its German imprint, its rural nature has also remained a critical part of its identity, especially as regional tourism has boomed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. David Walbert has shown how Lancaster County, in particular, captures America's enthrallment with rurality for several reasons. Its fertile soil has contributed to a long and productive agricultural history, yet it is located close to the burgeoning metropolitan centers of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. Its identity focuses on the economic and cultural benefits of agriculture at a time when most of the northeastern United States has moved further and further away from farming. And its many Amish and Old Order Mennonite residents appear to live much as their ancestors lived several centuries ago, without electricity and modern conveniences. Yet they also live in close proximity to and often interact with city dwellers who fully embrace modernity and all its attendant technological complexities. The contrast between old and new, past and present, is apparent everywhere in Lancaster County, and the public's fascination with this tension, as well as the cultural distinctiveness of the Amish, has spawned a hundred-million-dollar tourist industry that, together with agriculture, largely drives the area's economy.[3] In many ways, then, it is this interplay between history and the physical attributes of the landscape itself, and between past and

present perceptions of it, that actually define the Pennsylvania German landscape for us today.

How, though, was this landscape viewed in the past, and what was the basis for those perceptions? The assumed link between German-speaking settlement and agricultural productivity has a long history in southeastern Pennsylvania. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travelers repeatedly commented upon the fertility and productivity of the land, often attributing it to the farming skill of its German-speaking inhabitants. When Theophile Cazenove traveled through the German-settled areas of Pennsylvania in 1794, he noted that "they are all German farmers in this district; they are diligent and thrifty and become rich." Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Richard Parkinson put it most succinctly, noting that "the lower class of Dutchmen far exceed all others in the cultivation of the American soils." In Berks County, Cazenove noticed that "the ground is very good, almost all cultivated, and there are many farms: it is a succession of fields intermixed with little woods, retained by the farmers; very interesting to pass through because these German farmers take very good care of their farms." Cazenove described the limestone land between Abbottstown and York in York County as a mixture of well-watered pastures in valley hollows, hilltop grain fields, and handsome and generous stands of woodland: "This variety of field and forest always makes a very pleasant landscape where the country is well populated, as is the case in counties where Germans have settled; on each 200 acre farm, half or a large third remains in forest."[4]

Contemporary correspondents also often commented on the diversified agriculture practiced by Pennsylvania German farmers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Cazenove wrote that while German farmers raised few vegetables beyond cabbages, potatoes, and turnips, they also raised sheep to make woolen goods for everyday clothes. "On every farm," he wrote, "they cultivate enough flax and hemp and also raise what sheep they need for making their linen and cloth. They have a few gardens, at least for cabbage and carrots, and they all have beehives." Traveling from Reading to Lancaster in the 1790s, the duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt found that livestock associated with Pennsylvania's German-settled regions included cows, oxen, and small herds of sheep grazing in the woods and near the road. As he traveled westward from Lancaster to Maytown, near York, he noted the contrast between the cultivated land closer to Lancaster and the wilder and more heavily forested countryside closer to Maytown. "Cultivated land appears more rarely as we proceed, except a few vallies, which still lie in grass, or are sown with Indian corn," he wrote. And Henry Bradshaw Fearon, writing in 1819, remarked that while many Pennsylvania German farmers grew grain, most who lived "remote from a mar-

ket generally distil their grain, finding whiskey to be the most convenient and profitable form under which to carry and dispose of their stock."[5]

The buildings these correspondents encountered in German-settled regions elicited just as much comment as the land itself. While Thomas Anburey exclaimed over the well-kept countryside near Conestoga, Pennsylvania in 1789, he was equally impressed with the built environment. "After you get over the Delaware," he remarked, "a new country presents itself, extremely well-cultivated and inhabited; the roads are lined with farm houses, some of which are near the road, and some at a little distance, and the space between the road and houses is taken up with fields and meadows." Some of the houses Anburey saw were built of stone, but most dwellings in this region were "wooden, with the crevices stopped with clay" and with outside bake ovens that were "commonly built a little distance from the house, and under a roof, to secure them against the weather." Anburey was especially smitten with the large and efficient barns he saw, which were "nearly as large as a common country church, the roof very lofty" and contained "the threshing-floor, stable, hayloft, cowhouse, coach-house, &c. all under one roof."[6]

La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt also remarked on the buildings he saw in the Pennsylvania German country, distilling the essence of this landscape to an essential formula of large barns and small houses. Between Reading and Lancaster, where he found that almost all inhabitants were "Germans, or at least, of German descent," he wrote that "the houses are small, and kept in very bad order; the barns are large, and in very good repair." Traveling between Lancaster and Maytown, he noted how building construction changed. "In proportion as the distance from Lancaster encreases," he wrote, "houses of brick or stone are less frequently seen. We met with scarcely any but log-houses; every where we observe German farms, small houses, and large barns."[7]

While travelers routinely attributed the well-tended farms they encountered to their inhabitants' hard work and superior agricultural skills, many of them also alluded to less positive aspects of the cultural stereotype. Contemporary correspondents repeatedly criticized Pennsylvania Germans for their insularity, their parsimonious habits, their stubborn refusal to change, and their ignorance. Henry Fearon described the Pennsylvania Germans as "excellent practical farmers, very industrious, very mercenary, and very ignorant." Cazenove called them "thrifty to the point of avarice" and "remarkably obstinate and ignorant." To Cazenove, the tempting beauty and fertility of the landscape was tempered by the ignorance of its cultivators. "You always feel like settling in the country when you see the excellent ground and the charm of the country, and also the advantage of farming," he wrote, "but you lose courage when you realize the

total lack of education of the farmers, and that it is absolutely necessary to live to yourself, if you have any education, knowledge, and feeling.''[8]

Isaac Weld's comments probably captured the many facets of the prevailing stereotype most effectively. While Weld called Pennsylvania Germans a ''plodding race of men, wholly intent upon their own business, and indifferent about that of others,'' he also asserted that they were ''a quiet, sober, and industrious set of people, and are most valuable citizens. They generally settle a good many together in one place, and, as may be supposed, in consequence keep up many of the customs of their native country as well as their own language. In Lancaster and the neighborhood, German is the prevailing language, and numbers of people living there are ignorant of any other.'' Like so many other observers, Weld associated excellent land with Germans and their superior agricultural practices, remarking that ''the Germans are some of the best farmers in the United States, and they seldom are to be found but where land is particularly good.'' In addition, Weld found them to be ''wonderfully attentive to the duties of religion.'' In short, it was the combination of all of these qualities—their religious focus, their work ethic, their agricultural expertise, their presence on the finest farmland, and their insularity—that defined the Pennsylvania German landscape and cultural imprint for many observers. And, as Weld pointed out, this imprint proved especially distinctive when compared to other populations. ''In these and other respects,'' he remarked, ''the Germans and their descendants differ widely from the Americans, that is, from the descendants of the English, Scotch, Irish, and other nations, who from having lived in the country for many generations, and from having mingled together, now form one people, whose manners and habits are very much the same.''[9]

Although these accounts helped establish the stereotype, a number of studies have examined and, in some cases, challenged some of the most widespread assumptions about the Pennsylvania German landscape imprint. In particular, the geographer James Lemon analyzed the agricultural practices of national groups in southeastern Pennsylvania in order to test the truth of some of these most deeply embedded perceptions. By examining documents such as tax lists, estate inventories, and soil surveys, Lemon found that the Germans, English, and Scotch-Irish left landscape imprints that were indistinguishable from one another, and concluded that most contemporary observers had been biased in characterizing Pennsylvania Germans as superior farmers. Prevailing attitudes about Pennsylvania German agricultural prowess and Scotch-Irish ''frontiersmen'' resulted not from actual agricultural practices, but from stereotypes of ''national character.''[10]

In wrestling with the more interesting question of *why* such stereotypes took hold, Lemon suggested that our historical tendency to ''look through 'English'

eyes at our society and to distinguish minority groups of Germans, Scotch-Irish, and others in America more sharply than the 'English' " was partly to blame. Past writers also tended to generalize about whole regions and groups from encounters with particular places and people, and often perpetuated existing views by copying published accounts of other contemporary writers. Of equal importance were prevailing political circumstances that may have encouraged praise or denigration of seemingly distinct national groups, a desire to gain support for nationalism among German-speaking people, and the notion that German farmers best personified the agrarian ideal.[11]

The actual Pennsylvania German landscape that has emerged from this and other more recent studies was considerably less distinctive than contemporary correspondents implied. For example, in the Oley Valley, where German-speaking settlers outnumbered other European inhabitants by almost three to one by 1775, Philip Pendleton has shown that the landscape imprint of the Pennsylvania Germans there was nevertheless not especially distinctive. Many parts of the Oley consist of good limestone soil, and the German preference for such soil has long been assumed. In fact, some have argued that the limestone soil areas in a geological map of Pennsylvania would duplicate a map of German settlements there as well as in neighboring Maryland and Virginia. But while Oley neighborhoods formed according to nationality, their different settlement patterns did not relate to soil preference. Instead, they emerged because several influential English-speaking families had arrived first, and had already chosen particular tracts of land that focused subsequent settlements. The homesteads these families chose, all of which were fertile locations on limestone soil, also suggest that the purported preference by Germans for limestone-based soil, at least in this part of Pennsylvania, is unfounded. Conversely, the German-dominated settlements in Exeter township were planted, not on limestone, but on red shale soil, and although these settlements could have moved on to "better" limestone soils, they chose not to.[12]

This region's prevailing agricultural system during the colonial period probably also helped to minimize distinctions between national groups that settled the area, facilitating communication between them and eventually enabling them to speak a "common agricultural language." This was a system based on the cultivation of wheat destined for the international market, as well as subsistence farming for personal use and a limited local market. This wheat-based system may have prompted European settlers to adopt and develop new farming methods, as they often had to forsake familiar agricultural practices. It was also a system practiced by nearly all farmers in the Oley Valley, no matter what their nationality. Although other crops grown included rye, barley, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat, flax, and spelt (a cereal crop sometimes called "German wheat"),

wheat consumed most cleared farm acreage, as its price in the eighteenth century made it an attractive commodity. Typical Oley farm livestock included draft and riding horses, cattle, swine, poultry, and sheep for wool. Many farms also had apple and peach orchards, and most of the apples probably ended up as hard cider.[13]

The collections of farm tools listed in probate inventories also suggest that basic farming methods and tools differed little between German and English speakers, and farming methods probably barely changed through the colonial period. Most Oley Valley agricultural inventories contained axes, grubbing hoes, plows, harrows, sickles, rakes, cutting boxes (used to cut grain stalks prior to threshing), riddles, scythes, pitchforks, dungforks, dung hooks, flax brakes, garden or weeding hoes, and shovels and spades. Innovations appeared rarely but with equal frequency among both German and English speakers. Nonetheless, while the farming tools used by both groups appear largely indistinguishable from one another, the scythe with attached wooden cradle appears to have been accepted only by Germans.[14]

Still, even though Pennsylvania's German farmers were most often linked with superior agricultural practices, Pennsylvania farmers in general were also sometimes criticized for abusing the land by European standards. Pendleton suggests that while both German and English speakers may have engaged in wasteful agricultural practices with equal frequency, Pennsylvania Germans also may have led other farmers to adopt more careful farming methods, including crop rotation, manuring, and stabling livestock. By the mid-eighteenth century some Oley farmers had begun to follow the European method (practiced in both Germany and England) of irrigating meadows to produce a superior hay crop, sometimes building races to channel water into their meadows.[15]

West of the Oley Valley, some of the most concentrated areas of German-speaking settlement in Lancaster County evinced few landscape distinctions that can be directly attributed to the Pennsylvania German presence. Germans there were largely responsible for settling Lancaster City as well as northern and central portions of the county. As in the Oley Valley, this area's early economy was largely agricultural, revolving around a wheat-based system. The farmhouse and barn dominated the typical Lancaster County farmstead. Domestic outbuildings such as kitchens, springhouses, washhouses, and smokehouses were grouped about the farmhouse, and agricultural outbuildings including corncribs, wagon sheds, stables, and distilleries stood around the barn. What distinguished many Lancaster county farmscapes in the late eighteenth century was an abundance of different kinds of outbuildings with specifically designated functions. These might range from springhouses, distilleries, and washhouses to oil mills and potash complexes. Additional artisan shops stood on many farmscapes, suggest-

ing the importance of supplemental or off-season trades to the mostly agricultural economy. Nonetheless, the building types most common to the Pennsylvania German family farm were also widely accepted among other cultural groups there.[16]

Lancaster County's agricultural productivity has long been attributed to its fertile soil as well as the concentrated presence of Pennsylvania Germans, who were usually purported to pay far more attention to their farms and oversized barns than their houses. Yet evidence of superior Pennsylvania German farming practices, at least as they relate to the built environment, is scant in the eighteenth century. In 1798, when many parts of the county were heavily populated by people of German ancestry, both Germans and non-Germans were equally likely to own Liancourt's stereotypical assemblage of "small house and large barn," and appreciable distinctions between national groups based on other elements such as building materials were minimal or did not exist at all. The oversized barns that travelers so often lauded were not predictably associated with Pennsylvania Germans in 1798, and their dwellings were not always appreciably inferior. But while the built environment revealed few distinctions between national groups, contemporary comments about the wealth and agricultural abilities of German farmers may have actually been on target. Eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans proved consistently wealthier than non-Germans, and they were more likely to own and farm land that was more highly valued.[17]

By 1815, the Lancaster County landscape had already begun to change, due in part to heightened economic prosperity that followed rising wheat prices after the Revolution. The most significant change in several parts of the county appeared in the distribution of the land itself, as the average farm size declined markedly for everyone. Even so, farmers were still likely to own the same constellation of buildings as they had in 1798—a house, a barn, and perhaps another outbuilding, such as a stable, artisan shop, or tenant house. Multi-function domestic and industrial buildings also appeared more frequently. Some, such as combination bake- and washhouses, simply consolidated two functions under one roof, while others, such as John Yunt's two-story stone combination grist mill, oil mill, and dwelling house, mixed living and work space in the same building. Building materials had also changed. While log and timber dwellings still predominated, other construction materials, including frame and brick, became more popular. Some traditional construction materials associated with the county's Germanic population, including clay tile and thatch for roofing, persisted in some areas even into the second decade of the nineteenth century.[18]

Barn construction underwent significant change. The Pennsylvania barn approached the height of its development from the late eighteenth through the

mid-nineteenth centuries, and tax lists in 1798 and 1815 document its growing popularity. While modest-sized log barns were still widespread, by 1815 farmers in some parts of Lancaster County increasingly favored much larger barns built entirely of stone, frame, brick, or a combination of these materials. Barns with projecting forebays or "overshoots" were also built more often. These large overshot barns grew so widespread that they began to be distinguished from earlier models, which assessors increasingly described as "old fashioned." Moreover, by 1815 the link between Pennsylvania Germans and large barns was more pronounced than it had been only seventeen years earlier. In some parts of Lancaster County, the overwhelming majority of these impressive barns were owned by farmers of German descent. Even as average farm sizes for everyone were shrinking, Pennsylvania Germans were far more likely to own these spectacular barns that travelers so often praised. While good land had always been important, the oversized barn now seemed to be of equal importance and may have become, to some at least, a new and potent embodiment of "Pennsylvania Germanness," eclipsing the symbolic place of land.[19]

Other strongly Germanic townships throughout Lancaster County also followed this same pattern of smaller average land parcels but correspondingly greater total property values. By 1815, land holdings throughout the county averaged around 103 acres, with minimal difference between German-speaking areas and those where other national groups tended to dominate. Yet throughout the county, those townships dominated by Pennsylvania Germans also tended to be consistently and markedly wealthier than the others.[20]

Whether or not they represented a specifically Pennsylvania German landscape imprint, farmscape arrangements in much of the broader southeastern Pennsylvania region tended to follow fairly consistent patterns. Ideally, as Henry Glassie has shown, the house and barn were lined up gable to gable in linear fashion, and the fronts of the house and barn would face south, southeast, or east. Although many different kinds of houses and barns figured in this arrangement, in southeastern Pennsylvania the house was often a Georgian or Germanic farmhouse, and the barn could be either a one-level structure or a bank barn. As bank barns became more popular, they complicated building placement, because now the grade into which the barn could be built also needed to be considered. Most often, house and barn were oriented squarely in relation to the rise of the land. Road locations also affected building placement, especially if the farm's planners wanted the house to front onto the road. While variations on the ideal existed, farms without any suggestion of linear organization or southern orientation are uncommon.[21]

Glassie has suggested that while Delaware Valley farm plans tended to be less tight and integrated than their Old World antecedents, the widespread lin-

ear plan may have originated in buildings or ranges of buildings in which the farmer inhabited one end and his livestock the other. These kinds of combination buildings were not confined to the Rhine Valley, but were also found in England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Switzerland. Buildings that housed both people and stock were erected in this country too, in nineteenth-century Wisconsin as well as in eighteenth-century Warwick Township, in the heart of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Farm planners in the New World simply took the tradition of a combined house and barn, kept the two components unaltered, and pulled them apart into separate buildings. Glassie suggests that this pattern of dispersion, of pulling the combined house and barn apart into separate buildings, exemplifies a larger pattern of dispersion that characterized the southeastern Pennsylvania landscape as well as the entire cultural response to the New World environment. While the separate, single-family farm typified the pattern for the mid-Atlantic (as well as the rest of the United States), activities on many area farms were spread out and separately housed. Land holdings in the Delaware Valley were larger than their Old World precedents, and consequently, area farmers may have felt freer to spread their buildings and farms around.[22]

Several key historical images also help to capture aspects of the nineteenth-century Pennsylvania German farmscape and broader landscape. The sketches of Lewis Miller (1796–1882), a major folk painter from York, Pennsylvania, resulted from his first-hand observations of people, events, and the surrounding countryside. Miller's earlier sketches of this region show how the landscape must have appeared at the beginning of York's transition from an agricultural to an industrial community, and his accompanying annotations offer a compelling and sometimes humorous commentary on early nineteenth-century life. Most of his farmscape images depict fairly orderly arrangements consisting of a house, adjacent fenced kitchen garden or yard, and several outbuildings such as barns, stables, washhouses, and smith shops. The houses in these images are most often center-chimney gable-roofed log dwellings. They usually open directly onto the lane or road and are almost always accompanied by closely paled side and rear yards or kitchen gardens. Rail or stake-and-rider fencing usually encloses the pastures and fields, poultry and some livestock roam freely about, and well-tended orchards often extend beyond or behind the house or barn.

When Miller chronicled an unfortunate incident that occurred in October 1800, when his twenty-three-year-old neighbor David Miller lost his hand in an apple mill and was "dreadful Ground up," he also inadvertently documented common agricultural activities as well as the already temporally layered nature of the Pennsylvania German landscape. The accident occurred at George Spangler's farm, about one quarter of a mile from York. Miller's sketch of the event

Figure 1. Lewis Miller, *David Miller loseing his hand in the Apple mill dreadful Ground up* (drawing). Apple mill and cider press at George Spangler's farm near York. From Robert P. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 84. By permission. Miller's drawing is a rare documentation of how landscape features were organized, work space shared, and buildings used in a blending of cultural traditions from all over Europe.

shows a small log dwelling that he labels as "the old house of George Spangler," a larger log building that parallels it and may have been a bank barn, and a gable-roofed stone outbuilding surrounded by a closely paled fenced yard (Figure 1). The sketch also shows several other structures related to the cider-making that was so common in this area. Centered in the sketch is the horse-powered apple mill where the accident happened, and in the background, a massive cider press. While most full-scale farms had orchards, not every farmer owned an apple mill and cider press like this one, as they probably represented a sizeable investment. Farmers who owned such equipment most likely converted apples to cider as a service business, keeping as payment a percentage of what they processed for their neighbors. The older buildings near Spangler's farm were also noteworthy. On the same page, Miller documented the old house of one of the area's first settlers and "the Father of the Spangler Family," Baltzer Spangler, who had settled near York in 1730 and built his house about a mile from town (Figure 2). Miller notes that Spangler had been "a native of Germany from the lower palatine of the Rhine," and that the house was standing in 1799. In a later addendum dated 1854, Miller remarks hastily that the "Roof of the house burnt of in the *morning*."[23]

Miller's 1802 sketch and accompanying commentary from a trip he made

Figure 2. Lewis Miller, *The Father of the Spangler Family, old Baltzer Spangler—old house one mile from York* (drawing). Baltzer Spangler's house, near York. From Robert P. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 84. By permission. In this vignette, Miller tied a set of visual architectural features to the builder's Rhineland origins, but also depicted landscape features that would have been widely shared.

with his younger brother, to purchase a gallon of vinegar at the farm of Susanna Spangler and her brother, illustrate several aspects of the quickening pace of change in the early nineteenth century, including developing transportation networks as well as the clash of old and new ways (Figure 3). The Susanna Spangler farm, a mile from York, was "w[h]ere the Baltimore pike road run by. at that time the road run at Jacob Fisels meadow over the hill, and a lane only run by Susanne house, and Rouses mill, it was all covert with wood onley a few Acres clear land, it runing in to the Borough line all wood land." Miller's sketch shows the Spanglers wearing clothes that were old-fashioned for 1802 and standing in front of a two-story gable-roofed house with a masonry foundation, an off-center brick chimney, battened wooden shutters on the first floor windows, and exposed *fachwerk* walling. The sketch shows the rear and one gable of the house, with both rail and picket fencing in the distance. While no livestock graze here, a rooster and chicken roam freely in the front yard. Miller's much more fashionable early nineteenth-century attire contrasts sharply with the old-fashioned clothing of the Spanglers, and he even comments that "Susanne and her brother never was married, the[y] were old, Strange looking were the[y] to me . . . I was fond of being present w[h]ere od and Strange people are, and So many living in the County, of Such Kind, and manners—Curious in there dress and ringlet cheeks. What ideas in such people."[24]

Miller's 1806 sketch of Michael Heinegae, "the bird catcher" who caught birds and trapped foxes and lived four and a half miles from York, shows another orderly landscape consisting of mowed pasture, a chinked center-chimney log house with paled side and rear yard, and roaming chickens and roosters (Figure 4). What appears to be a log bank barn in the distance is

Figure 3. Lewis Miller, *The farm of Susanna Spangler* (drawing). Susanna Spangler's farmhouse, one mile from York. From Robert P. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 32. By permission. This drawing is another rare instance in which practices once common—in this case, *fachwerk* and center-chimney construction—are carefully documented.

Figure 4. Lewis Miller, *Michael Heinigae, the bird catcher* (drawing). Michael Heinigae's house and barn near York. From Robert P. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 53. By permission. Note the thoughtful organization of buildings and center-chimney house.

Figure 5. Lewis Miller, *Paule Mayer, And his Sister, and the heart Cherrys* (drawing). Paul Mayer's farmstead and heart cherry orchard. From Robert P. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 55. By permission. Even the Mayers, whom Miller considered to be old-fashioned, created a layered landscape blending Old World and New World features.

oriented perpendicular to the house, and even further in the distance stands another unidentifiable building that may represent the house on another farm.[25]

His sketch of the bachelor named "Paule Mayer, and his Sister, Matlena A Old Maid" was completed the next year, and illustrates the Mayer farmstead, two miles from York (Figure 5). The sketch again shows a gable-roofed log house with its front door opening directly onto the road or lane, surrounded on three sides by a paled yard or kitchen garden. A second heated gable-roofed log building, constructed on a stone foundation and situated next to a brook or stream, could be a shop or a second dwelling. The main entrance to a gable-roofed log barn faces a well-kept heart cherry orchard. Like the Spanglers, who Miller thought "od" and "Strange looking," the Mayers wear old-fashioned clothing that contrasts noticeably with Miller's fashionable dress, tall hat, and walking stick. Miller even commented on this distinction, remarking that "Both [of the Mayers] belong to the Moravian Church, the[y] are peculiar in their manners and fashion."[26]

Figure 6. Lewis Miller, *The Geiger Family, And Lewis Miller* (drawing). Geiger Family farm, Windsor Township, York County. From Robert P. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 75. By permission. The Geiger homestead buildings supported a typically diversified and self-sustaining farm.

When Miller visited the Geiger family farm just outside of York a few years later in 1810, he sketched a bustling farmscape filled with a gable-roofed log farmhouse and several smaller log outbuildings, several kinds of fencing, grazing livestock and roaming poultry, and well-kept orchards (Figure 6). His accompanying commentary reveals a great deal about the activities on a typical Pennsylvania German family farm:

> I Paid a Visit to the Three Brothers. the[y] are Bachelors, by the name of Geiger, Conrad, Paul, and Peter, the[y] are living in Windsor-township, Six and A half mile from town. their they do all the work what Belong to house keeping, their own kooking and Washing, Spining, thread and weave on the loom, make clothing to Dress. And do their own Smith work. And farm a few Acres of land—In Wheat and Corn, for Bread, which is made to Support life, and have A fine garden, and Orchard of All Kind of fruit trees, and a Stand of Beehives w[h]ere Bees are kept for the Honey. and to make A little money, the[y] make and Burn Charcoal, and Sell them in town. The[y] have horsees, Cows,

> Sheep—Hogs, Chickens—And Turkeys, one Acre of ground that laid idle for Some Years, all over Spread and full of Strawberrys. the[y] were ripe—When I was at the Place.[27]

As in the farmscapes in most of Miller's sketches, the Geiger family's farmhouse with its off-center chimney is surrounded on three sides by a neatly paled yard with garden, and its front door opens directly onto the farm lane. An orchard extends behind the house to the rear. Beyond the house lies a pasture enclosed with rail fences. Several smaller outbuildings—including one that is heated and appears to be the smith shop Miller noted, and another that fronts directly onto the farm lane and has been extended on one gable—are oriented with their gables parallel or perpendicular to the farmhouse. Wooly sheep, horned cattle, a pig, and mixed poultry roam freely through the scene. In addition to the farmscape itself, the sketch shows farm implements, including an open wagon and a grindstone for sharpening knives, axes, and other bladed farm tools. The Geiger brothers, who probably inherited the farm from their parents, could meet most of their needs with what they had on their farm, supplementing what they grew or raised in field and garden with money earned from burning charcoal to make potash.[28]

A century after Lewis Miller sketched the Pennsylvania German people and countryside near York, another curious onlooker chronicled his observations of the still-rural Pennsylvania German landscapes of Berks, Lehigh, Lancaster, and northern Montgomery Counties. Just as Lewis Miller had documented the beginnings of York's shift from an agricultural to an industrial community with color sketches, the photographer H. Winslow Fegley captured Pennsylvania German agricultural life as it gradually began to mechanize, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, through glass-plate negatives and picture postcards. Born in 1871 in Hereford, Berks County, Fegley was an antiquarian and serious amateur photographer who maintained a strong attachment to the countryside that conveyed his Pennsylvania German heritage. A long-time member of the Pennsylvania German Society and the Historical Society of Berks County, Fegley documented the Pennsylvania German way of life at the beginning of the twentieth century to promote and preserve country values. While his photographs were for a largely Pennsylvania German audience and demonstrate a clear bias toward rural and historical subjects, they also echo the tension between country and city that was such a significant aspect of American life from the 1890s through the 1920s.[29]

At the turn of the century, the rural southeastern Pennsylvania landscape that Fegley photographed differed little from the landscape that Lewis Miller had captured near York a century earlier, at least at first glance. Mechanization,

Figure 7. "Israel Kriebel Farm." Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. By permission. Continuity and change appear here; a mid-eighteenth-century house and later stone barn share basic massing and proportions and a linear organization.

in the form of automobiles, electricity, and other modern improvements, had encroached only minimally upon most peoples' daily lives, and the countryside benefited economically from its nearness to the urban markets of Philadelphia, Reading, Allentown, and Bethlehem. But while Fegley's photographs capture a mostly rural and remarkably traditional way of life, they also document some of the changes that his beloved Pennsylvania German landscape was beginning to undergo, including the shift from horse-drawn to gasoline-powered transportation, and the growing importance of machinery to the expansion of commercial agriculture.[30]

As in Miller's farmscapes, the centerpieces of the farmsteads in Fegley's photographs are always the barn and farmhouse. Several images show stylish frame Victorian farmhouses that recall then-current architectural fashions, but most of Fegley's early twentieth-century farmsteads retain earlier two-story stone or brick farmhouses. The barn in these images is clearly the most important building on the farm. Many photographs show the oversized, overshot bank barns that became so closely linked with Pennsylvania Germans as the nineteenth century wore on. Fegley's photograph of the Israel Kriebel farm in Hereford township typifies these farmscapes (Figure 7). It shows a mid-eighteenth-century two-and-a-half-story farmhouse that anchors the farmstead, along with a large nineteenth-century stone barn. The exaggerated importance that Pennsyl-

Figure 8. "Deirolf Homestead, Stone Roll Hill, Berks County." Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. By permission. Transformations of the nineteenth century include the frame barn, picket fence, and gable-end house addition; but the log stable and pigsty remain from Miller's time. Note that the pigsty's location between house and barn reflected household labor patterns, in which hog feeding was often done by women and children.

vania Germans attached to the barn and their more casual attitude toward the farmhouse is reflected in the statement of one farmer, who was quoted as saying "*Ich hab en neii Scheier un's Haus iss fit fer drin wuhne* (I have a new barn and the house is fit for habitation). Fegley's photograph of the Deirolf homestead also exemplifies the farmscapes he encountered (Figure 8). A two-story gable-roofed stone farmhouse that has been extended on one gable faces a picket-fenced yard, standing nearly perpendicular to a massive painted frame barn. As in Lewis Miller's earlier images, multiple auxiliary buildings, each with its specific function, are scattered about. Between the house and barn stands a log pigsty; a cantilevered log stable, rail fences, and several other outbuildings round out the farmscape.[31]

Fegley's photographs reveal that much of the Pennsylvania German farmscape and many aspects of the agricultural system remained largely unchanged since Lewis Miller's time, at least on the surface. Farmers still grew wheat and corn. They still dammed and irrigated their meadows to produce superior hay, tended upwards of two hundred apple trees to make apple butter and apple cider, and hauled fence rails, building timber, and stove wood out of their woodlots. They still used buildings constructed with traditional materials such

Figure 9. Loaded limestone wagon and limekiln. Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. By permission. Modernization came to Pennsylvania German country as limekilns proliferated; among other uses, the lime served as fertilizer.

as *fachwerk* walling and red clay roof tiles. They still tended roaming poultry and livestock in barnyard and pasture, burned lime for fertilizer, plaster, whitewash, and mortar in limekilns (Figure 9), cradled and shocked their wheat, stored apples, turnips, sauerkraut, butter, cheese, and cider in insulated arched cellars, butchered hogs and veal calves in the barnyard, visited blacksmiths to repair metal tools or have their horses shod, and cultivated and plowed their fields with horse and mule power. Yet some clear changes had also occurred. While many farmers still hauled their apples to a communal cider press and apple butter cookery in horse-drawn wagons (Figure 10), a steam engine might now power the hydraulic cider press and fire the cooking kettles. While the barn was still the centerpiece of most farmyards, telephone wires, wooden stave silos, standing-seam porch roofs, and gasoline engines might now also encroach upon the scene (Figure 11).

While barns still featured traditional stabling arrangements, the stabling might be built of steel posts and fitted with self-fed drinking fountains and concrete feeding troughs. While fence rows or fences still marked the bound-

Figure 10. "Scenes during the apple picking season." Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. By permission. Apples, and the cider, *schnitz*, and apple butter they yielded, were a key component of Pennsylvania German foodways.

aries of smaller horse-cultivated farm fields, such fields began to be consolidated and enlarged, and their middle fences removed, once modern farming equipment became more common, since modern machines worked more efficiently on larger tracts. While many farmers continued to grow traditional crops such as wheat and corn, some Lancaster County farmers had shifted their focus to the more "modern" cash crop of tobacco (Figure 12). And, while many area Pennsylvania Germans continued to travel the countryside to participate in the time-honored customs of moving days and vendues, visitors began to arrive in automobiles with increasing frequency.[32]

Thus, as Fegley's twentieth-century photographs and Miller's earlier sketches demonstrate, the provocative juxtapositions between past and present, between distinctive and not-so-distinctive cultural ways that form such an integral aspect of the Pennsylvania German landscape for us today also have a long history. Just as Lewis Miller remarked on the oldest houses and the cultural uniqueness of the "od and Strange" Pennsylvania Germans of earlier generations, who now seemed so "peculiar in their manners and fashion" to him, the intersections in Fegley's photographs between older and newer ways of doing things continually underscored to his largely Pennsylvania German audience just how significantly both their landscapes and their cultural lifeways were

Figure 11. Pennsylvania German farm, early twentieth century. Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. By permission. The traditional Pennsylvania barn is now joined by silos, electric lines, a steel gate, and a stationary gasoline engine.

changing. Despite more than three centuries of change, then, the Pennsylvania German landscape has remained a place where these very juxtapositions between past and present have served to enhance its distinctiveness in the public mind. Even though that landscape was historically never as unique as earlier observers implied, its purported distinctiveness remains a compelling idea even in the twenty-first century. Today, like H. Winslow Fegley and Lewis Miller, we are likely to encounter an equally provocative set of juxtapositions as we travel through the southeastern Pennsylvania landscape—juxtapositions that evince multiple layers of historical change in the built environment as well as tensions between modern life and the historical identity of the Pennsylvania Germans, prevailing public perceptions, and even the way the landscape itself is valued.[33] While the countryside now presents a somewhat different physical prospect than it did to travelers who wrote centuries ago—Fegley, Miller, Cazenove, Isaac Weld, and others—the notion of a culturally distinctive Pennsylvania German landscape continues to endure.

Figure 12. Farmers loading tobacco onto a *Duwack-Leeder* (tobacco ladder). Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. By permission. Tobacco was at once a modern cash crop and a product that fit well into traditional family labor patterns. It also allowed farms to be divided up among children.

CHAPTER TWO

Rural Houses

Sally McMurry

This essay considers rural Pennsylvania German houses from the colonial period up through the beginning of the twentieth century. It proceeds from a recognition that the very notion of a "Pennsylvania German house" has been subject to considerable scholarly scrutiny and debate, so an important task in understanding these buildings is to consider how they have been interpreted. Discussion of the actual houses themselves will take these debates into account, while also mentioning the relationship of these rural buildings to agricultural patterns. (Town houses are discussed in Chapter 5.) Throughout, the term *German* will be used to denote culture derived from German-speaking peoples of Europe, and the phrase *Pennsylvania German* will apply to German-speaking eighteenth-century immigrants and their descendants. These terms vastly oversimplify, but for convenience a shorthand is desirable.

Another complication of terminology is the many expressions for various architectural features that now exist in English, High German, Swiss German, and Pennsylvania German dialect. Some terms are associated with primary sources contemporary to the buildings themselves, for example words for rooms, framing techniques, or specific architectural features. These were usually rendered in High German. Pennsylvania German dialect terms for the same words developed early, but since the dialect was at first exclusively a spoken tongue, the terms were only later realized in written form. Terms for house types, however, were coined in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by scholars interested in classification. These efforts began in nineteenth-century Ger-

many and continued among Americans in the twentieth century, and the terminology has been unevenly accepted by scholars. Some of these terms were apparently first used by Pennsylvania restoration architect John Milner, who employed the terms *Flürkuchenhaus*, *durchgangigen Haus,* and *Kreuzhaus* in a short but clearly influential 1975 piece in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* It is important to recognize the distinction between historical names and labels invented later. The former offer clues to builders' and users' intentions; the latter are analytical categories meant to aid in scholarly analysis.[1] Thus the very vocabulary in use by students of Pennsylvania German architecture has never really been stable.

The Pennsylvania German farmhouse has long attracted attention from scholars. Early examples in particular have been admired for their fine workmanship and characteristic floorplans, construction techniques, and ornament. In the colonial and early national eras, observers articulated a set of lasting perceptions about Pennsylvania Germans' farmhouses, setting the terms for later discussion. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, folklorists and material culture scholars tended to regard the colonial Pennsylvania German farmhouse as an expression of Old World cultural traditions reaching far back even to medieval times. These views were often celebratory in nature and uncritically "essentialized" Pennsylvania German culture, yet they also identified architectural detailing, construction techniques, and spatial patterns that were clearly associated with German-speaking builders and owners in Pennsylvania. Later scholars have confirmed the particular cultural origins of specific architectural features, while reinterpreting their meaning.

Before moving to a discussion of the iconic characteristics and buildings that have been most often identified as examples of the Pennsylvania Germans' architectural heritage, it is important to set out some contextual background. In the first place, both German-speaking Europe and German-speaking Pennsylvania were extremely heterogeneous during the eighteenth century, so the Pennsylvanian immigrants were not necessarily drawing upon a shared cultural heritage. They came to the most culturally diverse of the colonies, mingling with people from many origins, including England, Scotland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and France, not to mention Africa. This heterogeneity further complicates the task of sorting out prior cultural knowledge. The new American environment, too, presented a necessity for adaptation. So, few cultural practices remained "pure" for long.[2]

The wider architectural context of the period overwhelmingly consisted of modest buildings. Even as late as 1798 most rural Pennsylvanians, regardless of background, lived in simple, small log houses. Local historian Arthur Lord found, in a sample of Lancaster County's 1798 Direct Tax, that 58 percent of the

houses were log and 20 percent stone, with the remainder being brick or frame. Three quarters of all houses were a single story. He concluded that the "average size house was approximately 30 by 24 feet and slightly less than 700 square feet in area." A sizable proportion of German-speaking Pennsylvanians must have lived in these simple dwellings, which may or may not have extensively incorporated German-derived architectural characteristics. Gabrielle Lanier adds nuance to Lord's picture with a detailed analysis of the 1798 Direct Tax in which she separates Germans from non-Germans by using surname analysis. Lanier finds that while Germans tended to own land of higher value than did non-Germans, "comparable variations in the built environment do not appear."[3] Philip E. Pendleton discusses these smaller buildings in Chapter 3. Most owners were probably constrained by resources to a limited repertoire of architectural ornament. In short, we must remember that the high-end structures most celebrated as colonial Pennsylvania German archetypes were exceptional in their time, prominent outcroppings against an architectural background of somewhat more generic common log buildings. The discussion that follows therefore draws mainly upon the better-known, grander remaining houses, because they are the best documented and the most architecturally rich.

Cultural repertoires are displayed frequently in construction details. Scholars have associated a number of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century construction techniques with practices brought from German-speaking Europe. The principal-rafter roof frame, or *liegender Stuhl,* is a good example.[4] Derived from practices stretching back to late medieval times, this system has principal rafters that widen toward a truss collar beam, into which they are pinned. A principal purlin is then tenoned into the wide top of the rafter. A diagonal brace connecting to the truss collar beam helps to stabilize the rafter. Superimposed on top of this framework, a common collar beam and common rafter assembly reach the roof peak. Structurally, this system helped to stabilize stone masonry buildings, and also to support the heavy tile roofs that were another feature of Pennsylvania German construction. The joinery skill required to make such a truss was considerable.[5] Another roof truss associated with Germans in Pennsylvania was the underframe, or queen post, system. This design featured upright queen posts that supported purlins. Atop the purlins sat a collar beam, pinned into common rafters.

According to architectural historian Dell Upton, Pennsylvania Germans tended to position wall braces between horizontal members, and to make floor joists "often the same size as the girder" and lying atop the girder, "unattached to the supporting beam." Ground-floor framing was frequently organized to permit the inclusion of insulation. The exposed joists in a cellar ceiling were spanned with boards or paling, then insulating materials were put into inter-

Figure 13. Half-timbering with brick infill, Boalsburg, Pa., c. 1810. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This *fachwerk* wall reveals a Pennsylvania German aesthetic preference for exposed construction elements.

stices. Insulating materials could consist of mud and straw, or even dung. This helped to keep the cellar at an even temperature for food storage and processing. Occasionally, vertical walls' interstices would be filled with mud and straw, brick, or even stone, then left exposed. This produced a distinctive half-timbered look which, though not widely popular, continued to be used into the nineteenth century.[6]

Log construction techniques in the New World were brought by settlers from Scandinavia, central Europe, and other places. The most common type of log corner joining in Pennsylvania was the V-notch, which has not been assigned to German provenance. Another form of log construction, the corner post technique, in the Pennsylvania context has a firmer (though not exclusive) association with German speaking Pennsylvanians.[7] Geographer Terry Jordan has argued that this corner posting technique came from what he calls the "Alpine-Alemannic" region.[8] In the New World, it was used in a broad geographic region and well into the nineteenth century.

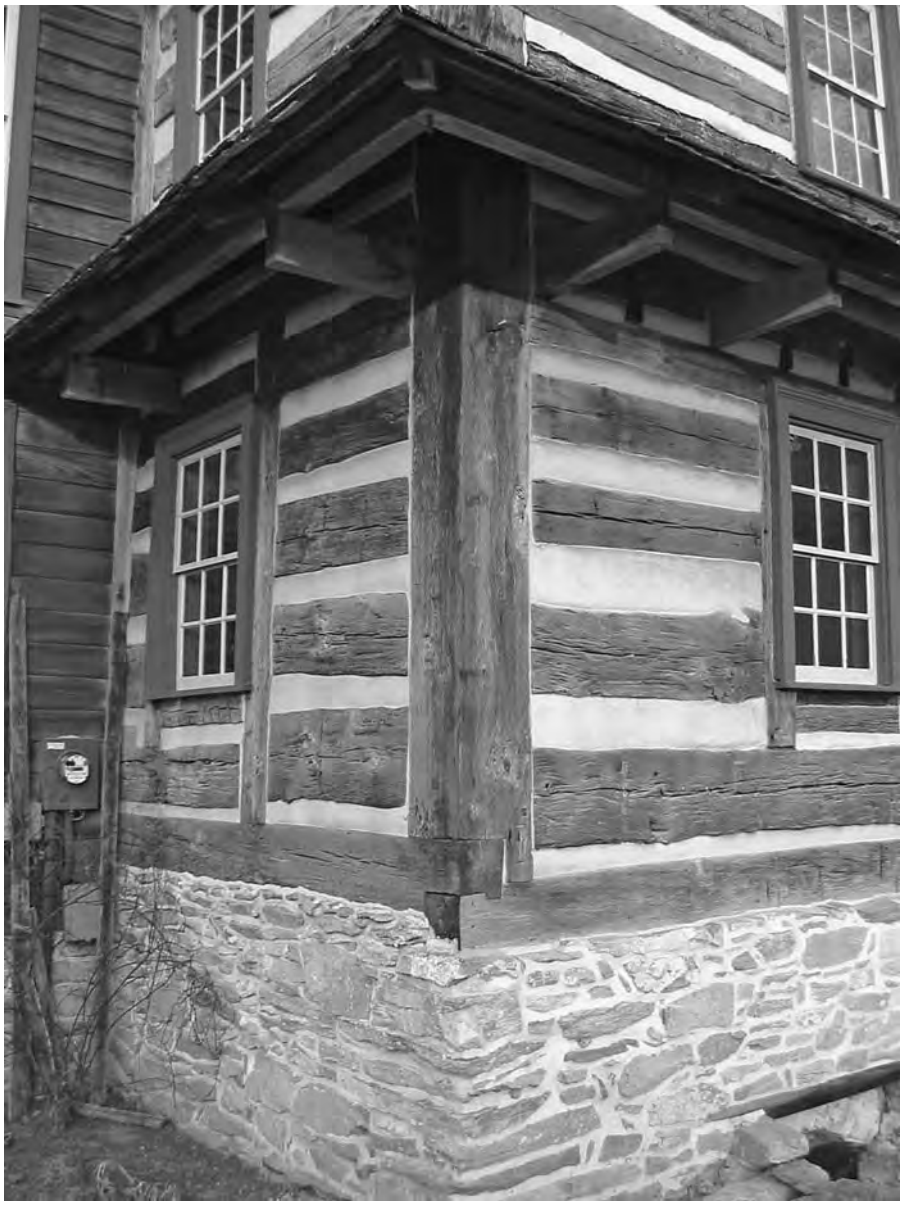


Figure 14. Johannes Hess house, Lititz vicinity, Lancaster County, Pa., mid-eighteenth century. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This corner-post log assembly, sometimes known as *Blockstanderbau,* shows how the horizontals intersected with a vertical corner post.

At one time or another, many other design features from the colonial period have been connected to Pennsylvania German craftsmen and house owners. Claims for an exclusively Pennsylvania German provenance should probably be approached with some care. Indeed, one of the buildings often cited as the iconic Pennsylvania German house, the Zeller house, was built by a French Huguenot who had Germanized his name from Henri Zellaire to Heinrich Zeller. Moreover, features such as banked construction, the attic granary, the attic smoke chamber, thatched roofing, the deep cooking fireplace with folding doors, and decorative date stones, which have frequently been legitimately associated with the Pennsylvania Germans, are also known to have been employed by other groups. Certain other features do seem to be more directly connected with Old World traditions in the German speaking lands. Among them we would include the vaulted cellar, the raised hearth, use of stoves for heating, paled insulation, built-in furniture, an intense color palette, heavy trim (for example in splatted, rather than turned, stair balusters), decorative hinges and other interior hardware, chevron doors, tapered door battens, a roof "kick," and tiled roofs.[9] They can be seen clearly in well-known colonial examples such as the Miller's House at Millbach, the Zeller house in Newmanstown, and the Bertolet-Herbein log cabin now at Daniel Boone Homestead.

Enumerating European-derived features in isolation does not capture the early Pennsylvania German house in its entirety, as an assemblage whose individual features all come together in a whole. In order to understand architectural characteristics in context we must consider whole buildings. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholarly interest grew in classifying house types, primarily according to floor plan. Labels for house types date from this time period; unlike the words for framing members or rooms, these are not "indigenous" to the construction period and place of the buildings themselves. The German nineteenth-century movement *Hausforschung* (study of the farmhouse), which has been linked to the romantic movement and the search for German national identity, initiated the classification of buildings with terms such as *sächsisches Haus* (Saxon house), and in the United States, terms such as "Continental house" and *Flürkuchenhaus* were coined in the twentieth century and therefore have a dual character: they can be helpful analytical tools, but they also must be approached as artifacts of their own time and place.

Scholars have identified several characteristic plan types that were strongly associated with German-speaking residents in colonial Pennsylvania. Most famous is the center-chimney, three-room plan house. Scholars have attached numerous labels to this form: it has been called variously the *Flürkuchenhaus,* "Continental German house," "stoveroom type house," and *Ernhaus*.[10] This form was common in rural Pennsylvania, in a range of sizes and materials,

Figure 15. Vaulted cellar, Benedict Eshleman house, Lancaster County, Pa., 1759. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This view depicts the enormous capacity Pennsylvania Germans' root cellars could reach, and the careful workmanship devoted to even utilitarian spaces.

ranging from modest log cabins right up to the gigantic stone Miller's House in Millbach. It consisted of a more or less square footprint building, with asymmetrical fenestration and off-center door placement, and a characteristic roof-ridge off-center chimney.[11]

It featured a long *Küche*, or kitchen room, entered directly from the main door, usually with a second exterior door positioned in the opposite exterior wall, directly opposite the main door. A large open hearth was the focal point of this room. To one side a door led to a second room, the *Stube* or stove room. In the earliest examples, a five-plate stove was positioned on the other side of the hearth and heated this room, using the same chimney stack as the kitchen hearth.[12] Behind the *Stube* was another, usually smaller and unheated room, the *Kammer* or main bedchamber. Pennsylvania German terms for these three were, respectively, *Kich, Schtubb*, and *Kammer.* Occasionally a fourth ground floor room would be positioned at the end opposite the kitchen entrance. An enclosed corner stairway gave access to a second floor if there was one. Simpler forms had two rooms, or even a single room; the nineteenth-century photogra-

Figure 16. Rattail hinge, corner cupboard, Benedict Eshleman house, Lancaster County, Pa., 1759. Photograph by Sally McMurry. Decorative hardware like this rattail hinge was a central characteristic of Pennsylvania German interiors.

pher Winslow Fegley documented a two-room log cabin with a *Kich* (kitchen) and *Schtubb* (stove room.)[13]

Often the three-room house was banked, and a cellar extended underneath part (usually the stove room side) or all of the first floor. These cellars were sometimes vaulted, and served large-scale storage and food processing func-

Figure 17. Keim ancillary house cellar, Berks County, Pa., c. 1753. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The gaps in the thin paling resting on the floor joist are filled with insulating materials. This technique was widely used in Pennsylvania German areas.

tions. Sometimes a stream or spring ran through this cellar level. This was true at the Zeller house, for example.[14]

The range of Pennsylvania house forms associated with German-speaking colonial immigrants does not begin and end with the three-room plan. Robert Bucher, for example, noted a type that is banked with the gable end (not the eaves side) in the bank; he called it a "Swiss bank house." Examples in Pennsylvania include the Christian Ley house near Myerstown and the Alexander Schaeffer house in Schaefferstown.[15]

In another type (called by Milner and Bergengren the *Kreuzhaus),* an entryway is created in a three-room plan by inserting a partition crossways across the *Küche*, at the point where the fireplace begins. This created a four-room plan with the *Küche* effectively separated from the rest of the house. It is a slightly more formal arrangement, since the entryway screens off the *Küche* from public view. The Werner House in Lititz is an example.

The ancient house-barn tradition continued in the Midwest but not Pennsylvania; but a related form is found in Pennsylvania: the house-mill.[16] These buildings continue the Old World practice of merging sleeping, family, and social spaces directly with a substantial productive activity. Known examples

Figure 18. Zeller house, Newmanstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1745, interior. Photograph by Stanley P. Mixon. September 10, 1940. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey Call Number HABS PA,38-NEWM.V,1-16. Built-in hanging corner cupboards like the one in the corner of this room were a trademark feature in Pennsylvania German houses.

include the Harshberger house-mill in the Tulpehocken area and the House of the Miller of Millbach, in Lebanon County. These two had the three-room plan, but in both cases it was interlocked in complex ways with two- and three-dimensional mill spaces.

Some floor plans contained a central hallway. These do not necessarily display formal symmetry either in the interior or exterior; for example, the narrow hallway usually has a small, inconspicuous stairway, and the hallway itself may separate three rooms that are analogous (in size, shape, relative position) to the *Küche, Stube,* and *Kammer,* though the chimney stack is relocated to the gable end.[17] John Milner used the term *durchgangigen Haus* for this building type. Milner has associated these plans primarily with large structures such as the Oley School House, and notes that they often have vaulted chimney stacks, with separate stacks joining at the second floor level.[18] However, Charles Bergengren documented several late eighteenth century examples in and near Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, which were much more modest in scale.[19]

As the cellar storage areas, attic granaries, smoke chambers, and large kitchen hearth areas attest, these houses had important productive functions.

Figure 19. Zeller house, Newmanstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1745, east elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The Zeller house is a very well preserved example of the three-room, center-chimney house.

In an era when farm outbuildings were few and rudimentary, these spaces were central to agricultural processes. The house and its yard extended to garden, barn, and fields, thus reminding us that there was no separation between "domestic" and "work" spaces. James Lemon has shown that Pennsylvania German farm production was not ethnically distinct, either in production or in quality of farming technique and result.[20] Eighteenth-century farm families in southeast Pennsylvania, regardless of cultural origin, marketed wheat, beef, pork, corn, and dairy products to Caribbean and Atlantic destinations. Colonial Pennsylvania agriculture was a highly diversified enterprise in which every product had multiple uses, including animal and human food, barter and cash exchange, bedding (human and animal), and clothing.[21] Though the general range of farm products was widely shared, tentatively we can say that there was one farm location where Pennsylvania German distinctiveness probably became evident; that would be the kitchen garden, which supported foodways involving traditional crops such as cabbage. Further inquiry could ask whether cultural differences in foodways exerted an architectural impact in the way that houses were used for agricultural activity. Smoke chambers and basement springs, for example, have long been given ethnic associations with Pennsylvania German foodways.

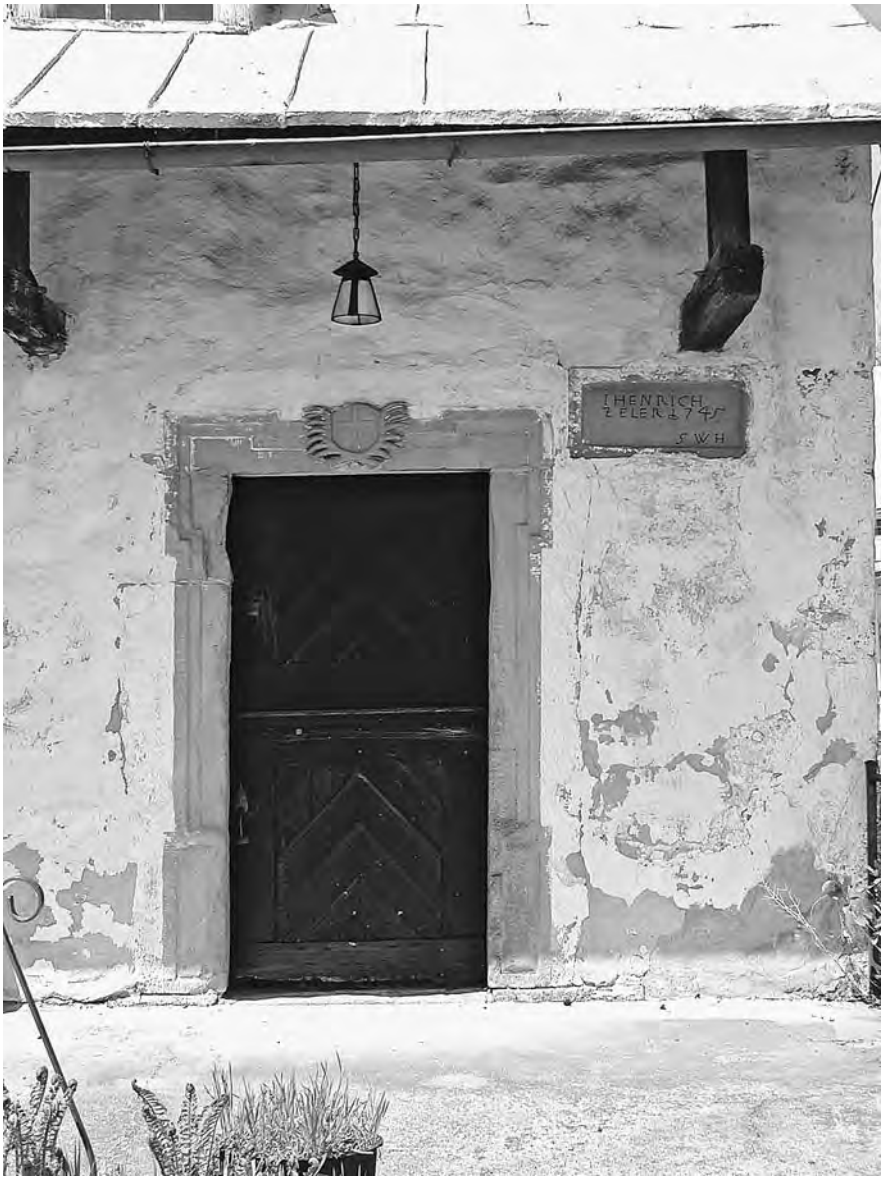


Figure 20. Zeller house, Newmanstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1745, doorway and date stone. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The richly ornamented Baroque style is evidence of European borrowings.

Scholarly interpretations of early houses have taken varied approaches. The generation working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, influenced by the growing appreciation for all things Pennsylvania German, tended toward the descriptive, impressionistic, and celebratory.[22] By the mid twentieth century, students of Pennsylvania German material culture began to apply for-

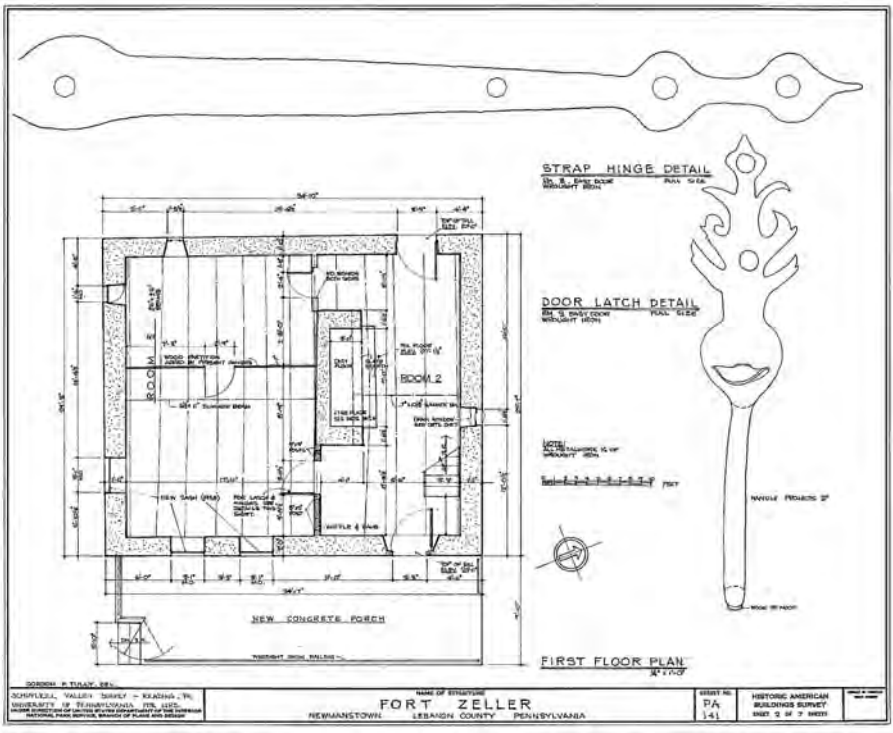


Figure 21. Zeller house, Newmanstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1745, first floor plan. Gordon P. Tully, delineator, 1958. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey. Call Number HABS PA,38-NEWM.V, 1- Measured Drawing Sheet 3. This floor plan shows the three-room plan that has been regarded as archetypically Pennsylvania German. The *Küche* is at the right, the *Stube* in the lower left, and the *Kammer* in the upper left.

mal academic training in diverse fields such as folklore, geography, and anthropology. Henry Glassie advanced important analyses about the Pennsylvania German house in the 1960s. Combining meticulous field documentation with broad historical context and insights from anthropology and structural linguistics (especially the concept of proxemics, or systematic study of culturally shaped spatial patterns), Glassie interpreted the three-room house as a folk house that was spatially "open," that is, it tended to have circulation plans facilitating social contact.[23] Charles Bergengren's field study in Schaefferstown, Lebanon County furnished high-quality documentation for a number of houses. In interpreting his results Bergengren elaborated on Glassie's insight, connecting "open" plans to an egalitarian, premodern peasant culture resistant to Enlightenment rationality and hierarchy. The latter, according to Bergengren, was represented by the Georgian house, which featured symmetry, classical

Figure 22. Zeller house, Newmanstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1745. Photograph by Stanley P. Mixon. September 11, 1940. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey HABS PA,38-NEWM.V,1-6. In the Zeller example, the stream was architecturally integrated into the building's fabric, with attention not only to practical matters but also to aesthetic details.

Figure 23. Christian Ley house, Lebanon County, Pa., mid-eighteenth century, east elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The arch indicates where the spring flows.

details, and a center hall plan, identified as "closed" because it inhibited social contact.[24]

Most scholars accept the analysis of "open" and "closed" plans, but differ on their meaning. The argument that the "open" house signified egalitarianism, for example, may be problematic. Colonial society in general was very hierarchical, organized with clear elites at the top and clear gradations in status, power, and control over resources. Fraser Neiman has suggested that "open" spaces functioned well precisely because everyone already knew his or her place and therefore did not need spatial markers.[25] William Woys Weaver also noted a marked gender inequality expressed architecturally: the patriarch claimed the best corner of the *Stube*, and his wife was relegated to inferior places.[26]

In the mid 1980s, in a comprehensive edited collection considering *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Scott Swank argued that the Pennsylvania German arts—including houses—were not folk expressions at all, but rather bourgeois creations: "So-called peasant folk art is primarily rural bourgeois art. . . . material expressions of modernizing cultures basically free of the restraints of the past and perched on the brink of modernization." This claim called into question the notion that Germans in Pennsylvania were reproducing age-old tradi-

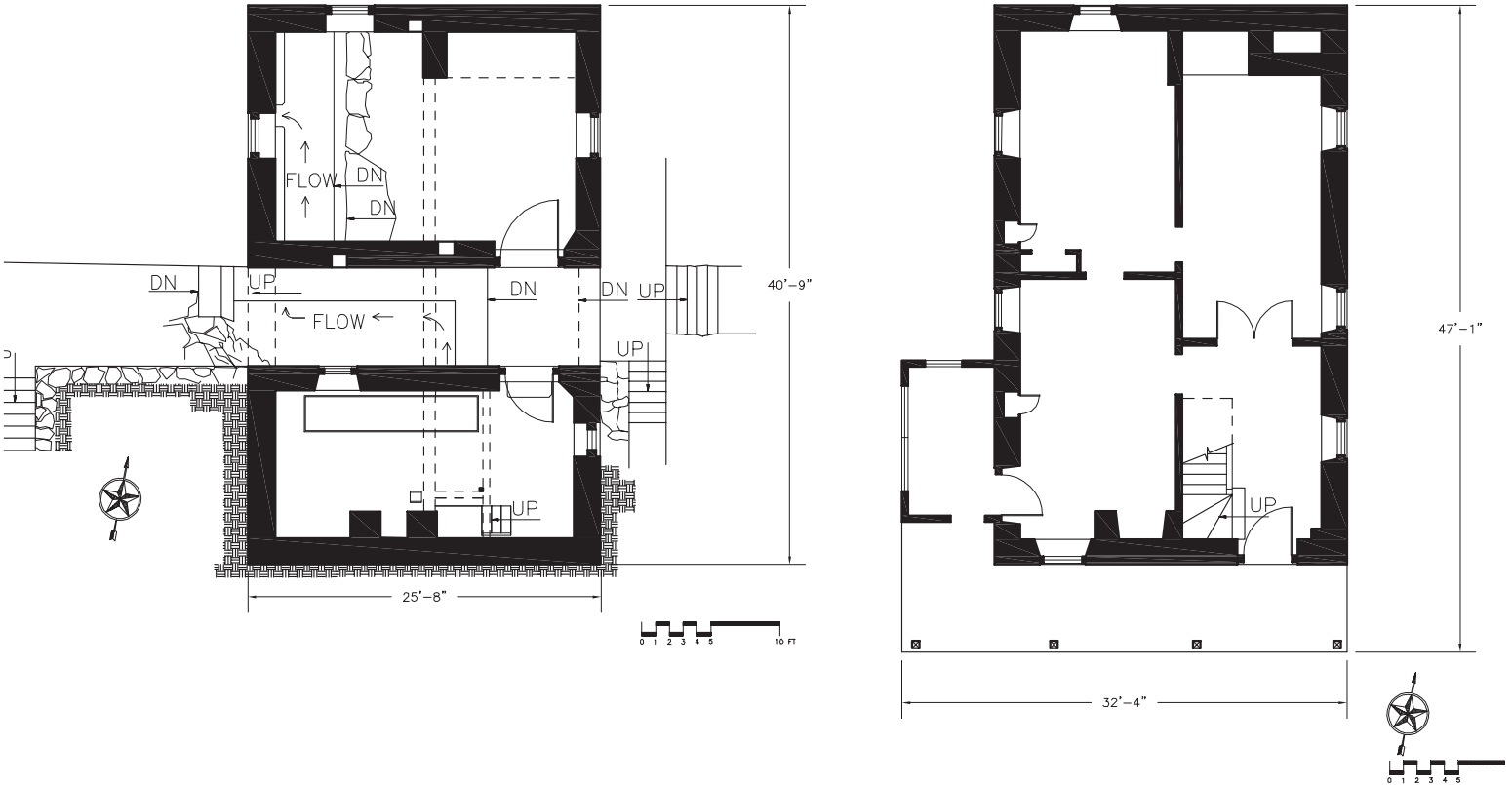


Figure 24. Christian Ley house, Lebanon County, Pa., mid-eighteenth century, floor plans. CAD drawing by Anne Samuel from originals by Charles Bergengren. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. On both sides of the spring, dairying and cool-storage areas reveal a carefully organized work space. More than most groups, the Pennsylvania Germans approached their domestic architecture as productive space.

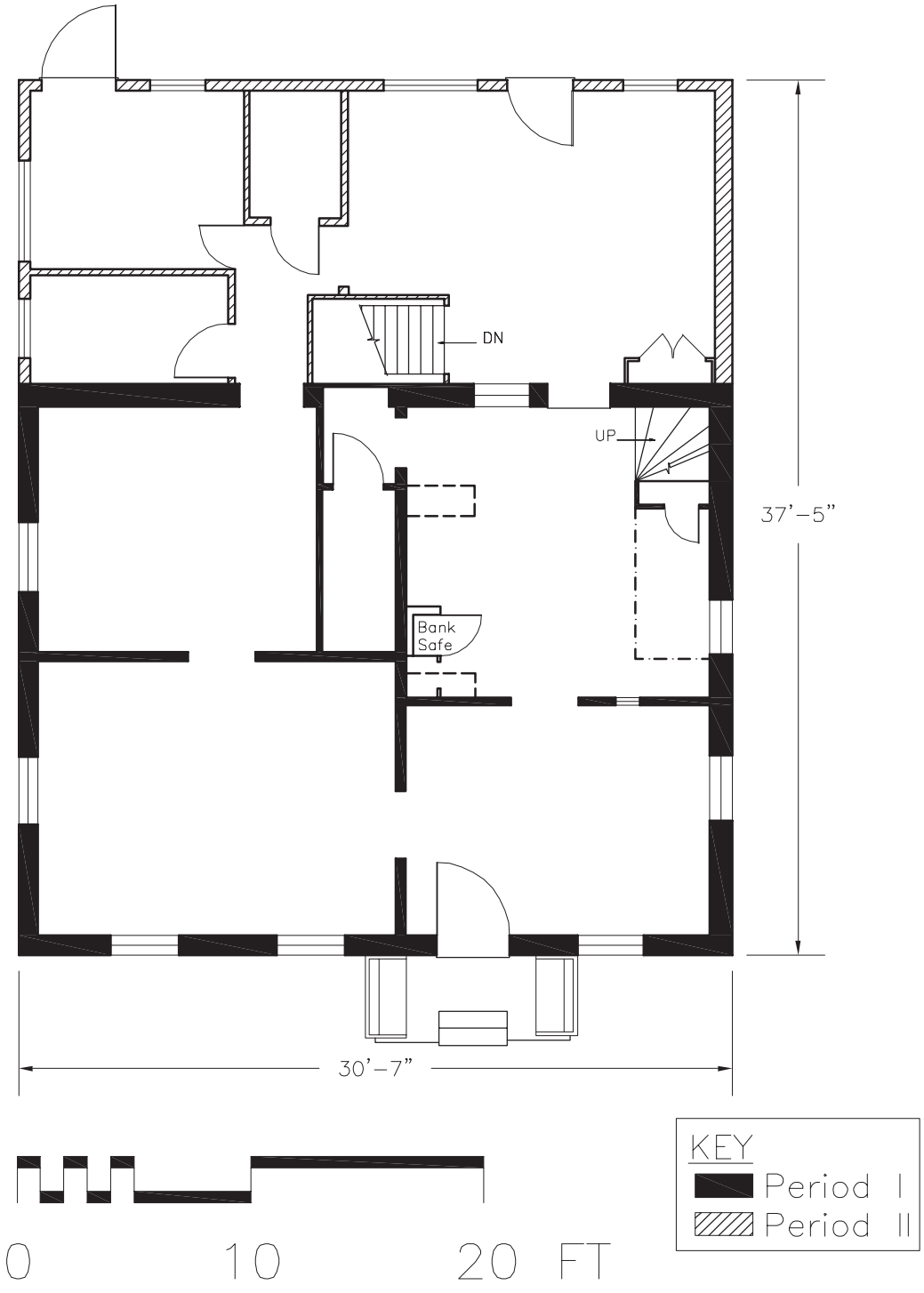


Figure 25. Werner house, Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa., mid-eighteenth century, first floor plan. CAD drawing by Jason Smith from originals by Charles Bergengren. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This *kreuze* house plan shows how an anteroom (bottom right) screened the *Küche* from public view.

tional forms. Swank located the Pennsylvania Germans socially quite differently than did Glassie, but his analysis retained the basic and explicit connection of the Pennsylvania German house with ethnicity.[27]

At the same time, the very issue of Old World ethnic connections was undergoing serious re-evaluation. In an important essay, William Woys Weaver considered the matter of European antecedents and concluded that "the Pennsylvania German house, with its three- or four-room arrangement, found its greatest expression in Pennsylvania rather than Germany." In short, the three-room house itself was in some manner a New World form. Weaver searched European German language architectural publications, and found just one design that seemed to be vaguely related to the Pennsylvania three-room plan. This 1668 illustration, Weaver proposed, was not a folk design, but an "urban refinement"—a "model that Pennsylvania German builders well understood and accepted, regardless of their regional background in Germany—an odd point for a supposedly folk design."[28] Weaver's analysis is consistent with Swank's proposition that the Pennsylvania Germans were a modernizing bourgeois element. It also accords with Swank's characterization of the Pennsylvania Germans as a "cultural fragment,"[29] a group which, torn from its original context, will develop entirely new cultural forms.

Weaver's work raised an important critique of analyses based solely on plan type. His argument has several compelling aspects. In the first place, categorizing buildings according to plan type is an artifact of a historically specific movement, *Hausforschung,* which operated from a definite political agenda and a now obsolete set of cultural standards. Second, Weaver maintains that even if categories based on plan type were more intellectually defensible, few connections could be drawn between the Old World and the new, since so few plan types found in Europe appear here. Finally, Weaver presents a persuasive alternative, arguing that function, rather than any one specific plan, is critical. Thus the core rooms of the Pennsylvania German house—*Küche, Stube, Kammer*—have a much longer historical provenance and cultural resonance in German-speaking areas in both Europe and America. They were long shaped and reshaped into different configurations, but the basic functional continuity is striking.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, new forms began to appear among the Pennsylvania Germans. They pose important evidence for cultural change and have stimulated productive debate about just what sort of cultural interactions they represent.

The three- or four-room plan organized around the central chimney dwindled in popularity by the late eighteenth century. However, elements of it survived. Henry Glassie documented nineteenth century houses that retained the

three-room plan behind a symmetrical, four-bay façade with two central doors. The doors led to the *Küche* and *Stube* respectively; the hearth was relocated to a gable-end wall; and the stair was tucked away in the rear room. Glassie interpreted these buildings as showing a modest concession to current "English" fashion, but retaining fundamental interior organization. Glassie characterized Pennsylvania German folk as conservative traditionalists loath to give up their spaces; "in these volumes—bounded surfaces from which a person's senses rebound to him—his psyche develops; disrupt them and you can disrupt him."[30]

The examples Glassie cited retained the three-room plan more or less intact, but other buildings from the period show a range of highly creative solutions combining architectural traditions from different sources. In this melding, Glassie identifies a regional type he associates with the mid-Atlantic. Gabrielle Lanier and Nancy Van Dolsen have shown how late eighteenth-century rural houses in Lancaster and Cumberland Counties blended Germanic features such as vaulted cellars, paled insulation, ornamental hardware, and stove heating with non-German features—"English" or Georgian symmetrical facades, center hallways, and end chimneys. Though there is not always a recognizable three-room plan, certain spatial arrangements persist. Most importantly, often one or two rooms would be left without fireplaces, instead relying on stoves for heat, perpetuating the stove room tradition. The stove room, Lanier maintains, was a space too culturally important to be discarded no matter how much other aspects were changed.[31]

The squarish proportions, kitchen hearth, and stove room of the Stayman house (pre-1798, Cumberland County) suggest German retentions, while the formal parlor, central hallway, and corner fireplace derive from other traditions, creating a non-German zone.[32] The Adam Brandt house, in Cumberland County, c. 1787, also shows this blending. The original front door was a double door opening directly into the house. The floor plan shows an arrangement of back-to-back parlors (not normally associated with Germans and sometimes labeled "English" in the generic sense of English-speaking Pennsylvanian), but the house also has an attic granary and smoke room, and paled cellar insulation.

Christ Lutheran Church parsonage (Berks County), 1772, has a floor plan that is bisected again creating two distinctly different spatial zones. To the right of the entry, the stove room sat in front of the kitchen with its large walk-in hearth. Across the hall, corner fireplaces shaped two formal rooms—a nod to contemporary fashion and pan-European architectural trends of the day.[33] On the exterior, classical dentilled cornice, pent roof, and brick arched windows also combined traditions.

The National Register documentation for the John and Elizabeth Moyer

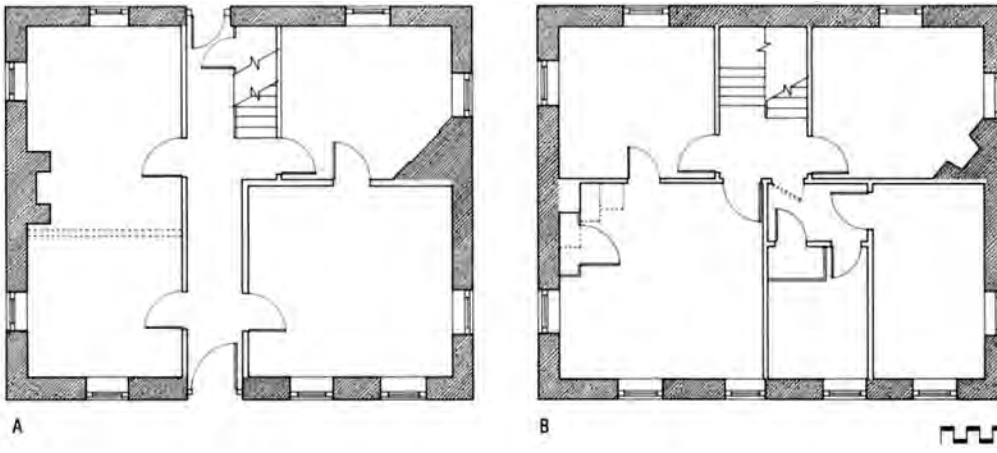


Figure 26. Joseph Stayman house, Cumberland County, Pa., pre-1798, first (A) and second (B) floor plans. Drawn by Nancy van Dolsen. A blending of German-inspired and "English" features appears here. The central hall and corner fireplace are borrowed features, while the stove room (right front) and square proportions derive from longstanding German traditions.

House, c. 1817, in Berks County, describes it as a "Georgian/Federal/Pennsylvania German" building, thus illustrating the confusion that can arise when typologies, styles, and ethnic influences are all invoked. The Moyers were a Rhenish Palatine family who had settled in the early eighteenth century.[34] The house has the "German" characteristics of roughly square proportions, banked construction with a round arched entrance to lower level cellar, and an off-center front doorway. The four-room plan has an off-center through hallway, and corner fireplaces only in the front rooms. The other rooms were not heated by fireplaces but presumably by stoves, German style. The architectural detailing mixed German distelfink motifs with Adam style trim. Evidence in one parlor suggests vibrant color.

These buildings clearly show a lively process of cultural interchange taking place during these dynamic years. Several models of cultural change have been proposed as means toward understanding the buildings of this period. Glassie and his students emphasized the conflict between premodern German "folk" culture and the dominant "English" culture, and suggested that Germans adopted only the superficial trappings of English style, while resisting assimilation in the more important proxemic patterns; in his view the four-bay farmhouses were "old Rhineland peasant interiors stuffed into stylish eighteenth century shells."[35] So, in Glassie's view the buildings stressed the retention of fundamental cultural values.

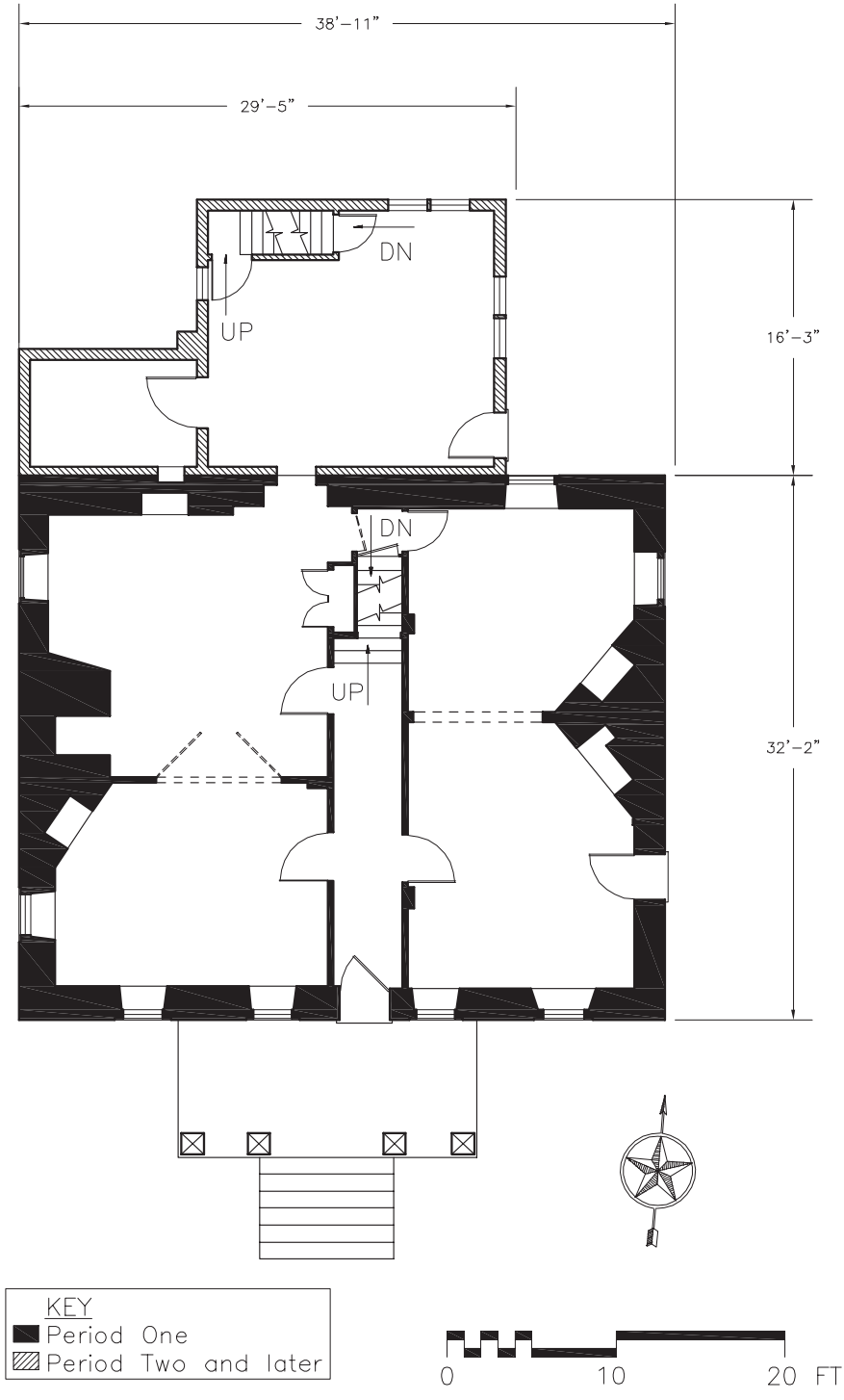


Figure 27. Adam Brandt house, Cumberland County, Pa., c. 1787, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Anne Samuel. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This floor plan displays back-to-back parlors (right) not associated with Germans, but its heavy fireplace (top left) and truncated hallway represent German features.

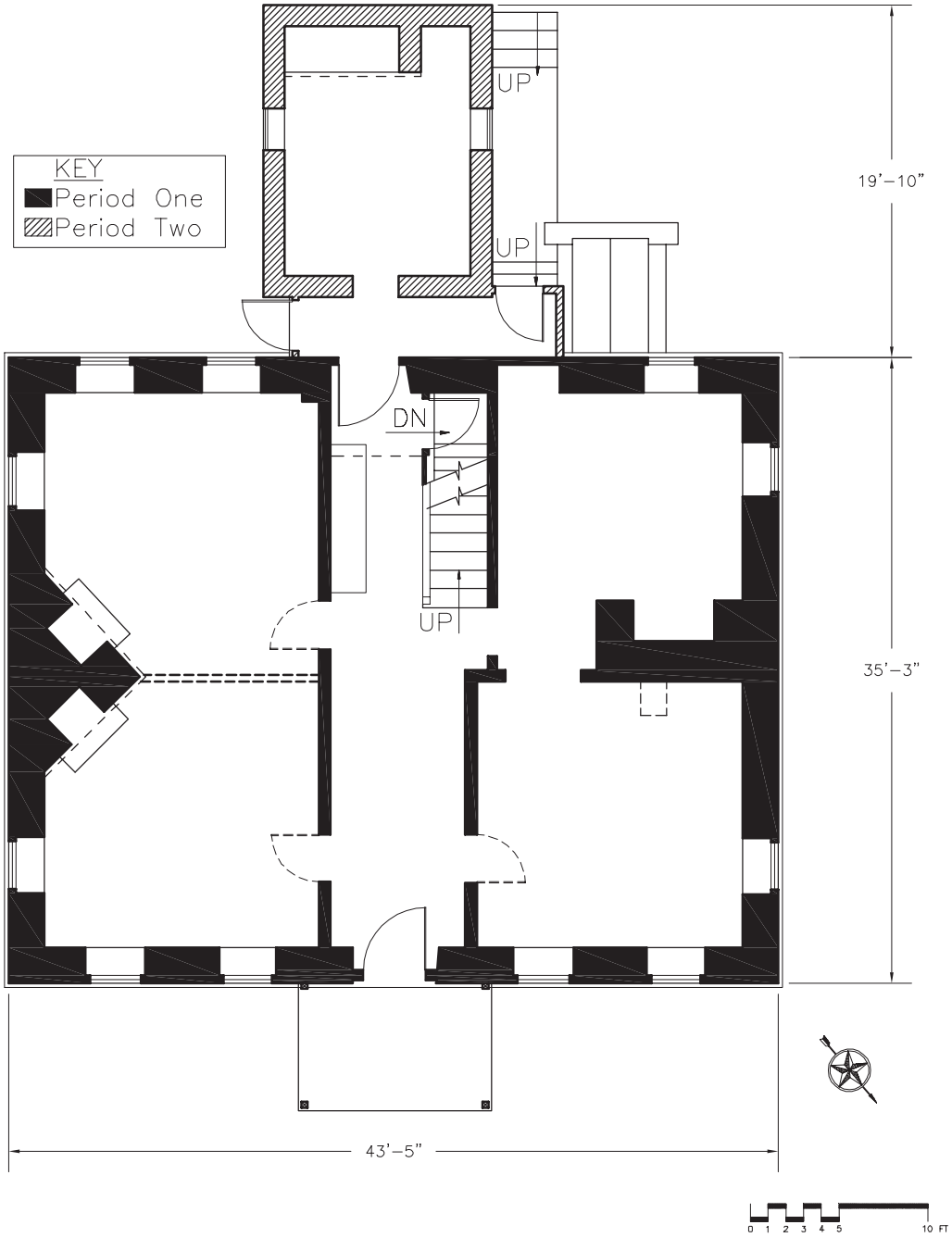


Figure 28. Christ Lutheran Church parsonage, Stouchsburg, Berks County, Pa., 1772, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Anne Samuel from originals by Charles Bergengren. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This floor plan shows a dramatic bifurcation. At left, the "English" half of the house has corner fireplaces; at right, the "German" half has a large walk-in fireplace joined to a stove room.

Figure 29. John and Elizabeth Moyer house, Bernville, Berks County, Pa., c. 1817. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This four-over-four façade makes a clear nod to fashion and contemporary style, but the banked construction, arched cellar entrance, and off-center door carry on earlier ethnic patterns.

Scott Swank and Edward Chappell utilized a linear spectrum model of cultural change—positioning resistance on the one end, "controlled acculturation" in the middle, and complete assimilation on the other end. They saw a trend towards acculturation, and the decline of most "German" features in the nineteenth century.[36] Gabrielle Lanier in her study of the Delaware River Valley landscape has challenged linear models of cultural interchange. She argued that scholars should abandon the assumption that "minority" cultures always must assimilate to the "majority" culture; rather, she advocated a model of creolization, in which borrowing occurs freely among all groups and results in artifacts wholly different from any prior forms.[37]

Revised concepts of ethnicity have had important implications for how Pennsylvania German architecture is studied. Today there is general agreement that ethnic groups define and redefine themselves over time; that is, that ethnicity is not an inherent personal (much less biological) quality but a constructed identity. Ethnicity is historical, changeable, and contingent; it is to some extent "invented" and often serves social or political purposes within a specific historical milieu. Applying this formulation to the Pennsylvania Germans, Steven Nolt

has argued that it was not until the early republic that "Germans in Pennsylvania" became "Pennsylvania Germans." Nolt holds that a common, truly Pennsylvania German consciousness and culture actually did not develop *until* the nineteenth century, under pressure from such events as the common school law of 1834, the 1848 German immigration, and "blue laws." At the same time, a shared Pennsylvania German dialect had evolved from the numerous regional variants brought from Europe, and the dialect also served to bind Pennsylvania Germans together.[38] The hybrid houses so prevalent during the early republic seem to fit well with Nolt's formulation: the architecture of "Germans in Pennsylvania" gave way to something more blended—"Pennsylvania German"—with elements both of the Pennsylvania environment and the German heritage.

The foregoing interpretations share a fundamental assumption, that the Pennsylvania German landscape is an expression of ethnicity, whether ethnicity is construed as inherent or constructed. Cynthia Falk has posed perhaps the most far-reaching challenge to the ways that we interpret the architectural productions of German-speaking Pennsylvanians. She maintains that the focus on ethnicity is misplaced. Falk maintains that German speaking Pennsylvanians' monumental houses should be interpreted in terms of status, religious values, and class identities, not ethnicity. After all, German Pennsylvania was extremely heterogeneous economically and socially. Just contrast the grand Benedict Eshleman house in Conestoga, Lancaster County, with the tiny Stiegel house in Schaefferstown, Lebanon County (part of Lancaster County at the time), built at almost exactly the same time. Falk amplifies Cary Carson's insight that late eighteenth century Pennsylvanians of all backgrounds were facing choices not between "ethnic" and "English," but between "folk" and "formal." In this formulation, refinement rather than English-ness was the goal. The contrast also might be cast in terms of a local orientation versus a broader, more cosmopolitan pan-Atlantic one.[39]

It is worth noting that these architectural reformulations were occurring at the same moment when southeastern Pennsylvania agriculture was beginning a shift from diversified crop farming to a diversified grain and livestock economy. Domestic markets gradually challenged wheat exports for supremacy, especially after the wheat boom of the Napoleonic War era. It is tempting to speculate that the new preoccupation with local markets, not to mention the new political circumstances, generated more internal cultural and social interaction than ever before, and thus hastened the exchanges that resulted in a new hybrid Pennsylvanian culture. At any rate, there were architectural ramifications to the new agriculture. Pennsylvania barns and specialized outbuildings (such as smokehouses) removed some agricultural activities from the farmhouse, but much processing and other agricultural work remained; the cold cellar and the kitchen

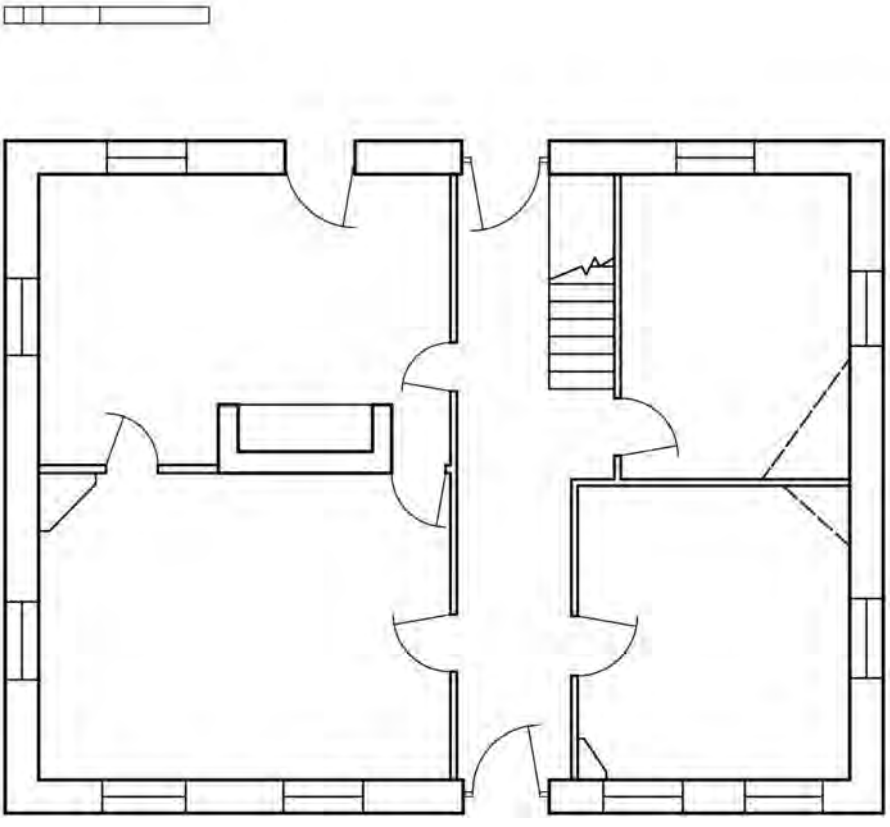


Figure 30. Benedict and Anna Eshleman house, Conestoga Township, Lancaster County, Pa., 1759, reconstructed ground floor plan. Plan drawn by Cynthia Falk, based on field work by Sally McMurry, Diane Wenger, Kjirsten Gustavson, Eric Kernfeld, and Cynthia Falk. This plan presents a variation on the dual zones represented in the Christ Church parsonage. In this case, the "German" zone is significantly larger and so the exterior is unbalanced too.

in particular were still key spaces, especially now that dairying and beef production assumed greater importance.

From about 1830 to the end of the nineteenth century, probably more farmhouses were built than in the previous century and a half. In some places, the rural landscape is still dominated by these buildings. Some areas of the state were more heavily Pennsylvania German than before, owing to selective migration patterns.[40] So while cultural mixing certainly was in evidence, in many spots there was a strong Pennsylvania German flavor; the Mahantongo Valley of Schuylkill County and Brush and Penns Valleys in Centre County are good examples. Ironically these later buildings, despite their numbers, are less well documented than their more famous colonial era predecessors. In the heart of

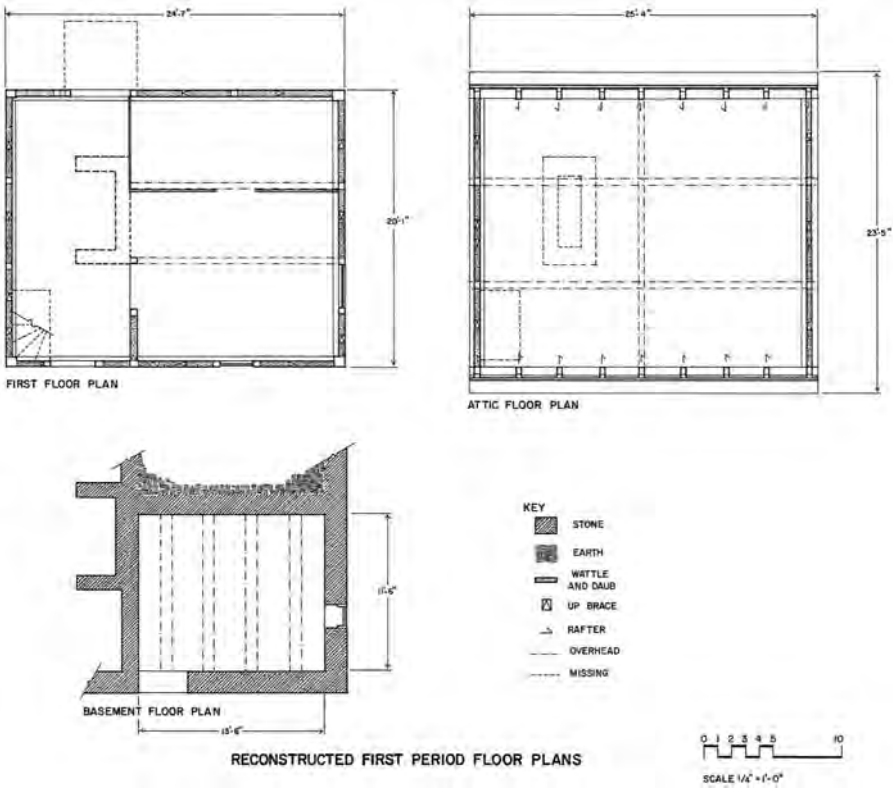


Figure 31. Stiegel house, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1757, reconstructed first period floor plans. Bernard L. Herman and William McIntire, delineators, 1984. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, Call Number HABS PA,38-SCHAF1, Drawing Sheet 3. In this three-room plan house, the cellar is only partially excavated, another common characteristic.

the region, the two-room deep, three-, four-, or five-bay house predominated. Joseph Glass and Henry Glassie have characterized this as the "Pennsylvania farmhouse type" and used it to chart the extent of the "Pennsylvania culture region."[41] This vernacular type was substantial, often more square than rectangular. It was usually (though not always) two-and-a-half stories, two rooms deep, and had an entry in the long side (either two central doors or one off-center door). Five-bay houses usually had a central doorway, while three-bay houses still were normally two rooms deep and commonly had either a central door or a side door. These houses had interior gable end chimneys, but often no fireplaces, having been erected after stoves became the main heating technology for everyone. Many were banked, giving a basement work and storage space, and had a well-organized work yard. Materials and construction techniques were affected by industrialization and standardization, so wood plank or bal-

Figure 32. Stiegel house, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1757, west front and south side. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, Call Number HABS PA,38-SCHAF1-1. This photograph conveys a sense of the scale and siting of the more typical house of the period.

loon framing replaced timber framing, and log construction continued, but diminished in popularity. In masonry construction, brick gained favor, challenging stone masonry buildings. Exterior decorative trim usually consisted of a muted (often outdated) expression of popular styles. These were almost always highly selective borrowings, often just trim that merely hinted at a style; the complete repertoire of stylistic references (such as the steep roof pitch and pointed windows of the Gothic Revival, or the foursquare Italianate form with pronounced roof overhang) was rarely employed. Often, a flat datestone over the doorway or in the gable end bore German or English script with the names of the husband and wife.[42] Interior trim followed current or recently popular styles, but we might find echoes of the past in slightly heavier-than-usual moulding or in traces of a vivid paint color.

The four-bay farmhouse was common in the counties of Cumberland, Berks, Lehigh, Lancaster, Perry, Snyder, York, Dauphin, Juniata, Mifflin, and Adams; in the Adams County township of Mount Joy, for example, in a survey of nearly 200 houses, about a third were four-bay houses, and of these, half had

Figure 33. Benner farmhouse, Mount Joy Township, Adams County, Pa., c. 1870, front elevation. Pennsylvania State Historic Preservation Bureau File photograph. The two front doors each offer direct interior access.

two doors. Some scholars have used the term "four-over-four" to describe this type.[43] The Benner farmhouse in Adams County, c. 1870, exhibits a four-bay, two-door exterior eaves side. The floor plan shows that each door provides direct access to a front room. Two rooms are equipped with fireplaces, and two are not, as with earlier floor plans combining stove heating with fireplace heating.

The Stitzer house in Oley, c. 1870, is another four-bay house, but with a single, off-center door. The echoes of older layouts are louder here, as the door permits direct entry into a main room and a large walk-in fireplace occupies the back room.[44]

Barry Rauhauser's survey of four-bay houses in Manchester Township, York County, suggests that the façade is just as important as interior organization. He was not able to link the four-bay façade to any specific plan type. Rauhauser links the rise in the type's popularity to the historical context, particularly town-country interaction, industrialization, and nation building. The four-bay house departed from, but also was "faintly reminiscent," of its predecessors. It thereby promoted "cohesion" in the community by offering an architectural expression that was at once ethnically neutral, new, and conservative.[45] According to Rau-

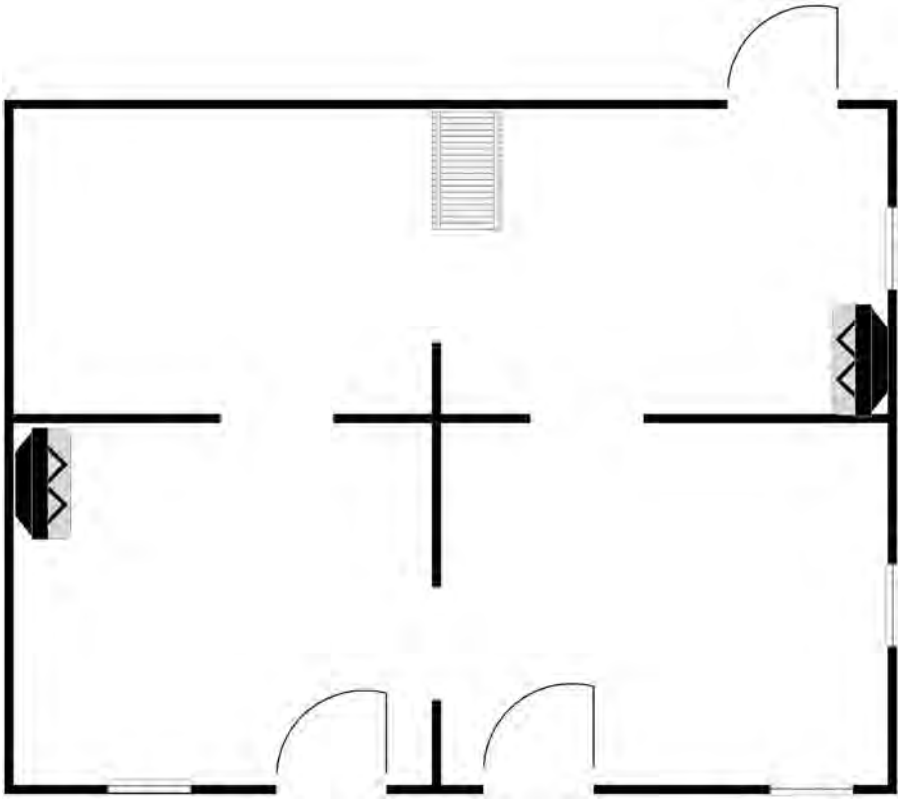


Figure 34. Benner farmhouse, Mount Joy Township, Adams County, Pa., c. 1870, ground floor plan. Redrawn by Sally McMurry from originals at the Pennsylvania Bureau for Historic Preservation.

hauser, builders of four-bay farmhouses "bought into both ends" of the continuum between "ethnic" expression and the wider culture.

The four-bay house is common, but not the only type to appear in the heavily Pennsylvania German areas. A superficially Georgian-style exterior, with center door flanked by two bays on either side, and with two windows on the gable end, was quite popular throughout the nineteenth century. As with the four-bay houses, however, the exterior does not always predict the interior. For example, the Durst-Neff farmhouse, 1841, Centre County, appears from the outside to have a double-pile, center-hall plan, but the main block actually is a single-pile configuration, with just two rooms separated by a hallway, with a grand staircase that takes up almost all the hallway space. Gable end fireplaces display distinctive chunky mantel carving. An ell in the rear contains a large cooking hearth and corner winder stair.

Farther west in Somerset County, another heavily Pennsylvania German

Figure 35. Stitzer house, Spangsville, Berks County, Pa., c. 1870, south elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This Victorian-era four-over-four makes modest, though somewhat anachronistic, concessions to contemporary stylistic trends.

area, several mid-nineteenth-century five-bay banked houses exhibited the full Georgian double-pile, center-hall, center-stair plan on the main floor, but also had large, production-oriented basement kitchens. In these houses, one room always functioned as a *Stube,* even if in attenuated form: various documents refer to the "warm room," "stove room," or sometimes just "the room."[46]

In general, then, these "Pennsylvania farmhouse" buildings of the mid- to late nineteenth century exhibit a varied architectural blending, just as their predecessors did. In general, though, it seems as though the marked bifurcation that appears in many late eighteenth-century "German Georgian" buildings has given way to more subtle combinations; rather than suggesting two distinct cultural zones, interior spaces are more symmetrical and uniform. Architectural trim reflects participation in the wider popular culture. "German" continuations such as the stove room were still culturally important, but less distinctive if only because everybody else now used heating stoves, too.

Rauhauser suggested that the kitchens in the Pennsylvania farmhouse reflected progressive agricultural tendencies. The nineteenth-century Pennsylvania farmhouse continued to be an important site of production. Agriculture was mechanizing and becoming more market oriented, but the family subsis-

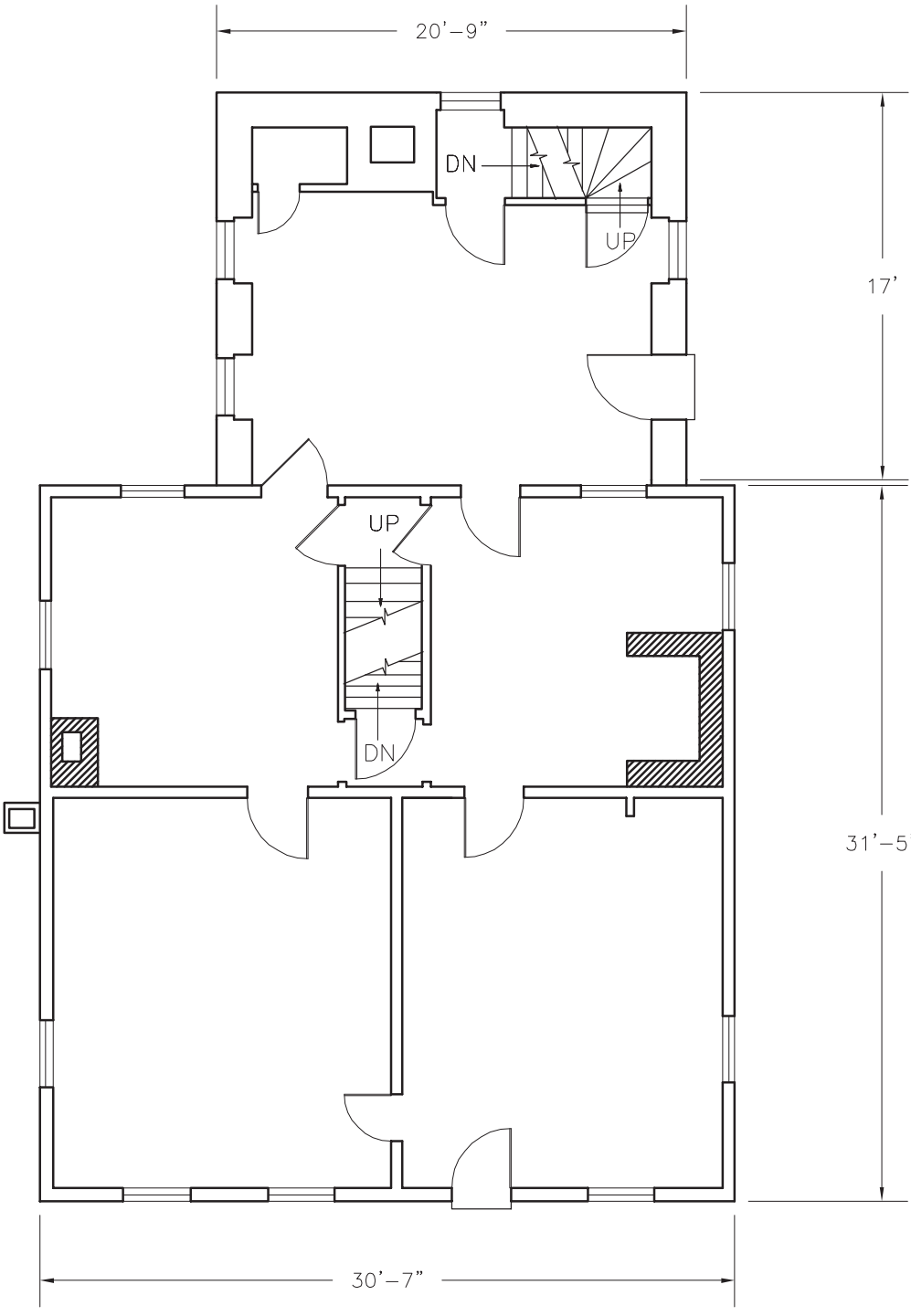


Figure 36. Stitzer house, Spangsville, Berks County, Pa., c. 1870, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Jason Smith from originals by Levengood Associates. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. Inside, the Stitzer house plan is much like the *kreuze* house plans of a century earlier, showing the continued strong appeal of this preferred spatial organization.

Figure 37. Durst-Neff farmhouse, Potter Township, Centre County, Pa., 1841, south elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This five-bay elevation suggests a center-hall Georgian plan, but the interior has no hallway and only two large rooms.

tence base also became more and more elaborate, as new vegetable varieties, mature orchards, cookstoves, cheap sugar, and canning techniques combined to elevate the family dietary standard. Sometimes these functions were exported to a summer kitchen, but the farmhouse kitchen continued as a key agricultural processing center. As before, few distinctively Pennsylvania German farming practices can be safely identified, except for those tied to known foodways. The basement kitchen, with its associated work yard, represented continuities with German practice as well as investment in modern agrarian practice. Unlike the examples Edward Chappell found in the Valley of Virginia, which were hidden from public view, these basement kitchens were not "suppressed" at all; they often were situated very visibly on the front façade.

In many cases, the nineteenth-century Pennsylvania German farmstead was tenanted rather than owner occupied. Of course, farm tenancy per se was never confined to Pennsylvania Germans, but there is quite a bit of evidence to suggest that the form it took among Pennsylvania Germans was distinctive and in fact was related to Old World customs. In turn it gave rise to characteristic architectural and landscape expressions. Among Pennsylvania Germans, farm tenancy had a strong link to kinship and to the institution of retirement. Well-to-do

farmers (especially in the central limestone valleys where wheat farming, which readily lent itself to sharecropping, remained popular) bought several farms besides the one where their own "mansion house" was situated. They installed sons or sons-in-law as tenants, who paid rent in the form of crop shares. The tenants lived in smaller, more modest versions of the "mansion house." Often landlord and tenant shared a single barn. Eventually the parents retired to live in comfort (from rents) in villages like Centre Hall (Centre County) and Newville (Cumberland County), or on the farm.[47] The prevalence of kinship-based tenancy in Pennsylvania German society was closely tied to cultural practices of Pennsylvania German patriarchy. Thus the ethnic dimension of share tenancy in Pennsylvania may have helped to shape the landscape by creating a subtle housing hierarchy in the countryside.

The First World War marked a watershed point in Pennsylvania German life. Put on the defensive and anxious to prove their patriotism, Pennsylvania German "church" people refashioned themselves once again; the dialect declined, and attention turned to the heritage of the distant past. Yet as late as 1927 people were still building three-room-plan houses; the old ways died hard, especially in the remoter valleys.

During the twentieth century, Plain Sect groups, which retained the dialect and distinctive customs related to religious conviction, became increasingly identified with the label "Pennsylvania German."[48] This transformation brought its own cultural and architectural consequences, but those are another story. Here we are concerned with the Pennsylvania German landscape between the earliest arrivals and the First World War. Throughout this period, Pennsylvania Germans engaged in vigorous cultural interchanges both among themselves and with other groups. Architecturally, the results enriched the landscape. The earliest Germans in Pennsylvania brought a core set of spatial sensibilities and customs, realized most prominently in the three-room house, but incorporated into other forms as well. In choosing the three-room house, many colonists were appropriating a type that was little used in Europe, thus fashioning an architecture that was in many respects American from the beginning. The succeeding generation's architectural repertoire shows an uneasy rapprochement between "English" culture and "German" traditions, with clearly bifurcated "German Georgian" buildings suggesting not so much a blending as a side-by-side coexistence. Though this generation might incorporate parlors with fireplaces, by no means would they relinquish their stove rooms. By the nineteenth century, though, dwellings in rural Pennsylvania German areas show a more spatially and stylistically coherent trend that represents a more thoroughgoing blending of cultural practices. The four-over-four is a good example, combining a degree of formal regularity, stylistic conservatism, and retention (though less

conspicuous) of productive spaces. For this generation, the stove room kept its deep cultural meaning; but since heating by stoves was now so widespread, the stove room's architectural distinctiveness receded.

This essay attempts to discuss interpretations of the rural dwellings that housed a majority of Pennsylvania Germans at least into the twentieth century. Yet, it must conclude with a reminder that though Pennsylvania Germans are famously associated with rural and agricultural life, the voices that have come down most clearly from the past, especially from before 1900, generally did not represent ordinary farm people, and so there is far more to be learned about their rural buildings. The Pennsylvania German Society, for example, at its inception was dominated by men from the professions, business, and industry, many of whom downplayed the dialect and were eager to demonstrate the Pennsylvania German contribution to mainstream American life. Ministers, too, enjoyed access to print media. These figures were moving away from rural life and often criticized it. There were notable exceptions, such as the photographer Winslow Fegley, but in general not until the twentieth century did folklorists and linguists begin to document rural Pennsylvania German life. Their valuable efforts captured many cultural customs, expressions, and processes as they were used in the early to mid-twentieth century, but still, it is not entirely clear to what extent this knowledge applies to the nineteenth century. Untapped primary sources, less prominent than published sermons or speeches, may uncover rural people's voices and lend new perspectives to our understanding of the rural Pennsylvania German landscape. Local newspapers, some published in German, may afford glimpses through local-news columns and letters. Archival sources such as ledgers, daybooks, school exercise essays, and probate papers can yield insights about architectural choices and values, and about their relationship to rural Pennsylvania German culture. Previous generations of scholars have established a strong foundation for such studies; a future generation, in carrying them out, may add yet another layer to our understanding of this rich and diverse culture.

CHAPTER THREE

Domestic Outbuildings

Philip E. Pendleton

As one traverses the Pennsylvania German region via its rural byways, one cannot help but notice the suites of picturesque domestic outbuildings, such as bakehouses, springhouses, privies and ancillary houses, that so frequently accompany the main dwelling on an old homestead. Although they have received some casual mention from writers who have looked at this landscape, to date we have learned surprisingly little that is definite about the history of these commonplace auxiliary buildings. This relative ignorance may stem, in part, from an obstacle presented by the buildings themselves. They tend to possess a certain "unhistorical" quality by the standards of many architectural historians, as few of them bear physical date inscriptions, they have largely evaded mention in primary historical documents, and few period travelers or other contemporary commentators found them worthy of mention. In terms of their construction and frequently somewhat rudimentary finish, they appear generally to embody a conservatism in technique that might employ a traditional element like a board-and-batten door decades later than a surveyor would have expected to see a like item incorporated in the construction of an accompanying house.

It helps to begin by defining one's subject. For this essay, a "domestic outbuilding" is an auxiliary building on a property, and one that is functionally associated with the domestic aspect of the homestead, that is, with the work and other activities that take place in the area of the dwelling. These activities include the processing, storage and cooking of the food and drink to be con-

Figure 38. Adam Brandt house, Cumberland County, Pa., c. 1787, rear view showing summer kitchen. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This view shows how the summer kitchen was sited with respect to the house, allowing for efficient but still separate access.

sumed by the homestead's occupants, other housework such as laundering, and the provision of additional living space. Craftwork is the aspect of homestead life where crisp definition of this topic becomes somewhat difficult—I have chosen to exclude not only clearly industrial buildings, but also work sites such as smithies where the craft processes were of a heavy nature, and more closely associated with the agricultural or industrial work of the property. On the other hand, I have chosen to include among "domestic outbuildings" those workshops where somewhat lighter craftwork, such as turning or organ building, was done. The provision of workshop space was evidently a major role for many ancillary houses.

Scholars of Pennsylvania German vernacular architecture have had relatively little to say about the various forms of domestic outbuildings and their role in this cultural landscape. As secondary structures, they have generally been treated in a secondary way, as an afterthought if at all. This tendency prevailed among eighteenth-century observers. Historic contemporaries' travel accounts of the early Pennsylvania German region, including Mittelberger (present 1750–

54), Schoepf (1783–84), Rush (c. 1789), Cazenove (1794), and La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1795–97), made no comments on domestic outbuildings, an omission probably reflecting both the secondary nature of these resources and their still relatively limited number in the late eighteenth century.

The sole exception among these eighteenth-century travelers' accounts is that of Lieutenant Thomas Anburey, a British officer held captive in Lancaster County during the late 1770s, who noted that many local dwellings were accompanied by bakehouses situated a short distance away.[1]

A mere handful of modern monographs have examined the topic to any degree. Small domestic outbuildings built by early German-Americans received brief notice in works published by Henry Glassie and Peter Wacker in 1968. Glassie, in his wide-ranging survey *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, referred to a form of small building designed with its main entry located in a gable end and sheltered by a projecting roof. Glassie attributed this form's origins in America to German-speaking immigrants and others coming from Europe, noting that it was commonly employed in the design of Pennsylvania bakehouses, smokehouses, springhouses, summer kitchens and wash houses. He attested to the "exact" resemblance of Pennsylvania German bakehouses incorporating beehive ovens to those of Switzerland.[2] The historical geographer Peter Wacker conducted an innovative community study of the Musconetcong Valley, an early settlement area located in northwestern New Jersey, that considered the distribution of building types as well other aspects of the pattern of settlement on the cultural landscape. This region of New Jersey received considerable overflow migration of German-speakers spilling out of Pennsylvania from the 1730s onward. Wacker noted that surviving examples of two domestic outbuilding forms, the separate kitchen building or cookhouse and the springhouse, were fairly common in the portions of the valley that had been dominated by German settlement, although these building types were not exclusively Pennsylvania German.[3]

The most detailed work yet published on Pennsylvania German homestead outbuildings appeared in 1972. Amos Long, Jr., a regional folklorist, drew together some thirty pieces treating individual outbuilding forms and other elements of the farmstead landscape to sketch a portrait of Pennsylvania German farm life as it was lived in the past, apparently for the most part the not-too-distant past.[4] The book is of value for its comprehensive listing and functional description of the forms of buildings seen on the region's homesteads—research that recorded a great deal of firsthand information on traditional lifeways from the inhabitants of a disappearing rural landscape. The sheer weight of the volume suggests the many years of work that must have gone into it. Written from the viewpoint of the traditional folklorist of a generation or so

ago, *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm* has some limitations, however, at least when viewed from the perspective of the historically oriented vernacular-architectural scholarship of the past quarter-century.

Long's approach to his subject concentrates on what might be called the folklore of use—the function of the buildings as observed by Long and as observed or practiced by his informants, and anecdotes and traditional sayings recorded by Long that refer to the buildings and the activities they facilitated. This wealth of folkloric information has undoubted relevance to the cultural significance of these structures. Long's account, however, generally has relatively little to say about the architecture of most outbuilding types, for example their plan, materials or construction methods, and how these aspects evolved over time or varied over space. He apparently never intended his work to be historical—for the most part, Long's outbuildings seem to have existed in a chronological vacuum so that their form and function remained largely the same in the early twentieth century as they had been one hundred or two hundred years earlier. However, all things have their historical development. That the characteristics of these buildings have in a sense been "timeless" may be true in some measure, but to what extent cannot be known without an explicitly historical approach to their study. Long seems rarely to consider how the architectural content of farmsteads may have varied as one moved up and down the economic scale, or between sectarians and church people, or from urban fringe to deep countryside.

Based on a survey of 1798 and 1815 tax assessment lists, Scott T. Swank made some cogent historical observations on domestic outbuildings in his 1983 overview of Pennsylvania German material culture.[5] Swank estimated that in 1798 up to a third of homesteads had one or more domestic outbuildings. Springhouses, washhouses, and kitchens were the most common designations for these structures. Less than 10 percent of homesteads had more than two such buildings, as of that date. (Many of these buildings probably fulfilled multiple functions—no doubt some were examples of the ancillary house form, which was commonly referred to in the eighteenth century by the designation "springhouse," and occasionally by other common outbuilding names, such as "washhouse.") By 1798 there were isolated examples of the most substantial sort of farmstead, where a two-story stone mansion house was accompanied by a fairly extensive suite of outbuildings, which might even have been constructed contemporaneously with the house and of like material. Sometimes an extant earlier house, the former main dwelling, was seen doing continued duty as an outbuilding, as on the Bertolet Homestead in the Oley Valley. As one moved down the economic scale as portrayed in the tax lists, from stone main house to one built of logs, there tended to be fewer domestic outbuildings. Also, the less

Figure 39. Abraham Bertolet house, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1736, north elevation. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This ancillary building exemplifies a recycling approach to building; it became a work space exclusively after serving duty as a main dwelling.

wealthy the homestead, the more likely that the outbuilding would diverge from the house in construction material, suggesting the more typical incremental pattern of construction for the property. A log house might have later-built stone outbuildings, especially in the case of springhouses, which were generally built of stone to suit their insulating function.

Two works appeared in the 1990s that took note of domestic outbuildings as a frequently encountered element of substantial rural homesteads in the mid-Atlantic region. My own book on the Oley Valley settlement during the colonial period discussed the ancillary house as a multi-functional building incorporating discrete spaces for work and dwelling that had apparently derived from outbuilding traditions of German-speaking Europe, notably that of the dower house, and also reported briefly on other outbuilding forms known to have been present.[6] Gabrielle Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, in their invaluable field guide to the vernacular architecture of the Delaware Valley region, looked at domestic outbuildings with reference to Anglo-American settlement. Useful for comparative purposes, and for consideration of what evolved as common prac-

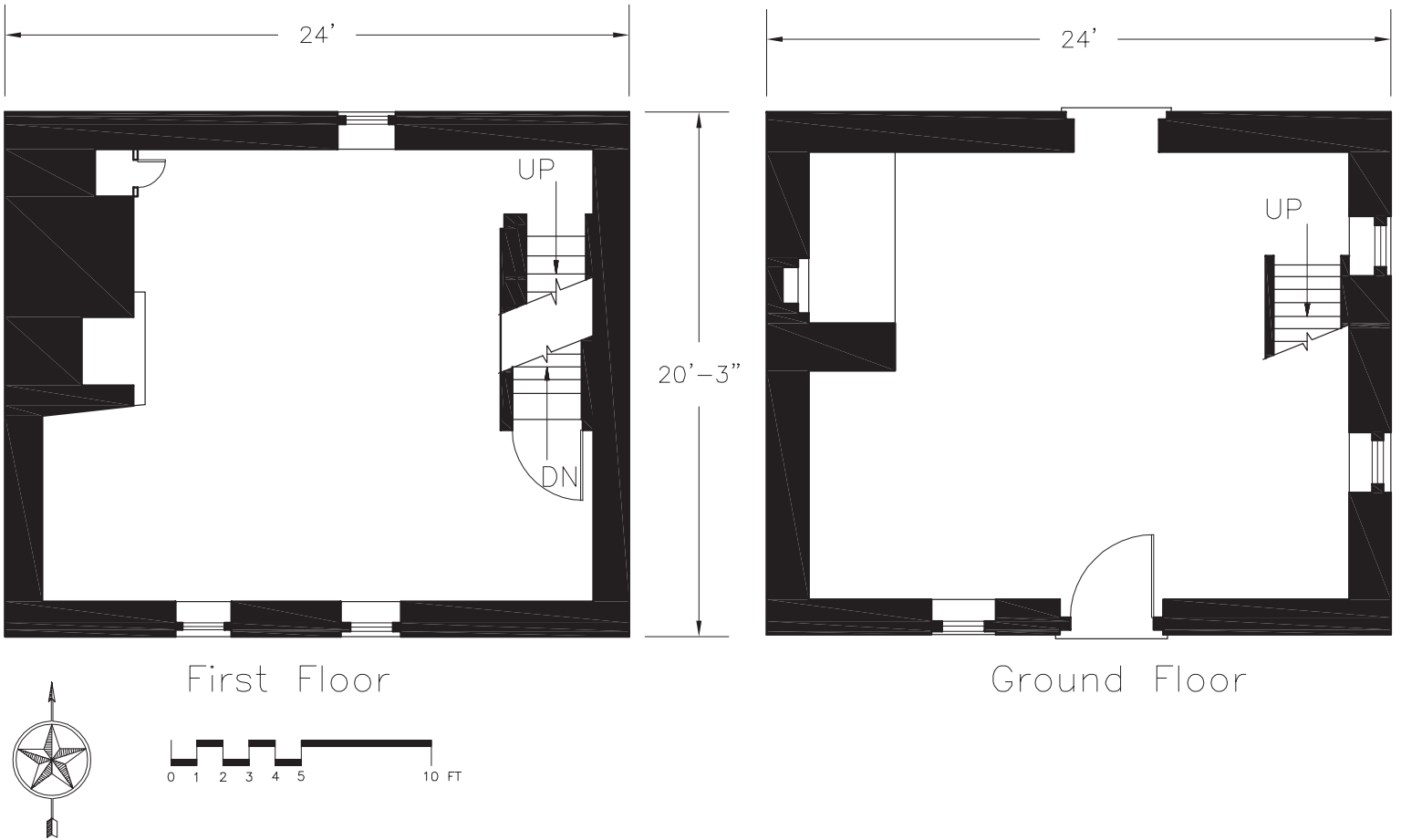


Figure 40. Abraham Bertolet house, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1736, floor plans. CAD drawings by Jeroen van den Hurk from originals by Ken LeVan. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This single-cell plan reveals a smaller-scale version of the three-room house.

tice between the two major European cultural communities of the region, their account identified the kitchen, smokehouse, milkhouse, springhouse, and privy as widespread forms.[7]

It is evident that Pennsylvania Germans constructed and used various forms of domestic outbuildings from the initial period of German-speaking immigration onward. Such auxiliary structures had been a commonplace presence in the architectural tradition of the Rhine lands. During the early to middle eighteenth century in Pennsylvania, however, construction of domestic outbuildings appears to have been largely restricted to the homesteads of a relatively small minority consisting of the most prosperous Germans. Research on the colonial-period Oley Valley settlement, sifting real estate advertisements, deeds, probate papers and other documents for approximately 250 German-owned homesteads, found references to only a handful of domestic outbuildings, on properties belonging to fairly well off people: a root cellar (1755), a building apparently designated alternately as a milk house and a washhouse (1757), a springhouse (1766), a still house (1769), a "small new house" to which an elderly couple were to retire (1772), and a homestead that had both a springhouse and a "kitchen adjoining the house" (1772).[8] As the late eighteenth century and then the nineteenth century progressed, however, and the architectural complexes built by farmers, millers, and relatively well off artisans tended to become more extensive and elaborate, the provision of outbuildings for heavy domestic work and for additional residential space became ever more common.

In this process of elaborating and improving their homesteads, Pennsylvania Germans drew on European tradition for their outbuilding forms, even as they participated in the widespread and gradual reorganization of the architectural landscape that transpired during the early national years (about 1780–1850). The trend toward rebuilding and reordering also manifested among German-Americans with regard to their main dwellings. Central chimneys disappeared, fenestration became more symmetrical in design, and log and *Fachwerk* construction was covered over or demolished, while more and more masonry houses appeared. The evolution of the enlarged Pennsylvania barn type from its European-derived precedents, and its adoption by German-Americans and others throughout a broad crescent-shaped region extending between the Delaware and Shenandoah valleys, could be considered another element reflecting the reordering of the landscape.

The proliferation of domestic outbuildings on the more substantially built homestead dovetailed with the reordering of the proprietor's mansion house, this combination of trends composing a major aspect in the reorganization of the overall homestead. The crux of the matter was where the domestic tasks necessary to carry on the life of the proprietor's family—especially the heavier,

sloppier, or more toilsome work associated with food preparation, food storage, and laundering—would be done. As was the trend among Anglo-Americans during this period, such activities were increasingly removed from the main block of the house, while the latter area developed as a space for more polite aspects of domestic life. This tendency was accompanied by an increase in the number of bedrooms, and by a movement toward more pronounced specialization in room use for other rooms in the main body of the house.[9]

On Pennsylvania German homesteads, such changes may have seemed particularly far-reaching in their impact on the character of domestic life, due to the peculiar nature of the traditional Pennsylvania German house, at least with regard to the more substantial examples. For the Pennsylvania German house of the colonial period, like the then evolving *Sweitzer* barn, was an inclusive and systematic architectural entity, designed with spaces for various specific tasks or functions to take place. In the garret there was frequently a smoke chamber (*Rauchkammer)* for curing meat, as well as granary space for safeguarding the all-important wheat and rye. Pondering the second-floor exterior entries with small balconies that are not uncommon among the larger colonial-period Pennsylvania German dwellings of *Flürkuchenhaus* plan, at least in some vicinities, one wonders whether these might have facilitated use of the room over the *Küche*, which often extended the depth of the house, as a location for threshing. In a relatively few examples, the great *Küche* itself or a small adjacent room was fitted with the portal to a bakeoven, whose beehive structure projected from the outer wall of the house.

The excavated and insulated cellar, practically universal among substantial Pennsylvania German houses, was the site of extensive preparation activity and storage for food and drink. An exterior entry, enabled by embanked siting, often gave direct access to the cellar. There was frequently a spring channel in the floor of the cellar, to provide water for use in this work and for enhanced refrigeration, and a cellar space was often whitewashed to facilitate the cleanliness required for proper dairying. In some houses, a cellar fireplace provided heat for various chores, and at least one, the Alexander Schaeffer House in Schaefferstown, shows evidence of having been equipped with pot stills for distilling. According to Charles Bergengren, this systematic organization of the house for work and storage reflects traditional house design of the Rhine lands.[10] One can only presume that in the great house-barn buildings, a common architectural form on farmsteads back in German-speaking Europe, this storage and workspace-oriented aspect of the home had been even more pronounced.

While outbuildings derived from equally traditional and European forms, the proliferation in the number of domestic outbuildings—including smokehouses, bakehouses, still houses, washhouses, butcher houses, dryhouses, milk

houses, springhouses, root cellars and freestanding kitchens—helped bring about a new order in which the heavy work activities were largely dispersed from the main house.

The types of domestic outbuildings that appeared in German Pennsylvania can be classified in four groups, organized according to the primary function of the building:

A) buildings for storage of food, drink and ice (including springhouses, root cellars, and icehouses), characterized by insulating function;
B) buildings for food preparation (including outkitchens, bakehouses, smokehouses, milk houses, and dryhouses), characterized in most cases by the presence of a heating facility;
C) privies;
D) ancillary houses.

Most forms of domestic outbuilding were designed for functions relating to sustenance, either to facilitate the proper storage of food and drink, or to enable its preparation for consumption. The springhouse was perhaps the most common such building on Pennsylvania German farmsteads. Simple stone-built, partially excavated structures for the storage of milk, referred to as "milk cooling cellars," had been constructed in Switzerland for many centuries. Swiss farmers sometimes diverted streams to run through these little structures, to enhance the cooling effect.[11] Two springhouses on Cumberland Valley farms illustrate these characteristics well. On the Adam Brandt homestead, a stone structure is built typically low over the spring, with a loft over the spring chamber. Vessels containing milk or other substances that required cooling were placed directly in the spring channel in the floor of the building. Stone construction became predominant for springhouses early on, due to the additional insulation provided by the masonry, but early examples were often built of log.

Vault-arched root cellars, also referred to as cave or ground cellars, were chambers excavated from the earth, roofed with vault arches of brick or stone, frequently floored with brick pavers, and often with a stone wall enclosing the cave on the entry side. Ventilation ducts provided fresh air and prevented excessive moisture (at least as originally constructed). Root cellars served primarily to keep vegetables and fruits, but also were also used for the temporary cooling or storage of meats, dairy products and baked goods. The Adam Brandt homestead in the Cumberland Valley, the Erpff homestead in Schaefferstown, the Christ Church parsonage in Stouchsburg, and the Keim homestead in the Oley Valley all provide good examples. Also on view in the Oley Valley, at the Knabb mill, is a nineteenth-century icehouse, a roofed, stone-walled pit in which ice

Figure 41. Springhouse, Adams County, Pa., c. 1860. Photograph by Sally McMurry.

was deposited. Mill businesses commonly cut and sold ice from their millponds as a profitable sideline, but similar icehouses were built on many of the region's farmsteads. Farmers used ice to cool perishable food items and milk for transport to market.

Among Pennsylvania German outbuildings devoted to food preparation, the bakehouse and the smokehouse appear to be equally common forms. In addition, combination bakehouse-smokehouse buildings were constructed on a fair number of homesteads, designed so the oven would vent its smoke into the smoking chamber.

Five fine examples of stone-built smoke houses dating to the eighteenth century appear at Tulpehocken Manor, the Christ Church parsonage in Stouchsburg, the Boone homestead in the Oley Valley, and the Schaeffer homestead and the Rex house in Schaefferstown. These impressive early specimens share a sturdy-looking, basic form, a squarish shape and pyramidal roof (front-gabled at Boone), with walls unbroken by windows in most cases, and with poles or light timbers extending across the interior space to hold the meat above a fire positioned in the center of the floor. The Tulpehocken Manor smokehouse is fitted with a decorative iron lock bar bearing a 1777 date, and also has a frame shed addition (c. 1883) that was used as a butcher house. Most likely there were also log and frame smokehouses built in the region during the eighteenth cen-

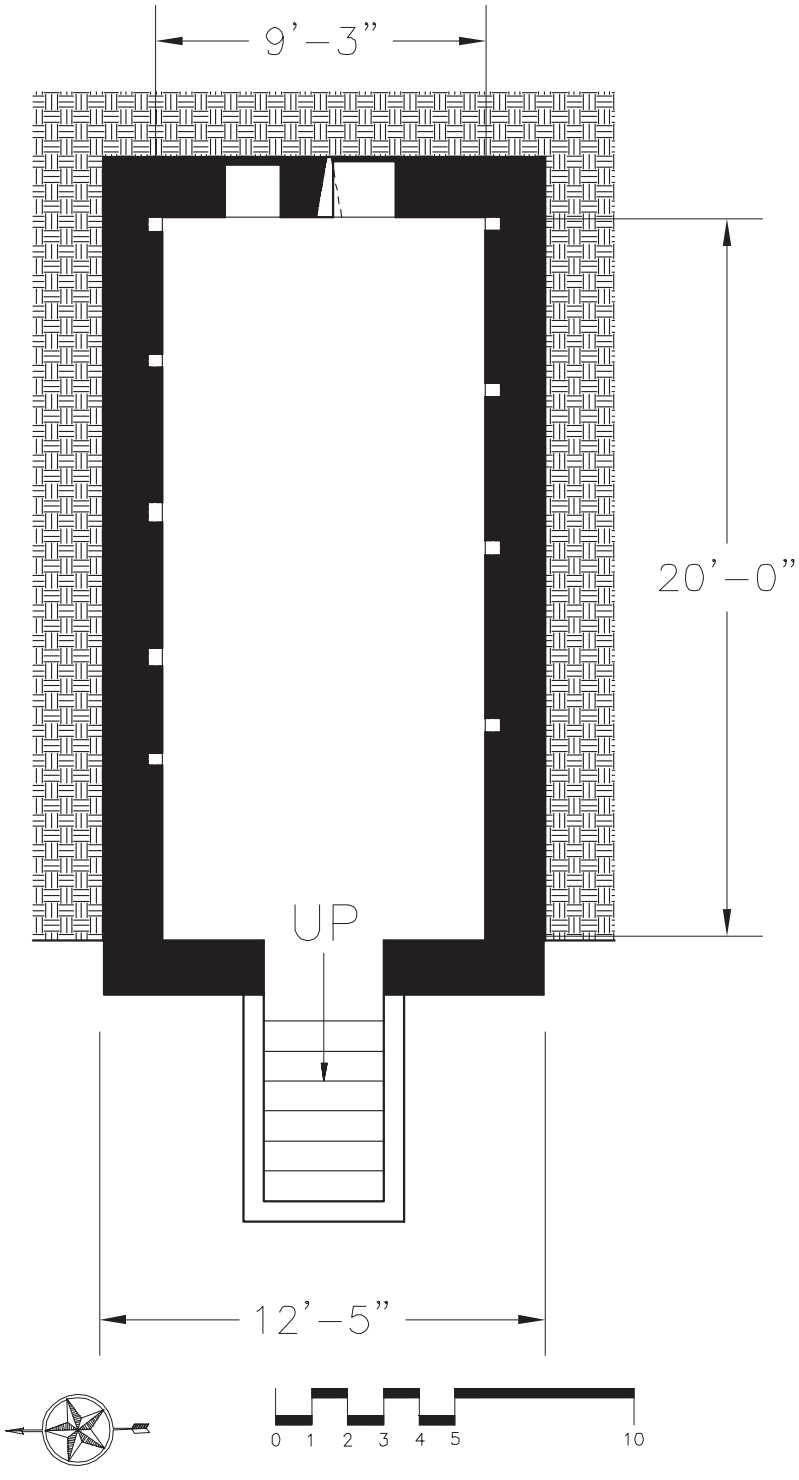


Figure 42. Erpff root cellar, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., late eighteenth century. CAD drawing by Jeroen van den Hurk. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The plan reveals a large interior storage space, and also small alcoves for specialized uses.

Figure 43. Keim homestead root cellar, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., late eighteenth century. Photograph by Philip E. Pendleton. The root cellar was usually sited conveniently close to the farmhouse, so the household's women could have easy access.

tury, but, as so often happens with vernacular building types, what has survived is a disproportionate share of the more substantially built specimens from better off homesteads.

Later frame smokehouses can be seen at the Knabb mill and Fisher properties in the Oley Valley, and at the Landis Valley Museum in Lancaster County; these examples were constructed in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The Knabb mill smokehouse (probably late-1800s) is worthy of note for its intact features, including its spire vent, heavily reinforced door, and "meat tree," a revolving vertical pole fitted with arms from which meats would be suspended.

The Pennsylvania German bakehouse or outdoor bakeoven had a fairly standard outward architectural form. At the heart of the small building was the beehive-shaped bakeoven structure itself, built of stone and/or brick. A thick coat of mortar provided a smooth exterior surface over the upper portion of the beehive. A rectangular outer wall, usually of masonry but sometimes of frame, enclosed the bakeoven. Bakehouses were generally built with the longitudinal sides of this oven pen projecting several feet beyond the front of the

Figure 44. Boone homestead smokehouse, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., date unknown. Photograph by Philip E. Pendleton. Smokehouses facilitated processing of foods central to Pennsylvania German foodways.

bakeoven, creating a sheltered workspace for the baker. At least one eighteenth-century Oley Valley example has a workspace walled with log instead of masonry. The building was covered with a continuous front-gabled roof, often of fire-retardant red clay tile if the location was relatively near one of the scattered tile makers. Some bakeovens were constructed without the side walls, but with the roof projecting to form a deep, sheltering hood for the workspace. In a combination bakehouse-smokehouse, the beehive oven was located in the center of the building, with the smoking chamber at the opposite or rear end from the baker's workspace. A separate exterior door admitted entry to the smoke chamber, or the building might be constructed with enough breadth to contain a narrow side passage leading from the front to the smoke chamber.

The seemingly ubiquitous outdoor bakeoven came in two subtypes, distinguished by the form of the oven chimney. The "squirrel tail" oven has a chimney structure that resembles the position of that beloved arboreal rodent's appendage when it adopts a sitting or crouching stance, with the tail fanning over its head. The chimney extends along the ridge of the beehive from the rear of the oven to the front, where, supported by stout pillars flanking the oven door, it rises vertically to pierce the center of the oven's roof. In the other form

of outdoor bakeoven, the chimney rises straight up in an interior end of the building (off-center in a bakehouse-smokehouse), or occasionally from the side of the building.

Bakehouses in the emigrants' European heartland of the upper Rhine Valley are said to have been characteristically communal buildings shared by villagers. However, in Westphalia, which did contribute migrants to Pennsylvania, it was common for dispersed farmsteads to have their own bakehouses. Westphalian farm bakehouses could be larger than their Pennsylvania cousins typically were, with the bigger European examples incorporating additional spaces such as a granary or a vaulted cellar for brewing and storing beer. But small bakehouses with a configuration similar to those in Pennsylvania were also common.[12]

Bakehouses remain at the Fisher and Boone homesteads in the Oley Valley, at Charming Forge northeast of Womelsdorf, at the Rex house in Schaefferstown, and at Ephrata Cloister. The one at Boone homestead (which was actually moved there) is a bakehouse-smokehouse with a squirrel tale chimney. The squirrel tale form is also present in the Ephrata example.

A few homesteads, such as the original DeTurk homestead in Oley Township, boasted what might be referred to as a true bakehouse, i.e., a larger-scale building housing multiple ovens and more commodious workspace. Built probably in the late 1700s, the DeTurk bakehouse was a front-gabled, one-story stone building constructed over a raised basement. Two ovens, worked from the first floor, projected from the rear end of the building. No doubt there was a market for bread and other baked goods among the many rural inhabitants who lacked access to an oven of their own. A double-oven bakehouse in Westphalia, back in Germany, was typically equipped with ovens of disparate size, the smaller oven being used to bake white bread and cakes without consuming overmuch wood, but this consideration was admittedly less likely to carry weight in the Pennsylvania of the late 1700s.[13]

Kitchen buildings or outkitchens, structures housing cooking hearths to enable meal preparation in a space separate from the main dwelling, appeared on Pennsylvania German homesteads in the eighteenth century, and became more common during the following century, particularly in its later decades. A relatively early stone-built example is at the Erpff homestead in Schaefferstown, probably dating to the late 1700s or early 1800s. At the Johannes Hess house in Lititz there is a c. 1850 frame example, and late nineteenth-century frame outkitchens still exist at the Robesonia Furnace complex in the Tulpehocken Valley, the Diller homestead in the Cumberland Valley, and the Backenstose homestead near Schaefferstown.

Henry Kinzer Landis published a treatise on Pennsylvania German kitchen traditions in 1939.[14] Landis posited that the tradition of the detached kitchen

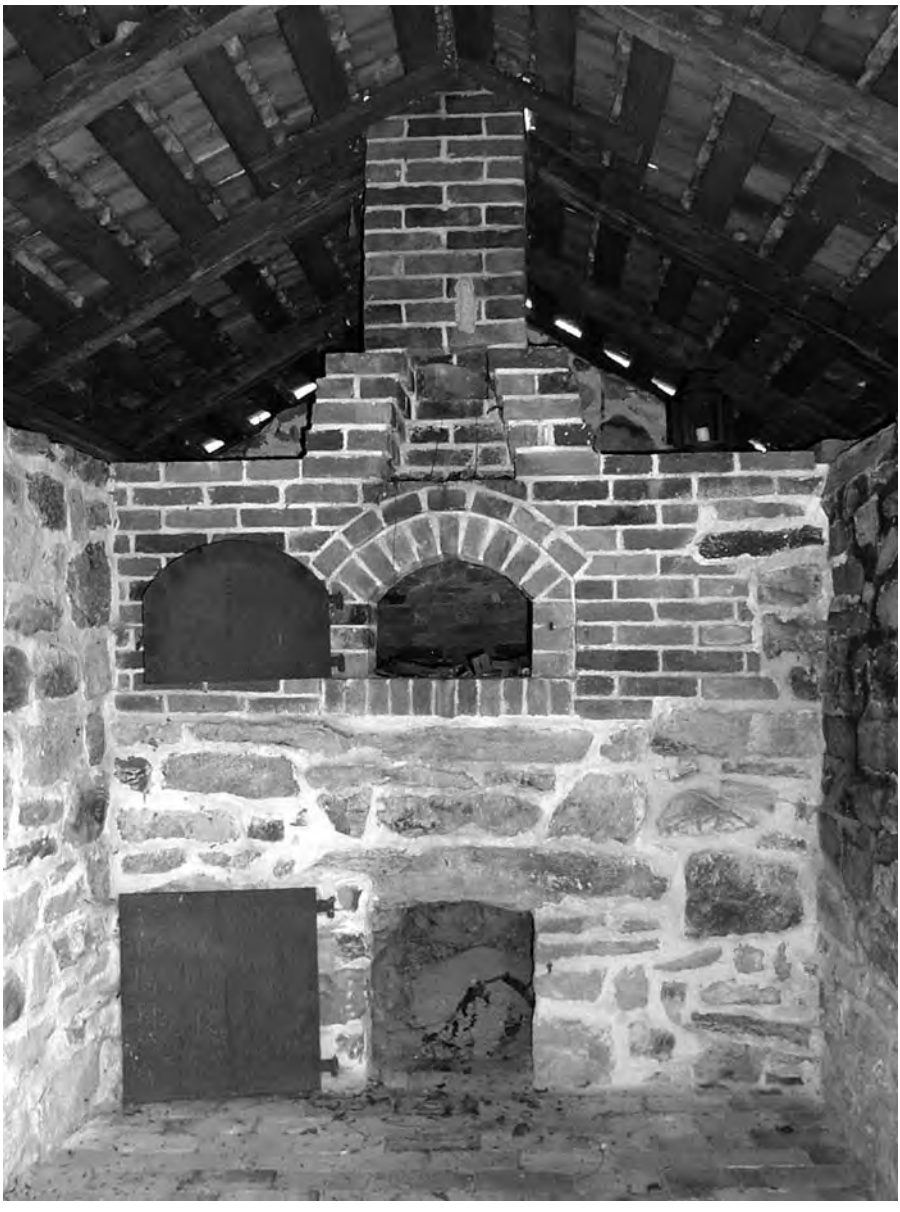


Figure 45. Charming Forge bakehouse interior, Robesonia vicinity, Berks County, Pa., late eighteenth century. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. Bakehouses in the Pennsylvania German regions may derive from European predecessors.

Figure 46. Boone homestead bakehouse, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., date unknown. Photograph by Philip E. Pendleton. The diagnostic features of a bakehouse are clearly depicted here: solid masonry housing for the oven, chimney, and sheltered work area.

originated with the need for additional workspace in general, as settlement continued to develop and homestead economic activities grew ever more extensive and diverse.

In her recent insightful study of the cultural landscape of Somerset County in southwestern Pennsylvania, Sally McMurry has considered the motivation for the settler's construction of the detached kitchen. Based on the documentary record, the separate kitchen building was apparently the first form of outbuilding to appear in any numbers in that upland county of southwestern Pennsylvania. Somerset, where intensive European-American settlement got underway around 1770, lay somewhat distant from the Pennsylvania German heartland, but Germans composed the largest element among the settlers in terms of cultural background. In the context of Somerset, McMurry questions the usual interpretive assumption about the detached kitchen, that is, that it tended to represent a reorganization of domestic space that sought to remove heavy work from the main house, and thereby facilitate formality and order in the latter space. Noting that, in 1798, the ownership of a kitchen building was evidently associated with a primary occupation in artisanship or in a trade, she suggests

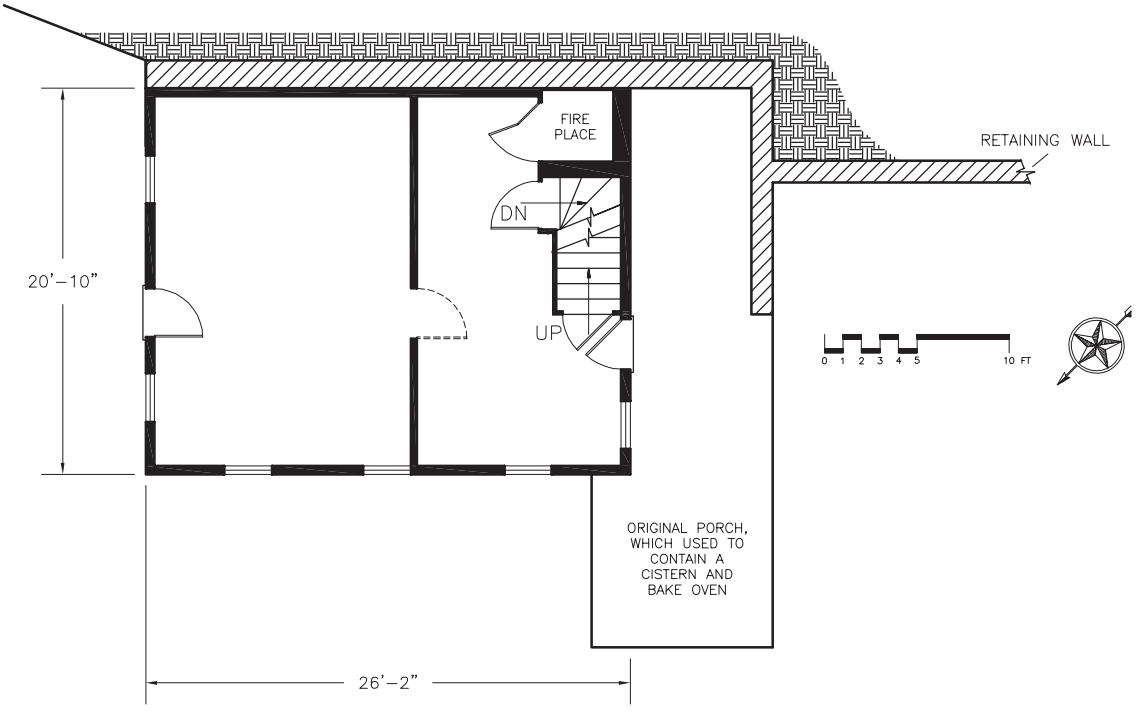


Figure 47. Johannes Hess summer kitchen, Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa., c. 1850, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Jeroen van den Hurk. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The two large rooms on the ground floor accommodated expanding food processing as farm production and diet diversified. The room to the right would probably have been used for heavy cooking and baking.

that the construction of detached kitchens may have generally been occasioned by a need for additional workspace experienced by such proprietors. Use of space in the house for craftwork or business activity led to a requirement for an additional place to carry out domestic work. The tradesmen owning kitchens included inn- and tavernkeepers, for whom the utility of the detached kitchen would be clear. Whether McMurry's hypothesis is also applicable to kitchens in the Pennsylvania German heartland is a question that awaits the intensive investigation of these buildings in the context of their community landscapes.[15]

McMurry returns to the subject of the detached kitchen building with reference to the years c. 1890–1910. It was around 1890 that the building type referred to as the summer kitchen or summer house made its appearance on the Somerset County scene. This new sort of kitchen building tended to be constructed in balloon frame, and lacked the traditional walk-in hearth, as it was designed to incorporate a cookstove. Summer kitchen buildings were commonly used for

Figure 48. Backenstose summer kitchen and springhouse, Buffalo Springs, Lebanon County, Pa., nineteenth century, north and west sides. Photograph by Sally McMurry. A large spring provides cooling for dairy work on the lower level, while the upper level (accessed from a door in the gable end) housed a summer kitchen.

multiple work purposes, including heavy tasks associated with laundering and butchering, as well as for daily cooking chores. People evidently moved much of their informal daily activity outside of the main house during the summer months, with the summer house often serving as a focal point for preparing and consuming meals. The repast might be consumed at a tree-shaded table situated in the yard by the summer house. Along with the construction of new kitchen buildings at some homesteads, it is likely that on other properties the use of older detached kitchens was renewed during this period, with a somewhat altered pattern of usage and, in some cases, even with a cookstove installed. McMurry interprets the turn-of-the-century summer kitchen as a resource that facilitated removal or reduction of work from the basement of the dwelling, a trend underway in Somerset at the time as many houses were replaced or extensively renovated. The new or remade main dwellings generally demonstrated a strengthening of the association of residential space with ceremonial and social uses.[16]

The dryhouse and the milk house were forms of food-preparation building less frequently encountered on the Pennsylvania German homestead of the late

Figure 49. Erpff dairy house, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, east side. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A dryhouse was a small, almost closet-like building with built-in drawers (with exterior access) or shelves, on which fruit could be spread to dry in the heat provided by a stove standing on the floor within. This structure enabled a comparatively rapid and sure method of preservation, providing large quantities of dried fruit for the family's consumption and for market.[17] A fine specimen of this type may be seen at the Landis Valley Museum.

A milk house or dairy, as distinguished from a springhouse, was a building employed for storing dairy products. The one at the Erpff homestead in Schaefferstown is a representative example of a stone-built Pennsylvania milkhouse, typically rather in diminutive scale and fitted with louvered shutters to keep the interior cool. As in springhouses or ancillary house basements that were used as dairies, the interior walls were whitewashed to facilitate cleanliness.[18]

A privy was a universally "necessary" outbuilding. Most, for example those located at the Keim and Knabb mill homesteads in the Oley Valley, at the Erpff homestead in Schaefferstown, and at the Landis Valley Museum, are run-of-the-mill modest-sized, lightly framed structures that were probably built during

the first half of the twentieth century. But occasionally a privy took on architectural ornament. The privy at the Fisher homestead in the Oley Valley, probably built with or soon after the mansion house c. 1801, is a shed-roofed building of stone masonry, its interior trimmed with beaded chair rail. A large and elaborate Victorian privy, of frame construction and sporting a tall cupola ventilator, can be seen at Tulpehocken Manor. It is divided into separate men's and women's privy spaces.

The ancillary house is an architectural form that may yield particular insights into the evolving reorganization of the Pennsylvania German homestead between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. As it emerged in the German region of Pennsylvania, with any number of formal variations by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, this building type appears to represent an American architectural development, derived from and combining at least three European precedents: the grandparents' dower house; the Rhenish house in general, as a structure systematically organized to house a variety of work functions; and, in the case of many individual Pennsylvania ancillaries, the German winemaker's house type (as interpreted by Charles Bergengren).[19]

An ancillary house was typically constructed as a secondary building on a homestead, designed to provide both additional living quarters and facilities for the performance of comparatively heavy, messy work such as food preparation and storage, and other homestead chores. The living quarters were commonly intended as retirement quarters ("granddaddy houses") for elderly proprietors or their widows, but could also provide a domicile for other household members as circumstances required, or serve as a tenant residence. Some ancillary houses, however, were designed to house a craft workshop on the upper floor instead of residential space.

In German-speaking Europe, the dower house (*Stöckli*), a separate dwelling for the elder couple who had retired from proprietorship of the homestead, had become fairly common by the early eighteenth century. When not used by a retired couple or widow, the dower house could be occupied by servants or tenants, who might be day laborers, migrating workers, or small craftsmen. It was commonly situated at a slight remove in order to provide some social insulation between the homestead's two sets of occupants, keeping Mom and Pop out of the young proprietors' hair, or creating for the tenants a space of their own. A German dower house could have its own "farmette." In 1755, Wilhelm Schroeder, a retiring farmer in Westphalia, retained an acre of farmland and some additional meadowland to help support him and his wife in their dower house. Similarly, David Weiser, a farmer in Oley Township, Pennsylvania, in 1772 conveyed his farmstead to his son, but registered his and Katarina's right "of dwelling in the small new house with a garden to themselves."[20]

Figure 50. Tulpehocken Manor privy, Lebanon County, Pa., late nineteenth century. Photograph by Sally McMurry. By the late nineteenth century, even the most utilitarian buildings might be given architectural ornament.

The specific functional role of German dower houses does not seem to have manifested in a particular architectural form of their own. Rather, they tended to be cottage-scale versions of various house or house-barn types. It is interesting to note, though, that one Westphalian dower house-barn dating to 1732 contained the sole bakeoven on the homestead, situated at one end of the barn

section's threshing floor.[21] Thus a workspace common to both households was created in an area of the dower house devoted to rough work, an arrangement that relates to a pattern of spatial use seen in the Pennsylvania German ancillary house.

In contrast to other forms of domestic outbuilding, the ancillary house has appeared fairly prominently in the literature on Pennsylvania German buildings ever since such scholarship commenced, apparently because its architectural form is suggestive of a rustic main dwelling. G. Edwin Brumbaugh's 1933 volume for the Pennsylvania German Society pioneered the study of early German-American architecture. Brumbaugh was inclined to concentrate on the initial couple of generations, when he detected a medieval, almost primeval, character to the German settlers' built environment. Primed to see these characteristics, Brumbaugh interpreted some relatively small houselike ancillaries as representing the "original German settler's stone cabin."[22] The examples he discussed were eighteenth-century structures on the Fisher, DeTurk and Kauffman homesteads of the Oley Valley, which boasted spring channels in their basements, were rich in traditional German construction elements, and, in fact, were noted by Brumbaugh as having later evolved in use to serve secondary functions to mansion houses dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, Brumbaugh's interpretation is not borne out by the evidence; the "cabins" on the DeTurk and Kauffman homesteads, at least, were evidently originally built as ancillary houses rather than as early main dwellings. In identifying these small, antique buildings as necessarily the first permanent dwellings on these properties, Brumbaugh appears to have initiated (or perhaps continued) a questionable interpretation in which many regional historians would follow him.

The tendency for historians to identify early examples of the ancillary building form as "settler's cabins" (i.e., initial permanent dwellings) was reinforced by Robert Bucher, whose path- breaking and comprehensive investigation into aspects of the cultural landscape gave rise to the recent ongoing wave of scholarship on the architectural environment of the Pennsylvania Germans. One of Bucher's several influential *Pennsylvania Folklife* articles of the 1960s, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," referred to structures on the Leinbach-Knabb and Reis homesteads of the Oley Valley as representing a variant form of the Swiss bank house type.[23] The overall context of Bucher's article implied that these buildings, along with the other examples of Swiss bank houses from Berks and Lebanon that were discussed, had been built as early primary dwellings. In fact, it appears that the Leinbach-Knabb and Reis buildings were probably built (or in the former case, enlarged) as ancillary houses around 1800. Of course, the complicated nature of the "settler cabin vs. ancillary" question must be

acknowledged, for as Charles Bergengren shows elsewhere in this volume, there *were* Pennsylvania German embanked houses that shared design elements with the typical ancillary house and that were evidently built as permanent dwellings in the colonial years, such as the Alexander Schaeffer house.

The design of any representative ancillary house suggests the continuation of the tradition of a building systematically organized to house both spaces for dwelling and spaces specifically designated for heavy work and storage. At the same time, however, these architectural examples of "split personality" are configured to minimize communication between the two levels (upper floor and cellar), evoking the new architectural order in which the activities of polite living and those associated with drudgery were mingled as little as possible. Quite commonly there was no stairway or even hatchway to provide for interior access between the two levels. Most often, ancillaries were constructed in an embanked situation so that either level could be entered from grade, though occasionally they were built on a gentler slope and an external stairway was necessary to ensure the apparently essential independent access to the first floor. The embankment allowed for an insulated storage space occupying one end of the cellar level, the provision of such storage practically always being a function of the ancillary house. In examples without an embanked situation, construction of the insulated cellar space entailed excavating several feet farther below the level of the other basement room. In either case, vaulted ceilings for storage cellars were fairly common among eighteenth-century examples, in order to improve the insulation, although level ceilings were sometimes seen in these spaces. Ancillary houses were generally single-pile structures, i.e., one room in depth, although double-pile houses, and even two-story examples, are not unknown.

The end of the basement level located away from the embankment was typically devoted to a kitchen space, intended for work preferably done outside of the mansion house. Such tasks could include dairying, rendering, making soap, laundering, and perhaps summertime cooking. The kitchen would contain a large walk-in hearth or even a pair of such hearths, and the presence of a basement spring channel was almost universal in the ancillary form. Arrangements were frequently constructed in which bakeovens and/or smoke chambers adjoined the ancillary basement kitchen, and some ancillary houses were evidently fitted with stills. Not only did the ancillary's cellar show the adaptation or continuation of old patterns of use; in at least some examples the garret space of the ancillary was also employed in a manner reminiscent of that of the traditional house, as granary space.[24]

Cellar access was usually on a longitudinal elevation representing the downbank side of the building, while the first-floor entry was located either on the

opposite longitudinal elevation or, at least as commonly, on a gable end of the building. Where it occurs, the gable-end location of the entry into the formal living space on the upper floor, coupled with the embanked building's typical position in the shadow of the mansion house, often seems visibly to underscore the ancillary's subordinate architectural role. Thus the design can be seen to express the somewhat reduced rank of the ancillary's retired inhabitants (in the most common pattern of usage for these buildings), in relation to family life as it went on in the "big house." The ancillary house was a building type that seemed to present two primary facades, one for each level. Admittedly, the elevation holding the first-floor entry typically presented a higher level of finish—perhaps even with ashlar or at least coursed stonework, more elaborate window sash, and a paneled door surrounded by a finer architrave under a molded door hood—and so might be intended by the owner as the principal facade. These were elements that matched the relatively fine level of interior finish typical in the upper level's living quarters, for example plastered walls with baseboard and chair rail, a molded mantel over the fireplace, and a cupboard faced with beaded board. The plan of the upper floor varied, with one-, two-, and occasionally three-room configurations. Ancillaries constructed before c. 1790 were frequently designed with a center chimney and jamb stove. In ancillaries from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the heating arrangements for the upper floor were often restricted to ten-plate stoves with pipe flues.

The ancillary house was often sited to provide southern exposure for the down-bank side with its cellar-level entry. On many specimens, a broad pent roof projected from the wall of the down-bank side, apparently to provide some shelter for the work activity that might take place in the dooryard or *Vorhof* area immediately outside the building.

It should be emphasized that there were numerous exceptions to the role of the ancillary house as retirement living quarters for the retired proprietor or his widow. Some were built to provide craft workshop space on the upper floor, such as the c. 1753 turner's workshop at the Keim Homestead in the Oley Valley, and the c. 1790 organ builder's shop constructed for John and Andrew Krauss at Kraussdale in the southern corner of Lehigh County (noted for the 1798 Direct Tax as a "joiner's shop").[25] Others housed living quarters on the first floor, but were evidently intended to function in combination with another small house to comprise the active proprietor's dwelling arrangement, rather than being intended as retirement quarters for elderly persons. Yet other examples of the ancillary type were apparently built primarily to provide housing on tenant homesteads.[26]

At the Ephrata Cloister is a comparatively large specimen of the ancillary

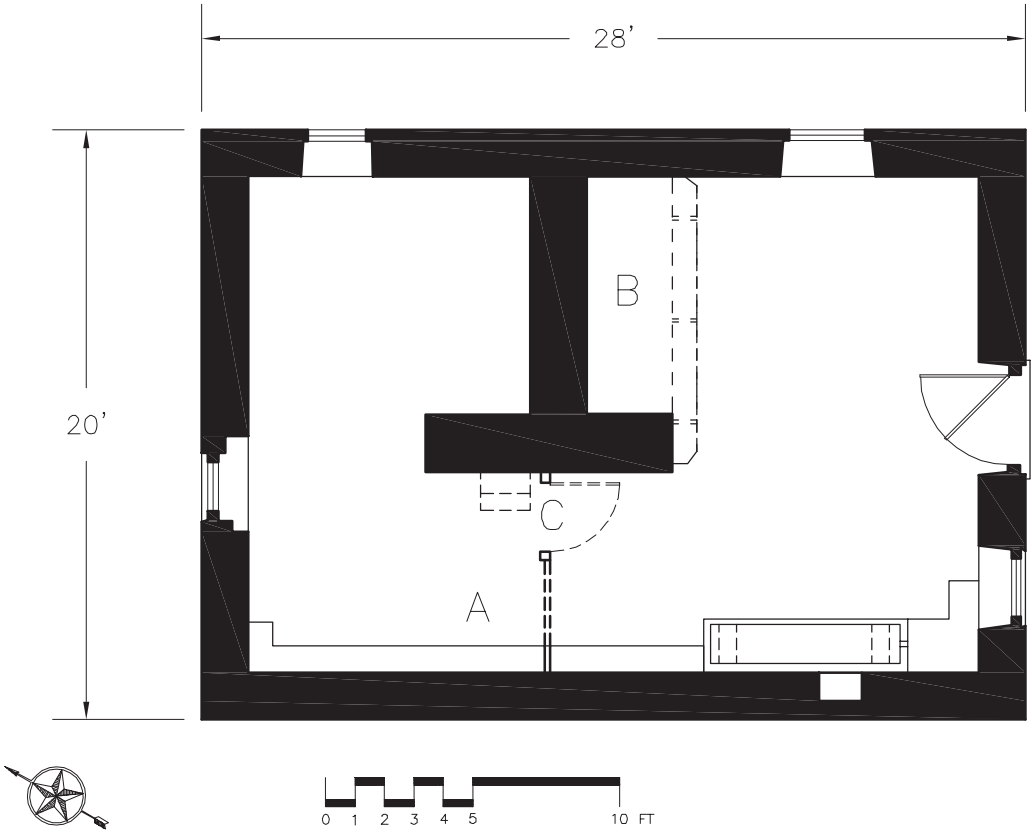


Figure 51. Keim ancillary building, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1753, ground floor plan. CAD drawings by Jeroen van den Hurk from originals by Barry Stover and Kenneth LeVan. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The lower level facilitated heavy cooking and washing.

house form known as the Almonry. Thought to date to the 1760s, and enlarged with major and minor wings probably around 1800, the Almonry was constructed for the communal Cloister settlement.[27] The Tulpehocken Manor complex is home to a pair of examples of the ancillary type. These two buildings, evidently constructed at or around the same time in the mid-eighteenth century, are noted for the visually striking central arched breezeways that shelter

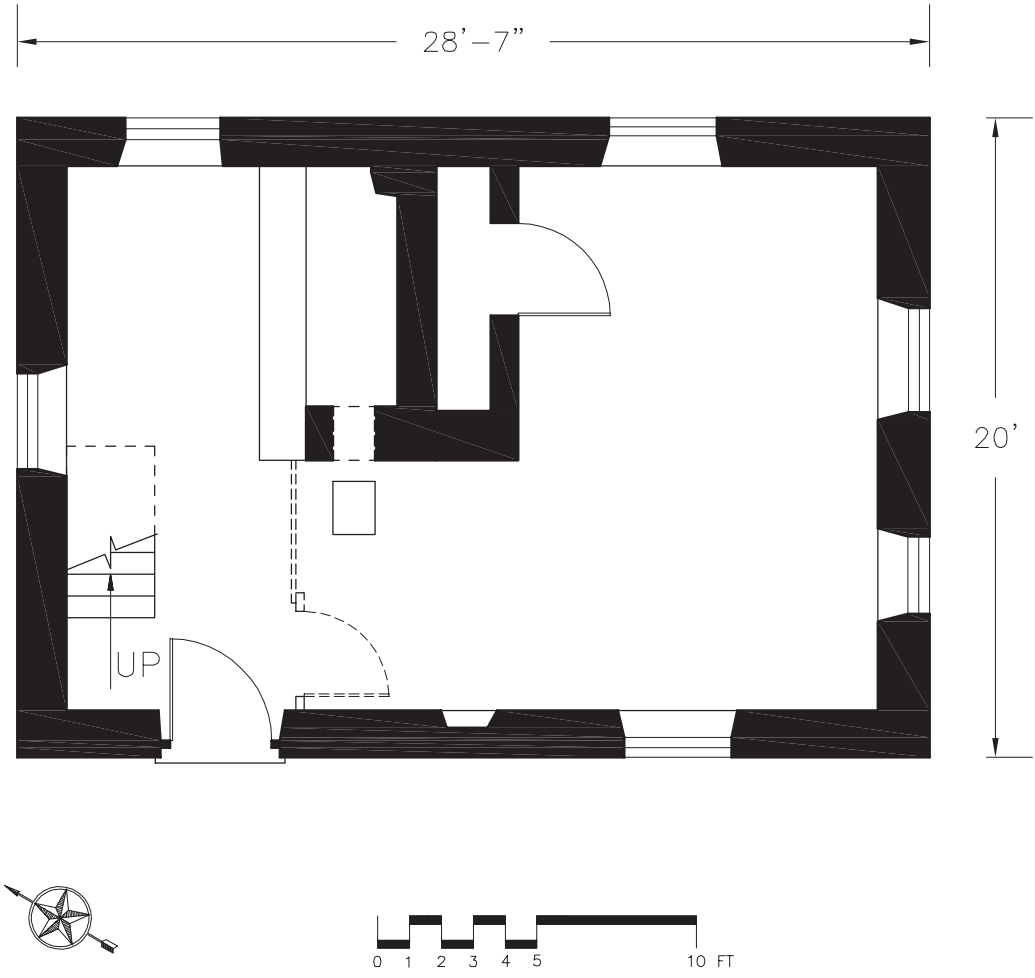


Figure 52. Keim ancillary building, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1753, upper story plan. CAD drawings by Anne Samuel from originals by Barry Stover. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The turner's shop had ample lighting and spaces designed specifically for equipment.

spring trenches and divide the basement level of each building into discrete sections. The two are said to have originated as the initial permanent dwellings for relatively prosperous neighbors Christian Ley and Michael Spangler. (For illustrations, see Chapter 2.) One of the buildings was raised a story in height around 1840; otherwise they were practically identical as originally built. Each was succeeded as the family's primary residence by a larger dwelling constructed around 1770. Despite the purported history of this intriguing pair as early primary dwellings, there exists the possibility that they were actually constructed

Figure 53. Keim ancillary building, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1753, upper story. Photograph by Philip E. Pendleton. The center chimney, banking, and irregular window placement are all hallmarks of the form.

Figure 54. Keim ancillary building, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1753, showing context. Photograph by Philip E. Pendleton. The ancillary building and main house are set at right angles to each other.

Figure 55. Ephrata Cloisters almonry, Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa., mid-eighteenth century, north gable. Photograph by Sally McMurry. Note the chimney at right, the protective gable overhang, and the gable-in-bank arrangement.

as ancillary houses, whether in the mid- or late eighteenth century. Not well understood—certainly offering opportunities for continued research to establish reliably accurate construction dates and interpretations as to their pattern of use—these two enigmatic structures could stand for all of the buildings in German Pennsylvania's dwindling, but still impressive, array of historic domestic outbuildings.

CHAPTER FOUR

Barns and Agricultural Outbuildings

Sally McMurry and J. Ritchie Garrison

In 1787, Abraham and Maria Bertolet built a new bank barn in Oley Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Fifty years later, their son John added a large addition onto the east side, more than doubling the capacity of the original building. Both families were proud of these structures and had their names incised on them—Abraham and Maria over their barn's runway, and John on a large stone on western pier of the new barn's basement—preserving for the future a measure of their identity. Later owners added lean-to sheds and a cement silo, but what is most remarkable about the building is its persistence as a center for agricultural production for more than 200 years. Framed into the barn's timbers and masonry walls is a text about culture and agriculture in south central Pennsylvania.

The survival of the first period Bertolet barn is fortuitous but not exceptional. Many other bank barns associated with Pennsylvania German families also remain, and scholars and tourists have long commented on the quality of their construction and their distinctive features. Basement stables lay beneath an upper story where hay, straw, fodder, and grains were stored. On most barns of this type, farmers could drive a wagon or cart directly into the upper story via a ramp or, if the barn was set into a hillside, from the upper side of the hill. Above the basement stable, carpenters constructed a cantilevered section known as a forebay. It sheltered the stock and stable doors below, and extended the working floor above. Traces of original grain bins, clues to the productive strategies of past owners, often remain in these forebays.

Figure 56. Bertolet barn, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., 1787, south elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The projecting forebay is clearly shown in this image.

The classic Pennsylvania barn originated on the European continent with antecedents in the Prätigau region of Switzerland. Like other forms of ethnic culture, this *Sweitzer* barn changed as builders came into contact with new environments and different traditions. When Abraham and Maria carved their names into their barn they fixed in time the features we associate with German tradition; their barn was framed in European style, with heavy *liegender Stuhl* trusses, *Stichbalken* to strap the members together, and masonry galleting. However, their son's barn, built fifty years later, shows a selective dynamic at work. The new barn dispensed with the complex Old World framing, but it maintained the same functional logic. The Bertolet barns therefore illustrate important continuities and changes in Pennsylvania German life.[1]

The form of agricultural outbuildings was contingent mainly on the region's farming practices. From the start, people here practiced diversified agriculture. However, the nature of diversification changed markedly over time. One product mix succeeded another in waves, stimulating changes in buildings and landscapes. From the colonial period up to World War I, the farming system in southeast Pennsylvania went through three broad phases. The settlement period (late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century) was generally characterized by

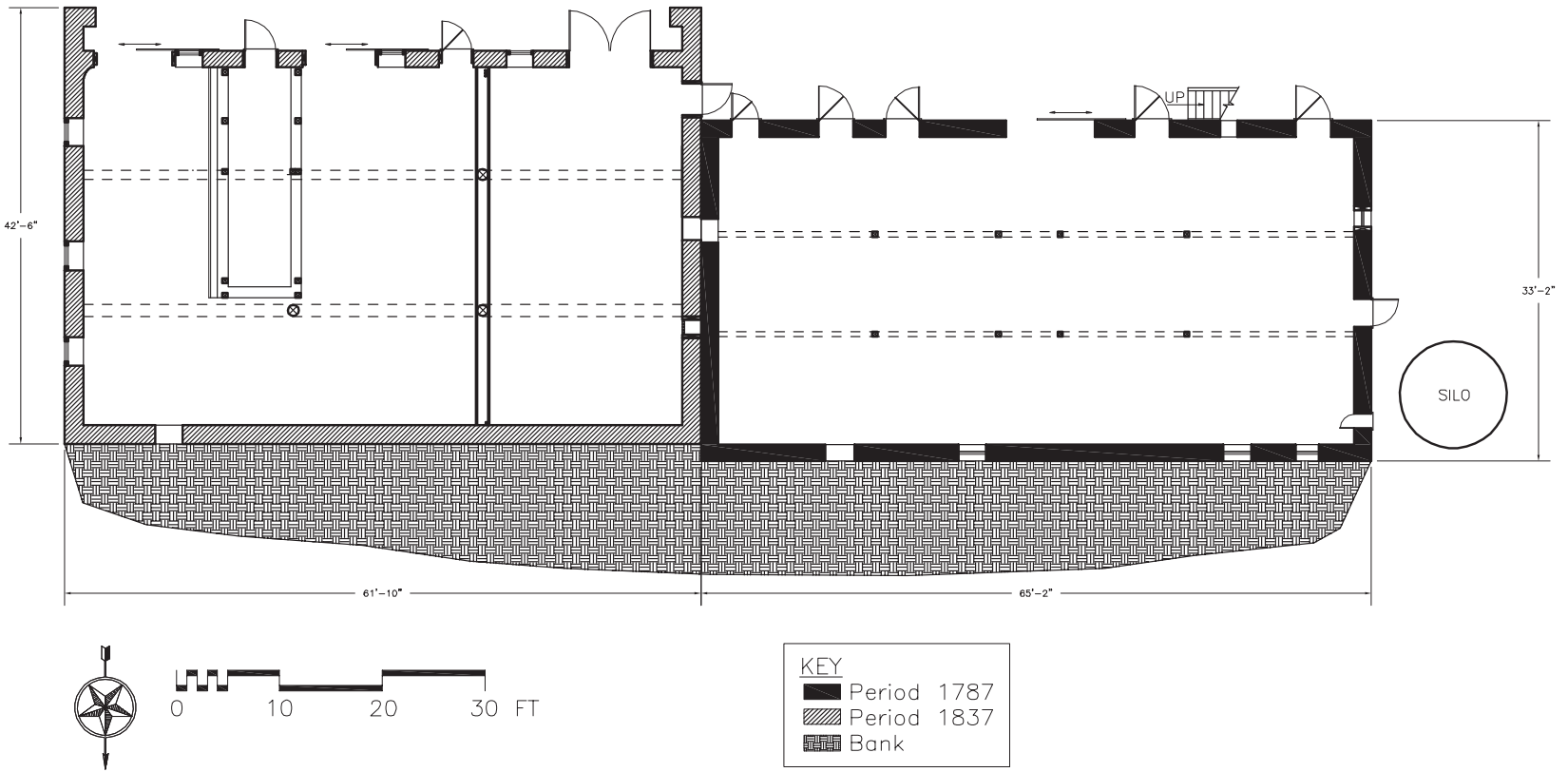


Figure 57. Bertolet barn, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., 1787, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Jeroen van den Hurk. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The original portion (right) and the new nineteenth-century barn (left) show the same functional logic, even though construction techniques had been simplified. Animals were housed here.

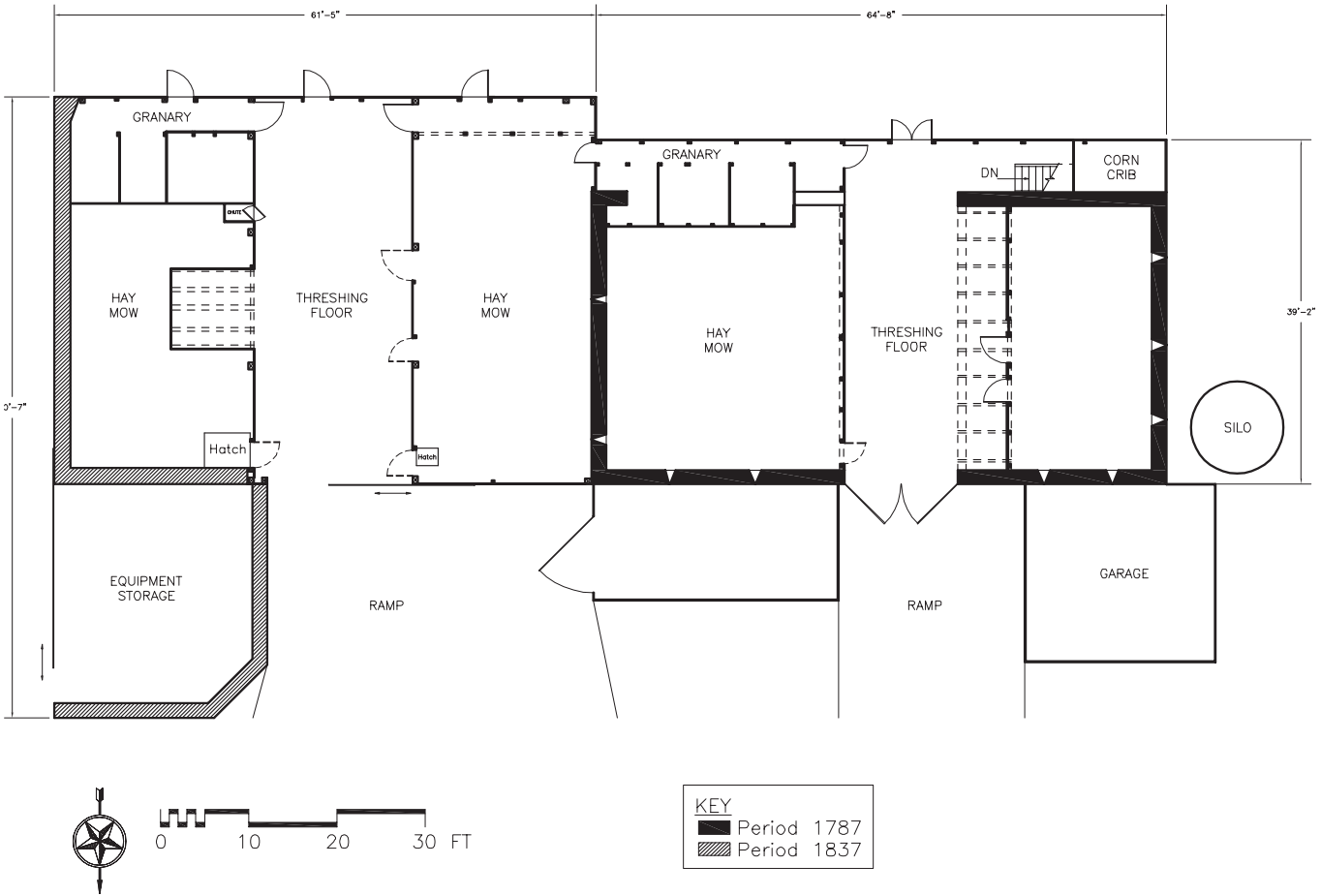


Figure 58. Bertolet barn, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., 1787, upper level plan. CAD drawing by Jeroen van den Hurk. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. As on the lower level, the basic layout changed little: it still provided for grain and hay storage and threshing. One departure was that more space was devoted to machinery storage in the 1837 portion.

small-scale diversified production with very little cleared acreage. Wheat for export generated the most cash, and other products were shipped out to market in small quantities; but most products were traded and consumed at home. Outbuildings were relatively scarce and rudimentary. An expansion phase between about 1780 and 1860 saw more clearing, intensified production of livestock, and increased attention to production for local markets. This was when the Pennsylvania barn became established and then quickly assumed dominance. Between about 1860 and 1920, Pennsylvania farmers were forced to adjust by competition with midwestern farmers. Pennsylvanians kept their diversified strategies, but moved into high-value commodities such as tobacco, butter (later fluid milk), poultry, and meat, as well as truck farming. They mechanized their operations significantly, too. The Pennsylvania barn proved remarkably adaptable through these years, and it was complemented by many smaller outbuilding types as well.

Cultural factors also played a role in shaping landscapes. As "Germans in Pennsylvania" became "Pennsylvania Germans," cultural processes pushed landscape development in certain directions rather than others. In particular, Pennsylvania Germans' agricultural choices, land tenure customs, foodways, and household labor organization left visible traces in building patterns. These expressions were not necessarily pervasive, but their cumulative effect was to impart a Pennsylvania German tinge to the landscape.

For most of the eighteenth century, agrarian families applied their energies to the basic tasks of making a farm: clearing, plowing, fencing, and planting. Farm labor was overwhelmingly performed by hand and many workers were needed. Farm workers were typically "bound" in some way: some were family members, and others were un-free redemptioners, indentured servants, cottager tenants, or (infrequently) slaves. Tenancy was a pervasive institution in Southeastern Pennsylvania during the colonial period. Leasing arrangements contributed to the variegated look of the region's agricultural landscape (tenants usually had a small cottage and garden patch) and typically benefited both parties: tenants gained access to land, and landlords secured a seasonal labor supply.[2]

Colonial Pennsylvanians participated in the global commodities trade, and their farms were rarely as self-sufficient as period observers such as Hector St. John de Crevecoeur claimed.[3] A typical eighteenth-century farm family in Southeastern Pennsylvania marketed about a third of their produce. Although historians have emphasized the importance of the wheat crop as a market item, market strategies were highly diversified. Pennsylvania farmers sold beef (both locally and for the West Indies trade), pork, chickens, flaxseed, hay, corn, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, and dairy products.[4] Two-thirds of farm produce was

exchanged locally or consumed within the household. Of course, many crops were processed, such as rye into whiskey or flax into cloth. Farming families obtained basic necessities by trading goods, labor, and services. Geographer James Lemon has argued that the staple crops and products of colonial Pennsylvania Germans did not differ significantly from those of their non-German neighbors, nor, he maintains, did the Pennsylvania Germans farm better than others. He concludes that when it came to agriculture, economic conditions trumped ethnicity in this early period.

For understanding the landscape, it is important to remember that even though colonial Pennsylvania farms produced an astonishing variety of items, typically farming was carried out on a very modest scale. Arthur Lord has estimated that in the mid-eighteenth century, only about fifty acres of a typical Lancaster County farm was cleared. Of this amount only about nine or ten acres was sown in grain, and in those fields, wheat shared space with oats, rye, barley, and buckwheat. Meadowland provided hay, and every farm had fallow land, pasture, gardens, orchards, and woodlot. Animals were few in number (2.6 horses, 4.5 cattle, and 5 sheep on average), and they often grazed in woodland. At slaughtering time, only as many were kept as could be fed through the winter. Indeed, Lord found that the average number of cattle in Lancaster County dropped between 1758 and 1772. Since oxen (the primary draft animal) and cattle could subsist on hay stacked outdoors, few farmers needed much storage space for fodder. Small corn cribs and occasionally granaries accommodated the crops. Grain was also often stored in the farmhouse attic.[5] It all added up to a minimal need for centralized barn space. The larger early and mid-eighteenth century barns that do survive are therefore not typical for their time. Even as late as 1798, only about two-thirds of farm families in the region even possessed barns. Most of them were log, and most were small to moderate in size, roughly 300 to 1000 square feet.[6] Typical pre-Revolutionary barn forms were relatively simple. One type, the *Grundscheier*, or ground barn, was a tripartite, ground-level barn with stables, threshing floor, and mow arranged crosswise to the roof ridge, and with access gained through eaves-side doors. These were made of log, frame, or stone. The Pricetown log barn in the Oley Valley, now in disrepair, is a good example. Another early type was the small bank barn or free-standing barn with a stone basement and a log or frame story above.[7] In these barns, livestock housing was vertically separated from hay storage and threshing space. The stone-basement-and-log barn located on the Nicolas Knabb farm in the Oley Valley represents a small barn type that is now rare. As workplaces, these small buildings were also sites for hand threshing, and animal feeding; but workers probably spent most of their time outdoors or elsewhere. Since these

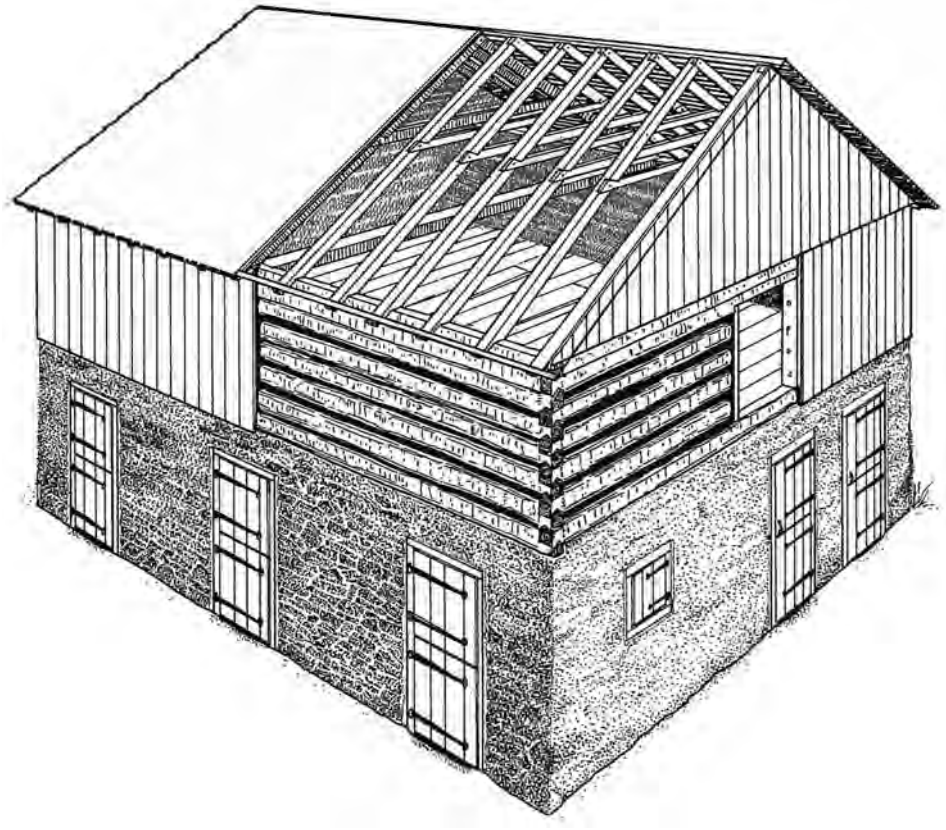


Figure 59. Nicolas Knabb barn, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., c. 1735–65, schematic drawing. Drawing by J. Ritchie Garrison. A 1963 photograph of this building appears in Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society; Oley, Pa.: Oley Valley Heritage Association, 1994), 95. This predecessor to the bank barn was functionally much simpler, having only one access level.

barns were too small for most modern agricultural needs, few have survived intact.

After independence and into the nineteenth century, the region's agricultural production began to shift to a more intensive level of livestock care, to horse farming, and to a scaled-up commitment to cereal crops. Clearing proceeded at a steady pace. Southeastern Pennsylvania's farm families benefited from the rapidly increasing non-agricultural population in inland towns and the growth of metropolitan areas such as Philadelphia and Baltimore. Farm people experimented with new crops and strategic relationships, raising clover seed, flax seed, market garden crops, fruit, and potatoes. Perhaps most importantly, farmers on the Lancaster Plain and eastward developed an intensive stall-

feeding industry.[8] They acquired young animals from herds driven on the hoof along newly opened transport routes from the Ohio Valley and other westward points, and fattened them for sale in eastern cities and towns. Such long-distance exchanges further segmented the region's production habits; household production coexisted with transregional trading relationships. These relationships also helped complete the transition from oxen to horses during this period. Although some farmers felt that oxen were more economical because they resisted diseases better and retained value as meat, horses were faster and had social cachet. Families increasingly turned to horses for transporting goods and powering a growing variety of agricultural implements during this period. Therefore, they had to apportion space in their barns or construct separate stables to accommodate the extra care horses required.[9]

About the same time, the transition from bound to free labor was completed. Family still supplied the most labor, but wage workers, hired in an open labor market, were more in evidence. By 1838, for example, the Berks County counted over 6,000 farmhands (or more than three for each farm) "steadily employed" at $9 per month.[10] These extra farmhands helped provide the labor that enabled farmers to put more of their acreage into production. They also presented new management challenges.

These various developments, experienced simultaneously, stimulated people to build Pennsylvania barns like the one erected by Abraham and Maria Bertolet. By the end of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania barns represented about 20 percent of barns. The Pennsylvania barn became popular at this moment in time because it flexibly and efficiently supported the new expanded mixed husbandry. Livestock were critical to new production, strategies and barns reflected that fact.[11] The improved hay now being grown from clover and timothy kept its nutritive quality longer when stored under roof. More maize was grown, and some was stored in the forebay. The design of the Pennsylvania barn separated animals from provender. Most farmers arranged the stables in the interior portions of their basements so that they or their workers could circulate around the stalls without having to enter them. Typically, there was a door to the outside for workers; animals entered the stalls from the outside through the Dutch doors under the forebay. The system safely separated workers from casual contact with large and unpredictable animals, but permitted farmers to alter the stalls by nailing up temporary partitions. Men, women, and children entered the stalls to clean out manure, lay down bedding straw, milk cows, help with birthing, perform grooming, and tend sick animals. Thus the ample lower-level stalls met the needs of animals at various stages of life—whether young, pregnant, or sick. The bank-side floor plan permitted many combinations of mows and threshing floors. While the tripartite arrangement

of bay-runway-bay was the most common configuration for a threshing floor early in the nineteenth century, some barns had multiple floors and mows. Granaries and "overdens" provided storage space as well.

Pennsylvania barns promoted efficiency in several ways. It was cost-efficient to shelter horses and cattle in good quarters; the animals were healthier, grew fatter, and gave more milk when well cared for. Centralization saved labor by bringing together facilities for threshing, storage, and animal shelter. The barns promoted a vertical workflow using gravity. For example, cisterns collected water which then flowed downward to troughs; workers pitched hay or feed down to the cattle from the mows, or offloaded grain onto wagons through doors in the forebay. These labor-saving qualities help to explain the Pennsylvania barn's wide appeal in the age of free wage labor. The Pennsylvania barn symbolized regional efforts to improve productivity and work discipline under one roof, in much the same way that temperance reforms sought to discipline the body by promoting good social order. The barn and its immediate landscape, such as walled yards and fenced paddocks, facilitated the rationalized management strategies favored by progressive farmers.

As the nineteenth century went on, local and regional population growth and improved transportation in the form of shipping, roads, canals, and railroads fueled domestic demand for foodstuffs, and linked producers to local, national, and international markets.[12] In some places, intensive techniques such as rotation, manuring, and liming assumed great importance, but in most cases, production gains were achieved through clearing and planting more land. For example, in Berks County, wheat production increased from 208,400 bushels in 1838 to over 600,000 bushels in 1860, with virtually no change in per-acre yield. A typical Pennsylvania German-area farm in 1850 would be under 100 acres, with a high percentage—as much as 90 percent—improved.[13] Farm families in southeastern Pennsylvania continued to practice diversified agriculture, but in new ways. For example, hay became a hugely important cash crop as city transport systems developed. Roadside hay presses prepared hay for shipment to urban centers. Stall feeding continued, but in addition an expanded railroad network allowed for transport of perishables, especially dairy products, to market from further outside the city. Many families made butter in commercial quantities (over 200 pounds per farm), and it was not uncommon for butter production to exceed a thousand pounds. Almost every farm kept around half a dozen each of milk cows and steers, along with a dozen or so swine, and poultry. Most farms produced 200–400 bushels each of wheat, corn, and oats, and around ten to twenty tons of hay. Buckwheat and barley were also important crops at mid-century.[14] These strategies still relied on livestock, grain, and forage, and therefore the Pennsylvania bank barn's flexibility was in evidence,

as it continued to answer evolving agricultural needs. It was during this period that the Pennsylvania bank barn went from being an occasional sight to a ubiquitous feature—by far the most common barn type—in the southeastern Pennsylvania farm landscape.

Like the addition John Bertolet appended to his parents' barn in 1837, many of these nineteenth-century barns were capacious structures designed to store the large quantities of grains, fodder, and straw that year-round livestock management required. In general, while mid-nineteenth-century barns kept the floor plan and vertical organization of their eighteenth-century predecessors, they were executed with modified construction techniques. The second period Bertolet barn, for example, retained essential features from the earlier design—basement stables, vertical organization, and forebay—but John Bertolet's carpenters framed the building with a simpler and lighter post and beam system that eliminated the intricate *stichbalken* and *liegender Dachstuhlen*. The carpenters simplified most construction details in the addition; they used masonry only in the basement, on the east gable wall, and on part of the north wall. The rest of the building is wood framed, much of it with dimensioned lumber. This was an Americanized version of its Old World–influenced neighbor.

The Pennsylvania barn basic design had enormous flexibility. Hundreds of other barns in the region shared features visible in the second Bertolet barn, as families built new Pennsylvania barns or modified existing ones. This is the era of large barns. The Windom Mill barn in Lancaster County started out as a 28-by-68-foot building, but the owners expanded it in the early nineteenth century to a 50-by-68-foot structure by almost doubling the depth of the building. The large Fisher barn in the Oley Valley had three runways by the 1840s, and the Diller barn in Cumberland County had five. In some cases, families incorporated expansion plans into the original construction of their barns. For example, both the Windom Mill bank barn and the Diller barn were built with one stone end and one frame end. Owners later expanded both buildings on the framed end. Clearly, these families planned for growth, and the material evidence in their barns signified a progressive mentality, phased financing, or life-course decisions in families with multiple heirs.

The mid-nineteenth-century Pennsylvania barn, therefore, represented a highly successful adjustment to the shifting agricultural economy. To what extent did it also reflect Pennsylvania German cultural processes? The question of "ethnic" architectural traits has been a topic of much debate. Where the Pennsylvania barn is concerned, scholars working mainly in the 1970s and 1980s noted that it was popular among all groups, and they also argued that Pennsylvania Germans (at least in the colonial period) followed the same agricultural practices as everyone else.[15] These scholars reacted to earlier work, which they

Figure 60. Diller barn, Cumberland County, Pa., nineteenth century, bank side (south). Photograph by Sally McMurry. Each door leads to a separate threshing floor, a visible sign of the complex sharing that often took place on a Pennsylvania German farm.

criticized as impressionistic or as "essentializing." The collective impact of their work was to downplay ethnicity's impact on the landscape. Some favored the notion of a melting-pot "Pennsylvanian" culture, which supposedly blended European traditions in the New World environment to create a new, American society. Geographer Peirce Lewis put this argument most clearly. Pennsylvania's cultural contributions, according to Lewis, were individualism; grid town plans (which were democratic, commercial, and practical); agricultural innovation; egalitarianism; and pragmatism.[16] Thus even though there was consensus that a distinct "Pennsylvania culture region" existed, some scholars stressed its Pennsylvanian attributes rather than any Pennsylvania German ethnic features. Others, notably folklorist Henry Glassie, associated entire material-culture complexes with Pennsylvania Germans, even as he too pointed to hybridization on a large scale.

More recently, closer-grained analyses have been undertaken. They recognize that ironically, to some degree the work of the revisionists relied upon impressionistic sources to assess such qualities as individualism or agricultural innovation. Moreover, the newer works emphasize change over time to a greater degree. Their method is to try actually to identify specific ethnic populations

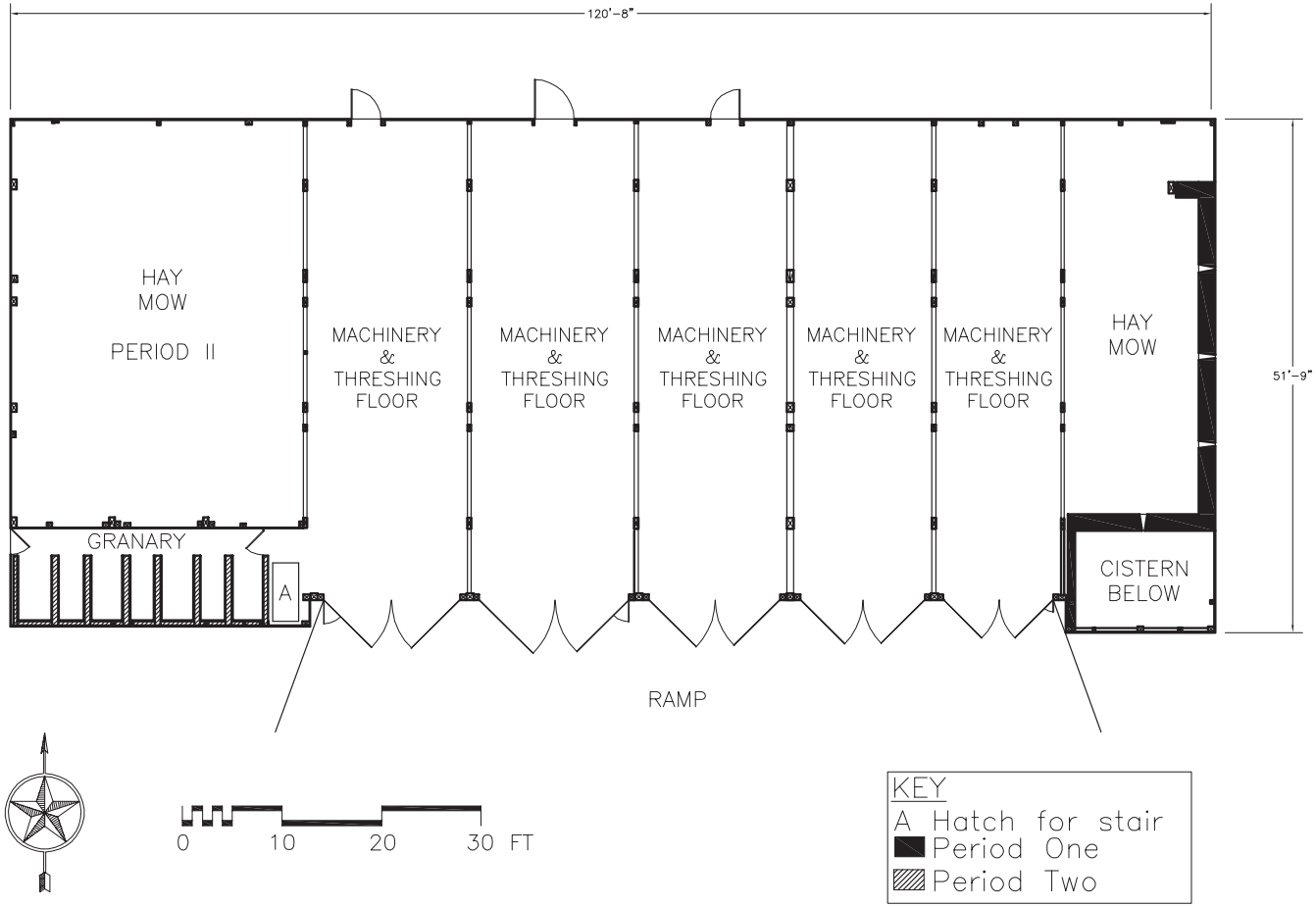


Figure 61. Diller barn, Cumberland County, Pa., nineteenth century, threshing floor plan. CAD drawing by Rochelle Bohm. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The plan vividly shows how multiple floors, granary space, and hay storage served a large-scale operation.

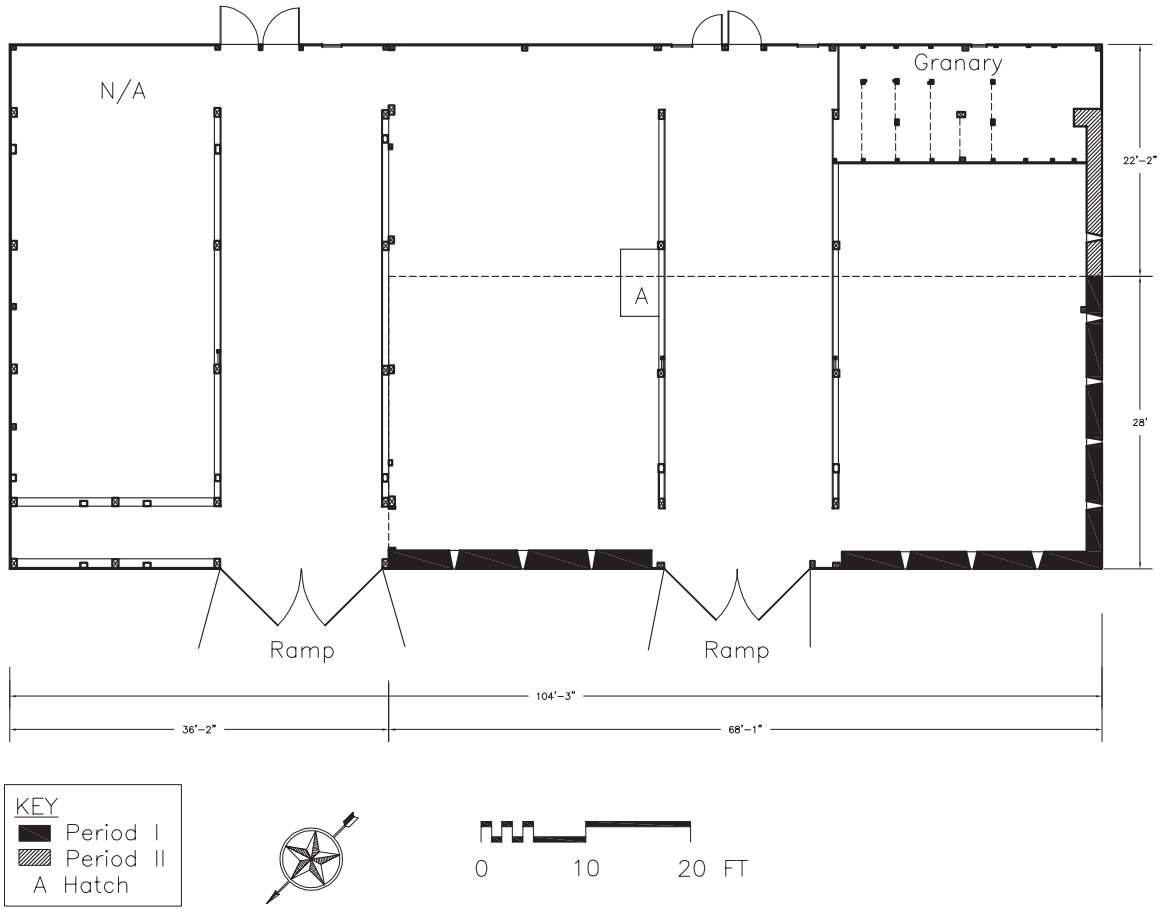


Figure 62. Windom Mill barn, Lancaster County, Pa., eighteenth-nineteenth century, threshing floor plan. CAD drawing by Jeroen van den Hurk. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This plan is a good example of how the Pennsylvania barn could be enlarged. At right, the original portion was extended eastward to create a new floor and mow; and also expanded south (toward top) to make more space.

and connect them with specific architectural information. Their results suggest that it is possible to avoid both ethnic essentializing and impressionistic methods, and still point to cultural practices that were identifiably Pennsylvania German, then to connect these with specific landscape features. Research to date suggests that certain land tenure patterns, cultural foodways, decorative motifs, and labor organization occurred primarily among Pennsylvania Germans, and had specific architectural manifestations. Of course, given the intensive mixing of peoples in southeastern Pennsylvania, crossovers inevitably occurred; but the accumulated evidence suggests that it is reasonable to argue that some architectural features were associated more frequently with Pennsylvania Germans than with other groups. The following discussion outlines the evidence for this case.

Even by 1798, ethnic differences in landholdings were beginning to surface: Germans in some townships owned more land than the average. In the heavily German township of Warwick in Lancaster County, the Direct Tax of 1815 shows that Germans did indeed build large bank barns more often than did their English neighbors.[17] The 1850 Lancaster County manuscript agricultural census reveals that German farmers were much more likely to farm with horses than their Anglo neighbors, who remained loyal to oxen.[18] Moreover, demographically, rural south-central Pennsylvania was becoming more German over time. While German families tended to stay put, other groups migrated, so that over time, Lancaster, Berks, Lebanon, Dauphin, and Cumberland counties became more "German."[19] Thus virtually the entire rural landscape in some locales was inhabited by Pennsylvania Germans, and arguably took on a more Pennsylvania German character during the nineteenth century. Not coincidentally, this is also the core area for the Pennsylvania barn.[20] Thus while it is true that while the Pennsylvania barn was popular among all farming groups, it does seem clear that the conventional cultural association between Pennsylvania Germans and the Pennsylvania barn is grounded in actuality.

Bearing in mind that "Germans in Pennsylvania" were becoming "Pennsylvania Germans" through a process that historian Steven Nolt has called "ethnicization as Americanization,"[21] we can note in the historical record a pervasive sense of a distinctive landscape emerging, as evidenced in sources like travel accounts and memoirs. Some scholars downplay these accounts, especially those originating among non-Germans; Cynthia Falk, for example, characterizes them as conventionalized portraits that stressed the "ethnic" qualities that outsiders wanted to emphasize, and ignored other German productions that didn't fit their stereotypes. However, Gabrielle Lanier is more inclined to accept that outsiders' perceptions had some grounding, even if their perceptions were not accurate in the case of barn or house sizes. She invokes Dell Upton's notion of "texture"—qualities such as color choices or odors, which can't be easily cap-

tured in the present—to account for observers' persistent perceptions of "German-ness" in the landscape.

The famous barn decorations called hex signs might be considered as one instance of texture. In Berks County especially, many Pennsylvania German barns displayed these large discs painted with star patterns. Most appeared after barn painting became popular in the post-Civil War era, but recent research has uncovered a number of earlier examples, including one dated 1819.[22] Hex signs have been interpreted as overt expressions of Pennsylvania German consciousness, since the motifs shared many characteristics with other decorative arts such as furniture, fraktur, and needlework. Another now-disappeared textural factor is that many Pennsylvania German barns were thatched, even as late as the 1840s.[23]

Dell Upton has maintained that the experience of a landscape changes as one moves through it, and that the landscape's meaning also depends on the socially constructed characteristics (class, gender, race etc.) of the person moving through it.[24] According to this paradigm, then, in order to better understand the cultural and social significance of the Pennsylvania barn and its productive spaces, a critical first step would be to note who did what work, when, and where. In turn, an understanding of patterns of activity in the barn would help to recapture the historical experience of landscape. Economic activities that at first glance might seem to be ethnically "neutral" responses to a market economy can be reconsidered in this light. For example, David Sabean has argued that in the south German province of Neckarhausen (from whence came quite a number of Pennsylvania's German-speaking immigrants), a stall-feeding system arose between about 1760 and 1830, transforming the region's agricultural economy. Perhaps it was not just market forces that gave rise to the southeastern Pennsylvania stall-feeding industry, but rather a situation in which economic developments called forth responses from a particular cultural repertoire. This notion raises the possibility that some social uses of the Pennsylvania barn were organized according to ethnically derived patterns. Sabean argues that in Europe, stall-feeding affected women's farm labor patterns, since it was they who gathered hay, tended fodder crops, and fed them, while men did not experience a corresponding intensification of work. Available evidence from the New World suggests that Pennsylvania German women were known for greater involvement in livestock husbandry than were their Anglo-American counterparts. This perspective helps us to interpret the barn as a shared work space.[25] In turn, it sheds new light on the practice according to which barn date stones almost always contain both husband's and wife's name. This tradition may acknowledge the wife's contribution.

Finally, the barns of the Pennsylvania German region were centers of social ritual and symbolic behavior. Barns might serve as religious spaces—Plain Sect

groups sometimes used them for worship—but there were also secular rituals, such as the mixed-gender communal work rituals of husking and threshing. Tenancy also took a distinctive Pennsylvania German form, which had spatial ramifications. Tenancy in Pennsylvania reached a peak at 26 percent in 1900, but was a significant institution throughout the entire time span of our study. In the Great Valley, the Southeast, and the ridge-and-valley region, tenancy rates were much higher than elsewhere; tenancy was kinship-based and stemmed from antecedents common in the German-speaking world, such as the *Altenteil* ("old people's part"). The tenant farm even had a term in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect: *Daaglehner Bauerei*.[26] Tenant houses or shared houses were landscape manifestations of this system. Indeed, in Cumberland County an 1838 census revealed 812 "tenant houses, on farms, not farm houses" at a point when there were 1400 farms.[27] There is also evidence in court records and contracts that tenants and landlords shared large barns.[28] At least one instance has been preserved in which a Pennsylvania German tenant and landlord scrawled their share calculations directly on the barn granary door, thus giving concrete evidence that granary bins were designed to separate share tenants' and landlords' portions.[29] The imperatives of tenancy may also explain the multiple floors of barns such as the Diller barn.

The farmstead as a whole began also to evolve as a landscape with Pennsylvania German features. To be sure, some modern buildings, for example carriage houses or machine sheds, were ethnically neutral, but others had more clear ethnic connotations. For example, the hog pen (*Schwein-stall*) occupied an important place on the Pennsylvania German farmstead. Hogs were a cornerstone of family subsistence and Pennsylvania German foodways—from them came hams, sausages, scrapple, and other Pennsylvania German delicacies.[30] Though hog pens were built early on, shelter for pigs did not generally become a priority until the practice of letting them roam was curtailed, whether because of market considerations or regulations. Located on the forebay side of the barn, or between house and barn, the hog pen was south facing, well drained, and sometimes shaded. The hog pen sometimes had hens' quarters above; since women and children were in charge of both, it served as a multipurpose workspace. Hog pens had a shed roof or sometimes a gable roof. Early hog pens had some ventilation but few if any windows; later ones might have a high window for each stall. The hog pen was designed to ensure warmth and dryness; these needs had to be balanced with ventilation.

The hog pen and corn barn were natural complements. A banked corn barn at the Windom Mill farm in Lancaster County shows a combination shelling facility and corn crib expressed in an idiom that complemented the Pennsylvania barn.

Figure 63. Alexander Schaeffer pigsty, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., eighteenth century, south view. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This stone example is unusual in that it retains its wall and openings.

Smokehouses, springhouses, ancillary workshop buildings, root cellars, dryhouses, and exterior bake ovens and summer kitchens have all also been associated with the Pennsylvania Germans. Philip E. Pendleton's essay in this volume treats these buildings in more detail, so here we will just point out that, like the hog pen, these buildings facilitated diversified agricultural strategies that sometimes were tied to ethnic foodways. Smokehouses, root cellars, and dryhouses in particular can be connected to foodways, while springhouses represent the increasing importance of dairy husbandry all over southeastern Pennsylvania.

In the period from 1860 to 1920, farm families in southeastern Pennsylvania continued their ever evolving response to market conditions. Virtually all continued diversified farming. Even though Pennsylvania experienced competition from western wheat farms, the commonwealth's wheat output ranked ninth in the union in 1880, and from then until the 1920s, production both increased and became more concentrated in the southeast part of the state. Increasingly, though, agricultural production favored livestock and dairying. The livestock fattening business continued, even after the rise of midwestern meat packing centers in the mid-nineteenth century. As transportation improved, the dairy

Figure 64. Windom Mill corn barn, Lancaster County, Pa., mid to late nineteenth century, south gable end. Photograph by Sally McMurry. A fine example of a multipurpose building with gable end in the bank. On the upper level, cribs stored corn, and grinding equipment (run from a belt housed in the neighboring building) processed it. The ground level housed machinery. The building nicely illustrates how Pennsylvania German building traditions accommodated mechanization.

hinterland grew larger, and production began to shift to fluid milk. This shift accelerated in the early twentieth century, and by 1910 about half the milk produced was sold as milk.[31] Dairy herds were culled to eliminate low-producing milkers, and hay became an even more important commodity, accounting for the greatest value by far among crops. Farm poultry production expanded dramatically. Truck farming became more lucrative. Finally, the rising popularity of cigar smoking, and the discovery of a tobacco variety that thrived in the region, led many southeastern Pennsylvania farmers to raise and cure tobacco. The cumulative weight of individual decisions, such as adding half a dozen animals or planting a couple of acres of tobacco, changed the agricultural landscape.

The overall number of farms in the region increased, and farm size decreased—in 1880, Lancaster County farms averaged just 61 acres. As before, most production increases came from putting more acreage into production. Nevertheless, most farm families took advantage of opportunities to raise management standards. They husbanded lime and manures, improved feeding prac-

tices and shelter, and sometimes tried out improved breeds and new varieties of seed. Particularly in the case of dairying, the efforts to provide better feed and shelter improved productivity.

As farm families adjusted to a more integrated national and global market, the cash economy acquired new importance in this more capital-intensive agriculture. Many historians associate these changes with the rise of a "market society" in which acquisitive values and industrial discipline held increasing sway, and southeastern Pennsylvania was not spared in this transition. Nonetheless, rural Pennsylvanians' transition to a market economy was prolonged. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, farm families continued to exchange goods, labor, and services on a non-cash basis. Judging from probate records, many families kept little cash on hand. Share tenancy, in which a tenant paid a share of the crop to the landlord as rent, remained a popular part of this non-cash economy in southeast and south-central Pennsylvania well into the twentieth century. Thus, the persistence of the Pennsylvania barn form reflected the region's agricultural continuities and the subtle process of accretion in the face of change.

Mechanization had an important impact on barn design. Horse-powered reaping and mowing equipment first began to appear on large "progressive" farms during the mid-1850s, then on more typical farms during the Civil War, as military demands forced prices up and drained younger male laborers from the fields. In the post–Civil War period, mechanization became a permanent feature of agriculture, and horse-drawn plows, harrows, grain drills, and other equipment necessitated more farm storage space. A "horse power" (a horse-driven apparatus for providing power for various equipment) was sometimes installed within the barn interior or in an eaves-side appendage. Some barns incorporated extra bays or lean-to sheds dedicated to machinery storage. Runways, no longer needed for hand flailing in the era of threshing machines, could now be used for storing other farm machinery.

The Stoner barn in Lancaster County illustrates the important trends of its day. It was built in the early 1870s, and its relatively small size reflects the shrinking size of Lancaster County farms. Yet for all its diminutive scale, it also incorporated mechanization and current diversified strategies. An integrated machinery bay on the ground level provided for storage, and a horse-power extension on the upper bank side housed the motive power for machines used inside the barn. Tobacco cleats in the framing accommodated this important cash crop without a dedicated building, thus centralizing agricultural functions, and an integrated corn crib added feed storage. Neither were aesthetics ignored; the forebay side was decorated with round louvered ventilators.

It is important to add that in some regions of German Pennsylvania, the

Figure 65. Barn, near Schafferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1825, showing machinery bay at left. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This is another example of the Pennsylvania barn's adaptability; the gable end accommodated machinery.

classic Pennsylvania barn gave way to the "three-gable barn." A three-gable barn (also called "raised three-gable barn" or "front-shed barn") consists of a main block, often a Pennsylvania barn, with a large, integral two-story shed, usually gable roofed, at right angles. (It thus has three gables, one on each end of the main block and one at the end of the wing.) Usually the footprint is an L, but it can also form a T or even a large rectangle. Sometimes the shed has obviously been added to a Pennsylvania barn, in other cases it appears that the entire assemblage was built at once. Usually the three-gable barn dates to the period about 1875–1925. The shed was often called a "straw shed," and was used to store the straw that was produced in large quantities all at once by steam threshing, which was introduced during this time period. The straw shed is associated with an increasingly competitive market economy, in which productivity mattered more than it ever had previously; animals that were sheltered, bedded, and fed better, produced better. The three-gable barn is common in the central part of the state, in the north and west branch Susquehanna region, and (to a lesser extent) in the southeast.

Even though it was altered to accommodate mechanization, the main barn no longer sufficed to house all the farm machinery. Free-standing machine

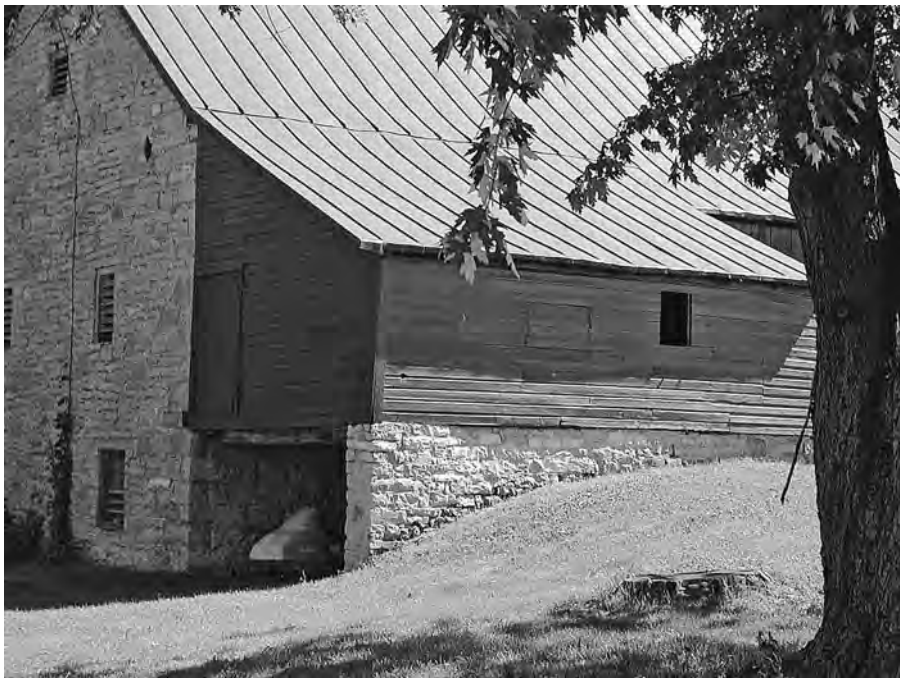


Figure 66. Musselman-Ziegler barn, Cumberland County, Pa., eighteenth century with later additions, view showing bank-side (south) granary and machinery storage. Photograph by Sally McMurry. In this case, mechanization was given architectural expression through a bank-side shed-roof extension.

sheds increasingly appeared by the late nineteenth century. Often they were combined with corn cribs. These buildings were sited near the barn and with access to a roadway. In general, machine sheds were ethnically neutral, though occasionally they were executed in an idiom that might be described as Pennsylvania German. For example, sometimes a machine shed might be built into a bank, with storage floor space stacked in two vertical levels.

Poultry housing also became much more common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Poultry houses, like machine sheds, showed little or no trace of ethnic markers. They were straightforward utilitarian buildings, usually built with frame and located between house and barn.

In southeastern Pennsylvania, the new crop with the most notable landscape impact was tobacco. The growing market for tobacco encouraged farmers to construct separate specialized buildings. The tobacco barn was of preeminent importance in Lancaster County. By the 1870s and 1880s, virtually every Lancaster County farm (not just Plain Sect families) reported tobacco production, and by 1880, farmers there grew over 80 percent of the Type 41 cigar filler leaf in which Pennsylvania specialized. Environmental and economic factors account

Figure 67. Stoner barn, Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pa., c. 1870, east-side horse-power shed. Photograph by Sally McMurry. A "horse power" was a device that allowed horse power to be harnessed to run different types of machines. This horse-power shed was integrated spatially into the Pennsylvania barn, in this instance on the bank side.

for this specialization. The county had a long growing season, hospitable soils, and an existing corn-and-livestock regimen that complemented tobacco cultivation. Livestock produced the manure that was critical for the nutrient-depleting crop, and farmers could profitably raise tobacco on relatively small amounts of land in a county where farm size was decreasing.[32]

Emerging on the southeastern Pennsylvania landscape in the latter nineteenth century, tobacco barns were unmistakeable. The tobacco barn's most distinctive and diagnostic feature is its ventilation system, for Lancaster leaf was air-dried. Inside the barns, workers tied bunches of tobacco leaves to thin laths, and hung the laths in tiers clear to the ridgepole. The sides of the barns had louvers to admit air. Builders hinged these louvers in various ways: vertically with side hinges, vertically with top hinges, or horizontally with top hinges. They often positioned ventilators on the exterior roof ridge as well.

The first of two tobacco sheds erected at Windom Mill had bays of horizontal louvers set in tiers; using vertical poles hinged to each louver, a worker could raise all the louvers in one of the bays simply by pushing upward on the pole.

Figure 68. Stoner barn, Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pa., c. 1870, west side showing forebay and additions. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This image shows a typical Pennsylvania German barn of the late nineteenth century: made of frame, incorporating ornament, and retaining the diagnostic forebay.

At the peak of the roof, the builders provided a ventilator to facilitate drying. The crop was hung on laths to dry. Trap doors in the floor opened to the basement. When it was time to prepare the crop for market, workers handed down the tobacco from the barn to the basement via the trap doors. The cool humidity of the basement kept the leaves pliable until workers were ready to strip them off the stalks and tie them into "hands" that were packed for shipment to tobacco warehouses or cigar factories. Numerous east- or southeast-facing windows admitted sufficient light for this wintertime work, and a stove warmed the stripping-room space.

Since the drying space in tobacco barns was only used between the time the crop was harvested and when it had dried, the family could use the space at other times of the year for other purposes. The most unusual feature in the Windom Mill building is a circular horse treadmill. A horse could pull a sweep around a circle, transferring the power via lineshaft and bevel gears to a pulley wheel in a closet on the western side of the building. By opening the exterior closet doors, slipping a leather belt around this iron pulley wheel and attaching

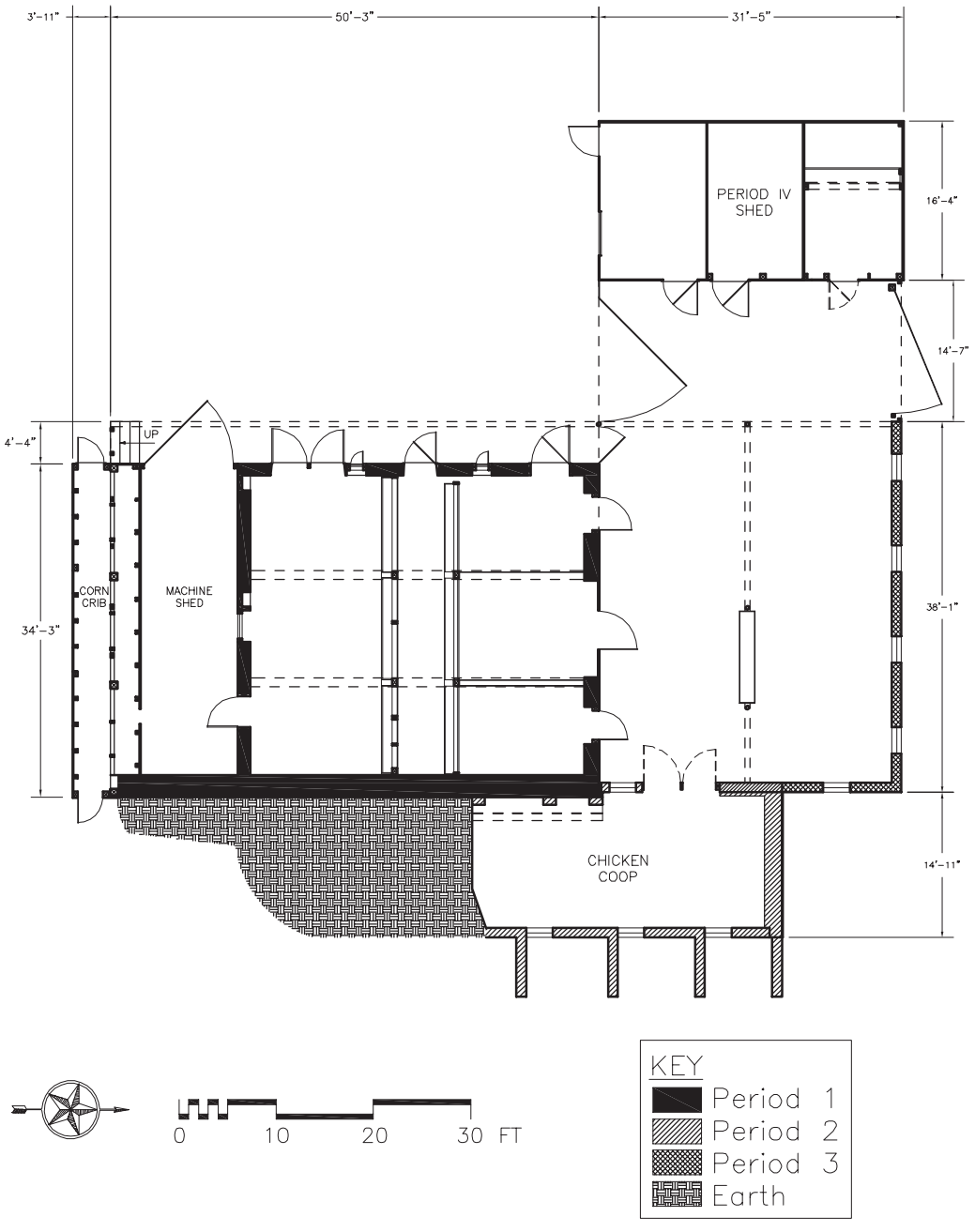


Figure 69. Stoner barn, Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pa., c. 1870, lower level plan. CAD drawing by Anne Samuel. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. At left, we can see how the designer cleverly integrated a machinery bay and corncrib, while keeping the essentials of a Pennsylvania German bank barn.

Figure 70. Drive-through corncrib with machinery storage, Diller farm, Cumberland County, Pa., early twentieth century. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This design was common everywhere in the twentieth century and lacked ethnic architectural markers.

the other end of the belt to machinery, workers at the site could power farm equipment in the yard west of the shed. They could also run power from the treadmill to the corncrib just to the south, presumably to operate a corn sheller. This type of multipurpose use of agricultural outbuildings fit the rhythms of the agricultural seasons. Similarly, the corncrib next door to the tobacco barn probably held machinery in the wide runway between the corncribs.

The general characteristics of the tobacco barns at the Windom Mill farm also appeared elsewhere, and raise questions about the role of ethnicity in shaping farm buildings. On the one hand, Pennsylvania German area designs shared features employed by other tobacco farmers elsewhere in the country: the size of the laths, the use of air drying, and the inclusion of work areas for sorting and stripping were consistent with tobacco-farming practices in many portions of the upper South and the Connecticut Valley. Yet there were features that maintained Pennsylvania German traditions, most notably the common (although not universal) use of banked structures with basements, the siting integrated with the farmhouse-barn complex (as opposed to bordering the tobacco field), the determination to use gravity to assist in the movement of

Figure 71. Poultry house, Herr farm, West Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pa., twentieth century. Photograph by Sally McMurry. In poultry raising, too, Pennsylvania Germans adopted architectural forms that developed within a context of agricultural and industrial modernization.

goods, the adaptability of the building for other purposes (such as the circular horse treadmill at Windom Mill farm), and the relatively high level of finish, which might include paint and decorative trim (for example, the paint and finish of the tobacco barn at the Herr farm). These buildings were utilitarian, but people appear to have visualized them also as a component of an aesthetic ensemble, part of a domestic agricultural landscape.[33]

Historically the tobacco barn reflected a highly disciplined household labor system. Pennsylvania German families valued tobacco culture as a means of keeping the family occupied year round. Tobacco kept everybody busy, from planting time to final shipping. The tobacco barn provided spaces for shared work, not only in hanging the tobacco to dry but in the stripping room, where all family members gathered in the winter to prepare the crop for market. By the mid-twentieth century, mainstream Pennsylvania Germans had essentially abandoned tobacco culture to their Plain Sect neighbors, and tobacco culture became associated in the popular media with the Plain Sects. However, it is important to note that their dominance was a recent development.

Figure 72. Tobacco hanging in the tobacco barn at Windom Mill farm, Lancaster County, Pa., in 2003. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This modern photograph shows what a full barn would have looked like during the peak of the cigar tobacco boom.

During the boom years of 1910–20, agriculture in the region reached its apogee. Most families in the region continued to live on small, diversified farms. The main changes were the greater reliance on poultry raising and dairying. Most farm wives continued to make butter at home, especially after the Laval separator was introduced for farm use. At the same time, many farm families increased the amount of milk they sold in fluid form to creameries (factories that made butter) and to urban markets. Under this regime, quantity of output was more important than ever before.

Initially the impact of fluid-milk dairying on the landscape in this period was minimal. With some exceptions, "native" cattle still dominated dairy production, and only a small percentage of farms were classified as dairy farms, i.e., deriving 40 percent of more of their income from dairying.[34] The era of the massive black-and-white Holstein lay in the future. Signs of change were faint, but notable. As early as the 1880s, some farmers had experimented with ensilage—chopped, fermented corn stalks—that recycled what otherwise was generally a waste product, and that dairy cows could digest easily. The silo first appeared after 1880, and by the mid-1920s, 10 percent of Berks County farms had silos; in Lancaster County the proportion was 25 percent, and in Lebanon

Figure 73. Tobacco barn, Windom Mill farm, Lancaster County, Pa., c. 1875, west and south sides. Photograph by Sally McMurry. A characteristically Pennsylvania German tobacco barn, with banked construction, integral stripping room, and siting within the farmstead complex. The protruding box housed equipment to connect a horse power to the corn barn (just visible at left) via a belt.

County, 20 percent. Early silos were often little more than wooden tanks reinforced with steel hoops; sometimes they were located inside the barn. Later on, contractors assembled silos from tile or concrete blocks.

The First World War marks the end of our study period. A sea change in Pennsylvania German culture occurred then, as mainstream Pennsylvania Germans decided to stop using the dialect in schools and churches. Cultural consciousness did not diminish; indeed, nostalgic celebrations of Pennsylvania German language, decorative arts, architecture, and foodways gained strength with the growth of organizations such as the Pennsylvania German Society, founded in 1891. With greater assimilation into mainstream society, however, the majority of Pennsylvania Germans lost the visible and oral cues that distinguished them from others. Moreover, mainstream Pennsylvania Germans pursued mainstream agricultural practices. It was thus members of the Plain Sects who became the most conspicuous carriers of Pennsylvania German cultural and agricultural traditions. This development meant that some Pennsylvania German arts withered and also that popular perceptions of the Pennsylvania

Figure 74. Tobacco barn, Herr farm, West Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pa., early twentieth century, west and south sides. Photograph by Sally McMurry.

Germans became distorted, through their focus on groups that were minorities within the larger Pennsylvania German culture.[35] In the post-World War I landscape, mainstream Pennsylvania German farmers behaved like farmers everywhere: they built new agricultural outbuildings such as concrete and tile silos, large-scale poultry houses, sanitary milking parlors, milk holding tanks, machine sheds, and garages. Sources for these building types increasingly were institutional, for example the land-grant extension system. They wired many buildings for electric lighting and put in plumbing. Most farm families selectively adopted the buildings and conveniences that tied them more tightly to a commercial world of exchange. These changes opened up a new chapter in the ongoing relationship between the Pennsylvania Germans and their agrarian landscape.

Figure 75. Spearing and drying tobacco, Lancaster County, Pa. Photograph by unknown photographer. No date. Philadelphia Commercial Museum Photograph Collection, Manuscript Group 219, Box 11, #9975 n. a. 2506. Pennsylvania State Archives. By permission.

CHAPTER FIVE

Town House: From Borough to City, Lancaster's Changing Streetscape

Bernard Herman, Thomas Ryan, and David Schuyler

Despite the many advances in the history of Pennsylvania German vernacular architecture over the past fifty years, we know remarkably little about the urban residences that line the streets and lanes of towns like Lancaster, Carlisle, Schaefferstown, and Strasburg. The chief exception to this lacuna remains the published work on the communitarian experiments associated with religious sects, most notably the Moravians. Thus, this essay provides an introduction to the Pennsylvania German town house, drawing primarily on the example of the Borough of Lancaster. Our discussion moves forward with two aims. First, we examine the formative and competing urban dwelling traditions; second, we explore the impact of industrialization on the dwelling fabric of the city. Because so little fieldwork and primary documentary research has been undertaken and made public, our observations are intended as an invitation for others, and not a culminating synthesis.

A comparison of the Pennsylvania town plans provides a starting context. The city and village settlements of the Pennsylvania German countryside generally fall into two categories: grid plans and line towns. The grid plan towns, such as Carlisle, were developed on the model of Philadelphia and were designed as more or less formal geometrical networks with regularly intersecting streets and centrally placed public or market squares. Lesser lanes and alleys often cut through the blocks created by major streets and behind house lots in a manner

Figure 76. "Public Square in Carlisle" (engraving). In Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), 269. Pennsylvania Germans lived, worked, and built within the context of broader European and Anglo-American spatial traditions, in this case the grid town plan.

that provided access to workyards and outbuildings. As towns like Lancaster and Columbia became more heavily populated, back lots were often cleaved from the larger property and redeveloped with alley dwellings. Although the planners of Pennsylvania German towns may have envisioned their schemes on paper as regular and seamless grids, such was not the case. In the Borough of Lancaster, for example, the subdivision of Mussertown, to the southeast of the central courthouse square, was laid out at a forty-five-degree angle in relationship to the rest of the city grid. In other towns, topographical features like watercourses violated the abstract symmetry of the urban plan. Still, the grid plan, with its emphasis on regulated movement and order, and the centrality of business, government and often religion, exercised a powerful influence on the development of Pennsylvania German towns from the early eighteenth century onward.

Line towns—village settlements informally developed along the course of a roadway or an important crossroads—contrasted with the planned geometry of the urban grid. Drawing on a synthesis of European and American precedents

and parallels, line towns emerged as settlements of topographical opportunity. Exemplified by smaller hamlets like Womelsdorf, Stouchsburg, and Kleinfeltersville, line towns extended one lot deep on either side of a road. Larger line towns could extend up to two miles in overall length, but most tend to be smaller and run a mile or less. Where grid plans established a clear sense of an urban center organized around a square, line towns rambled. Churches and businesses were irregularly interspersed with houses, ranging from those of artisan families who labored in shops adjacent to their dwellings, to the mansions of local elites.

The divide between formal grid plans and informal line towns is far from sharp. Numerous towns began informally as nucleated settlements and were then recast in a more formal geometrical raiment. Strasburg in Lancaster County illustrates this process. Several eighteenth-century roadways converged on Strasburg, resulting in the rise of a nucleated settlement that stretched irregularly along a single street, centered on a crossroads. The crossroads provided a perceived center to the community and in time became its focus. Although the exact sequence of events is clouded, it is clear that by the close of the eighteenth century the area around the crossroads had been widened and established as a central square. Still, Strasburg retained its line town character, with the village stretching roughly east to west and remaining only a single house lot in depth on either side of the main street.

Whatever their origins and plans, the towns of the Pennsylvania Germans generally exhibit a comparable mix of buildings, crystallized in John Pearson's description of the Borough of Lancaster in 1801:

> you see excellent three story brick two story stone & the old fashioned ones composed of wood & brick, some of frame only, some are of black limestone procured from the neighboring high grounds . . . The roofs are generally of oak, some of cedar and some of white pine, many of them painted; tile is rarely seen. In the principal streets and near the center and most valuable parts of the town are many very mean houses of a single story but perhaps half the houses are of one story, some of the wealthy citizens to this hour build houses of that kind, four rooms on a floor and apparently well finished, by which it appears that their opinion is favorable to one story houses; You will observe many of the genuine German kind a frame bricked with a great number of ties and studs the studs frequently lean and often are hewed crooked I suppose for ornament and stand in almost every direction.[1]

Pearson saw and described an urban architectural landscape that engaged at least three major design traditions found in some measure in almost every town in the Pennsylvania German countryside.

At the center of town, defined by the courthouse square, stood the "excellent three story brick" residences, which ranged down both King and Queen streets as well as some of the secondary streets in close proximity to the square. The client/builders and occupants of these houses composed a class of urban residents linked less by ethnic and national identities than by associations through trade and government. Attorney and merchant William Montgomery, one of the city's wealthiest early nineteenth-century citizens, commissioned a three-story town house on Queen Street in the first block below Center Square.[2] Erected in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Montgomery's house was notable for its scale, plan, and details. The thirty-three-by-forty-eight-foot building incorporated a ten-foot-wide apsidal-ended passage that terminated in an open stair winding up to the second- and third-floor rooms. A bow window projecting from the rear walls of the elliptical first- and second-story back rooms provided a view of the household's private gardens. The Flemish bond brickwork, elaborated with decorative jack arches above the doors and windows, asserted an architectural identity that had little in common with the design traditions and construction practices of the Lancaster County hinterland. Other prominent citizens of Pennsylvania's towns likewise constructed houses that had more in common with Philadelphia than those commonly built in the hinterland. The Thomas Duncan house, constructed in Carlisle in 1815 for the son of a Supreme Court justice, featured a plan identical with that of the William Montgomery house, and equally fine finishes.

The earlier Sehner-Ellicott house on Prince Street in Lancaster, erected in the late 1700s, made use of a side-passage double-pile plan, augmented with extensive back buildings containing the kitchen, domestic work spaces, and supplementary chambers. The best room in the house occupied the second floor and overlooked the street. With its raised panel finishes utilizing classical elements, the Sehner-Ellicott house displayed a greater affinity with its Philadelphia contemporaries than it did with its Lancaster neighbors. Still, as an 1815 inventory for merchant Michael Gundacker shows, members of Lancaster's wealthy elite maintained customary features, such as the general use of stoves, even in the town houses that seemingly repudiated Pennsylvania German ways.[3]

The pattern holds true for other Pennsylvania German towns. John F. Grier lived in his Callowhill Street town house just south of the courthouse in Reading. The insurance surveyor described the house in 1820:

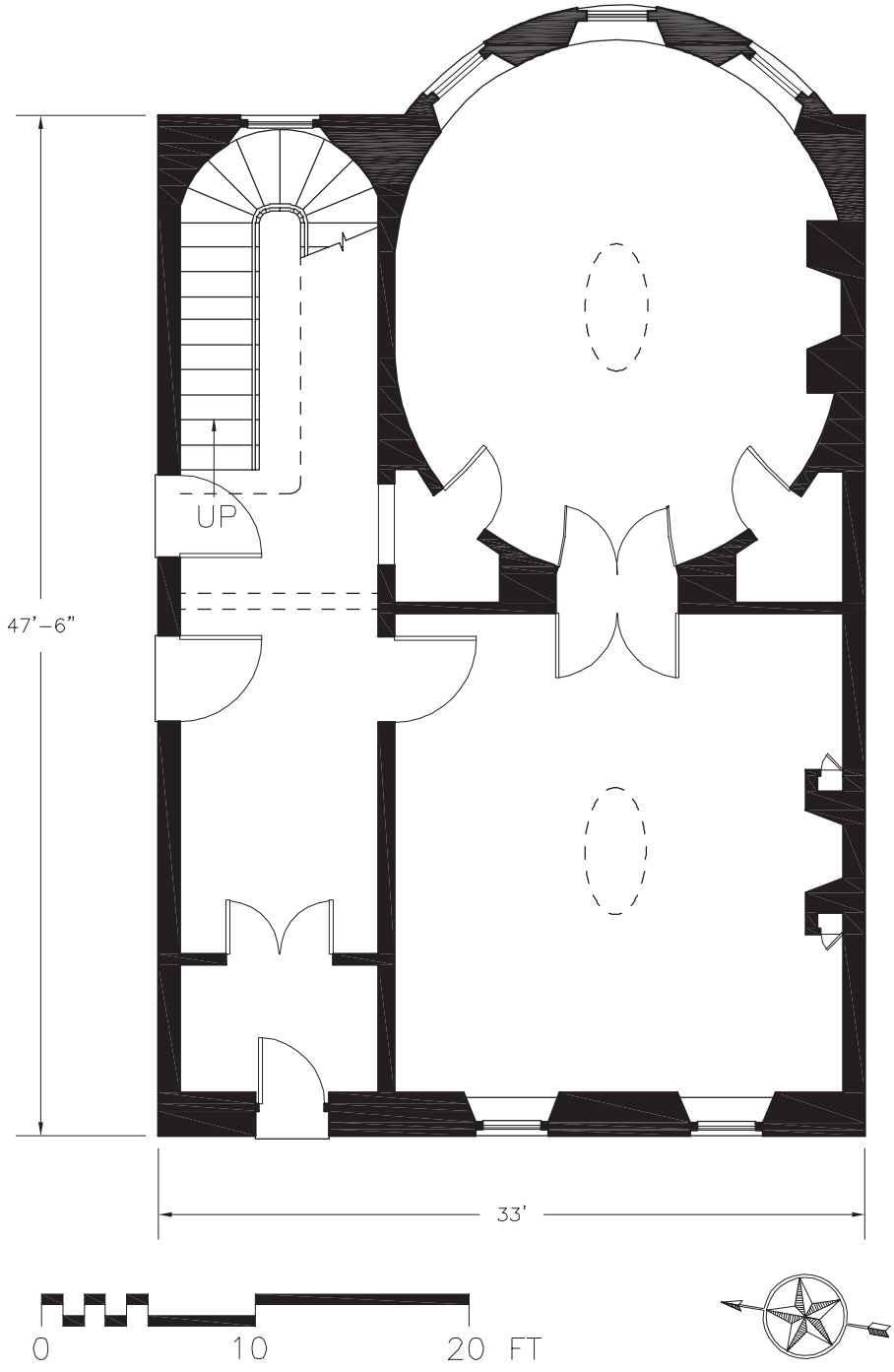


Figure 77. William Montgomery house, Lancaster City, Pa., c. 1805, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Rob Thurlow from originals by Jeff Klee. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This building had more in common with Philadelphia than with the architecture in the Lancaster hinterlands.

Figure 78. Sehner-Ellicott-von Hess house, Lancaster City, Pa., 1787, elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. While outwardly displaying prevailing architectural vocabularies drawn from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania German occupants of Lancaster City houses often continued customary traditions such as heating stoves.

> "The building is 22 feet six inches front by 30 feet deep. Cellar under the whole. First story. 2 rooms, an entry six feet wide inn [sic] the front part. Neat mantles, surbases, & washboards. Neat flat top pediments over the doors. A neat front door . . . In the entry are two flights, open newell painted rampt handrail stairs, neat brackets, half rails & pilasters."

The house was served by a fifteen-by-thirty-foot backbuilding recorded as

> "First story. N. Room (say kitchen) plain mantle, surbase, washboards, closets, & windows cased, a small cross entry. Plain stairs to second floor."[4]

Grier's 1829 inventory reveals that the family furnished its house fashionably with the accoutrements of sociability. Like the majority of documented Pennsylvania German households in this period, the family heated its rooms with stoves

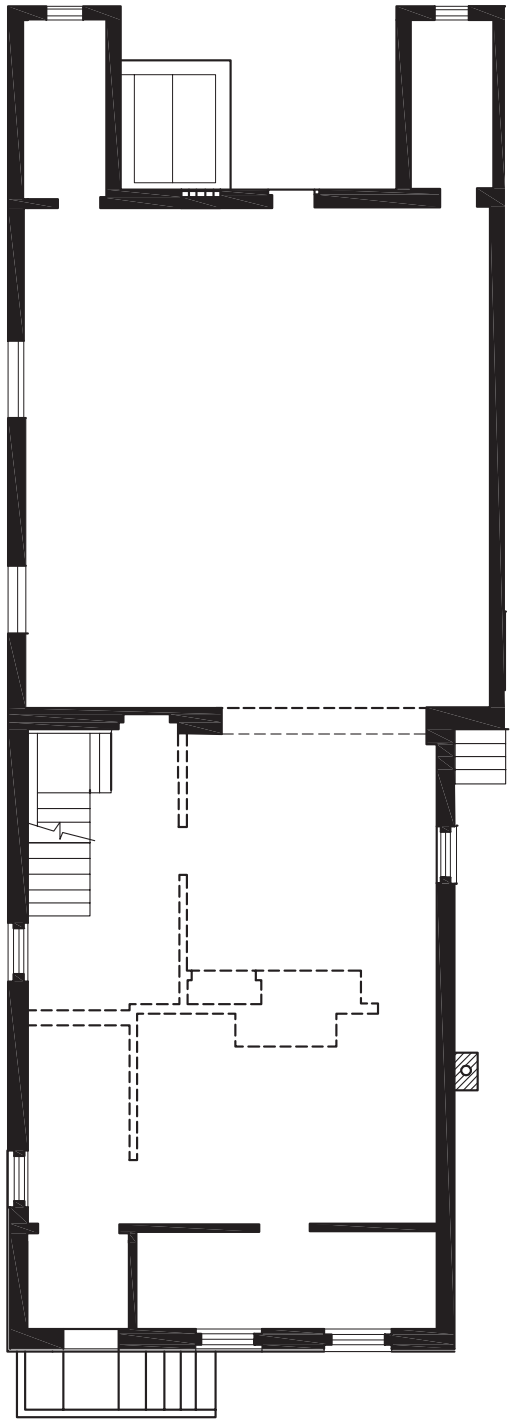


Figure 79. Sehner-Ellicott-von Hess house, Lancaster City, Pa., 1787, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Jackie Rendeiro and Cory Chockley from Historic American Buildings Survey originals. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. Behind the up-to-date front portion, a large rear extension contained work spaces and additional living quarters.

even as the house retained fireplaces with mantels topped with "mantle ornaments."[5] Town folk in Strasburg erected and furnished two-story brick houses in similar ways, as did their counterparts in Carlisle.[6]

John Pearson's architectural narrative of Lancaster makes clear, however, that the author was drawn to houses "of the genuine German kind." The features that rendered these houses distinctive in Pearson's mind were their one-story elevations and their use of materials, most notably local stone, log, and half-timber construction. In actuality, Pearson's comments conflated two very different Pennsylvania German town house traditions: dwellings that conformed to well-established rural plans and building practices here adapted to an urban setting, and residences that drew on a distinct Pennsylvania German town house design tradition. The kinds of houses that drew on the countryside as their design source are well discussed elsewhere in this volume. Most common were variations on center chimney three- and two-room plans organized around a *Küche,* with its direct entry from the outside and large cooking hearth, and a *Stube* heated by a cast-iron stove, furnished with built-in benches along the walls, and illuminated by the largest and most numerous windows in the house. Built of log, *Fachwerk* (half-timber), and stone, these urban dwellings were distinct from their country cousins only by virtue of their settings. Historic photographs record several examples of these houses in the Borough of Lancaster, most notably in Mussertown and its environs. A better sense of what these "genuine German" houses looked like, however, is gained in Schaefferstown, where later applications of siding preserved *Fachwerk* exterior finishes in buildings like the Rex house on the town square and the Stiegel-Webber house just up the hill. The exposed *Fachwerk* of the Rex house originally featured a colorful exterior treatment; the spaces between the timbers were parged, scored, and painted in a red and dark blue pattern to resemble brick. The Rex house also originally had a three-room center chimney plan. Similarly, the houses standing away from the center square in Strasburg exhibit the use of rural Pennsylvania German building conventions, from small log three-room center chimney dwellings to a grand two-story stone mansions drawing on a similar, but more elaborate, spatial lexicon.

Less well understood are Pennsylvania German town houses that appear to draw on a regional reinvention of Continental urban vernacular forms. Although the majority of these houses have been recorded in the Borough of Lancaster, the evidence of surviving buildings suggests that they were a common feature in larger towns like Carlisle and Reading. A tentative typology of these houses suggests that they fall into three general categories, two of which are closely related. The two related types are based on an arrangement of interior spaces one room in width and extending two rooms in depth, occasionally with

an original service ell extending from the rear elevation. In one version of this type of house, illustrated by the Bindery on Water Street, entry into the house is directly into a large room backed by a smaller room and a narrow passage containing the stair. In the case of the Bindery, an original one-story backbuilding contained domestic work spaces including the kitchen. The Bindery and similar houses found on Chestnut and Manor streets in other parts of Lancaster utilize chimney stacks placed against gable walls toward the partition wall dividing the front and back rooms. Only the front room, a large squarish *Stube* or shop/work room, is heated by an open fireplace. In examples where the back room was heated, heat was provided by a ten-plate stove, with the stovepipe connected to the chimney jamb.

A second house form closely related to this arrangement reversed the placement of the chimney pile, producing a distinctive arrangement of rooms. The large square room at the front of the house was entered directly from the outside but lacked a fireplace. The chimney rose against the gable wall of the back room, which served as a kitchen. These houses contained no stair hall, using instead a winder stair placed between the back chimney jamb and the rear wall of the house. If the front room was heated, it was served by a ten-plate stove piped into the main stack. Finally, unlike the Bindery and houses that paralleled its internal organization, this second arrangement appears to have been designed around the principle of incorporating the kitchen directly into the body of the house. Because so few of these buildings have been documented, it remains difficult to draw conclusions about their variations and the ways in which they overlap.

Nevertheless, these houses surely owe something of their design to regional German town house conventions. Eighteenth-century town houses in Baden, for example, placed the primary (and most formal) living space toward the street, with the kitchen and downstairs sleeping chamber oriented to the yard behind the house. By the eighteenth century, however, the practical organization of the ground floor was altered. Although the old ground-floor divisions remained, the rooms adjacent to the passage were no longer used as dwelling spaces. The result was a town house that placed domestic functions in the upper stories. In Mainz, local practice placed the kitchen in the front of the house adjacent to the entry and stair, in an arrangement reminiscent of several Lancaster houses. In multistory German town houses where each floor defined a household, the uppermost stories sandwiched the kitchen between front and back rooms. This arrangement required the use of internal windows to borrow both light and air from the adjoining spaces fronting street and yard. Regardless of kitchen placement, builders of multistory dwellings in both places embraced

Figure 80. Bindery, Lancaster City, Pa., early nineteenth century, elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The street elevation of the Bindery building blends in visually with the surroundings.

a division that set the ground floor aside for commerce and shop work, while the stories above contained parlors, kitchens, and sleeping chambers.[7]

Pearson noted a preference among many well-to-do town folk for one-story houses "four rooms on a floor and apparently well finished." Again, the knowledge of these buildings and their variations remains limited, but they do appear throughout the Borough. A compact frame example on West King Street consists of a square entry containing a winder stair leading to the chambers in the garret. As an entry, this room served as a reception space, connected to both the best room at the front of the house and the kitchen in the opposite corner.

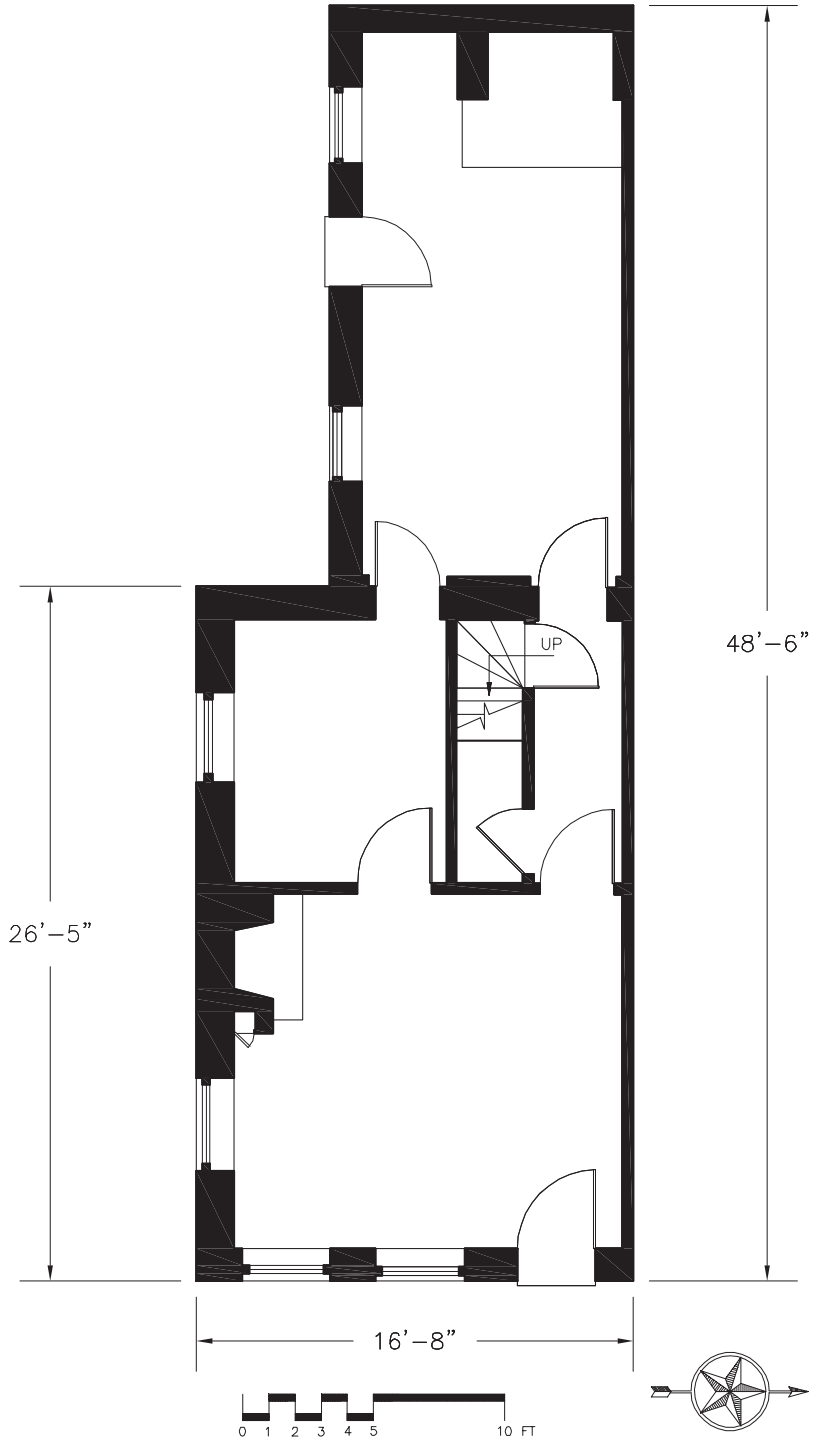


Figure 81. Bindery, Lancaster City, Pa., early nineteenth century, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Bob Thurlow from originals by Jeff Klee. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The floor plan illustrates a regionally specific reinvention of Continental forms; the front room functioned as a stove room.

As in the vast majority of Lancaster's houses, ten-plate stoves heated the polite spaces within the house.

Finally, there are three-room houses, some with kitchen ells. Given the specifics of their internal arrangements, it would be a mistake to lump them together with the three-room houses found in the countryside. A house at 523 High Street exhibits some of the hallmarks of these urban three-room houses. The twenty-four-foot-square footprint of the house is structurally divided into four quadrants of equal size. Two of these quadrants form a combination entry and kitchen. Notably, the chimney stack is placed against the gable and positioned toward the back of the house, creating a roughly eleven-foot-square space at the front of the house that does not possess a service function. Because there is no direct connection between this space and the other rooms in the house except through the kitchen, it apparently served as a kind of unpartitioned reception or day room for the household. The two rooms to the side of the kitchen and entry were heated by one or more stoves, vented into a small brick flue overhead and against the gable. The uses of these rooms are unclear, but at least one functioned as the principal chamber. A house at 451 High Street contains much the same arrangement of rooms and placement of chimney stacks and stove flues. Here, however, the entry space allows for access to an adjacent stove room at the front of the house.

Significantly, all of these Pennsylvania German town house variations are represented by examples that date, at the earliest, to the close of the eighteenth century. The question remains, then, the extent to which these houses are more recent instances of an older, well-established urban design tradition informed by Continental precedents; whether they represent a distinctive Pennsylvania German town house idiom, synthesized from local practice and familiarity with the town house forms of the British-American Atlantic world (exemplified in the streets of Philadelphia); or whether they are the creative adaptation and appropriation of rural practice into urban settings. The answer is likely a combination of the three, worked out by individuals negotiating their social and economic circumstances and their architectural ambitions in the context of local, regional, national, and international sensibilities. The physical history of a house on Howard Avenue in Lancaster, erected in the mid-1700s and remodeled into two dwellings in the early nineteenth century, illustrates the point.

Little is left of the eighteenth-century fabric of this Howard Avenue house beyond ceiling joists and robbed mortices, but what survives documents a one-and-a-half-story frame house with an asymmetrically placed central chimney and a paled ceiling. The plan of the house conformed to the three- and four-room plans built throughout the countryside from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. The owners of the Howard Avenue house chose to

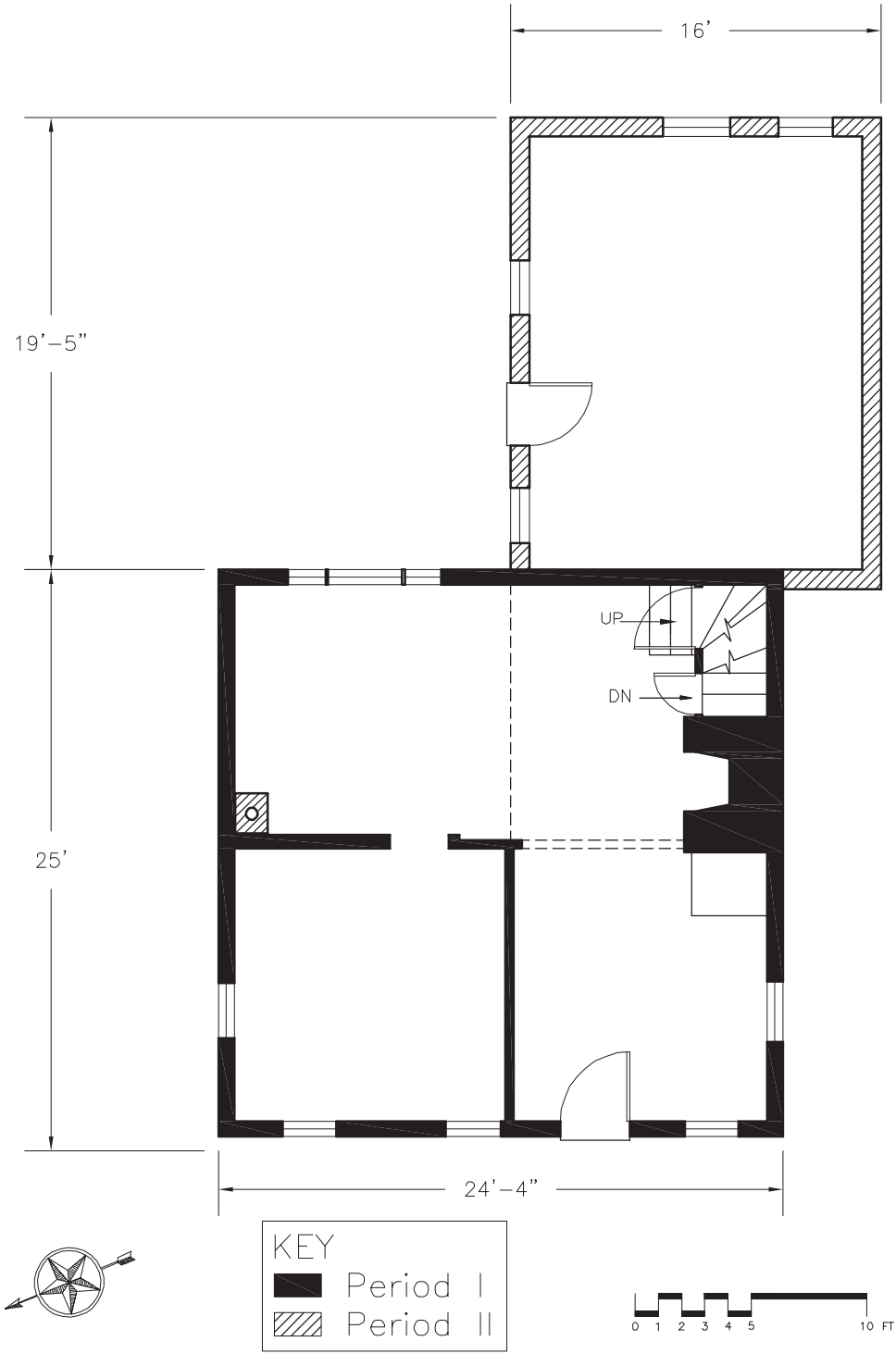


Figure 82. 523 High Street, Lancaster City, Pa., date unknown, ground floor plan. CAD drawing by Brooke Miller. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. This plan illustrates another variation on Continental traditions, this time incorporating the kitchen into the body of the house.

remodel their old single-family dwelling into a pair of tenements early in the 1800s. Their renovations extended the old house and cased it in brick, producing two houses, each apparently with a front parlor and a back kitchen or dining room. The new houses appear similar in materials, construction, and internal organization to dwellings that continue to line Chestnut Street east of the city center. We can easily imagine a number of motives for the remodeling of the old house—for example, increased income from two rental properties—but this does not explain why the new house looks the way it does. A tentative explanation suggests that the two new houses were fashionable, in the sense that they charted the course of an increasingly modern urban landscape, where the regularity of brick and the balanced play of doors and windows reflected an emerging urban architectural aesthetic. The new configuration of interior spaces produced rooms that lacked the old fireplaces and relied instead on cast-iron stoves for heat and cooking, signaling again a sense of domestic and civic order that communicated regularity, order, and the emergence of a broad-based nascent middle class. In a sense, the remodeling of the Howard Street house epitomizes a broader pattern of change in the very social and cultural structure of Pennsylvania German towns on the eve of industrialization. The advent of that process is charted by the house of Lancaster artisan and self-taught portrait painter Jacob Eichholtz.

In 1832, portrait painter Jacob Eichholtz moved into a brick house on South Lime Street in Lancaster that had been erected five years earlier. The view from his studio included the spire of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, a reminder of the artist's Germanic roots as well as of the eighteenth-century beginnings of the community. The house follows a fairly standard town house plan. A lobby entryway gives way to a side passage with ornate stairway leading to the private family quarters above. To the left of the passage lies a parlor in the front and dining room to the rear, overlooking a piazza across the back of the house. The basement contains a cooking hearth with partially paneled wall, and direct access to the rear kitchen garden. What sets Eichholtz's house apart from similar townhouses is the two-story addition that contained a studio on the first floor and painting room on the second floor. The Eichholtz house thus in one sense is idiosyncratic, yet in essential ways it represented a new type of urban architecture, characterized by a different scale and a higher density of building than the one- and two-story vernacular dwellings just a block away in Mussertown.[8]

Shortly after Eichholtz retreated from Philadelphia to escape the devastating cholera epidemic, Lancaster established a municipal water supply to protect public health. Then, in 1834, civic and governmental leaders convinced the Pennsylvania Railroad to locate a station in the city, on North Queen Street,

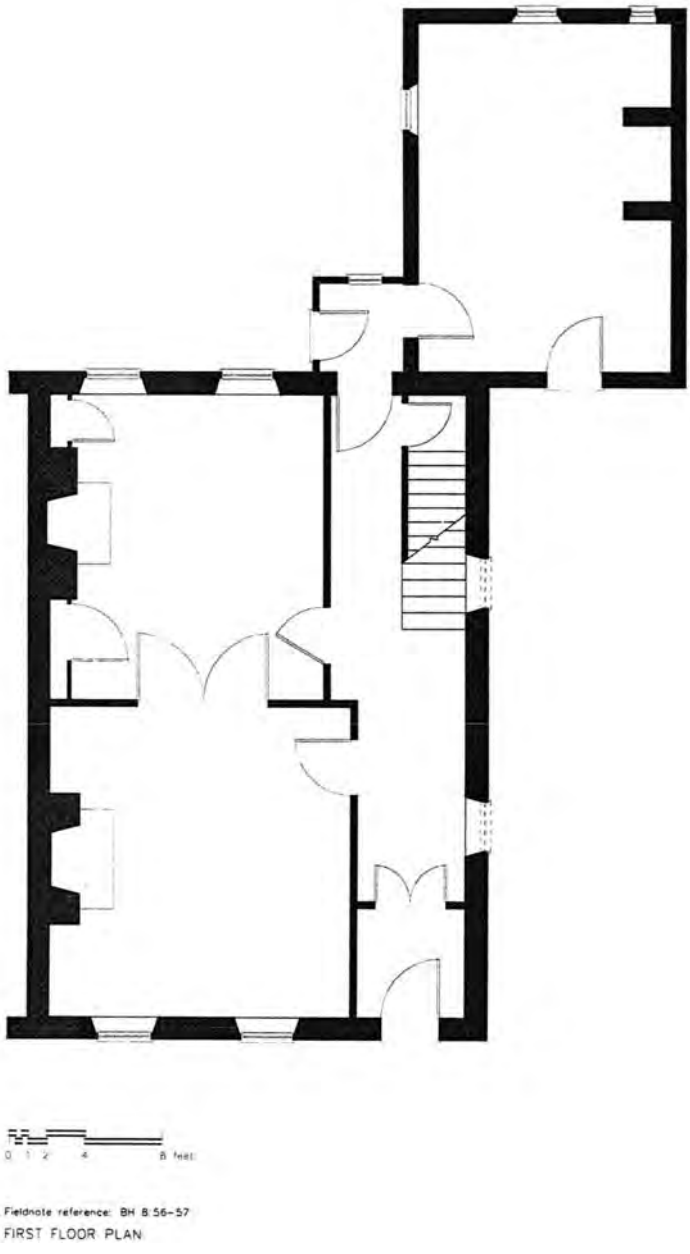


Figure 83. Jacob and Catherine Eichholtz house, Lancaster City, Pa., late 1820s, first floor plan. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. Eichholtz lived in a town house that was built on speculation in an expanding Lancaster City neighborhood. Its side-passage plan was like hundreds of others in the city and throughout the region.

two blocks north of Penn Square—an essential transportation link for a city without a natural transportation system. Despite these major investments in infrastructure, Lancaster had lost the source of its prosperity, its role as a market town for an exceptionally rich agricultural hinterland: in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, younger towns across the Susquehanna such as York and Carlisle captured this role, along with the prosperity Lancaster formerly had derived from its function as a back-country emporium. The same fate befell Reading and other communities on the eastern edge of the Pennsylvania German culture region. To be sure, Reading, Lancaster, and Carlisle were county seats, and after 1812 Harrisburg was the state capital, and government proved to be one of the foundations of each community's economy. But not until the introduction of steam-powered industrial technology, beginning in the late 1830s, did inland cities in the Pennsylvania German countryside experience a building boom. Although Reading had become an important hat-making center in the early nineteenth century, its era of industrialization began in 1836. Canals and railroads linked the city to raw materials and markets, and over the next five years Reading became home to an iron and nail works, an iron and brass foundry, a locomotive engine factory, a steam engine and rifle barrel factory, an agricultural implements factory, and various mills.[9] In Lancaster, construction of the Conestoga Steam Mills, which began operating in 1847, inaugurated a decade of prosperity marked by the construction of a new county Court House, designed by Samuel Sloan, a new county prison design by John Haviland and son, Fulton Hall, another Sloan building, and the original Gothic Revival buildings of Franklin & Marshall College, designed by Baltimore architects Dixon, Balbirnie and Dixon.

Demographic growth reflected the economic state of these communities. During the 1820s and 1830s Lancaster's population grew by 27 percent to 8,417; during the 1840s and 1850s its population doubled to 17,603; during the 1860s and 1870s its population increased by almost 50 percent to 25,769. Reading's growth was even more explosive than Lancaster's. During the 1820s and 1830s its population increased by 94 percent to 8,410; during the 1840s and 1850s its population soared to 23,162, a rate of growth of 175 percent; and during the 1860s and 1870s its population increased by 87 percent to 43,278.

Industrial development and demographic growth resulted in congestion in the center of each community. Reading's 1762 Court House stood in the middle of Center Square. As the need for a larger facility became evident, the city built its new Greek Revival Court House at Sixth and Court streets. Lancaster's eighteenth-century Court House, which stood in the center square, burned at mid-century and the county erected its new governmental structure a block to the east, at the corner of North Duke and East King streets. In both cities, the

site of the former Court House became the square or diamond that remains one of the defining characteristics of towns and cities in the Pennsylvania German culture region.[10]

The same factors that produced congestion also necessitated a wave of new domestic building. Reading, for example, had 1,356 dwellings in 1840, the vast majority of which were one- and two-story brick or frame buildings, though there were two four-story houses of brick and fifty-four three-story brick dwellings, as well as 147 one-story log houses. Perhaps as many as one thousand dwellings were erected between 1842 and 1847, but even this rapid pace of residential development did not meet the needs of Reading's increasing population: in 1847 there were 2,398 families and 2,138 houses, a shortfall of 160 dwellings. As a corollary to sustained industrial growth and population increases in the post–Civil War years, by 1897, the sesquicentennial of Reading's founding, the city was home to approximately 73,000 residents and more than 14,000 houses.[11]

As Lancaster expanded to provide shelter for its surging population, streets once lined with empty lots were transformed into places of work and residence. During the nineteenth century, eighteenth-century lots with multiple outbuildings were subdivided, resulting in streetscapes that combine vernacular German buildings and the two-story red brick row house that was becoming a ubiquitous feature throughout Lancaster. As was true of cities large and small in the industrial era, Lancaster literally turned itself inside out. In the eighteenth century the area at the center of the Borough had been the most advantageous place to live because it was the shortest walk from any destination. But as economic activity increased in the center, as noise and congestion made that once-advantageous location less and less attractive, many residents who could afford to do so moved to new homes some distance from the center. The largest and often most architecturally pretentious houses tended to be located along the major streets, such as North Duke, Orange, Chestnut, and Walnut streets. Smaller dwellings tended to be located on secondary streets or close to places of work.

One building type that was an important component of Lancaster's housing stock in the first half of the nineteenth century was the story-and-a-half house. One-story houses were the most numerous dwelling types throughout Lancaster in the eighteenth century, and the story-and-a-half house, built in large numbers during the 1830s and 1840s, continued the visual culture of those earlier Pennsylvania German town house forms in an industrializing city.[12] The mid-nineteenth-century single-story and story-and-a-half houses of Lancaster, however, also evolved in ways that bore little resemblance to their local antecedents. The interiors of many of these small houses now incorporated a sense of formal entry, into either a vestibule or narrow passage. Similarly, builders brought

stairs forward in the plan, in a manner that emphasized their sculptural qualities. Standardized materials, like mass-produced brick from local kilns and architectural elements from borough shops and manufactories, lent a sense of visual uniformity to city streetscapes.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the construction of one-story town houses was largely a practice of the past, and builders were erecting two-and three-story row houses as purpose-built tenements. Just as in the eighteenth century some of Lancaster's residents looked to Philadelphia in matters of design, best exemplified by Gottlieb Sehner's house on North Prince Street, so in the mid-nineteenth century did they adopt a Philadelphia solution to a housing crisis: the row of attached brick dwellings. Most of the houses were smaller in scale and less pretentious in style than Jacob Eichholtz's, which was an assertion of the artist's role as a tastemaker to the community.[13] The Lydia Hamilton Smith house on the first block of East Vine Street exemplifies the new generation of town house for a person of some means, but not of the same social standing of the Eichholtz family. Erected c. 1870, her house stood a full three stories. The main block of the first floor originally consisted of a single room and entry containing the stair. Cooking and other domestic work was conducted in a cellar kitchen, complete with hearth, dry sink, storage cupboards, and dresser. The upper stories contained chambers for sleeping. A short ell projected from the rear elevation and provided additional service spaces for the household. Compact and vertical, the Lydia Smith house spoke to a very different domestic sensibility from that of its earlier counterparts in nearby Mussertown.

Demographic and industrial growth transformed the nineteenth-century cityscape. The four-story Conestoga Steam Mill no. 2 (1849), on South Prince Street, was one of the largest and tallest buildings in Lancaster. Designed in a vernacular classical style and topped by a cupola, the red brick mill proclaimed the importance of industry to the city's economy. By 1850 Lancaster's first two mills employed almost four hundred workers, and as new mills began operation in the 1850s the industrial workforce expanded significantly. Historian Thomas Winpenny's study of industrialization in Lancaster demonstrates that there was a housing construction boom in the 1850s and again in the early 1870s. Between 1850 and 1880, the number of dwellings in Lancaster increased from 2,045 to 5,133.[14] An 1858 map of Lancaster prepared by T. J. Kennedy documents the residential growth that was occurring on South Queen Street, a block east of the cotton mills. Around the time of the Civil War, development extended as far south as Woodward Hill Cemetery, which had been incorporated as a "rural" cemetery in 1849. Almost overnight the processes of urban and industrial growth transformed what had been outlying areas into city blocks and brick buildings. Although Eichholtz's South Lime Street home was only two

Figure 84. Lydia Hamilton Smith house, Lancaster City, Pa., c. 1870, elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. Town houses like these housed middle-class people in the late nineteenth century.

blocks from Penn Square, in 1832 it faced an open field on the east side of the street. By the 1870s the site of that former field presented a streetscape of fashionable three story brick town houses. Similarly, new buildings extended along South Queen Street more than ten blocks from the center square.

The small semi-detached house at 546 South Queen Street is an example of the housing erected for industrial workers c. 1870. Philip Hoin, his wife, and six children lived in the three-bay, two-story red brick dwelling (now covered with formstone) only sixteen feet wide. The entrance door opens into the living room, behind which are a dining room and a kitchen ell. There are three small rooms on the second story. Hoin, an emigrant from Germany, worked as a carpenter. He could afford the house only because five grown children, aged seventeen to twenty-five, worked in the cotton mills several blocks away.[15]

Another area of working-class housing grew up in the vicinity of the railroad

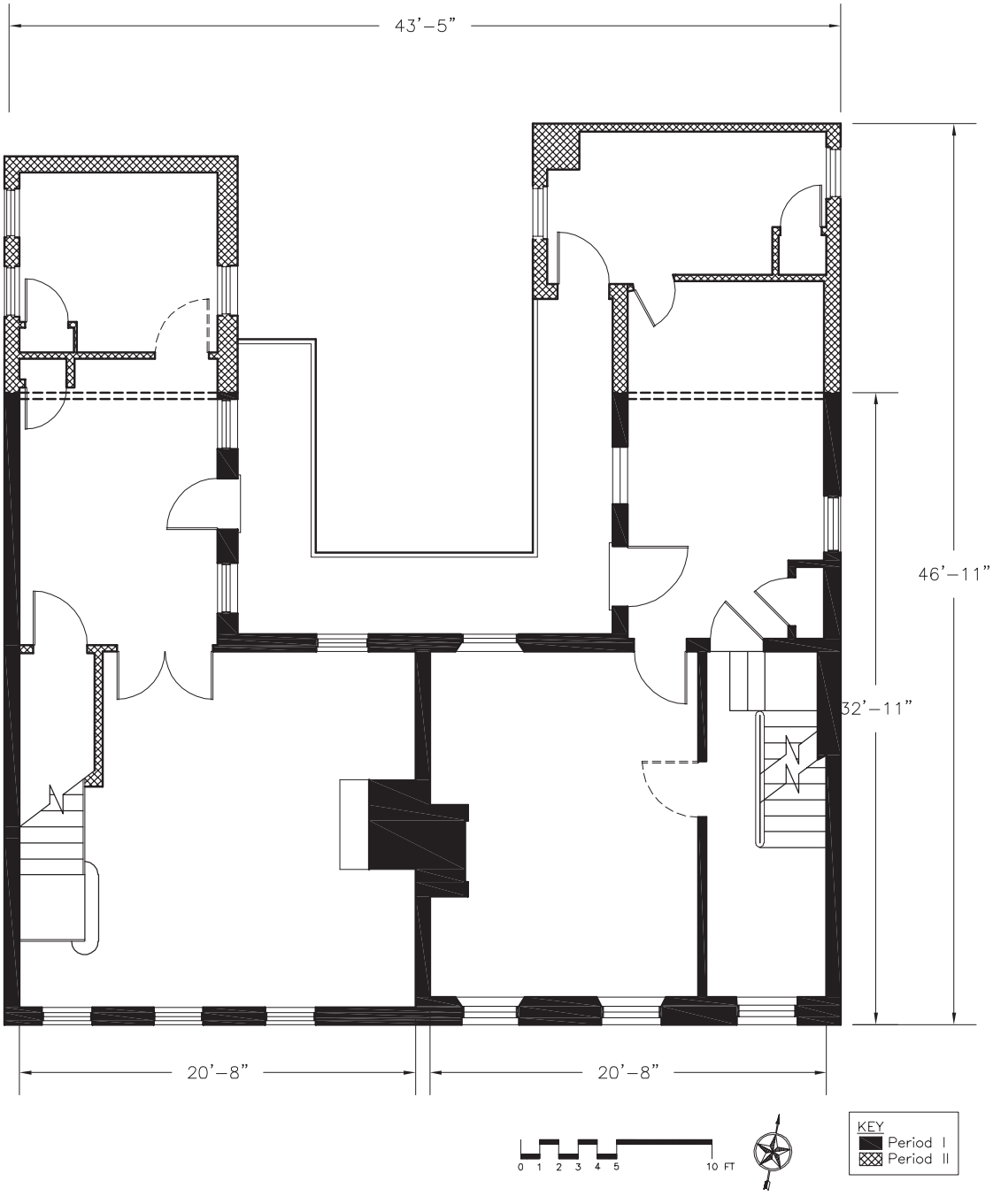


Figure 85. Lydia Hamilton Smith house, Lancaster City, Pa., c. 1870, second floor plan. CAD drawing by Anne Samuel. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The later town house had just one room per floor.

tracks in the northeast and northwest quadrants of the city. Warehouses and industrial complexes lined the tracks, along with small brick dwellings. An 1874 map depicts a tract of land in the northeast quadrant of the city, bounded by North Walnut, North Mary, Ann, and Buchanan streets, as having been subdivided into a grid with much smaller lots than elsewhere in Lancaster. The proximity of the railroad, and a locomotive works adjacent to the tracts, suggests that the developers, Lands and Brenneman, intended the neighborhood for working-class residents. In 1874 only a handful of the lots were built upon, but by 1886 Marion and East Chestnut streets were lined with houses, many of them modest brick dwellings on narrow lots.

Much of the residential development in Lancaster during the post–Civil War decades appears to have been speculative building, undertaken on a large scale. Jacob Griel, for example, owned a large brickyard, and in the early 1870s turned to real estate development. He constructed a row of eighteen two-story red brick row houses along the south side of the 500 block of West Lemon Street. Each of the dwellings is eighteen feet wide and has a familiar floor plan: the entrance door opens into the living room, behind which are a dining room and a kitchen ell. At first most residents of the block were renters, with the result that there was a high degree of residential instability. But by the 1890s Griel had sold most of the dwellings. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the boosterish *Lancaster New Era* described the city as consisting of "long rows of comfortable and substantial buildings which are continually in process of erection and quickly find their way into the possession of men of moderate means."[16]

Save for several blocks in the southwest quadrant, where the steep topography made building very expensive, by the turn of the twentieth century Lancaster had matured as a modern city. The range of industrial activity was extraordinarily varied, telephone and electric wires looped overhead, and evidence of prosperity abounded. Not to be outdone by mammon, numerous church spires punctuated the skyline. Red brick dwellings lined streets that a century earlier had been merely lines on a plat. The area surrounding Penn Square was emerging as a modern downtown retail center. The streetcar lines that converged at the square brought shoppers and workers downtown, which made it the optimal location for department stores and other economic activities predicated upon large numbers of people. Watt & Shand and Hager, two of the local department stores, employed C. Emlen Urban, Lancaster's first professional architect, to provide handsome Beaux Arts facades that welcomed their customers and dignified the public realm. Increasing property values and the demand for habitable space also resulted in the enlarging of several older buildings. The late eighteenth-century house built by Jasper Yates on the first block of South Queen Street was raised to three stories, as was the mid-nineteenth-

century house and office formerly owned by Thaddeus Stevens, across the street. The same modernizing impulse befell the old City Hall, erected in the eighteenth century but updated with the addition of a third story near the end of the nineteenth century.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Lancaster had already taken on its modern appearance. Older parts of the city, especially in Mussertown and adjacent areas to the west and south, still bore evidence of the vernacular building traditions of the city's Germanic artisans and the stylistic preferences of its homebuyers. Even today residents who undertake improvements to older dwellings sometimes uncover half timber construction or other building practices from a different culture and time. But just as industrialism transformed traditional craft practices, so did the emergence of the red brick row house come to define the cityscape throughout most of Lancaster. Indeed, when the Home Owners Loan Corporation prepared a Residential Security Map of the city in 1933, it reported that 86 percent of all buildings were brick, and that almost 80 percent of the residences were row houses or duplexes. Lancaster was "one of the early towns of the nation," the HOLC report concluded, and in the midst of the Great Depression it found that only 35 percent of all buildings were in good condition. The worst neighborhood, unfortunately, was in the southeast quadrant and included the old Pennsylvania German and African American strongholds of Mussertown and Adamstown, as well as adjacent blocks that were built in the eighteenth century. "This area and the adjoining industrial area to the north and west holds practically all the aliens [that is, immigrants who were not naturalized citizens] and negroes of the city," the text accompanying the Residential Security Map reported, and so the neighborhood with the highest concentration of historic dwellings in Lancaster was redlined. The Works Progress Administration survey of real estate undertaken three years later reported that almost a third of Lancaster's buildings were fifty years old, and characterized the southeast as an ethnically and racially diverse area with a concentration of old buildings in desperate need of repair or modernization.[17]

The consequences of age, congestion, and diversity played out in the years after World War II, when Lancaster undertook a federally funded urban redevelopment program. Planners described the southeast quadrant as an old area, characterized by narrow streets and an incredibly high density of building; it was an ethnically and racially diverse neighborhood as well. Each of these attributes made it a ready target for redevelopment, and as bulldozers destroyed block after block of the southeast, the city lost not only hundreds of old dwellings and buildings that were home to a number of economic activities; the city lost an important part of its history and the legacy of the residents who had built Lancaster.

CHAPTER SIX

Commerce and Culture: Pennsylvania German Commercial Vernacular Architecture

Diane Wenger and J. Ritchie Garrison

Pennsylvania Germans have long been celebrated for their productive farms and impressive barns and farmsteads, but not all Pennsylvania Germans were farmers. From their earliest days in America, many German-speaking immigrants were involved in commerce and craft production, and rather than working in barns and fields, these individuals labored in grain mills, iron furnaces and forges, stores, taverns, smithies, and craft shops.[1] German speakers, especially in the early years, conducted their businesses in buildings that revealed ethnically distinct features ordinarily associated with private structures. In some cases they intermingled domestic and commercial zones; in others they dwelled in separate but adjoining spaces in the same structure. As in farming, market considerations overrode ethnicity for Pennsylvania Germans when they did business. The same was frequently true for their consumer habits. While they may have continued to favor certain ethnic traits, many Pennsylvania Germans showed their status and fashion sense by seeking out the same clothing and decorative items as their non-German counterparts. This essay examines selected buildings and other material evidence to recover the textured ways by which Pennsylvania Germans ordered their commercial spaces and maintained a distinctive culture while seeking business relationships with others in the Atlantic World.[2]

Throughout the time period of this book, families organized the spatial rela-

tionships of commerce according to convenience, scale, visibility, hazards, and the need for power. Many families, particularly in congested urban areas such as Lancaster, gave over portions of domestic structures or yards to stores and trade shops. Over time, the preponderance of commercial activities migrated to purpose-built structures that were suited to specialized production strategies, accommodated larger numbers of workers, or had greater visibility on the cultural landscape. Small-scale production, services, or shop keeping continued in dwellings and on farmsteads where convenience and family support often outweighed other factors. As the scale of businesses increased, however, the demands for transportation services, water or steam power, and access to labor generally mandated new and larger building types. In some cases, transportation access determined where owners would place buildings such as markets, inns, hotels, and stores. In others, the workers who used hazardous processes or materials often desired locations that reduced risks from fire or flood or that had sites for water power. At a household level, this might mean that smithies or commercial bakeries occupied a separate building; at well-capitalized sites such as iron plantations or grain mills, water power, raw materials, or fuel directed an owner's selection of building sites, subject of course to the availability of land at an affordable price and an adequate supply of labor.

The land itself was a highly variegated commodity, the value of which changed over time. People located on favored transportation routes fared better than those who occupied hardscrabble hinterlands. Well-appointed iron plantations established in the eighteenth century might languish in the nineteenth century as the ore ran out or the woodlands were stripped to meet the insatiable demand for charcoal. Whereas dwellings might serve the needs of generations of families, almost all commercial structures show signs of modification or adaptive reuse as occupants, business prospects, and technology changed.

Pennsylvania Germans' relationship to the market is evident in the larger commercial and industrial buildings that continue to hold prominent places in the landscape. Grain mills are most notable among these. Few iron furnaces and forges are in existence today, but a number of imposing ironmasters' mansions survive to bear witness to the primacy of the iron industry.[3] Other commercial buildings have not fared as well. Most purpose-built potteries, smithies, joiners' shops, weaving shops, and other sites of craft production have vanished, and modern owners have altered or demolished many old stores and taverns. In some cases, evidence of these lesser commercial structures survives only through old photographs, tavern licenses, travelers' accounts, tax records, wills, probate inventories, tavern books, and store accounts. Combined with surviving buildings, the primary sources help scholars recover this commercial landscape and provide a more nuanced interpretation of the Pennsylvania Germans' local

economy and its relationship to regional and national economies. To visualize these relationships, it is helpful to break the analysis of commercial buildings into categories: market houses, stores, taverns and inns, shops, mills, and iron plantations.

Storekeepers' records are particular useful in this regard. In this essay we draw on the papers from Samuel Rex's general store (1790–1807) in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, as a case study that illustrates Pennsylvania Germans' place in the various economies. Rex's books inform us of craftsmen and farmers buying and selling goods at the store, the relationship between the iron industry and the Schaefferstown community, and the surprising link between Schaefferstown and Philadelphia (some seventy-five miles to the east), where Rex bought and sold goods.[4] Rex was not unique, except for the large quantity of papers that have survived from his business; storekeepers in other parts of eastern Pennsylvania performed similar services for customers, and, like Rex, they traveled to Philadelphia for much of their store inventory. When Susannah Ross Thompson opened a store in Carlisle in 1792, for example, she made what must have been an arduous, five-day trip to Philadelphia to buy her stock, including the scales and weights she needed to set up business.[5]

Many Pennsylvania towns, including Schaefferstown, featured a central square, which was the commercial hub of the settlement. The centerpiece of the square frequently was the public market house. This was an important structure symbolically because it stood for "a community's ability to accumulate a surplus."[6] As traffic and business patterns changed, market houses (some never even used for their intended purpose) fell into disuse or were moved from their central place in the square. By the late nineteenth century, some town leaders placed their markets in large, enclosed buildings that reflected the popular Victorian style rather than Germanic sensibilities.

Schaefferstown resident A. S. Brendle recalled the market house as "a large building, open on all sides, with its roof resting upon pillars. It stood on the northern half of Market, or Center, Square, and showed that the people who built it had great expectations for the future of the town." However, the building seems to have only been used for annual Cherry Fairs, rather than a regular market.[7] In 1798 town residents (led by Samuel Rex) embarked on a drive to repair the market house, and in 1820 there was another fund drive mounted to "rebuild" the market house, but the market house fell "in ruins" before the middle of the nineteenth century.[8]

In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the first market house was also an open air structure, built in 1765 on the town square; it was replaced in 1802, and again in 1837. The fourth market house was a "highly ornamented" brick building, erected in 1878 at a cost of $20,000. It covered one quarter of the square, and had town

council chambers on the upper level and market stalls on the first floor. It remained a public market well into the twentieth century, but was demolished in 1952 when other, more modern, shopping venues rendered the farmers' market obsolete.[9]

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, claims the distinction of having the oldest continuously operating farmers' market in America.[10] The city's first building, "a very convenient Market house with several convenient Stalls therein" and a brick-paved floor, was erected in 1757 "at a great expence."[11] As in many other cities, at the end of the nineteenth century Lancaster's market was moved to a larger, enclosed building that reflected changing architectural tastes. Still in use and largely original, Central Market was designed by a church architect, James H. Warner, and built in 1889. The structure "fills the market square, resting on an imposing base of rusticated red sandstone and framed by robust 72′ twin towers at its front corners. Thirteen sets of double doors open into a dramatic cathedral-like space, the roof carried by a network of timber and iron trusses on just 20 columns, covering a 20,000-square-foot floor. Twenty-two dormer windows pierce the roof, part of a natural ventilation system designed to draw stale air and odors up from the floor."[12]

A circa-1910 photograph of the market house in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, shows an open-sided, rectangular structure supported by pillars, topped with a cupola at one end and furnished with long trestle table; the market stood at the intersection of Ninth and Cumberland streets.[13] In 1892, a three-story brick building with sandstone trim was erected on Eighth Street to house a farmers' market; the upper floors of the building were used as a theater, then a secretarial school, and finally a sewing factory. (The market operated continuously until the 1960s when it was moved to a former grocery store to allow more space for the factory operation.) In 2007 the old building, under new ownership, returned to its original use as a farmers' market, while the upper floors now house an upscale restaurant and art gallery.[14]

Even in towns where market houses were present and put to their intended use, the market only operated on certain days. However, general stores (and some taverns) offered an alternative to a public market, a place where a customer could buy goods and where farmers and crafts people could sell their products without waiting for a designated market day.[15] Moreover, stores were located throughout the countryside as well as in small towns. When the duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt toured the United States in the 1790s, he observed, "There is no point . . . however remote, even in the woods, in which one store, and frequently more, may not be found."[16]

It was the opportunity to work as a clerk in a country store that brought Samuel Rex from Chestnut Hill, then a separate settlement ten miles north of

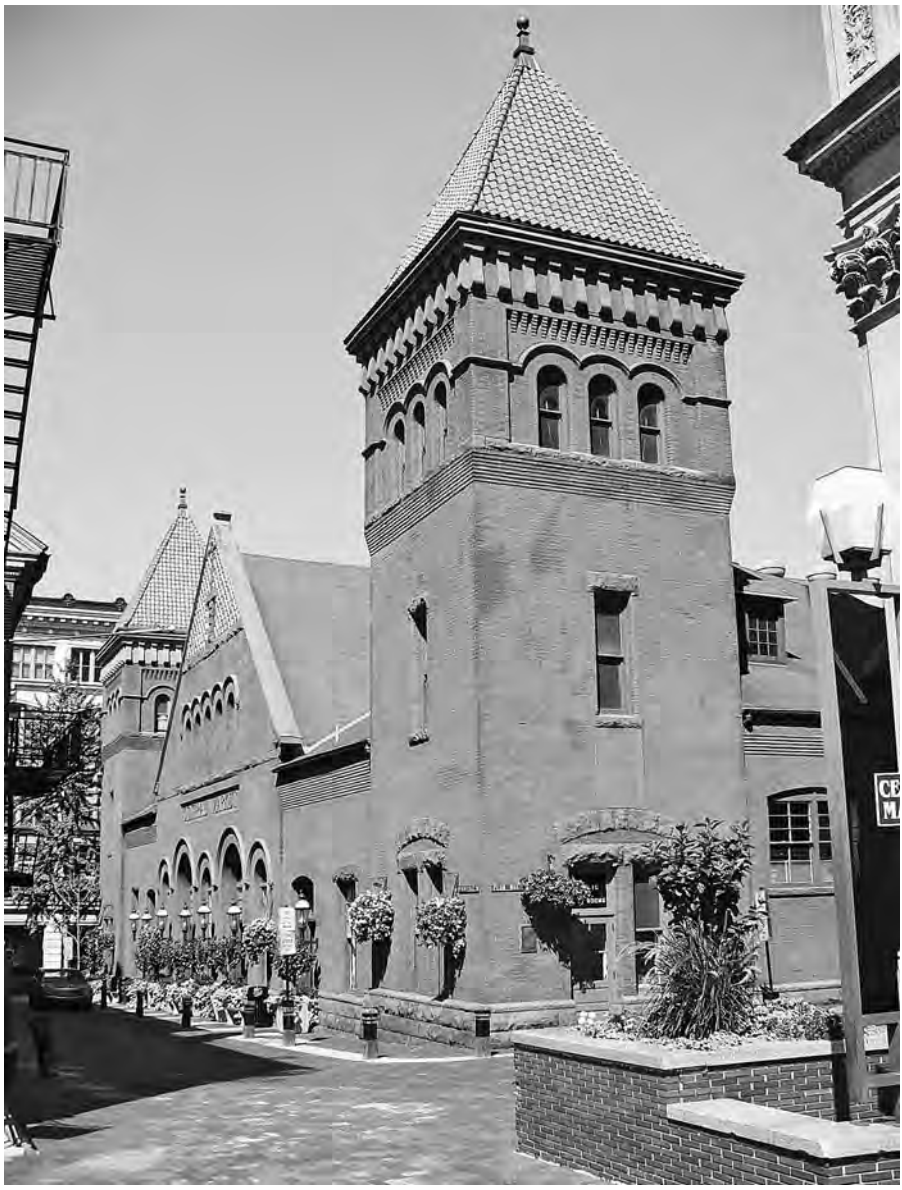


Figure 86. Central Market, Lancaster City, Pa., 1889, south facade. Photograph by Diane Wenger. The dramatic scale and architectural sophistication of the Central Market proclaim its central function in Lancaster City.

Philadelphia, to Schaefferstown, in 1789. When he first arrived in Schaefferstown, Rex lodged at Henry Valentine's tavern (a one-story frame and brick building measuring thirty-six by twenty-two feet) on the town square.[17] One year later, Rex married Valentine's daughter and opened his own store in his father-in-law's tavern. A few years later, Rex relocated his business to another

Figure 87. Market, Lebanon, Pa., 1889, main façade. Photograph by Diane Wenger. Even in smaller cities like Lebanon, careful attention was given to ornament, while a central clock tower served an important civic function.

tavern on the square, the building now known as the Franklin House, where his brother-in-law operated the taproom on one side while Rex operated the store on the other.

The Franklin House, originally known as the King George, had served this dual purpose—tavern and store—from the time that Alexander Schaeffer built it c. 1758. Schaeffer's account book for 1762–73 shows that he sold beer, cider, wine, rum slings and other drinks as well as ABC books, almanacs, fabric, glass, sperm oil, sugar, and hats. Transactions at the hotel were frequently done on a credit basis; when it was time to settle accounts, customers paid Schaeffer in cash, with farm goods such as hides, or with labor, such as hauling manure. Schaeffer's designation of one customer as *Der al Eirisch von der Forness wo den Winter in die Schtubb gesagt* (the old Irisher from the furnace who urinated in the stove room in the winter) is revealing in several ways. Schaeffer referred to one room in his hotel by the same name it would have been given in a private home—*Schtubb* or stove room—while it also reveals the rowdy nature of his establishment. Still other charges suggest that the tavern was hardly a genteel place; Schaeffer's customers also ran up debts for gambling, breaking glasses, and for expenses incurred at local shooting matches.[18]

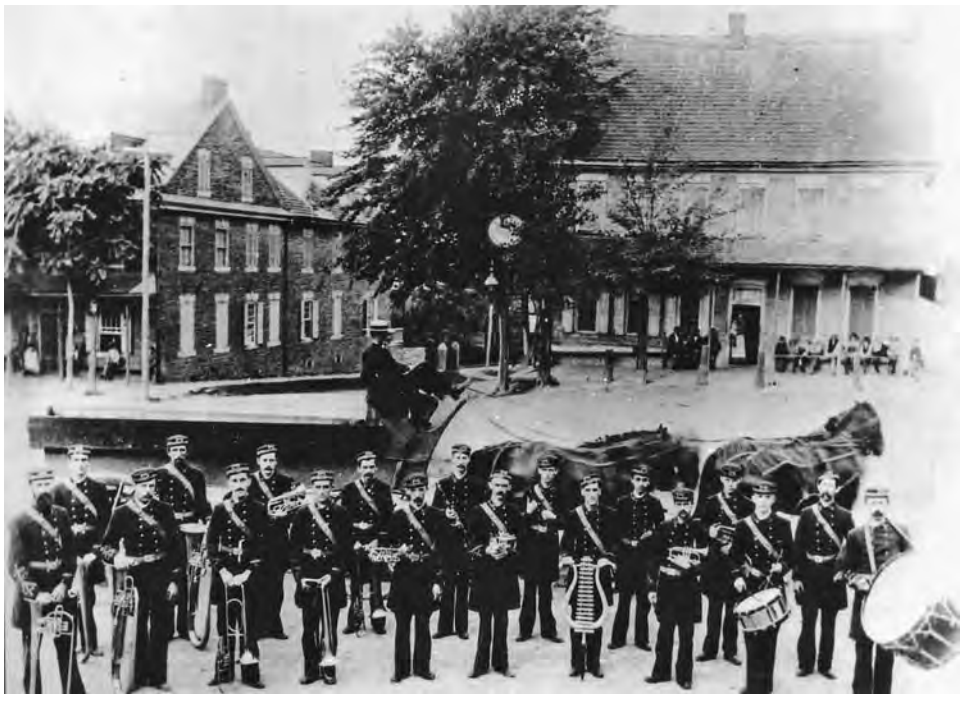


Figure 88. Franklin House, the former King George Hotel, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., built c. 1758. Photograph by unknown photographer, c. 1880, view from town square. By permission of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. Franklin House is the building on the right. Fronting on the town square, the tavern communicated architecturally with the public and with other commercial buildings.

By 1798, when Samuel Rex and his brother-in-law, Michael Valentine, took over the Franklin House, it was assessed at $1200, making it the most highly valued property in the village.[19] The building offered commercial space on the first floor and ample living space for the men and their wives on the second, although they may have shared the area with overnight guests. By 1807, when Rex sold the store business to a younger brother, he and his wife had moved into the tavern on the northeast corner of the square (now known as the Gemberling-Rex House) and converted it to their home, where they lived the rest of their lives. This pattern of using domestic landscapes for commercial purposes was common in many rural areas.

Rex's experience suggests that stores did not have to occupy a building specifically built for that purpose. He rented space in a tavern rather than keeping store in a separate building, but, significantly, his store operated independently and was not a mere sideline of the tavern. The store-tavern combination was not an anomaly, though separating the management of the two enterprises may

Figure 89. Franklin House, the former King George Hotel, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1758. Photograph by Diane Wenger.

not have been the usual practice. In Carlisle, The Sign of Dickinson College Tavern at 1 East High Street operated as a tavern and store from c. 1772 to 1816. The tavernkeeper at The Sign of the Lamb, George Cart, advertised in 1802 that he had moved to an "old and noted tavern on South Hanover Street [Carlisle] where he would also sell an assortment of dry goods and groceries." Likewise, a c. 1885 photograph of the hamlet of Wintersville, in Berks County, shows a large clapboarded building housing both a hotel and store.[20] Whether operated by one person or in partnership, these dual-purpose businesses had the potential to increase trade by offering customers a central place for shopping and socializing. Unlike later gable-front buildings often associated with stores, a store located inside a tavern did not advertise its function through architectural form. Early travelers had to depend on visual cues or query locals for the location of stores, but local customers knew about shops and stores by reputation.

Population growth and commercial competition seem to have prompted some businesses to locate in buildings specifically constructed as stores. About 1815 Samuel Rex's brother, Abraham, built a large (forty-four feet by thirty-eight feet) two-and-a-half-story limestone store building on the southwest corner of the square, across Main Street from the Franklin House. This structure had a full Georgian plan, with a nine-foot-wide center hallway and elegant, forward-facing stairway; later owners have removed partitions on the first floor to accommodate a modern sales space, but upstairs the hallway and room config-

Figure 90. Abraham Rex store, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., built c. 1815. Photograph by unknown photographer, c. 1900, front view. By permission of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc.

uration remains largely intact. A late nineteenth-century photograph of the building shows three doorways that may be original.[21] The building was a general store until the 1970s; it continues to function as a commercial space, with an antique shop on the first floor and living quarters for the proprietor above.

Abraham Rex's store illustrates that, regardless of the ethnic origins of their owners, many nineteenth-century stores followed conventions common to stores in the northeast. George Miller's store, erected in 1847 on the southeast inner corner of the Schaefferstown square, is another good example. With large double doors flanked by twelve-over-eight windows, the building's architecture clearly communicates its commercial purpose. A second door on the facade opens into a passage on the north side of the building and leads to a stairway to the second floor, presumably used for storage; two doors from the passage lead into the store space. Until recently, the store space on the first floor was largely intact. Open shelves lined the walls on the north, east, and south sides of the room; openings for small drawers remained on the north wall below counter level. Some portions of the original wooden sales counter were still in place, and ghosts on the floor showed that, in its earliest form, the counter ran

Figure 91. Abraham Rex store, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1815, front view. Photograph by Diane Wenger. An eighteenth-century commercial storefront gave few if any architectural signals about its purpose.

around three sides of the room in a U shape. Such counters served as work and display surfaces where storekeepers could cut fabric, bundle orders, and tempt buyers, but they also functioned as barriers, separating customers from casual handling of merchandise. Later operated by J. S. Lauser, the building served as a grocery store until the 1950s and today is an apartment building.

General stores served multiple purposes; besides offering goods, stores were places to hear the latest news and meet friends; some were also post offices.[22] Storekeepers extended cash loans and sold goods on credit, and in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they served as de facto banks, before local banks were common. Customers who needed to pay a debt to a third party could do so by giving that party store goods or credit charged on their own store account. Even ironmasters, who were the industrialists of their era, were chronically short of cash and looked to storekeepers for credit and, sometimes, for cash loans.

Because of their frequent trips to cities to buy and sell goods, storekeepers were economic and cultural brokers who brought the latest imported goods and fashions, current information, and new ideas to the countryside.[23] In the Pennsylvania German regions, they were also translators who converted the local dialect of German-speaking residents into the commercial and legal lan-

Figure 92. Miller-Lauser general store, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1847, photograph by unknown photographer, c. 1880, view from town square. By permission of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. By the mid-nineteenth century, several architectural features announced a storefront: large ground floor windows for display, and large double doors leading to the central store floor.

guage of government officials, Philadelphia importers, and British merchants. Being bilingual was an obvious asset for someone who wished to keep store in a German-speaking town and also do business with non-German-speakers. An advertisement in the August 1798 issue of the *Lancaster Journal* describes the necessary qualifications for a store clerk in this region: "Wanted. A Young Man who can speak the English and German languages, of good character and recommendations, to attend a store in Lancaster Borough."[24]

Rex clearly had an advantage in being able to speak German in Schaefferstown, but when he did business outside of Schaefferstown, he did not limit himself to German speakers. Scholars have theorized that Pennsylvania Germans preferred doing business with others of the same ethnicity, but when Rex bought and sold goods in Philadelphia, he dealt with Quakers, Frenchmen, Anglo-Americans, and Germans, seeking those who would give him the best deal on the goods he needed rather than limiting himself only to German businessmen.

General stores also provided a market for such farm products as butter,

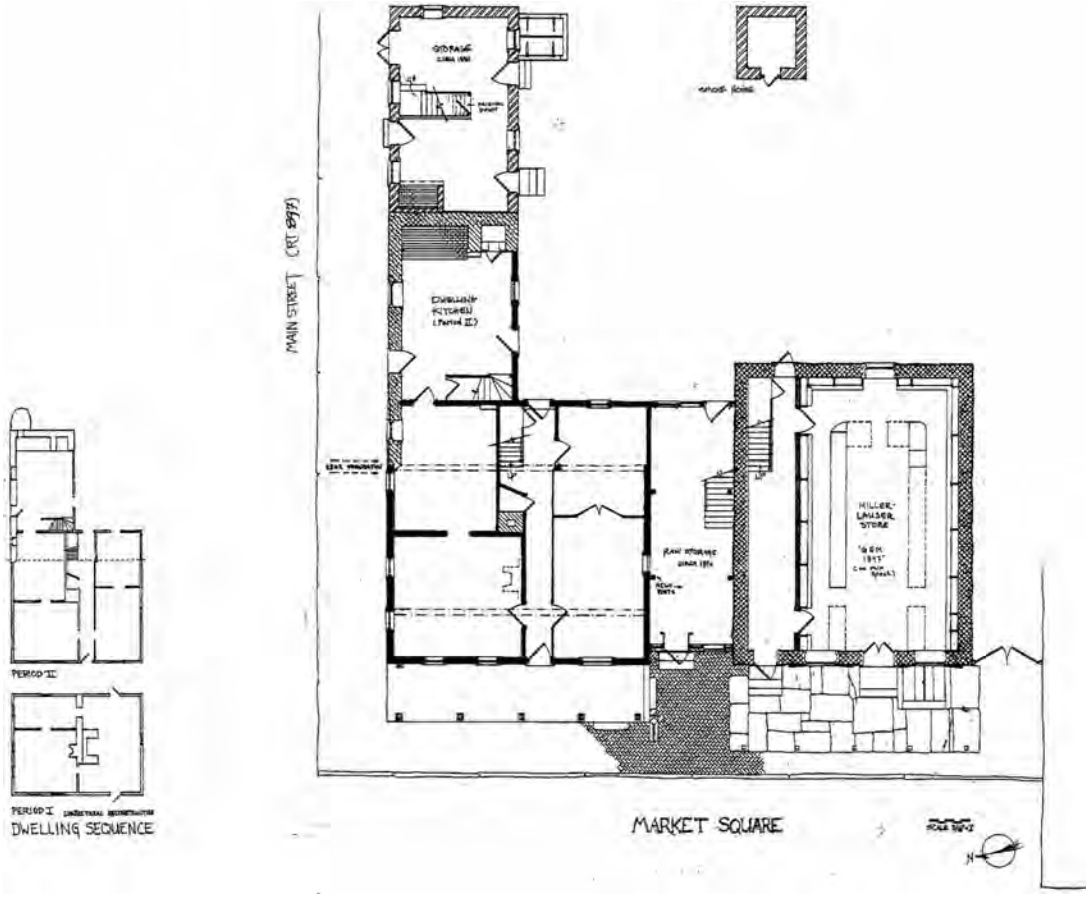


Figure 93. Miller-Lauser store, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., 1847, ground floor plan showing associated dwelling. Measured and drawn by Charles Bergengren. By permission. The floor plan also shows a purpose-built commercial space, with counters and display areas lining the long walls in a large, single display room.

whiskey, pork, lard, and tallow, and for locally crafted items including shoes, coverlets, mitts, barrels, pottery, and hats. Rex sold some items from the store, kept others for his own use, and exchanged yet others in Philadelphia, where he bought most of his store merchandise. Since rural storekeepers made the long trip to Philadelphia (or sent hired teamsters there) only a few times a year, Rex and other proprietors needed a cool, frost-free storage space in their buildings to accommodate the produce they took in exchange for credit. Architectural features such as the large arched cellar under the Franklin House, where Schaeffer and Rex had stores, were essential for storing produce until their next trip to the city.[25]

Men seem to have been the primary shoppers for their families in early

America, but women also visited general stores. Between 10 and 12 percent of the customers listed in Rex's daybooks and ledgers are females, a figure that is comparable to (or even a bit higher than) numbers for rural stores in other parts of the country at the time.[26] It is unclear whether this low figure accurately represents women's presence in the Rex store, or if it merely reflects the storekeeper's practice of charging wives' and daughters' purchases in their husbands' and fathers' names. Still, whether they were physically present or merely sending a store list with their husbands, women were consuming and driving the purchase of much of the textiles, housewares, ceramics, and food supplies that Rex sold.

Women also produced goods for sale to the store. They knitted mittens and sewed shirts; they raised hogs and sold pork; some women even worked for Rex breaking flax in exchange for store credit. Most significantly, Schaefferstown area women churned butter, the sale of which fueled the economy at all levels, from providing more spending power to individual households to placing butter on the international market. On his semi-annual trips to Philadelphia, Rex carried from 150 pounds to over 5,000 pounds of butter to sell in the city. Dairying was an important way for families to earn extra income with butter and cheese sales, and to buy some items for the home that they could not make for themselves.[27] Ironically, although women made the butter, the men of the family usually carried it to the store and received the store credit in their names, since Rex listed accounts by heads of household.

Women also owned and worked in general stores; Rex's wife, Mary, occasionally helped behind the store counter, and it seems that some women welcomed this feminine touch. In August 1798, Rudolph Kelker, a supervisor at Cornwall Furnace, wrote to Rex to order fabric and notions for Ann Long, whose husband was a furnace manager. After explaining the order, Kelker added that Mrs. Long "wishes *Mrs.* [emphasis mine] Rex to pick the thread suitable to the fine muslin."[28] Though Samuel Rex was probably as knowledgeable as any other country storekeeper, some females preferred the judgment of another woman.

Rex bought merchandise in Philadelphia, where there was a larger selection of wholesale goods and a strong market for the butter and other country produce that he took in from his rural customers. He also bought a few products from shops in Lancaster, twenty miles to the south. Printers Albright and Lahn supplied Rex with almanacs each year, and tobacconist Christopher Demuth sold snuff to him; these firms sent the goods out to Rex by wagon, without Rex having to visit Lancaster. As early as the mid-eighteenth century, Lancaster boasted general merchandise establishments, dry goods stores, apothecaries, china shops, wine stores, and hardware businesses, many of which did business

on wholesale terms as well as retail. By the end of the eighteenth century, Lancaster had a population of 3,772, making it the largest inland settlement in America. Visitors regarded it as "a little city" and often compared it to Philadelphia.[29] Its business community was so well-established that, during the recurrent Yellow Fever scares of the 1790s, some Philadelphia merchants moved their stores to Lancaster.[30]

Merchants clearly understood that ethnic variations generated niche markets. Storekeepers Benjamin Nathan and Joseph Simon advertised in 1763 that they sold goods "suitable throughout for the Germans."[31] Rex, too, stocked certain German items—German language books, especially almanacs, and the occasional bolt of German-made cloth; but other than these, he did not stock goods that were particularly targeted to Germans. For the most part, his German customers selected from the same goods as non-Germans, and some of their selections—tea and teaware, silver watches, velvet and vest pattern—suggest acculturated notions of mainstream gentility that co-existed with ethnic culture. Yet while they were buying objects that showed their sense of current fashion, Pennsylvania Germans—even those who were fluent in English and closely connected to the city market such as Rex—continued to display their ethnicity in a number of more subtle ways: by their fondness for cast iron stoves; by the way they slept (*under* heavy bags stuffed with goose feathers, rather than blankets); by their traditional foodways; and by their painted furniture (decorated dower chests, dressers, desks, even tall clocks). And, when they read their prayers, sang hymns in church, consulted an almanac, and taught their children the ABCs, they almost always did so in German.[32] As in their buildings, Pennsylvania Germans selectively preserved behaviors they found comfortable and adopted new fashions that engaged the far-flung reach of the American political economy.

Like stores, taverns and inns were essential commercial buildings in small towns, urban centers, and the surrounding countryside.[33] Most proprietors situated them in village centers or along major transportation routes—areas calculated to generate business traffic. There, locals and strangers alike might view the latest broadside, wait for the next stagecoach, or exchange news over a bowl of punch, a glass of wine, or a tumbler of cider. These establishments did not require a specialized building. Many operated out of ordinary dwellings.[34] In 1765, there were fifty-three licensed tavernkeepers in Lancaster borough for about 2,840 people.[35] By contrast, Schaefferstown, with a population approaching 500, had at least five taverns by the 1790s.[36] While there were at least sixty-one taverns in the sixty-six-mile-long turnpike connecting Lancaster and Philadelphia in 1792, taverns were common even along less heavily traveled roads.[37] In 1825, there were fifteen taverns between Carlisle and Shippensburg, a nine-

teen- to twenty-mile stretch.[38] Overnight accommodations were basic, especially in early years:

> The Traveler on his arrival is shown into a room which is common to every person in the house, and which is generally the one set apart for breakfast, dinner and supper. All the strangers that happen to be in the house sit down to these meals promiscuously, and the family of the house also forms a part of the company. It is seldom that a single bed room can be procured, but it is not always that even this is to be had, and those who travel through the country must often submit to be crammed into rooms where there is scarcely sufficient space to walk between the beds.[39]

Such descriptions were appropriate to most rural areas in the Northeast until Americans' fascination with hotels reshaped public expectations and buildings in the 1820s.

Philip Erpff's tavern on South Market Street, Schaefferstown, is a good case study of these types of establishments. Dating from c. 1758, the two-story limestone German-Georgian was still one of the most highly valued properties in the town in 1798. The building sported a central hall with two rooms on each side and a kitchen ell behind (the present kitchen is a pre-1798 replacement for an earlier kitchen wing). In 1759, Erpff rented a portion of the building to storekeeper Benjamin Nathan, but Erpff himself later operated a tavern (where he also sold some store goods) in the building.[40] This use explains an arrangement of rooms on the first floor that served to separate commercial and family spaces from each other. An interesting feature of the Erpff tavern is the early use of a stove to heat the south side of the building. The Erpffs heated the north side of the structure with two corner fireplaces. The south side of the house had a stove, a feature much more common in Germanic than English households and a material acknowledgment of local expectations among an ethnic clientele. A large fireplace in the kitchen ell would have facilitated meal preparation for the family and tavern customers. The building continued to serve a combination of purposes after Erpff retired from business; in 1801, he leased a portion of his house to Dr. Jacob Grubb, who likely used the south front room ("the shop") for his physician's office while sharing the second floor living space with Erpff.[41] After Erpff's death in 1801, the property became a private home. This flexible reuse of domestic architecture was a common characteristic of the culture in which the lines between public and private blurred when owners sought new ways to make a living.

The Gemberling-Rex House, also in Schaefferstown, was a tavern from 1758 to 1800. Built sometime around 1750 of *Fachwerk* (half-timbering), the building

Figure 94. Philip Erpff tavern, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1758, west elevation. Photograph by Diane Wenger. Like stores of the period, eighteenth-century taverns were often run out of houses.

has an elaborately carved corner post with the builder's initials ("P.G.") and a date of 17—— (the last two digits were obscured by a later remodeling). It is not known if the building ever had a name or a tavern sign, but even without a sign, it would have caught the traveler's eye, because early on, workers plastered, scored, and painted the exterior to resemble bricks laid in a diaper-work pattern, most likely because the owners wanted to make the building larger and more fashionable, to compete with the other taverns in town. In the first renovation (between about 1750 and 1790), builders raised the exterior walls one story with the addition of three log courses, scored and painted with the pseudo-brick treatment. Subsequently (about 1795), owners enlarged the building by removing the entire rear wall and adding a stone lean-to addition.

Interior renovations were similarly radical. The building was probably a typical *Flürkuchenhaus* plan but evolved into a *durchgangigen Haus* plan better suited to a commercial building.[42] As remodeled, it featured an office and kitchen on the north side and two other, more formal, parlors on the south. Fielded paneling over the corner fireplaces and elaborate dentil work date from this renovation. Such features are unusually elegant in a small-town tavern, and were most likely a unique interpretation of a rococo interior by a local carpenter.[43]

Figure 95. Gemberling-Rex house, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1750, west elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry.

Security was a prime consideration, even in rural communities. A portion of the late eighteenth-century bar cage survives in the rear parlor; the interior stairway to the cellar is inside the bar cage. Once locked, the bar provided secure storage for the liquor inside the bar space and for the larger quantities of spirits stored in barrels and kegs in the cellar. Even in such formal surroundings, tavern customers could become unruly. Anthony Seyfert, who kept the tavern in 1799, recorded charges in his daybook for shattered windowpanes and tumblers and even a broken rocking chair.[44] Seyfert served a variety of drinks; some, such as Lisbon and Madeira wine and brandy, were imported from Europe by way of Philadelphia, and he obtained these at the general store in Schaefferstown. But he also served cider and peach whiskey made by local farmers, and he sold beer, which he may have obtained from local brewer Jacob Phillipi, who operated a brew house in a thirty-six-by-twenty-foot one-story limestone building in Schaefferstown.

Though not limited to commercial buildings, a Georgian or *durchgangigen Haus* layout with a central (or slightly off-center) hall seems to have been a common model for stores and taverns in Germanic areas, since the hallway neatly separated the different functions of the building. This plan is evident in the Franklin House and Erpff taverns, and it was the result of the pre-1798

remodeling of the Gemberling-Rex House, although one wall of the hallway was later removed. Such plans were also used in more urban places. Slaymaker's Spread Eagle Tavern and The Sign of the Cat in Lancaster had a center door plan. Some other early Lancaster taverns, including The Sign of the Plow, Conestoga Inn, and The Sign of the Grape, had two front doors, as did the Franklin House in Schaefferstown after its 1883 remodeling. Some even had three doors, allowing separate entry, perhaps, into the taproom and dining areas or the innkeeper's quarters.[45]

It is not clear to what extent local women participated in tavern life. Most tavernkeepers were male, but as with storekeeping, women sometimes worked in taverns, and traveling women lodged in them. Anthony Seyfert recorded payments in his tavern book to Betsy Bryan, a hired girl. Betsy was not a daughter of one of the local Pennsylvania German families; she was Irish and came from one of the families who lived at a nearby iron furnace. On the other hand, Seyfert's book also shows a charge to cooper Peter Lydig for "2 pints of wine to treat the girls," so it is clear that sometimes women frequented the inn, though there is no way to tell if the "girls" were Pennsylvania Germans. In January 1800, Seyfert charged Alexander and John Stephanson 1s. 3d. and 3s. 9d., respectively, for wine drunk at their sister's wedding, although it is not known if the post-wedding celebration took place in the tavern, or if Seyfert merely supplied the beverages.[46] In Lancaster, a few early nineteenth-century tavernkeepers were women. Most of these were widows, including Rosina Hubley (The White Swan and, later, the Fish Market Hotel), Susannah Reigert (The Fountain Inn), and Mary Ann Knight (of Widow Knight's Tavern), all of whom took over after their innkeeping husbands died.[47]

Transportation improvements speeded economic exchange, but they also reshaped the commercial landscapes of Pennsylvania Germans unevenly over time. The pounded stone Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike, completed in 1792, was the first of its kind in the nation, and helped places such as Lancaster expand.[48] After 1828, inland storekeepers could ship their goods to Philadelphia on the Union Canal.[49] But transportation improvements also marginalized many villages that were not on the new routes. When railroads replaced the canal, many rural communities, including Schaefferstown, were left relatively isolated and ceased growing. In these communities, residents sometimes built new structures, but many remodeled older buildings in the popular architectural fashions then current. The owner of the Franklin House raised the building in 1883, with a mansard roof configuration. The third floor contained additional bedrooms for overnight guests and a large hall used for group meetings and town band rehearsals. By the mid-twentieth century, the automobile, changing road patterns, stricter fire codes, and the rise of modern motels

reduced the emphasis at many old hotels like the Franklin House to the bar trade and dining, continuing a process of adaptive commercial change that was visible 150 years earlier.

Besides relying on city merchants for store goods, Rex also did business with local craftsmen, whose saddles, textiles, shoes, hats, barrels, and other products were essential to rural life.[50] Rex bought goods from many of these craftsmen for his store inventory, and he also sold them tools and materials for their work. The 1798 direct tax assessor working in Heidelberg Township, Dauphin County (which included Schaefferstown, two other small towns and surrounding countryside) noted shops operated by a potter, a hatter, seven smiths, two coopers, two joiners, one turner, two wagoners, and six weavers. Most of these were small one-story buildings made of log, but two of the smithies were stone, and the hatter had his shop in an eleven-by-fifteen-foot *fachwerk* building on the Gemberling-Rex tavern grounds. The only shop that was not freestanding was Adam Moore's cooper shop, located in part of his thirty-five-by-eighteen-foot log house. Moore may have shared the shop with two relatives who were also coopers. (All three Moores sold barrels to Rex.) The absence of some known shops from the direct tax inventory indicates that some craftsmen who sold goods to Rex, including a saddler and several tailors and shoemakers, had shops in their homes rather than in separate taxable structures. Just as tavern keepers might apportion rooms in their dwelling for the public, these tradespeople plied their craft in their home or rented rooms from others who were favorably situated.

The direct tax for several communities in southeastern Pennsylvania indicates that craft processes affected the shape of a tradesman's shop. Blacksmiths seem to have worked in shops that were more nearly square, while joiners often seem to have preferred shops that were relatively long and narrow. Of the smithies listed in Warwick Township, shop sizes ranged from twelve by fifteen feet to twenty-five by thirty feet. Eight of these buildings were made of logs, four of stone, and seven were made of unspecified materials. Heidelberg Township shows a similar pattern; there, smithies ranged from twelve by thirteen feet to twenty by twenty feet. Craft practices, materials, and tools helped determine building patterns. Blacksmiths moved in a rough circular motion from forge to anvil to cooling tub; they needed dim light to be able to see the colors of the iron they were working on in order to judge temperatures. Conversely, joiners often planed long boards set on their benches and wanted adequate light to be able to cut accurately to scribed lines. The tax assessor for Warwick listed carpenters' shops that were thirteen by twenty, eighteen by twenty-eight, sixteen by twenty-four, and eighteen by twenty-four feet. Heidelberg Township's two joiners worked in shops that were eighteen by twelve and twenty-seven by eighteen.[51]

Although many Pennsylvania Germans could operate craft operations out

of their houses rather than from separate shops, there is evidence that some types of artisans congregated in certain communities. Of the twenty-nine shops the direct tax surveyor listed in Conestoga (southwest of the city), twenty were blacksmith shops. By comparison, the townships of Hempfield and Heidelberg each had seven, a fairly typical number in most Pennsylvania German communities. Presumably, the Conestoga smiths were connected to the trade in wagonmaking for which the town was famous. Warwick Township (north of Lancaster city) had a total of sixty-seven shops in 1798, including joiners, blacksmiths, weavers, wheelwrights, a wagon maker, and a leather shop. When the surveyor bothered to record materials, he usually noted that these shops were made of logs. The number and variety of these shops suggests that individual craftsmen could operate independently or as subcontractors clustered around the assembly of wagons. The community's "hooper and weaver" apparently made the hoops and canvas used atop freight wagons.

As one might expect, the thriving city of Lancaster abounded in craft shops. Many were involved in utilitarian production, but some worked in expensive materials such as silver, copper and pewter, and produced high style objects such as high boys and tall clocks that reflected their urban setting and a different clientele from those who patronized rural artisans. In March 1789, Edward Hand, Burgess of Lancaster Borough, wrote a letter urging the U.S. Congress to choose Lancaster as the permanent location for the Capitol. Among the advantages that Hand named were the many manufacturers working in the borough: fourteen hatters, sixteen shoemakers, four tanners, seventeen saddlers, twenty-five tailors, twenty-two butchers, twenty-five weavers, three stocking weavers, twenty-six black- and whitesmiths, six wheelwrights, twenty-one bricklayers and masons, twelve bakers, thirty carpenters, eleven coopers, six plasterers, six clock- and watchmakers, six tobacconists, four dyers, seven gunsmiths, six rope makers, four "tin men," two brass founders, three skin dressers, one brush maker, seven turners, seven nailers, six silversmiths, three potters, and three coppersmiths. He further cited three breweries, three brickyards, three printing presses, and forty houses of public entertainment.[52] Though Lancaster was a more diverse place than small villages like Schaefferstown, many of these craftsmen were Pennsylvania Germans. Thomas Winpenny's research shows that Germans predominated in craft production in Lancaster, where Germans worked as shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, cabinetmakers, turner, potters, and blacksmiths, while Irish were masons, carpenters, shoemakers and tailors, and English were tailors and shoemakers. It is possible that language, ethnicity, and church affiliations gave German workers an edge in the mostly-German community.[53]

Very few eighteenth-century craft shops survive in southeastern Pennsylva-

nia. An exception is the rubble stone ancillary structure at the Jacob Keim house (c. 1753) in Pike Township, in the Oley Valley (shown in Chapter 3) that included a springhouse and working fireplace in the basement level, and a turner's shop above. Set close to the dwelling, the building shares some characteristics associated with Pennsylvania German bank barns, including a working basement and a vertical link between the floors. The Keims configured the entire building and the adjacent yards as a place for men and women to work efficiently. Remnants of the stanchions for the original pole lathe survive on the ceiling of the shop, along with racks for chair parts. The lathe was located in front of a window to provide light, and the floor contains a depression where the foot treadle for the lathe abraded it. To the left of the lathe was a large iron door that opened into the flue of the fireplace, so workers could open the door and sweep shavings into the fireplace below. To the right of the lathe there was space for a workbench, well lighted by windows. A working fireplace with attached jamb stove in an adjacent room heated the turning shop; this room may have provided accommodations for journeymen or apprentices.[54]

Nineteenth-century commercial buildings survive in greater numbers. One well-preserved example is the two-story, wood-frame, gable-front bakery on Main Street in Schaefferstown, built c. 1890 by Samuel Wittle, a baker. A very large arched, wood-fired, brick bake oven with an iron door takes up the north wall of the building; the firebox and dampers are still in place. A wooden roof, continguous with the main building roof, protects the top of the oven, and a hinged door high in the east wall provides access to the top of the oven for maintenance. The bakery is divided into two rooms; the larger rear room is the original bakery, while the smaller front room is a c. 1908 addition, probably added by William W. Smith, known locally as "Baker Smith," who bought the property in 1908. This space may have afforded him a modest salesroom away from his house, while separating customers from his oven. About 1930, Smith advertised his services as follows:

> William W. Smith
> *Baker*
>
> Bread and Pastries Baked Daily
> Main Street, Schaefferstown
> Bell Phone
> FUNERALS AND PARTIES SUPPLIED ON SHORT NOTICE[55]

Figure 96. Smith bakery, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., c. 1890, south elevation. Photograph by Diane Wenger. By the late nineteenth century, specialized commercial buildings, like this bakery, had begun to appear. Its gable-front orientation, ample lighting, and street-side placement communicated its purpose architecturally.

Many artifacts have remained with the building over the years, including a large rolling rack with doors and shelves, baking pans, and a corner table with a hinged wooden arm, used to knead the dough. Continuing the practice of isolating heat, customers, and commercially scaled food processes from the household, the bakery operated at least through the 1930s, well within memory of older area residents.

A few doors east of the bakery stands a small one-story, wood-frame building with a double window. This was the Beamesderfer tinsmith shop. The architecture signaled its commercial purpose. The large expanse of glass displayed merchandise to passersby and provided better light for workers inside. John Beamesderfer began the stove and tinsmith business in 1875, and sold it to his brother Solomon in 1897. Subsequent owners adapted the building to other purposes, but recently it has been put into commercial use again, and the fenestration gives away its early commercial function.[56]

Like craft shops, most early factories have largely disappeared or been altered beyond recognition. One of the remarkable survivals is the 1770 Demuth Tobacco Shop, 114–120 East King Street, Lancaster, and its associated snuff fac-

Figure 97. Beamesderfer tin shop, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pa., late nineteenth century, south elevation. Photograph by Diane Wenger. This is a rare survival of a type once ubiquitous in small towns. Its small scale, double doors, on-street location, and fenestration communicate a dual commercial and workshop purpose.

tory. (The present appearance of the tobacco shop façade is an early twentieth-century interpretation of the original.) Tobacconist Christopher Demuth supplied customers in a widely dispersed area, including Samuel Rex, some twenty miles away, suggesting that Demuth's was the only snuff factory in a large area.

In the early nineteenth century, tobacco was little cultivated in southeastern Pennsylvania; Rex bought snuff from Demuth, but he obtained most of the tobacco he sold in Philadelphia. Demuth also obtained his supply of tobacco from Philadelphia; Lancaster area resident Miles Fry attests that his ancestor hauled tobacco from the seaport by Conestoga wagon in 1770, soon after Demuth opened for business.[57] Production of quality tobacco began in south-central Pennsylvania after 1837, when farmers introduced a type of Cuban seed. This crop was so successful that by the early twentieth century Lancaster County was producing 90 percent of the cigar-leaf tobacco in the state. By 1930, most Lancaster County tobacco was being sold to five major cigar manufacturers, who built large warehouses in the city and the surrounding countryside.[58] The availability of local tobacco (and the general popularity of cigars) also gave rise to a local cigar industry in many rural towns, including Schaefferstown and Womelsdorf, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Schaeffers-

Figure 98. Demuth tobacco shop, Lancaster City, Pa., 1770, storefront elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. This urban storefront represents greater architectural sophistication than would be seen in the hinterlands; its up-to-date finish and large display space communicated status and function.

Figure 99. Demuth snuff factory, Lancaster, Pa., 1798–1859, rear. Photograph by Diane Wenger.

town, two commercial buildings—a mid-nineteenth-century, two-story limestone store building at West Main Street and Lancaster Avenue, and the old Philipi brewery, an eighteenth-century building on South Church Street—became cigar factories.[59] (The South Church Street building later became a garment factory, a use that continues to the present.) Both men and women

worked in the factories, stripping the large center rib from tobacco leaves and rolling cigars, but some local residents also worked in their homes stripping tobacco, in an arrangement reminiscent of the earlier "putting out" system.[60]

The emergence of factories reflected the greater scale of economic activity as the population of the region grew and new transportation networks yoked people in the area more tightly to the national economy. Yet the architecture of craft shops also speaks to the growing complexity of the cultural landscape. Trade shops did not disappear when factories and railroads arrived. Some persisted because the scale of their business or local clientele suited small shops and face-to-face exchanges. Others grew into special purpose-built structures that met the needs of local markets and producers.

Like stores, taverns, and craft shops, grain mills were crucial to southeastern Pennsylvania's economy; farmers relied on millers to grind their wheat, corn, and other grains into flour and meal for their families' use and for distant markets. Eighteenth-century mills were either custom or merchant types. At the smaller custom mills, farmers took their grain to be ground for family use, and the miller retained a portion of the flour for his share or "custom." At the larger, multistory, merchant mills, such as the Knabb mill in the Oley Valley, millers purchased grain outright from farmers, ground it, and then sold flour and meal on the market.[61] Although he was working in an area that was celebrated for its rich farmland and wheat production, Rex seldom dealt in grains or flour. Farmers used Rex as a market for whiskey, butter, pork, and lard, all of which he resold to the ironmasters or in Philadelphia, and for flaxseed, which he sold to the local oil miller, but farmers with wheat and corn bypassed his store.[62] Farmers found it more advantageous to sell grain directly to the miller than to the storekeeper, and local people who did not grow their own grain purchased flour at a mill, not from Rex.

Good mill sites were prized and comparatively hard to find. Mills depended on an adequate supply of water to turn their wheels and a big enough fall of water over a short distance to provide sufficient power. It was common to have a series of mills operating along one stream; this was the case at Millbach and on the Lititz Run, outside of Lititz, where no fewer than seven mills still stand. Early on, mills used one or two water wheels to power their grinding stones. By the late nineteenth century, turbines and roller mills were replacing water wheels and millstones. At the Ressler mill in Mascot (built c. 1740 and enlarged c. 1855), the overshot water wheels survived until 1906, when the wheel controlling the flour mill was replaced with a turbine, and 1909, when the wheel powering the feed stones and the stones themselves were replaced by a turbine and attrition mill. Besides providing the obvious milling services to the community,

from 1882 to 1934 the building housed the Mascot post office, suggesting that, like stores, some mills offered a variety of services to local residents.[63]

The Diller/Heishman gristmill on the Conodoguinet Creek in Newville, Cumberland County, exemplifies the efforts of owners to keep pace with modernization and the demands of business. The mill was built around 1807 by a German Mennonite farmer, Francis Diller. Diller leased the property to miller Henry Snyder, who received one-third of the grain and cash revenue the mill generated, while Diller kept the other two-thirds of the income. In its original form, the mill had at least three walls that were stone; in the mid-nineteenth century, water and fire damage resulted in the north and west walls' being replaced with wood. Originally, the mill most likely was run by a large undershot waterwheel; in the late nineteenth century, it was upgraded with three sets of rollers. By 1920, when Benjamin Heishman purchased it, the mill was in disrepair. Heishman repaired the dam (which had been breached), upgraded the roller system, removed the two sets of millstones, and installed two water turbines. He also added a two-story office and storage space for his merchant mill business, and began production of Ladies Choice Flour, which he sold to clients as far away as Scranton, Pennsylvania. The last sales at the mill were in September 1957; though no longer operating as a commercial mill, the entire property—mill, mill race, dam, and mill pond—retains a high level of integrity.

Though the great majority of millers adopted new technology as it became available, the Rohrer mill, near Strasburg, still operated in its original form until it was destroyed by fire in 2007. The Knabb mill in Oley Valley (1809), though altered somewhat, also never received roller machinery and retains important evidence of its original equipment, including the master gear and horizontal counter shaft system of power transmission, the type of system that Oliver Evans described in *The Young Millwright and Miller's Guide* in 1795. The Knabb mill originally had four sets of stones powered by two water wheels. It boasted elegant exterior doorway trim and an interior mantel in the office space. Like many other mills, it also had exterior Dutch doors on four of its five levels to facilitate the handling of grain and equipment. Portions of the original hoist system, powered by the water wheel and operated remotely via a rope, remain. The architectural evidence reinforces the evidence from Rex's accounts. Merchant millers operated in their own offices, with their own rhythms, largely apart from those of storekeepers.[64]

Water power was also commonly used to press oil from flaxseed, operate sawmills and fulling mills, and to grind plaster (used as fertilizer in the early nineteenth century); often one mill seat contained equipment to run a number of different mills. The Diller mill site had a sawmill and two stills along with the large gristmill. Michael Miller's property at Millbach included a two-story

Figure 100. Knabb mill, Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., 1809, south gable end. Photograph by J. Ritchie Garrison. Knabb mill employed an architectural and functional vocabulary that lacked ethnic markers.

stone gristmill with two pairs of stones, as well as a twelve-by-forty-foot sawmill with double gears. The Knabb mill (Oley) contains flour milling equipment as well as a cider mill on the lower level; the Hershberger mill, near Stouchsburg, and the Ressler mill, at Mascot, operated both grist- and sawmills. The Bertolet sawmill, relocated to the Daniel Boone Homestead (a Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission site) contains an up-and-down blade that still operates by water power. Later sawmills had circular saws and were driven by steam power; one of this type, manufactured c. 1899 by Frick, has been moved to the Alexander Schaeffer Farm Museum, Schaefferstown, where it is demonstrated during folk festivals.

The importance of grain milling and the substantial investment that it took to set up a mill meant that millers were among the wealthiest members of a community during the late eighteenth century. Michael Miller's property at Millbach included a grand Germanic manor house, a log tenant house, a grist- and sawmill, a large log barn (one hundred by twenty-eight feet), a log still house, and several hundred acres of land. In 1798, the plantation was assessed at $6,900, putting Miller in the top ten of the township's nearly 300 landowners in terms of property value. His was the most valuable property among the

Figure 101. Compass mill, Lititz Run, Lancaster County, Pa., c. 1775, enlarged 1784, north gable and west eaves. Photograph by Diane Wenger. This image shows the banked construction and roadside siting typical for an eighteenth-century mill.

township's seven mills. (Farmer Christian Ley, of Tulpehocken Manor, was at the top of the list; his holdings were assessed at a grand total of $18,182 in 1798.) The 1798 tax assessors valued Michael Miller's main house and mill at $1,000 each. The mill's two pairs of stones were "in good order, new" according to the assessors' notes.

Several mills in the Pennsylvania German region incorporated living and milling functions under one roof, forming a dual-purpose structure reminiscent of Continental combination buildings. The Millbach mill has living space for the miller (or, after the manor house was built, the mill foreman) on the first and second floors. The original portion of the Hershberger mill (c. 1767) also includes living space for the miller, and the Knabb mill had heated rooms that could have accommodated workers. Most mills were not house mills, but the miller did need a place, apart from the working mill area, in which to discuss business and keep his books. These office areas ranged from utilitarian to elaborate. The Knabb mill falls in the latter category; the office has wide board sheathing, baseboard, and chair rail; above the office, a second floor chamber, complete with its own fireplace, provided occasional sleeping quarters for the miller or his workers. The pattern inverts the use of dwellings for taverns and shops; here the place of work is used as a dwelling.[65]

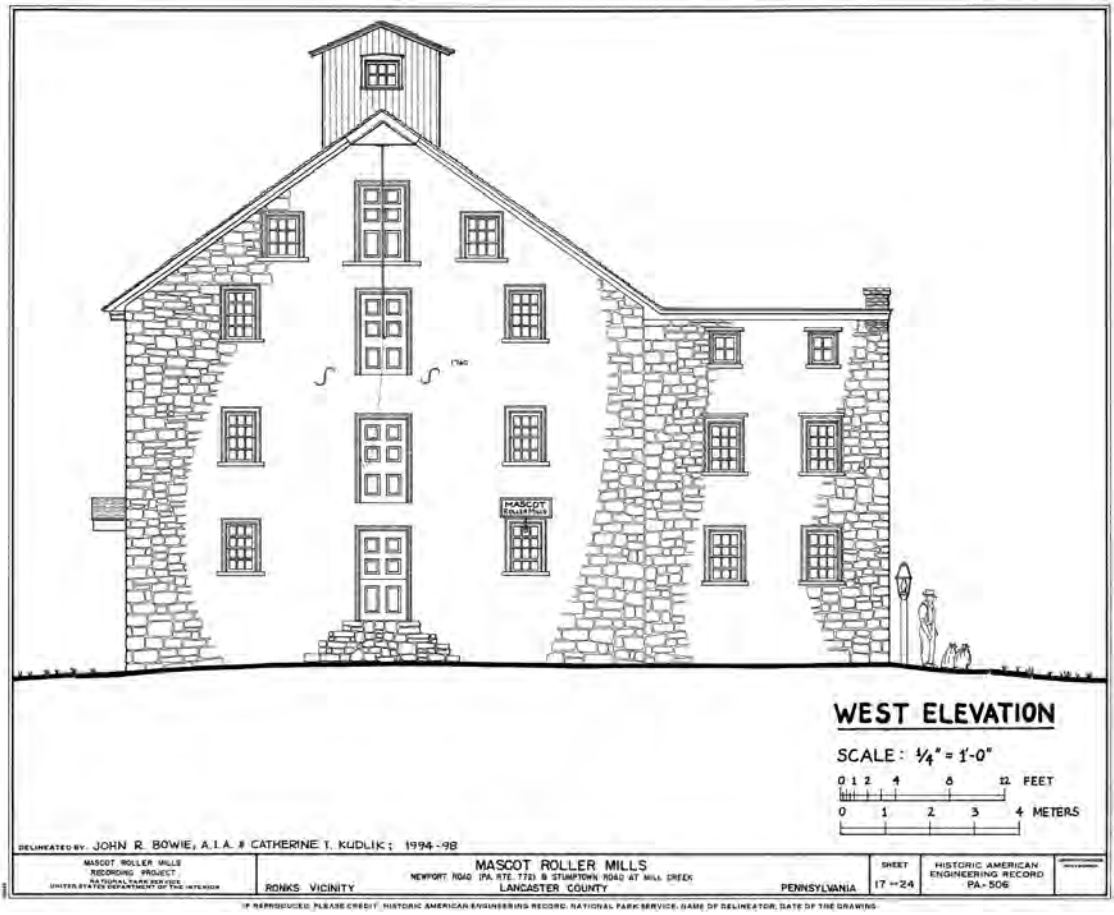


Figure 102. Ressler mill, Ronks, Lancaster County, Pa., built c. 1740, enlarged c. 1855, west elevation. John R. Bowie and Catherine I. Kudlik, delineators, 1994–98. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Engineering Record, Call Number HAER PA,36-RON.V-1, Drawing Sheet 17.

Millers and their customers operated independently of Rex's economic network, but Rex had a close business relationship with several ironmasters who relied on him to supply goods for their plantations. The eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century iron industry was, by necessity, located in the countryside, because iron production required large supplies of iron ore, wood for charcoal, and water for power.[66] The lands around Schaefferstown, Carlisle, Tulpehocken, and the Oley Valley, like much of south-central and southeastern Pennsylvania, were iron-producing regions. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century storekeepers, craftsmen, and farmers in these places—regardless of their ethnic backgrounds—found customers, jobs, and a market for their products at the mines, furnaces, and forges.

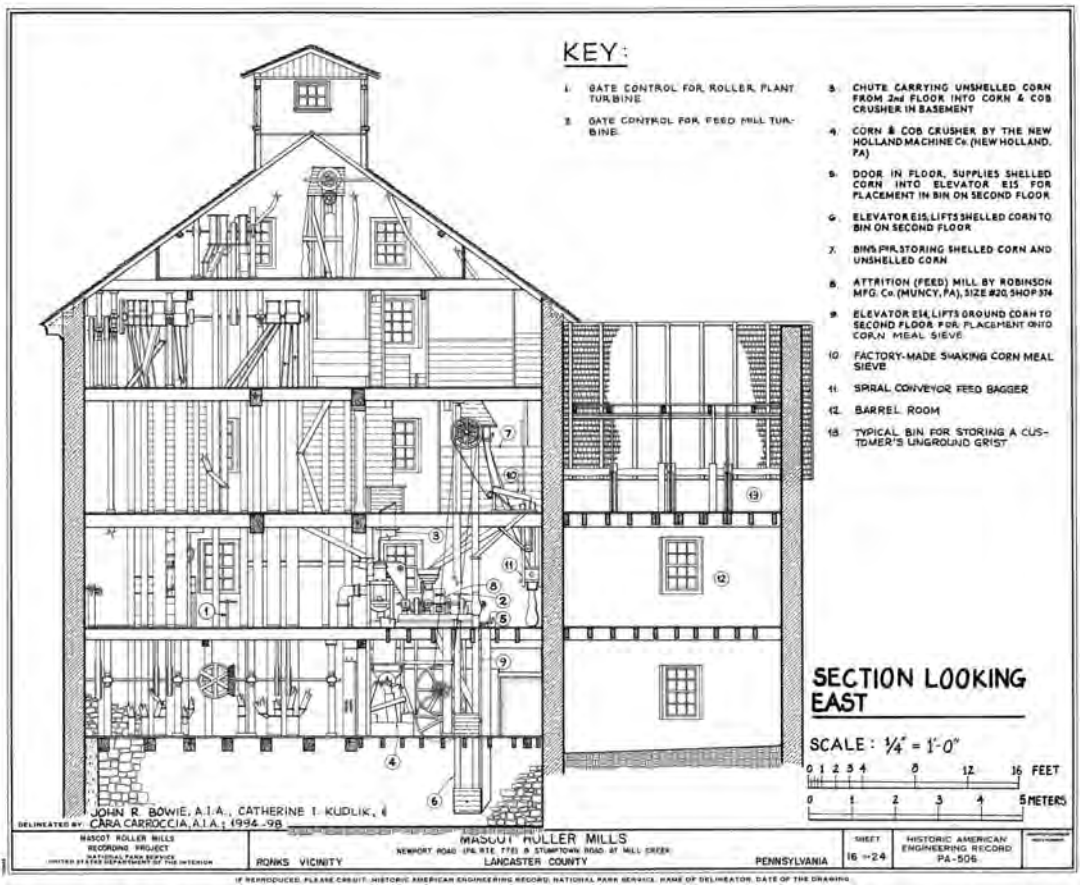


Figure 103. Ressler mill, Ronks, Lancaster County, Pa., built c. 1740, enlarged c. 1855, section looking east. John R. Bowie, Catherine I. Kudlik, and Cara Carroccia, delineators, 1994–98. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Engineering Record, Call Number HAER PA,36-RON.V-1, Drawing Sheet 16. Architecturally, the mill was designed with complex vertically organized spaces so that up-to-date milling equipment could be operated in it. Again, though Pennsylvania Germans built and ran the mill, they used an emerging modern and functional architectural vocabulary.

Iron plantations were not self-sufficient. Even though workers grew or made much of the plantation's food and equipment, ironmasters also bought goods from storekeepers, for their own and their workers' use. In addition, three ironmasters in Rex's area used his store as a company store; the ironmasters issued "orders" to their workers, and the workers used these orders to charge purchases at the Rex store against their wages at the furnaces. The ironmasters also looked to Rex to acquire the meat they needed to feed their workers. In fall, the traditional butchering time for farm families, Rex purchased live hogs and por-

Figure 104. Diller-Heishman mill, Newville, Cumberland County, Pa., c. 1807, south gable. Photograph by Diane Wenger.

tions of pork by the ton from local farmers (paying them with cash and/or store credit) and resold the meat to the ironmasters.

The scale of investment and labor at these iron plantations, and their impact on the landscape, sets in relief the nature of ordinary commerce in the Pennsylvania German region before the arrival of the railroad. To get an idea of the extent of the iron industry and its impact, consider the size of just three plantations, all owned by Robert Coleman: Elizabeth Furnace, in northern Lancaster County, took in 10,124 acres; Colebrook Furnace, near Mount Gretna, occupied 7,684 acres; and Cornwall Furnace included 9,669 acres.[67] Until the 1860s, Pennsylvania iron furnaces and forges were fueled by charcoal, and they used water-powered bellows to blow air into the furnaces. A large number of workers were needed to make charcoal, mine ore, operate the furnace, drive wagons, perform domestic chores, and do the skilled jobs of making iron. Men and women worked at Pennsylvania iron furnaces: women performed household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and laundry; but women, at least white women, were not involved directly in iron production.[68] Pennsylvania ironmasters also used slave labor, and it is possible that female slaves worked in the furnaces (in some regions, most notably Virginia, some female slaves worked at the same types of jobs in the iron furnaces as men did).[69]

Compared to their counterparts in England, American ironmasters were slow to change from these early methods, but, by the second half of the nineteenth century, coal or coke replaced charcoal, and steam power replaced water wheels. The change enabled manufacturers to situate their new furnaces and forges in urban areas, conveniently close to markets, customers, rail lines, shipping, and labor, rather than in the countryside near streams and forests. While some iron plantations in the countryside hung on into the later nineteenth century, most of them left behind only the archaeological remains of their commercial past.

While the forge or furnace was central to the iron plantation, the ironmaster's home or mansion was its centerpiece, and is the only architectural remnant that consistently survives from these sites. Both the Charming Forge Mansion and the Oley Forge Mansion clearly reflect the owners' status as prominent ironmasters. Johannes Lesher's German-Palladian house at Oley Forge speaks both of his Germanic roots and his desire to emulate the fashionable styles favored by the non-German majority.[70] Often the mansion sat on a rise, as is the case at Oley and Charming Forge, so the ironmaster could literally and symbolically convey his superior position as master of an industrial village.

Ironworkers' houses were proportionately as small as the ironmasters' were grand. Workers' houses are scattered over the grounds of Charming Forge. The workers' village is also extant at the former Robesonia Furnace, as are the fire house and the former furnace office, a nineteenth-century frame structure, now the home of a Patriotic Order Sons of America (P.O.S. of A) chapter. At Spangsville, Oley Valley, the ironworkers' village is also evident; in addition, the Oley Forge complex includes a typical four-over-four nineteenth-century house and small *Sweitzer* barn, though only remnants of the forge itself remain. As their mansions clearly show, Pennsylvania ironmasters, many of whom were not Pennsylvania German (the wealthiest of them all, Robert Coleman, was Irish), were at the top of the wealth and social scale in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[71] In 1940, local resident Herbert Beck still recalled the thrill that he felt, as a boy, in the 1880s, when he encountered a member of the ironmaking families: "On such trips to see, drawn by a pair of beautiful horses, a Coleman or Grubb, was to his humble self, to see someone akin to royalty. To him and to his equally humble neighbors in northern Lancaster County they were the Lords of the Barony of the glorious Furnace Hills."[72] These prominent residents articulated the architecture of power via a landscape filled with buildings, people, and responsibilities. They lived well but precariously, caught between fluctuating markets and supplies and the complex hazards of their business. The loss of a skilled worker, the mechanical failure of a water wheel pumping the bellows, or a bad lot of ore might be the difference between profit and loss,

Figure 105. Charming Forge Mansion, Robesonia, Berks County, Pa., c. 1780, southeast elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. As an ironmaster's house, this building had many industrial functions. Architecturally it communicated the ironmaster's grand social pretensions, but its siting on a hill above the company town also imparted a business function.

respectability and disgrace. Their buildings and their maintenance presented outsiders and potential investors with a vivid impression of the managerial acumen inside the ironmaster's mansion house.

Ultimately, people shaped the texture of Pennsylvania German commerce and buildings between 1780 and 1920 to their own ends. While the wider world to which they were connected established the superstructure of trade, Germans and non-Germans responded flexibly and tactically at the local level to business opportunities. Families were at the core of these decisions, followed by group, community, and regional networks. German ethnicity was most visible in the use of language and certain aesthetic markers that denoted membership in a particular group, but the language of trade transcended ethnicity, and depended upon people like Samuel Rex who could translate the different languages and habits of time and place. At the level of the household economy, many families continued to engage in productive commercial activities from their homes and properties—sometimes literally setting aside portions of their houses for shop

keeping or manufacturing, and at other times locating work areas in adjacent yards or ancillary structures. These patterns diminished over time but never disappeared. They met families' needs for convenience.

Simultaneously, some productive activities and their buildings grew out of community needs, economic opportunity, or landscape features. Market buildings, mills, iron plantations, and many taverns and inns depended upon the location of people, materials, water, and traffic to survive and prosper. Logically, these conditions positioned market houses in central places where populations were most dense, iron plantations where raw materials lay close at hand, and mills where water could power machinery. In service trades, proprietors positioned inns and taverns near road networks, where people needed food, drink, and lodging. Although some of these commercial buildings might be small, most were built to a scale that exceeded the common size of dwellings; in some cases, such as mills, these structures were among the largest buildings in a community or incorporated the area's most complicated technology. The large scale, the mill race, the smoke from a furnace in blast, the commercial signage, and the volume of people and animals on the go made visible the commercial nature of the local economy.

Over time, as populations increased and transportation changed, first via improved roads and turnpikes, then canals, and later railroads, city and hinterlands became more specialized. Some communities, like Schaefferstown, changed more slowly than others, adding to the variegated appearance of the countryside. Mills and factories continued to cluster near water power sites and, increasingly, railroad rights of way. The latter permitted owners to ship in raw materials and fuel. The railroad also created a new, relatively well-capitalized corporate infrastructure that included new building types such as depots, engine houses, freight warehouses, water tanks, and coaling towers. This architecture of corporate capitalism coexisted with Germanic traditions of *Flürkuchenhaus* plans and *Sweitzer* barns, among an ethnic group that was making the transition from "folk to formal" as new notions of gentility and class percolated through the region. This contrast, of folk tradition and modernity, often masks a complex past in which Germans and non-Germans interacted tentatively, but mostly willingly, to secure their offspring a future. Their struggle with the implications of that exchange is still visible in their buildings and landscapes.[73]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Religious Landscapes

Jerry Clouse

Henry Glassie traced the evolution of vernacular architecture of the eastern United States from the remnants of the medieval to the increasing standardization of segmentable houses with symmetrical facades. Similarly, James Deetz observed the stylistic changes in New England tombstone art and related that to changes in the society that produced it. Likewise, the religious landscapes of Pennsylvania, with its numerous sects and denominations, have evolved over time, increasingly showing the effects of industrialization and secularization. For example, the almost diminutive eighteenth-century Trappe Lutheran Church, medieval in feeling, seems a world away from Christ Lutheran Church (Stouchsburg), remodeled in 1888, with its Greek temple form, Georgian symmetry, and tall steeple. Pennsylvania religious landscapes vary from the bucolic setting of Donegal Presbyterian Church to the majestic streetscape setting of Holy Trinity Lutheran in Lancaster. Variations abound likewise in the burial of the dead, but trends can be charted. Not only did the Mennonites build unpretentious meetinghouses, but their adjoining churchyards likewise were filled with unadorned stones, nearly alike in size and height. The churchyards of Lutheran and German Reformed congregations abundantly show the evolving traditional folk carving of hearts, tulips, and sunwheels from about 1750 to about 1850. The study of religious landscapes can illustrate and help substantiate how the various German religious groups and other ethnic religious groups of southeastern and central Pennsylvania reacted to each other and to other societal and political forces to create the present cultural landscape of the region.

The history of Protestantism is a story of innumerable movements that washed across northern Europe in recurrent waves and came to the New World with the settlers. All were looking for a promised land, a New Jerusalem, a Philadelphia. William Penn (1644–1718), well known as a Quaker and the founder of Pennsylvania, was also a pietist and a Philadelphian. The Philadelphian Society grew, in England and on the continent, out of a network of readers of the works of Jacob Boehme, a German visionary and spiritualist. Penn laid out his principal town between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers and called it Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. Penn sought universal religious tolerance, and in 1677 he joined a party headed by George Fox that undertook a ministerial tour of the Netherlands and the German states. Before Penn returned to England, he wrote four brief religious messages, which were translated and published in Dutch and German. Penn found many in Holland and Germany who were inclined to a religion of simplicity and pietism. Thus the seeds had been sown, and when the political and economic times were right, many from the German states headed for America with an expectation of religious tolerance and freedom in Pennsylvania. Penn would later refer to Pennsylvania as "his Holy Experiment."[1]

Historian Rupp stated of Lancaster County, "There is no spot on earth, with so limited a population and the same confined territory, that counts more denominations, than Lancaster." Among the various significant minority sects were the Mennonites, Dunkards (German Baptists), and many smaller groups. Somewhere between the Catholics and the sects were the Moravians, Lutherans, and German Reformed people. However, about 90 percent of the immigrants were affiliated in some way with Lutheran and German Reformed churches.[2]

The Lutheran Church in Germany resulted from the efforts of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and others to reform the Roman Catholic Church to make the church a better instrument for dealing with the spiritual needs of sinful men. From the beginning the reformers could not agree on the types and degree of changes to make in the church. In Switzerland Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) and later John Calvin (1509–64) were founders of a second Protestant movement, called the Reformed.[3]

The German and Swiss Reformed churches clearly belonged to the Reformed or Calvinist family of Protestantism. Many eighteenth-century English-speaking Americans, aware of this relationship, called the Reformed living in Pennsylvania Presbyterians or Calvinists, since the two terms at the time were sometimes used interchangeably. In spite of their several differences, there were many more points on which the Lutheran and Reformed were in substantial agreement. Of the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran and Reformed retained two: baptism and the Lord's Supper or communion. In colo-

nial Pennsylvania, due to the scarcity of pastors, threats from the secular world, and the large number of church people without a church, the German Lutheran and Reformed peoples often became united through ecumenical acts of sharing their faith, ministers, and churches. This cooperation often resulted in union churches whereby the two denominations worshipped in the same building on alternate Sundays. They also shared the same burial ground and parochial schools. These three elements were the most important evidence of a joint Lutheran and Reformed enterprise.[4] As the area became more settled, and as the size and wealth of congregations grew, the need and desire for the sharing of talents, material goods, and buildings diminished. Hence, by the end of the nineteenth century most union churches had dissolved. This dissolution manifested itself in various forms. While many split, building separate churches, sometimes one congregation retained the old church, and occasionally the weaker congregation was absorbed by the stronger of the two.

The custom of constructing a school adjacent to the church goes back to the time of the Reformation when the church elders believed that "faith without knowledge leads to superstition and knowledge without faith leads to infidelity."[5] As soon as was practicable, sometimes even before a church building was erected, a parochial school was established. The log school at Loysville, present-day Perry County, was constructed soon after the church was built in 1794. A wall divided the classroom from the living quarters of the teacher, and a large stone chimney was placed in that wall, giving the appearance of a traditional Continental form house.[6] The school in Little Germany Valley, also in Perry County, was constructed similarly, but it was used as a preaching station prior to the erection of the church there.

Anabaptism was a third important Protestant movement in sixteenth-century Europe. The Anabaptists emerged in Switzerland during the social and religious unrest of the 1520s. They were dubbed the Taufer or Anabaptists because they baptized persons on confession of faith, even if they had been christened at birth. While many of the original Anabaptists had been christened at birth, those who were later born into the Anabaptist tradition were not baptized at birth, but had the option of being baptized upon reaching adulthood. In 1613 Hans Landis, one of the leaders of the group that would be known as the Mennonites, confessed faith in the Holy Trinity but stated that such faith was genuine only when evidenced by "good works." He added that he would not attend a "State Church" where both the godly and ungodly could partake of Holy Communion. The following year Hans was beheaded at Zurich for his resistance to the State Reformed Church.[7]

The first German-speaking settlers to Pennsylvania were a group of Mennonites, largely from Krefeld, who had become Quakers and established Ger-

mantown, just outside of Philadelphia, in 1683. Germantown served as a distribution center for late seventeenth and early eighteenth century German immigrants, particularly Anabaptists. Johannes Kelpius (1670–1708) established a brief separatist community on the Wissahickon Creek in 1694. About 1708 Alexander Mack and others in Schwarzenau, Germany, organized a religious society, known as the "Tunkers" or Dunkers, and after persecution immigrated to America in 1719. Some of the Dunkers, also known as German Baptists or Brethren, remained in Germantown where they formed a church under the leadership of Peter Becker, and others dispersed to Conestoga, Mill Creek, Oley, or Skippack. Recognized as meek and pious Christians, the Brethren celebrate the Lord's Supper with its ancient accompaniment of love feasts, the washing of feet, the kiss of charity, and the right hand of fellowship. The love feast was performed in imitation of the agape love shared in the early Christian churches. The German Baptists' celebration of the love feast would affect the religious structures they would build later.[8]

A group of Swiss Mennonites was granted a survey of 10,000 acres on the Pequea Creek in 1710. This land was generally situated between the present-day towns of Willow Street on the east and Strasburg on the west. In preparing his *History of Lancaster County*, historian and professor I. Daniel Rupp (1803–78) visited the Mennonites from the Pequea to the upper Conestoga. The summation of his writing, which became fixed in Mennonite minds, was the enduring profile of "Bishop Hans Herr" as the spiritual father of the Lancaster County fellowship. Other significant Mennonite settlements established later in the same decade, in what would be Lancaster County, were Graaf Thal (now known as Groffdale), settled by Hans Graaf (1661–1746), and Weber Thal (now called Weaverland), settled by the sons of Hans Weber.[9]

Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century, with no "state church," was a religious battleground, where regiments of sectarians and visionaries tried to convert one another as well as the unchurched. One of these radical sects was "The New Born," founded by Matthias Baumann (d. 1727). The Settlement of The New Born in the northern Oley Valley tainted the valley's reputation among other church groups for many years.[10]

There was a revival of the Anabaptist movement in Germantown in the 1720s. One of the products was the hybrid sect of Conrad Beissel (1691–1768), leader of a Dunker or Neu-Taufer congregation. Beissel was baptized into the Dunker group in 1724 and became leader of their congregation at Conestoga. Distrustful of organized religious groups, Beissel fell into conflict with other Dunkers over his observance of the seventh-day Sabbath and celibacy, among other things. In 1732 he left Conestoga and joined the Eckerlin brothers on the

banks of the Cocalico Creek. The communal building boom at what would be Ephrata began in 1735 with the monastic house called Kedar.[11]

Another Anabaptist group, the Amish, took their name from Jakob Ammann, who was an elder in northern Switzerland from 1690 to 1713. The organization of the Amish in Lancaster County dates to 1737, but because many of the second generation joined other churches, the first Amish organization nearly died. However, bishops and ministers from the nearby counties of Berks, Chester, and Lebanon helped reinstate the Amish in Lancaster. The two revived Lancaster church districts were named Conestoga and Millcreek/Pequea. It wasn't until 1843 that one of these districts had grown in numbers such that it had to be divided. The numbers of Amish have grown substantially in the twentieth century, and these districts have been extensively divided since that time. Rupp noted of the Amish in 1844 that they were simpler in dress and stricter in their discipline than the Mennonites. In addition, they were comparatively small in numbers.[12]

The Moravians trace their history to John Hus, who was martyred at the stake in 1415. Three elements prompted the Moravians to come to Pennsylvania in the 1740s: a wish to Christianize the Indians; the menace of suppression of religious freedom in Germany; and the efforts of Count Zinzendorf (a Lutheran Pietist who had sheltered the Bohemian Brethren on his Dresden estate in 1722) to establish union among the divided German churches of Pennsylvania. The early Moravians maintained a "society concept," which allowed them to belong to other churches. During the 1740s Zinzendorf sponsored seven ecumenical councils in Pennsylvania to advance his plan to bring German separatists, sectarians, and church people into a unified organization, but his plans came to naught. The failure was partially the result of mistrust created when Zinzendorf passed himself off as a Lutheran minister and inspector in Philadelphia. The period 1742–47 was a time of great Moravian missionary activity among Pennsylvania German church people.[13]

The first band of Moravians to come to America arrived in Georgia in 1735. George Whitefield, noted evangelist and a leader in the "Great Awakening," visited Georgia early in 1740 and offered to take the struggling Moravians to Pennsylvania. After landing in Philadelphia, some of this group traveled on to Whitefield's tract of land that would become the site of Nazareth. Whitefield's Revival of 1740–41 attracted thousands and for a time brought together Moravians, Methodists, and Calvinist Presbyterians. However, by 1748 the Great Awakening was drawing to a close, and the Methodists, Moravians, and Presbyterians each went their separate ways.[14]

Like the German Baptists, the Moravians also held love feasts prior to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. However, the Moravians' love feasts included

instrumental and vocal music while congregants joined in the partaking of a cup of coffee, tea, or chocolate and light cakes, tokens of fellowship and brotherly union.[15]

In 1742, the parent Lutheran church in Halle, Saxony, sent Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, a fervent pietist and indefatigable missionary, to replace Zinzendorf in the Lutheran Church of Philadelphia. Muhlenberg immediately set about solidifying church order. Under his direction the Lutheran Church made progress in church democracy, and in August 1748 the first meeting of the Lutheran Synod was held in Philadelphia. The German Reformed ministers under the leadership of Rev. Michael Schlatter held their first "Coetus" in 1747. The Moravians then followed the Reformed and Lutheran lead and held their first synodical meeting October 1748. The following years saw these denominations adapt to the American environment.[16]

In the period 1749–58 the Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed churches cooperated and increased their membership in a colony that had been dominated by dissenters. Prior to 1749, dissenters, though a minority, had influenced religious discourse out of proportion to their numbers. The period after 1749 also saw an increase in religious organization, greater democracy within the churches, and independence from European supervision. As the century progressed and prosperity and social organization increased in Pennsylvania, the larger denominations became more appealing than small, radical rural sects. The German churches also led the way in making the Germans socially acceptable.[17]

For members of the Lutheran and German Reformed churches, religion was a critical part of their cultural identity. The Lutheran and Reformed churches were the most important Pennsylvania German institutions through the mid-nineteenth century, and despite aggressive proselytism by evangelicals, Pennsylvania Germans tended to maintain their Lutheran and Reformed connections.[18]

One evangelical group, the United Brethren, was organized by a German Reformed pastor, Philip W. Otterbein (1726–1813), who had created a small network of like-minded German revivalist clerics. In 1800, the United Brethren elected Otterbein and Martin Boehm, previously a Mennonite minister (1725–1812), as bishops and co-superintendents. A group calling itself the Evangelical Association developed from the ministry of Jacob Albright (1759–1808) a Pennsylvania German Lutheran layman from near Schaefferstown. Both the United Brethren and Evangelical Association became sizeable denominations only after they focused on non-Germans. The United Brethren merged with the Evangelical Association in the early twentieth century, and the resulting Evangelical United Brethren later united with the Methodists.[19]

During the 1830s, a former German Reformed pastor of Harrisburg, John Weinbrenner (1797–1860), organized the Church of God, which also sought eth-

nic German souls. The message of this church played on the American desire to forgo all inherited ecclesiastical tradition, in contrast to the Lutheran and Reformed groups, who relied on their heritage of a steadfast pietism and oral training in the creeds.[20]

In 1807, a division occurred among the Anabaptists, resulting in the group known as the River Brethren. After the Civil War, they were known as the Brethren in Christ. The River Brethren, Dunkers (German Baptists), Amish, and Mennonites frequently moved from one fellowship to the other. This exchange of membership within the larger "Plain" family was facilitated by a shared commitment to Christian nonresistance and nonconformity.[21] In each of these sects, there is a subgroup who have been designated "Old Order." The Old Order Mennonites and Old Order Amish are those who adhere to plain dress and operate horse-drawn buggies and farm machinery.

As during the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century largely retained their ethnic identity through their churches and religious organizations. In the period from 1800 to 1850, sixty-seven jointly owned Lutheran and Reformed churches were constructed in the area covered by the Lutheran Pennsylvania Ministerium.[22] While some groups continued to split from the main denominations over revivalism or strict adherence to nonconformity, others maintained their ties with the Lutheran and Reformed establishment but began giving up the practice of holding services in the German language. By the mid-nineteenth century most urban churches of these two groups held services in English, but the outlying, rural churches held onto German until after the Civil War. As in the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century joined mainstream America on their own terms. They viewed the 1834 Pennsylvania Free School Act with distrust, but by the mid-nineteenth century most Lutheran and Reformed churches had accepted the American Sunday school movement and built their churches accordingly.

As stated in the previous background history of the various Pennsylvania German churches, many of the immigrants came from a pietistic background that rejected the worldly and instead embraced plainness. This was reflected not only in their manners and dress but in their architecture as well. Not only the early Quakers and Presbyterians but also the Mennonites and Dunkards built meetinghouses that were domestically inspired. Architectural historian G. Edwin Brumbaugh attributed the plain, almost austere, architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans to their simple, peasant background, but present-day scholars know that many of the immigrants would be considered middle class or had middle-class aspirations. Although the Hans Herr house, an icon of early Pennsylvania German architecture, is quite plain, the very fact that it is

Figure 106. Hans Herr house, West Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pa., 1719, front elevation, south. George A. Eisenman, photographer, 1971. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, Call Number HABS PA,36-WILST.V,1-1. This iconic structure is best known as an example of the "Continental" house, but it also served as a meeting house.

constructed solidly of stone bespeaks its owner's bishop/preacher class and commanding presence in the Swiss Mennonite Community.[23]

One reason for the domestic scale of these buildings was the fact that the earliest gatherings of these German religious groups were in the houses and barns of members. (The Old Order Amish continue to meet in members' houses every other Sunday, and the main reason for the creation of new church districts is to accommodate the number of members meeting per house.) Consequently, a one-and-a-half-story meeting house would be similar to the typical house of that early eighteenth-century period.

The growth of stable congregations prompted the Mennonites to move their meetings out of houses and barns into Gemeinhauser. The first in Lancaster County was the one built in Rapho about 1745. Another early example is the Landisville meetinghouse, constructed about 1750. This gable-front, one-and-a half-story, dovetailed log building features a steeply pitched roof and a pent

roof along its front. The door on the opposite gable end opens into a two-room apartment. The Hans Herr house, built in 1719 as a dwelling, continued to serve also as a Mennonite meeting house until 1849. This one-and-a-half-story, fieldstone house, built with a Continental floor plan and having double attics, was actually constructed by Christian Herr but was enshrined in Mennonite history as the Hans Herr house.[24]

By the late eighteenth century, a general pattern for Mennonite meetinghouses appears to have been established. The typical meetinghouse was a one-and-a-half-story masonry, side-gabled structure with a five-to-six-bay facade and a two-to-three-bay depth. Generally, two bays of the facade were doors, one used by women and one used by men. The Diller Mennonite Church, constructed of brick in about 1826 in Cumberland County, demonstrates this format. It was only four bays long, but two of those bays held doors. In 1905 the church was reoriented so that the entrance was on the west gable end. By the late nineteenth century many Mennonite meetinghouses were being built with the main entrance on the gable end, sometimes with two doors at this location also. Publisher/politician W. U. Hensel noted of the one-and-a-half-story, four-bay, gable-front Mellinger meeting house built in 1914 east of Lancaster City that it was larger than earlier examples but was "as plain today as it was a century and a half ago."[25]

Another Anabaptist group, the German Baptists also known as Dunkers or Dunkards, first met in members' houses. Just as the Mennonites used the Hans Herr house for religious gatherings, likewise the German Baptists used the Adam Brandt house in Cumberland County for similar purposes. Just as there are distinguishing characteristics of Mennonite meeting houses, there are corresponding features for the German Baptist. In addition, to being "plain," the traditional German Baptist meeting house is a banked, one-and-a-half-story, five-to-six-bay-long, two-bay-deep masonry building. The loft or attic space needs to be sufficiently large to provide sleeping quarters for the love feast sleepover. Additionally, the structure is banked to provide room in the basement for cooking the love feast meal. The 1861 Mohler Meeting House in Cumberland County typifies this style. The building's five-bay facade faces Old Gettysburg Pike. Two of the bays contain doors, which were traditionally used by the different sexes. Also, here the men sat on one side and the women on the other.

The Bucher German Baptist Meeting House varies somewhat from this tradition. Although it is quite "plain," it is not a banked masonry structure. This clapboarded frame building is painted white and rests on a low limestone foundation. Its main or south five-bay elevation faces away from the road (Route 419) and contains two doors, each topped with a three-light transom. The

Figure 107. Diller Mennonite Church, Cumberland County, Pa., 1826, gable entrance. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The building's lack of ornament and its rural situation are architectural expressions of Mennonite principles.

Bucher Meeting House retains its original seating arrangement with the benches facing away from the doors and smaller benches at each gable end facing inward. The Mohler Meeting House originally had a similar seating arrangement, except that the seating in the gable ends was raised.

The Pricetown Church of the Brethren, built in the early nineteenth century in the upper Oley Valley, differs from the most common format of both Mennonite and German Baptist meeting houses in that this one-and-a-half-story stone structure has just a single entrance, centered on the five-bay long side.[26] There is a two-bay addition to the north gable end that is set back from the main facade but is even with the rear wall. There is a short door into this section. A vertical board-and-batten door opens into the loft on the south gable end. This design is similar to that of the Germantown Church of the Brethren (erected in 1770), in which there was an exterior stairway leading into the loft. (The stone Germantown church has a door centered on its three-bay gable front.)[27] Otherwise, the interior is primitive, and the rough ashlar Pricetown Church building meets the standard for plain.

Figure 108. Mohler Meeting House, Cumberland County, Pa., 1861, west view. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. The entrance facade has separate doors for men and women; the basement has a large kitchen for preparation of love feasts.

The shrine of Pennsylvania German Lutheranism is the 1743 Augustus Lutheran Church at Trappe, Montgomery County. Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, father of the Lutheran Church in America, was instrumental in its erection. A year earlier he had preached his first sermon near here in the senior deacon's barn. Meetings in houses, barns, and in the open woods continued for members of frontier Lutheran and Reformed congregations as settlement continued west across Pennsylvania. The two-and-a-half-story roughcast stone building at Trappe features a three-sided apse on its eastern end and is topped with a gambrel roof. Some other early Pennsylvania German buildings, such as the Millers house at Millbach, also had these gambrel roofs. According to tradition these roofs were built to withstand heavy snows. It is said that Muhlenberg modeled this building after German parish churches. After the Thirty Years War it was recommended that Lutheran Churches be rebuilt using a simple "Predigtraum" or preaching room format. These churches were not to display traits of ecclesiasticism. However, whereas in German churches the pulpit was placed in the apse, at Trappe the pulpit was on the north side of the church, and a balcony was constructed around the other sides. Augustus Lutheran did maintain theological tradition in that the altar was placed in the east end of the church. The three-sided apse represented the Holy Trinity. Despite this

Figure 109. Bucher German Baptist Meeting House, Cornwall, Lebanon County, Pa., 1871, south façade. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The separate doors signal separate entrances for men and women and thus express an important aspect of "Dunkard" worship, as do the building's spare ornament, modest proportions, and siting.

architectural precedent, apparently only two other churches in the state followed this design. One of these was Zion (Moselem) Lutheran Church, built in 1761 in Richmond Township, Berks County. It too was built of stone but had arches above its windows. Evidently, it was demolished in 1894 when a new structure was built. The location of the other church is unknown.[28]

At about the same time that Moselem Church was being constructed, a much grander Lutheran church, following current Georgian architectural trends, was being built in Lancaster City. The six-bay, two-and-a-half-story, brick Trinity Lutheran Church was constructed 1761–66. It has all the stylish features of the period, including arched windows with keystones, a pedimented entry with dentils, Corinthian pilasters, and fanlight with keystoned arch. At the time the steeple was completed in 1794, it was the second tallest structure in North America. Many other Lutheran and Reformed churches followed a similar style. For example, St. Michael's Lutheran Church in Strasburg, was built on a smaller scale about fifty years later. It retains the Georgian symmetry of a

Figure 110. Pricetown Church of the Brethren, Pricetown, Berks County, Pa., early nineteenth century, south and east sides. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. In this expression of the meeting-house tradition, the eaves-side door expresses the interior orientation of pews toward a central pulpit area.

central pedimented door facing the street. Raised pilasters separate each of the five bays of the brick facade, and each of the arched windows are accented with raised keystones.[29]

Christ (Tulpehocken) Lutheran Church, near Stouchsburg, Berks County, originally constructed in 1786, shows a strong Georgian influence also. This five-bay, two-and-a-half-story structure was built of coursed limestone, with rubbed and painted stone pilasters at each corner. Located in the midst of a well-endowed agricultural area, the church and its congregation was one of the largest and most significant in the state. The account book for the church shows the large contributions made by various members for the construction of the church, parsonage, parochial school, and associated barns, etc., which illustrate the abundance of the area.[30] The original arched entrance on the west elevation was located in the central projecting pavilion of that elevation but was later enclosed, probably during the rebuilding of the church in 1888. The main entrance now is through the central arched doorway on the three-bay gable end facing north. All of the second floor windows on the west and north elevations are arched, with keystones painted white. The building also features circular

Figure 111. Augustus Lutheran Church, Trappe, Montgomery County, Pa., 1743, eaves-side entrance. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, Call Number HABS PA,46-TRAP,3-3. The three-sided apse, eaves-side entrance, and small openings are architectural expressions of centuries-old European ecclesiastical traditions.

lunettes above and between the second floor windows of the current façade, and molded and painted recessed panels above the second floor windows on the west elevation. This large stone church with its high Gothic spire provides a grand landmark along the former Harrisburg/Reading pike.

St. Luke (Schaefferstown) Lutheran Church was built on a smaller scale than Christ Tulpehocken. The original main entrance to this 1765 limestone church opened south onto the main street of the village, then known as Heidelbergtown, but as is typical of this style of church, there were also entrances on each gable end as well. Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg praised this structure when he preached here in 1769 as one of the best in the land, "built of massive stones, large, well laid out, and adorned with a tower." There were galleries around three sides of the interior, with an elaborately carved "wine glass" pulpit on the north side, elevated so that it stood about halfway between the floor and ceiling.[31] All of this was dramatically changed in 1884 when the church was remodeled and enlarged. Now the main entrance is on the east gable end, where the central door is flanked by two tall stained glass windows. The galleries were

Figure 112. Christ Lutheran Church, Stouchsburg, Berks County, Pa., built 1786, remodeled 1888, north gable and west eaves. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. The side entrances were closed and an aisle-style plan created in the later alteration.

removed; the ground level became Sunday school rooms, and the second level became the new sanctuary. Nevertheless, there is much evidence of the old church, including the outline of the arched doorway on the south side, with its brownstone datestone inscribed 1765, and the molded brownstone windowsills on the north side.

Old Zion German Reformed Church, built in 1813 in Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, present-day Brickerville, was commonly called Reyer's Church.[32] It was designed similarly to St. Luke (Schaefferstown), with centered doors in each gable end and a centered door in the lateral side opposite the raised pulpit, which was located against the wall of the fourth side. The pulpit was placed between two taller, raised windows on that elevation. However, Reyer's was constructed of brick instead of stone, with elements of the Federal style including fanlights above the doors, segmental arched windows, and lunettes in the gables. The congregation at Reyer's disbanded in 1947.[33]

Reyer's is considerably restrained in architectural detailing compared with Emanuel (Warwick) Lutheran Church, also in Brickerville. The 1807 brick Emanuel Church features Palladian windows in the east and west gable ends, arched windows with accented keystones, and a pedimented doorway located in the centered pavilion of the facade. Traditionally, the Reformed churches

Figure 113. Reyer's Church, Brickerville, Lancaster County, Pa., 1813, entrance. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. The exterior, with its square proportions, central doors at either end, and fenestration, nicely communicates the interior plan with its central pulpit.

were more austere, in keeping with the teaching of Zwingli and Calvin. The congregation at Reyer's disbanded in 1947.[33]

A variant of the floor plan of St. Luke and Reyer's is seen in St. Gabriel's at Douglassville, built in 1801. St. Gabriel's central east entrance faces the pulpit against the western wall. Unlike the two previous examples, the nearly square St. Gabriel's did not have gable end entrances, but it does retain galleries around three sides, facing the pulpit. The congregation, a mixed ethnic group made up largely of English, Germans, and Swedes, was originally Swedish Lutheran, but due to a lack of ministers became Anglican. While possessing Georgian proportions and symmetry, St. Gabriel's is most remarkable in its stone masonry, including the herringbone walls, oversized dark quoins, and dark ashlar water table.[34]

Although the plaque above the central front door of St. Paul Reformed in Schaefferstown is inscribed in German (St. Paulus Reformirte Kirch Gebaut 1858), little else about the exterior of this church appears German. It was designed to contain the Sunday school rooms on the ground level and the sanctuary on the second level. From the front doors, stairs at each side lead up

Figure 114. Reyer's Church, Brickerville, Lancaster County, Pa., 1813, wineglass pulpit. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. Here, the pulpit was raised above the congregation and embellished with architectural ornament that reflected the more hierarchical German Reformed liturgical and ecclesiastical organization.

to the sanctuary. This large three-bay, gable-front, brick building was constructed on a coursed limestone foundation. The sanctuary is lighted with double arched windows of stained glass with brownstone sills. Arched pilasters creating a recessed bay for each window or door separate each of the bays on the front and sides. The undulating brick work at the top of each recessed bay, along with the bracketed cornice, give the church a pronounced Italianate look. A majestic spire rises from the front of the crest of the roof.

As noted in the background section of this essay, Lutheran and German Reformed congregations often shared the same church, parochial school, and burial ground. These three elements, church, school, and burial ground remained significant on the Pennsylvania German landscape into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by which time most of the union churches had dissolved. An example of this progression is at New Bloomfield, Perry County, located just north of the Cumberland Valley. A log union church was begun here in 1798 and completed in 1802. In 1856 leaders of the Lutheran and German Reformed congregations agreed to split their lot and burial ground in half. The following year each congregation constructed a new brick church on opposite ends of the lot. Each church was constructed with a raised basement and had Gothic Revival style facades. The adjoining lot, just east of the church, contained a one-room school, constructed in 1831 and expanded in 1858. It became a public school sometime after the Free School Act of 1834. In 1870 the original school was replaced with a two-story brick school with Italianate elements at the same location. It remained a school until 1953, when it was sold to the Lutheran congregation.[35]

Examples of Moravian religious architecture are found primarily in the planned villages and towns laid out by the Moravian church. Bethlehem was the principal Moravian town in Pennsylvania, but others such as Nazareth and Lititz developed similarly. In 1757 the Moravian church of Bethlehem sent Rev. Nathaniel Seidel to lay out the village of Lititz. The first Moravian congregational buildings constructed after the town was laid out were the "Sisters' House" and the "Brethren's House," to house the unmarried villagers, in opposite corners on the south side of the square.[36]

In 1787 a large church was constructed of limestone, nearly centered on the south side of the square. It was ornamented with a central spire holding the town clock, typical of Moravian church architecture. There were two entrances on the front, one for the brethren and the other for the sisters. The Moravian custom of placing the seats or benches lengthwise, facing the liturgical center in the middle, was a determining factor in the treatment of the flank as the facade. The ecclesiastical point of interest was at the center of the one side, where the chair of the liturgist and the Communion table were placed. The interior of the

Figure 115. German Reformed and Lutheran churches and school, New Bloomfield, Perry County, Pa., c. 1850. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. The two churches show nineteenth-century developments.

Lititz church, which had two galleries, was very plain, and like most Moravian churches contained an excellent organ. The square outside the church is a park-like area with trees and paved walks. Among the other main buildings surrounding the square are the Young Ladies Seminary (Linden Hall), constructed on the east side in 1804, and the Young Men's Academy, constructed 1822 on the west side.[37]

Plans dated 1758 for the Single Brothers' House and Single Sisters' House are located in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem. They show both of these five-bay, three-and-a-half-story buildings with the traditional German "bell cast" gambrel roof, with the top half of the gambrel clipped or truncated to form a jerkinhead roof. Brumbaugh called these "two stories in the roof."[38] The buildings were designed to have a raised foundation, with steps leading up to the large central door on the facade. There was a correspondingly wide central window on the second floor. The plans also called for three shed-roof dormers on the lower attic level, but only one centered in the upper attic.

The cellar and the first floor of these buildings were designed with two rooms on either side of a central hall, separated by a masonry wall. The kitchen, located in a rear room of the cellar, had an interior corner fireplace next to the

Figure 116. Moravian Church, Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa., 1786–87, northeast elevation. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The church anchored a large square, the community's geographic and spiritual center.

hall. The four rooms on the first floor were to be heated with tile stoves. The second floor plan shows two rooms on one side of the hall, but the other side is an open space designated as *Saal*. The front of the hall on the second floor is partitioned off as a superintendent's room. All of the rooms on the second floor are to be heated with tile stoves except the Saal. Directly above the Saal is the *Schlaf-Saal* or sleep hall.[39]

The Single Brothers' House, situated to the west side of the church, was completed in 1759. Later, this building became an academy for boys. This building was recast in the late nineteenth–early twentieth century with Colonial Revival elements, including a columned portico, stuccoed wall treatment, and elaborated arched window crowns. The 1758 Single Sisters' House, now Linden Hall Castle, stands to the east of the church. The exterior cut limestone walls are still exposed in this building, but there is a large addition to its east side. In addition, the lower row of dormers are now gable-front dormers with double windows. However, the upper row appears to contain original shed roof dormers with small, single windows.

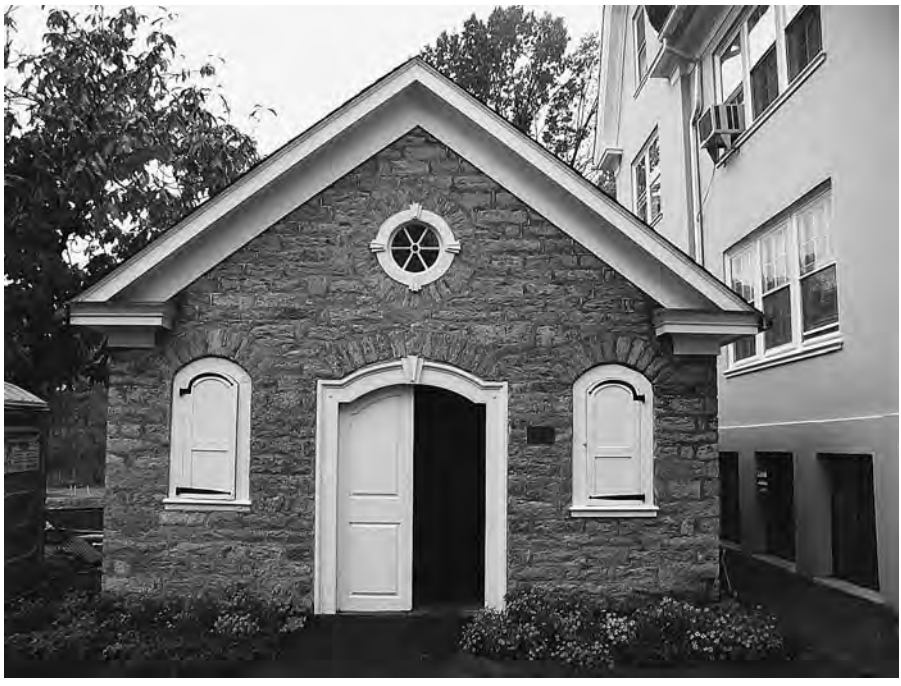


Figure 117. *Leichen Kappelchen* (corpse house), Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa., 1786, gable elevation. Photograph by Center for Historic Architecture and Design staff. By permission of the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware. The stone arches and prominent hinges are part of a common Pennsylvania German architectural idiom; the double door with its unique surround accommodated a wagon with coffin.

The one-and-a-half-story, gable-front, stone corpse house (*leichenkapellchen*), built in 1786, stands behind the church. According to Moravian custom, the corpse of a deceased member lay here for three days. On the third day the body was removed. After several strains of solemn music, the church's instrumental band led the procession of mourners surrounding the coffin to the grave site.[40] The large central arched doorway contains double doors. It is flanked by two small, arched and shuttered windows. There is a circular lunette in the gable. There is a degree of architectural pretension in the molded archway of the doorframe with a raised keystone, in the lunette with raised keystones, and in the wide cornice board with cornice returns, unexpected in a Moravian religious structure of that period. This design contrasts with most Moravian architecture of the eighteenth century, which was utilitarian and well-built, with elements recalling the denomination's medieval past.

Perhaps the most strikingly medieval Pennsylvania German buildings are found in the Ephrata Cloister. The Cloister was built by an offshoot branch of

the Dunkers whose founder and spiritual leader was Conrad Beissel. Of the great timber structures first built by this community on the banks of the Cocalico, two remain, the *Saal*, built in 1741, and its adjoining *Saron* or Sisters' House, built in 1743. The Saal was constructed as the worship center for the Saron, and they were laid out at right angles to each other. *Kedar*, the first communal dormitory, was an earth-fast structure built in 1735 near what would become the center of the Cloister. Its attached prayer house, *Bethaus*, was constructed in 1736 at a 30-degree angle from Kedar.[41] The Brothers' House was initially built on Mount Zion just west of Kedar, but a split in beliefs between Beissel and the Eckerlin brothers resulted in construction of a new Brothers' House, called Bethania, in 1746 on the meadow south of Beissel's cabin. It too had its separate worship center or Saal, which was situated at right angles to the dormitory. Bethania was demolished in 1908. These were all very large buildings for that period.

According to the mythology that has grown up over the years regarding Ephrata, the Sisters' House complex, the Brothers' House complex, and the buildings on Mount Zion formed a triangle, and for a mystic like Beissel, the triangle was a symbol of perfection. However, Stephen Warfel, Senior Curator of Archaeology at the State Museum, states that the location of most or all of the buildings was a matter of practicality. Much of the mythology about Ephrata stems from historian Julius Sachse's writing in *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania,* printed in 1899.[42]

Other important extant structures of this complex include the Almonry, a cantilevered gable-front, banked stone building, which includes the bakery; the half-timbered, one-and-a-half-story Beissel House, built in 1748; the Householder's residence, laid out in a three-room Continental plan; and the 1837 Seventh Day German Baptist Church, built with Federal style elements.[43]

Although the Saal may be classified roughly as a two-and-a-half-story, four-bay-wide by four-bay-deep structure, these terms are deceptive, due to the irregular spacing of the small windows, and the fact that there are three floors in the roof. The height of the roof commands the attention of the viewer, with tiers of small, shed-roof dormers piercing its surface unevenly, leading up to the encased frame chimneys topped with miniature gabled roofs. The chimney flues are carried out through the roof ridge, despite having to run up on an angle to accomplish this. The roof also retains the traditional German "kick" or "bell cast" at its eaves. The Saal is a half-timber or *fachwerk* building sheathed with hand-split oak clapboards. The massive oak framing system of this building consists of verticals, horizontals, and diagonal braces, the interstices of which are filled with stones laid roughly in clay.[44]

The interior of the Saal is as stark as the exterior. The meeting room is two

stories in height, with benches arranged on either side. There are seating galleries above the benches, distinguished by a balustrade of flat cut out latticework. A pulpit bench rests against one gable end wall. Massive chamfered posts support the ceiling and galleries. The walls are plastered and whitewashed. Traditionally, large, wood block fraktur engravings from the Ephrata Press, consisting of verses or passages of scripture, were hung on the walls here. The incipit or first letter of each verse was elaborately enlarged, and often hand painted as well. Separated from the second floor gallery is a large walk-in fireplace where cooking took place. There is also a refectory here. The gallery had been enclosed and was reopened about 1941 by restoration architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh.[45]

In the northeast corner of the building, a series of narrow steps leads all the way to the fifth floor. On the third floor, adjacent to the stairwell, is a fireplace facing the eaves. There is very little space between it and the sloping rafters. Here is found a rare example of a raised hearth, constructed of stone topped with bricks. The back of the fireplace wall is composed of narrow stones, plastered and whitewashed. There are also holes at the back of the hearth indicative of the use of a five-plate stove. There is a single cell next to the hearth room, but otherwise the third floor is an open space, possibly used as the writing school.[46]

The Saron or Sister's House differs from the Saal in that it is constructed of trimmed logs, which are sheathed on the exterior with riven oak clapboards, and plastered and whitewashed on the interior. The Saron has windows of various sizes and heights, but generally features casement windows with six lights. As is typical with early architecture at Ephrata, the Saron's low doors are unusually narrow, and the stairs are steep and narrow. The individual cells are sparsely furnished, with no chairs, only narrow benches along the walls. The members slept on these narrow benches with only a block of wood or a brick for a pillow. The medieval architecture of the Cloister is certainly appropriate for the disciplined, austere life of this monastic-like order. Part of the worldview of pietists was the belief that they could commune with God individually, without a priest as an intermediary. The religious dormitories at Ephrata reflect the dichotomy of this thinking, with their tiny, individual cells that are immediately adjoined by communal areas where members worked and worshipped as a group.

Although much has been written regarding the history of Pennsylvania German churches and their congregations, little has been written that tries to connect shifts in attitude and religious practices among the Pennsylvania Germans with changes in ecclesiastical architecture. One major shift was the reorientation of churches during the nineteenth century. It appears that various forces initiated these changes at different times for the various denominations and sects.

Figure 118. Ephrata Cloister, *Saron* and *Saal*, Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa., 1743 and 1741, view to northeast. Photograph by Sally McMurry. The Cloister buildings represented an extreme end on the American religious spectrum.

Many of the Lutheran and German Reformed churches, such as Reyers at Brickerville and St. Lukes at Schaefferstown, were constructed in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century as two-story meetinghouses with an open sanctuary and galleries on three sides facing a raised pulpit. However, by the 1840s and 1850s these two denominations were building churches such as St. Paul Reformed at Schaefferstown, with the Sunday school located on the ground floor and the sanctuary on the upper level. In addition, the sanctuary was no longer oriented to the side wall but to the gable end. Former Lutheran pastor and author of Pennsylvania German studies Frederick Weiser believes that this reorientation was largely the result of the Sunday school movement and was not part of a movement to return to traditional Roman Catholic church layout.[47]

An illustration of the new building trends of the Lutheran and Reformed churches can be found in western Perry County, where six new churches were constructed in the 1850s. St. John's (Bealor's) Lutheran Church, constructed in 1840, was the last in the county to be built in the meetinghouse fashion, with galleries on three sides. Four of the 1850s churches were the result of the dis-

Figure 119. Ephrata Cloister, *Saron*, Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa., 1743, view from upper floor. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. This photograph captures a view the solitary inmate might experience.

banding of union churches, and only one of the new churches was constructed as a union church. All of the new churches were constructed of brick, and five of them had Gothic Revival facades. Three of the churches had raised basements where Sunday school would be held. It is also known that four of the new churches had sanctuaries oriented toward the gable end with galleries at the opposite end.[48]

Still later, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, some churches of these two denominations were built with arched seating arrangements in the interior and various features of Gothic Revival style architecture—or other styles reflective of national architectural trends—on the exterior. Part of the reason for the change in church appearance was their prominent status in the community. So long as prosperous farmers supported these rural churches, their generally conservative tastes moderated exuberant architectural expressions. These local leaders also wanted their churches to be vibrant and to continue as community landmarks. Therefore, modifications to these churches usually proceeded at a controlled pace, so that many aspects of the original church remained. Thus, we can look at Christ (Tulpehocken) Lutheran or Diller Mennonite today and still see the changes wrought over the centuries.[49]

Figure 120. Ephrata Cloister, *Saron*, Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa., 1743, view across gallery. Photograph by Jerry Clouse. Public space in the Cloister complemented the small cells.

In the Mennonite meetinghouses the pulpit or minister's table was originally located on the long side of the building, opposite the two doors that opened into the sanctuary. However, after about 1865 there was a movement among Mennonites to go back to the tradition of their Roman Catholic counterparts, who held their holy Eucharist in the apse or gable end of their sanctuaries.[50] Consequently, churches such as Diller's in Cumberland County were reoriented toward the gable end. However, Old Order Mennonites have not reoriented their churches, notes church leader Amos Hoover. Instead, they maintain the Anabaptist opposition to becoming a "high church."

It is not clear why many of the Pennsylvania Germans resisted the evangelical movement. Some, such as the Lutherans, would argue that they practice evangelism without having showy and noisy revivals. Well into the twentieth century, evangelical denominations in Pennsylvania such as the Church of God were referred to as "holy rollers." Also as noted earlier in this essay, the Lutheran and Reformed groups relied on their heritage of pietism and the training of their youth in the Bible and the creeds for the continuation of their traditions. Generally speaking, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the

"church Germans" or Lutheran and Reformed denominations had sufficient numbers that they had little need for evangelism.[51]

The role of the sexes has not been a focus of this essay. However, as noted throughout, many of the early churches and meetinghouses had separate doors and seating areas for males and females. Seating was segregated by sex, age, and possibly status. Some argued that segregation was intended to prevent what was termed "distracting glances" during religious services, but this practice also raises questions as to whether separation was a way of discriminating against women, or an opportunity for women to have an identity and position separate from their family role. Except in Beissel's radical Dunker group, females generally did not hold positions of leadership in the church. While the Moravians allowed females to serve as elders among their own sex; they were never ordained. In addition, they attended meetings of the Board of Elders for the sake of information only; they did not have a vote in its deliberations. The role of women within Pennsylvania German churches changed in the nineteenth century as the Sunday school and Missionary Society movements swept through mainstream American churches. The acceptance of Sunday school by the Pennsylvania Germans, in which women played an important role, can be interpreted either as a mark of assimilation into mainstream American culture or as another means by which they could instruct others, especially their youths, about their beliefs and customs.[52]

This page intentionally left blank

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Cultural geographers have defined a core, domain, and sphere of a "Pennsylvania culture region" encompassing much of southeastern, south central, and central Pennsylvania, and reaching down into the Valley of Virginia. While this definition is a useful beginning for analysis, it relies on a limited number of criteria and does not capture the complexity of historical changes. See Joseph Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986), especially the maps on pages 210–11.

2. Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 15–16. Important works on Pennsylvania German history include A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Steven Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); Aaron Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Marianne Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Mark Hornberger, "Germans in Pennsylvania: 1800, 1850, 1880: A Spatial Perspective," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 24 (1989): 97–104.

3. Don Yoder, "Three Centuries of Pennsylvania German Identity Crisis," in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 43.

4. David Weaver-Zercher, *The Amish in the American Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), especially chap. 1.

5. Don Yoder, "Three Centuries of Pennsylvania German Identity Crisis," 60; James T. Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Geographical Review* 56:4 (October, 1966): 467–96.

6. Scott Swank, "The Germanic Fragment," in Scott Swank, et al., eds., *The Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983). See also Stephanie Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America: The Creation of an Eighteenth-Century German-American Culture," in Trommler and McVeigh, *America and the Germans,* 82.

7. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*; Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land*; Gabrielle Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Iden-*

tity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Cynthia Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008). Nolt's interpretation was anticipated by Stephanie Grauman Wolf, who argued for an eighteenth-century "German-American" culture in Pennsylvania, and concluded that "whatever survived of the underlying culture of colonial Germantown became more "German" during the nineteenth century as a result of acceptance of the myth [of "Germanness"] by both sides." Stephanie Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America: The Creation of an Eighteenth-Century German-American Culture," in Trommler and McVeigh, *America and the Germans*, 82.

8. Dell Upton, "Ethnicity, Authenticity, and Invented Traditions," *Historical Archaeology* 30:2 (1996): 4. Anthropologist A. P. Cohen, in *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 1995), offers a summary of works approaching community not merely (or even) as structural (i.e. demographic, geographic, etc.), but rather symbolic, and reinforced through boundaries established by ritual and other cultural practices. See also Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

CHAPTER 1. LANDSCAPES

1. Thomas Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1794), 95, http://www.padutchcountry.com/ (accessed September 20, 2003). In recent years, tourists planning visits to rural southeastern Pennsylvania have been encouraged to embrace agritourism—vacations that blend travel with farm stays and agricultural learning experiences. Visitors can stay at a working farm bed and breakfast; those planning road trips will view "breathtakingly scenic farmlands" and will "pass by pastures of cows and look out your window to see farm equipment pulled by workhorses." http://www.padutch country.com/ (accessed June 27, 2007).

2. David Walbert, *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8. See also the Pennsylvania Farm Vacation Association, Inc., http://www.pafarmstay.com/.

3. Walbert, *Garden Spot,* 8.

4. The discussion here of perceptions of Pennsylvania Germans as seen through contemporary travel accounts is summarized from Gabrielle M. Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 27–33; Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Ph.D., ed., *Cazenove Journal 1794: A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania* (Haverford, Pa.: Pennsylvania History Press, 1922), 29; Richard Parkinson, *Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800* (London: J. Harding, 1805), 607; Kelsey, *Cazenove Journal*, 30, 69–70.

5. Kelsey, *Cazenove Journal*, 34; François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, trans. H. Neuman (London: R. Phillips, 1800), 46; Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America* (London: Strahan and Spottiswoode, 1819), 183–84.

6. Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America: In a series of letters. By an officer,* vol. 2 (London: Printed for William Lane, 1789), 249–51.

7. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels,* 35.

8. Fearon, *Sketches of America*, 183–84; Kelsey, *Cazenove Journal*, 34.

9. Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America* (London: William L. Clements, 1800), 122–24.

10. James T. Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Geographical Review* 56:4 (October 1966): 467–96.

11. Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups," 493–95; Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic,* 23. A *Pennsylvania Folklife* study of the culture region of the "Plain Dutch" echoes Lemon's point about how the extreme cultural distinctiveness of a particular national or religious subgroup can gradually come to symbolize the entire culture. Distinguishing between the Gay Dutch—the Lutheran and Calvinist Reformed sects that theologically represent the more worldly branches of the Protestant Reformation—and the Plain Dutch—those more radical Anabaptist sects who preferred to live apart from this world—the author notes that the Gay Dutch have always formed the majority. But although this Gay Dutch majority set the primary pattern for what became known as Pennsylvania Dutch culture, "the Plain people created a culture of their own, which because of its distinctiveness to the non-Dutch observer is now the symbol of everything Dutch." Lee C. Hopple, "Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Group Culture Region to 1975," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 29:1 (Autumn 1979): 13. Here the author is drawing from Don Yoder's work. Don Yoder, "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two Worlds in the Dutch Country," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 8:4 (Summer 1956): 36.

12. Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), 49. See also Roger W. Fromm, "The Migration and Settlement of Pennsylvania Germans in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina and Their Effects on the Landscape," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 37:1 (Autumn 1987): 33–42, especially 39–41; Amos W. Long, Jr., "'Lime and Manure': Agricultural Practices Among the Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 45:2 (Winter 1995–96): 64–72; Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years: 1700–1775* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 23–24; James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Southeastern Pennsylvania* (London and New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 63, 247–48 n. 69.

13. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage,* 29–33, 38–41. While agriculture certainly dominated in the colonial Oley Valley, the rural landscape was also interspersed with multiple industrial sites such as tanneries, merchant flour and sawmills, paper mills, and iron furnaces and refining forges as well as craft shops where blacksmiths, coopers, wheelwrights, tailors, cordwainers, carpenters, joiners, turners, masons, millwrights, gunsmiths, tile makers, hatters, storekeepers, wagoners, and inn- and tavernkeepers plied their trades.

14. Ibid., 31–32.

15. Ibid., 34–35.

16. David B. Schneider, *Foundations in a Fertile Soil* (Lancaster, Pa.: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1994), 13.

17. This summary and those that follow are based on data from both the 1798 and 1815 Federal Direct Tax for Lancaster County, and treated in greater detail in Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic*, 36–50.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Thomas A. Lainhoff, "The Buildings of Lancaster County, 1815" (master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Capitol Campus, 1981), 103–4.

21. Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 415–18.

22. Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process," 418–20.

23. Robert P. Turner, ed., *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 84; Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage,* 36–37.

24. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles,* 32; Charles Greg Kelly, "Lewis Miller's

Chronicle of York: A Picture of Life in Early America," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 42:2 (Winter 1992–93): 66–68.

25. Turner, *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles,* 53.

26. Ibid., 55.

27. Ibid., 75.

28. Ibid.; Kelly, "Lewis Miller's *Chronicle of York,*" 65–66.

29. H. Winslow Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming: A Photographic Essay of Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1987), 3, 15.

30. Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming,* 18.

31. Ibid., 34, 36–41.

32. Ibid., 44–48, 54, 56–57, 59, 90, 102–3, 139–41, 155, 172–73, 176–77, 184, 186, 188, 197, 240–43, 249–57, 277–86, 300–301.

33. David Walbert argues that the very notion of rurality itself has become progressively more colored by urban culture. In the late twentieth century, the "new rurality" increasingly came to mean suburban lots carved from farmland, weekend farming experiences for anxious urbanites, and "'open space' set aside to provide food, recreation, and aesthetic pleasure for growing cities." The new rurality had more to do with rest, relaxation, and an escape from modern society than it did with a particular way of life. Although in recent years, the notion of "working landscapes" that can provide employment directly on the land while also offering scenic vistas and ecological benefits has gradually gained adherents and superseded earlier fixations on open space for its own sake, Walbert notes that the future of the kind of working rural community and culture that Fegley and Miller documented remains uncertain. Walbert, *Garden Spot,* 169–70, 205–6.

CHAPTER 2. RURAL HOUSES

1. On *Hausforschung* see William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms," *Winterthur Portfolio* 21 (Winter 1986): 243–63. John Milner, "Germanic Architecture in the New World," Proceedings of Thematic Sessions of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34:4 (December 1975): 299. This is cited in Charles Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 19, as the first usage of the terms in the U.S. Because these are coinages, I have chosen to use Milner's original spellings.

2. See Chapter 1 for additional discussion of the origins and timing of Pennsylvania German immigration.

3. Arthur Lord, "Architectural Characteristics of Houses: Lancaster County, 1798," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 85 (Michaelmas 1981): 140; Lee Soltow, "Rural Pennsylvania in 1800: A Portrait from the Septennial Census," *Pennsylvania History* 49 (January 1982): 25–48; Thomas A. Lainhoff, "The Buildings of Lancaster County, 1815" (master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Capitol Campus, 1981); Gabrielle Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 39, 36–48.

4. Thanks to Prof. Paul Zalewski, Leibniz Universität Hannover, Germany for confirming that these framing terms date to the early eighteenth century.

5. There is German-language terminology for these systems. The principal-rafter type, for example, has been termed a *liegender Stuhl* truss, while the queen-post system has been called *stehender Stuhl.* Prof. Zalewski confirms that these are eighteenth-century terms.

6. Dell Upton, "Traditional Timber Framing," in Brooke Hindle, ed., *Material Culture of the Wooden Age* (Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981), 35–96; see especially pages 75–83. Half timbering was not exclusively German, but in Pennsylvania it was mostly Germans who employed it. Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern

United States: A Time-Place Perspective," *Winterthur Portfolio 7* (1972), reprinted in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 159–82. The term *Fachwerk* has been applied to the German half-timbering.

7. Kniffen and Glassie, "Building in Wood," note various corner post systems that appear in different regions of the U.S. The German term associated with corner post log construction is *blockstanderbau.* See Scott Swank's introduction to H. Winslow Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming: A Photographic Essay of Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1987), 13.

8. Terry G. Jordan, "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70:2 (June 1980): 162. William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House," notes the association of log technology with many European regions.

9. Robert C. Bucher, "Grain in the Attic," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Winter 1962–63): 7–15; Robert C. Bucher, "Steep Roofs and Red Tiles," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1961): 17–26, 55; Robert C. Bucher and Alan G. Keyser, "Thatching in Pennsylvania," *Der Reggeboge* 16:1 (1982): 1–23; Steve Friesen, "The Five-Plate Stove Revisited," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 41 (Autumn 1991): 20–24; Amos Long, Jr., "Pennsylvania Cave and Ground Cellars," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (Winter 1960): 36–41; James Lewars, "Pennsylvania German Kicked Roofs," *Historical Review of Berks County* 42 (1981): 10–15, 28, 30; Bergengren, "Cycle of Transformations," dissertation; Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 36–64.

10. None of these terms was apparently used in the eighteenth century. William Woys Weaver, in "The Pennsylvania German House," traces the first published American usage of the term "Continental type house" to Alfred Shoemaker's book *The Pennsylvania Dutch Country, Art by Malcolm R. Potteiger* (Lancaster, Pa.: Rudisill, 1954). Charles Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania Houses," in Bernard L. Herman and Thomas Carter, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* vol. 4 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 98–107, attributes first American use of the terms *Flürkuchenhaus, Kreuzhaus,* and *durchgangigen Haus* to John Milner. See note 5. Milner, "Germanic Architecture in the New World," 299. Edward Chappell has used the term *Ernhaus*. See his articles "Germans and Swiss," in Dell Upton, *America's Architectural Roots, Ethnic Groups That Built America* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1986), 69–74, and "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124:1 (February 1980): 55–89 (reprinted in Upton and Vlach, *Common Places*, 27–57).

11. Henry Glassie, "A Central-Chimney Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 32–40; Robert Bucher, "The Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1962): 14–20.

12. The Herr house, 1719, in Lancaster County, had a masonry stove.

13. H. Winslow Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming*, figures 56 and 57. See Philip E. Pendleton's essay, Chapter 4, for further discussion of smaller houses.

14. Robert A. Barakat, "The Herr and Zeller Houses," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 21 (Summer 1972): 2–22.

15. Robert C. Bucher, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 2–11.

16. Howard Wight Marshall, "The Pelster Housebarn: Endurance of Germanic Architecture on the Midwestern Frontier," *Material Culture* 18:2 (1986): 65–104.

17. John Milner uses the term *durchgangingen*, which connotes a through passageway. William Woys Weaver has noted German illustrated volumes dating from as early as the

seventeenth century that include plans that are quite similar to American examples. Bergengren argues that this plan has "deep roots in the peasant architecture of Germany" ("Cycle of Transformations," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* 100).

18. John Milner, "Germanic Architecture in the New World."

19. Another, much rarer type consisted of three rooms strung along in a linear pattern. (Bergengren, "Cycle of Transformations," dissertation, 69–70 and 159–62).

20. James T. Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Geographical Review* 56 (October 1966): 467–96.

21. James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Southeastern Pennsylvania* (London and New York: W. W. Norton, 1976).

22. A good example is G. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings* 41, 1933).

23. Glassie, *Pattern,* 54.

24. Bergengren, "Cycle of Transformations," dissertation.

25. Fraser Neiman, "Domestic Architecture at the Clifts Plantation: The Social Context of Early Virginia Building," in Upton and Vlach, *Common Places*, 292–314.

26. Indeed, A. G. Roeber has suggested that one aspect of colonial Palatines' accommodation to English rule had involved repudiating Continental legal customs that benefited women, and that women's religious expression was more limited in the New World, too. A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property,* sec. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

27. Scott Swank, ed., with Benno M. Forman et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by Norton, 1983), viii, 21.

28. William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House," quotes on 263–64, 257. See also Bergengren, "Cycle of Transformations," dissertation, 40.

29. Swank, *Arts*, 3–4.

30. Glassie, *Pattern*, page 57, diagram E; Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," *Winterthur Portfolio 7* (1972): 29–57, reprinted in Upton and Vlach, *Common Places*, 407. Glassie's theory of the two-door house was only one among many. Some believed it came from a Georgian center-hall plan; Bergengren ("Cycle of Transformations," dissertation, 22) asserts that its probable origin was with the *Kreuzhaus*; and Dennis Domer, "Genesis Theories of the German-American Two-Door House," *Material Culture* 26 (1994): 1–35, concluded that no one theory was wholly persuasive.

31. Lanier, *The Delaware Valley*, 65.

32. Nancy Van Dolsen, *Cumberland County, Pennsylvania: An Architectural Survey* (Ephrata, Pa.: Science Press, 1990) also contains other examples of this phenomenon: the houses of Samuel Peffer, 39–40; Martin Brandt, 19; and Christian Kauffman, 17.

33. For a nineteenth-century photo, see Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming,* 86

34. National Register documentation for the Moyer house found at: http://www.arch.state.pa.us/pdfs/H084890_01B.pdf

35. Glassie, *Pattern*, 54.

36. Swank, *Arts,* 5, 34; Chappell, "Acculturation," 37. Richard Pillsbury holds that in western Pennsylvania at least, "the decision to build was made without regard for . . . European ethnic heritage" after about 1810. Richard Pillsbury, "Patterns in the Folk and Vernacular House Forms of the Pennsylvania Culture Region," *Pioneer America* 9 (July 1977): 31.

37. Gabrielle Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic,* 28–29.

38. For the best discussion of ethnicity as it pertains to architecture, see Dell Upton, "Ethnicity, Authenticity, and Invented Traditions," *Historical Archaeology* 30:2 (1996): 1–7.

Steven Nolt's formulation appears in *Foreigners in Their Own Land, Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

39. Cynthia Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

40. Mark Hornberger, "The Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Selected Counties in Pennsylvania, 1800–1880: A Geographic Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1974); Mark Hornberger, "Germans in Pennsylvania: 1800, 1850, 1880: A Spatial Perspective," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 24 (1989): 97–104.

41. Joseph Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986). Photographs by H. Winslow Fegley, in *Farming, Always Farming,* show the range very well. See especially pages 4, 5, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 91, 93, 98, 99. Glassie, *Pattern*, 56–60.

42. This was not an exclusively Pennsylvania German practice, but it was common in the Pennsylvania culture area. See for example the Matthias Krall house, in Van Dolsen, *Cumberland County*, 38–39.

43. Some scholars use the term "four-over-four" to refer to a house with four *rooms* on each floor, regardless of exterior appearance. Barry Rauhauser, on the other hand, in "The Development of the Pennsylvania Farmhouse Type in Manchester Township, York County, Pennsylvania" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2002), uses the term four-over-four to refer to the number of exterior bays on the main elevation.

44. For another example, see Jerry Clouse, "The German Element in Perry County," *Der Reggeboge* 31 (1997): 20.

45. Rauhauser, "The Development of the Pennsylvania Farmhouse Type," 35, 79.

46. Sally McMurry, *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

47. Sally McMurry, "The Pennsylvania Barn as a Collective Resource, 1830–1900," *Buildings and Landscapes* 16 (Spring 2009): 9–29. See also Van Dolsen, *Cumberland County*, 284–91. Fegley's photos have some evocative pictures of moving day; see *Farming, Always Farming,* 163–67.

48. Don Yoder, "Three Centuries of Pennsylvania German Identity Crisis," in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985). For the transformation of the Plain Sects in the popular imagination, see David Walbert, *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

CHAPTER THREE. DOMESTIC OUTBUILDINGS

1. Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America: In a series of letters. By an officer,* vol. 2 (London: Printed for William Lane, 1789), 279–80.

2. Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 9–10, 41–42.

3. Peter O. Wacker, *The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey: A Historical Geography* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 90–92.

4. Amos Long, Jr., *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm: A Regional and Architectural Folk Cultural Study of an American Agricultural Community* (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1972). Long also published several periodical articles on forms of outbuildings, which are similar in content but offer some additional material, including "Smokehouses in the Lebanon Valley," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Fall 1962): 25–32; "Outdoor Bakeovens in Berks," *Historical Review of Berks County* 28 (Winter 1962–63): 11–14, 31–32; and

"Bakeovens in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14 (December 1964): 16–29.

5. Scott T. Swank, "The Architectural Landscape," in Scott Swank, ed., with Benno M. Forman, et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by Norton, 1983), 27, 31.

6. Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years: 1700–1775* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 84–93.

7. Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 52–59.

8. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage*, 85–86, 93, 96–97. Three of these references, viz., those to the milkhouse or washhouse of 1757, the springhouse of 1766, and the dower or retirement house of 1772, applied to buildings that might better be characterized as examples of the ancillary house type. The documents show the buildings in question contained living quarters, and the buildings themselves have evidently survived to the present day, so that the architectural form of each is known.

9. This is not to suggest that relatively heavy work or storage was completely removed from the mansion house, especially with regard to the storage of foodstuffs and beverages in the cellar. Rather, the trend was away from the systematic design and use of the main house as the location for most of the inside work of this type.

In her study of Somerset County's cultural landscape, Sally McMurry contributes a well-developed discussion of the banked house type, a nineteenth-century dwelling form that continued to incorporate significant cellar space devoted to work and storage. The banked or bank house is characterized by a fully exposed basement wall on the front of the house, giving an effect of a three-story façade, often with a porch positioned above the basement level and extending the full length of the front wall. Joe Getty in his survey of Carroll County, Maryland, has also described this house type. It was evidently particularly numerous in a fairly broad area located to the southwest of the Pennsylvania German heartland, extending through southwestern and south-central Pennsylvania and western Maryland, with examples present but much less common in the main Pennsylvania German counties.

The banked house, as described by Getty and McMurry, appears to have developed in the decade or so preceding the close of the eighteenth century to become a prevalent form of dwelling on its region's more substantial rural homesteads by the middle decades of the nineteenth century. This type presented an increasingly formal first-floor space, along with a basement level that contained the kitchen and other work and storage spaces behind the fully exposed front wall. Sally McMurry, *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 86–97; Joe Getty, *Carroll's Heritage* (Westminster, Md.: The County Commissioners of Carroll County and the Historical Society of Carroll County, 1987), 73–75.

10. Charles Bergengren, personal communication, summer 2002.

11. Edwin Huyler and Christian Sidler, eds., *Guide to the Swiss Open-Air Museum, Ballenberg* (Ballenberg: Swiss Open-Air Museum, 1999), 86.

12. Stefan Baumeier, G. Ulrich Grossmann, and Wolf-Dieter Konenkamp, *Guide: Westphalian Open Air Museum, Detmold* (Detmold: Westphalian Open Air Museum Detmold, 1989), 94–95, 111–12, 128–29, 148–49, 160–61.

13. Ibid., 128.

14. Henry Kinzer Landis, "Early Kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans," Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings* 47 (1939): 23–28.

15. McMurry, *Sugar Camps to Star Barns*, 29–30.

16. Ibid., 140–43.

17. Long, *Pennsylvania German Family Farm*, 197–98.

18. Lanier and Herman, *Everyday Architecture*, 54–55. Note that these early milk houses are not the same as those erected in the twentieth century in response to legislated sanitation requirements.

19. Charles Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 99–100.

20. *Swiss Open-Air Museum*, 44, 52; *Westphalian Open Air Museum*, 22–23, 158–60; Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage*, 85.

21. *Westphalian Open Air Museum*, 23.

22. G. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings* 41, 1933), 35–36, 40–42, 45.

23. Robert Bucher, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 9.

24. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage*, 86, 88.

25. Raymond J. Brunner, "*That Ingenious Business*": *Pennsylvania German Organ Builders* (Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society 24, 1990), 131–33.

26. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage,* 86, 93.

27. Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 116, 251.

CHAPTER FOUR. BARNS AND AGRICULTURAL OUTBUILDINGS

1. Much has been written about Pennsylvania barns and outbuildings over the years, including work by Charles H. Dornbush and John K. Heyl, *Pennsylvania German Barns* (Allentown, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1956); Joseph W. Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986); Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Folk Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," *Winterthur Portfolio 7* (1972): 29–57; Amos Long, Jr., *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm: A Regional and Architectural Folk Cultural Study of an American Agricultural Community* (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1972); and Alfred L. Shoemaker, *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Kutztown, Pa.: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959). Henry Glassie established typologies and documented historic Pennsylvania barns. The preeminent recent work is by Robert Ensminger, *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America,* 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Ensminger persuasively argues that the forebay bank barn originated in the Swiss Prätigau, and traces its various subtypes in North America.

2. Sharon Salinger, "*To Serve Well and Faithfully*": *Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Farley Grubb, "Immigrant Servant Labor: Their Occupational and Geographic Distribution in the Late Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic Economy," *Social Science History* 9 (1985): 249–76; Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Lucy Simler, "Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Chester County," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 43:4 (October 1986): 542–69.

3. Carole Shammas, "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13 (Autumn 1982): 247–72; James Lemon, "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America and its Relationship to Production and Trade: The Situation Among Farmers in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Agricultural History* 41 (January 1967): 59–70.

4. James Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 179–82; Tench Coxe, *View of the United States of America, in a Series of Papers,*

written at various times between the years 1787 and 1794 . . . (Philadelphia, Pa.: printed for William Hall, 1794), 64, 89; James Westfall Thompson, *History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607–1860* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942), 46–47; Percy Wells Bidwell and John Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern States, 1620–1840* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 27, 42, 45, 47; James Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Geographical Review* 56 (October 1966): 467–96; John Walzer, "Colonial Philadelphia and Its Backcountry," *Winterthur Portfolio 7* (1971): 161–73.

5. Michael V. Kennedy, " 'Cash for His Turnups': Agricultural Production for Local Markets in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1725–1783," *Agricultural History* 74 (Summer 2000): 587–608; Arthur C. Lord, "The Pre-Revolutionary Agriculture of Lancaster County Pennsylvania," *Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 79 (Hilarymas 1975): 23–42; Robert Bucher, "Grain in the Attic," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Winter 1962–63): 7–15; Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years: 1700–1775* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 96.

6. The figures on barn ownership are from an unpublished paper authored by J. Ritchie Garrison. But see also the figures in Arthur C. Lord, "Barns of Lancaster County: 1798," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 77 (Hilarymas 1973): 26–40. The rich Oley Valley was an exception; see Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage,* 94. On the ground-level barn, see Alan G. Keyser and William P. Stein, "The Pennsylvania German Tri-Level Ground Barn," *Der Reggeboge* 9 (December 1975): 1–25.

7. The 1796 local tax records for Hempfield Township, Lancaster County list barns and their materials, and quite a few entries show barns with stone basement and log upper story.

8. Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern States,* 107, 137, 177, 227.

9. Thompson, *History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607–1860*, 84, 138; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern States*, 110–11.

10. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties* (Lancaster, Pa.: G. Hills, 1844), 264.

11. The 1800 tax records for Lancaster County suggest that the number of animals had, in fact, risen slightly. The 1796 records for Hempfield Township were more detailed than the others, and allow for connecting animal counts with barn types. These show, not surprisingly, that the larger stone barns accommodated above-average numbers of animals.

12. Diane Lindstrom, *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810–1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 9, 142, 101, and chap. 4.

13. County production data are from I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties,* 263, and the 1860 US Census of Agriculture. Kuan-I Chen, "Agricultural Production in Pennsylvania, 1840–1950" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1954), convincingly demonstrates that for most of the nineteenth century, gains in production were the result of additional land under cultivation, not greater productivity per acre. Average farm size in 1850 ranged from eighty-six acres in Berks County, to ninety-two in Lancaster County, and 130 in Cumberland County; statewide it was 117.

14. These figures are from the U.S. Census of Agriculture. Joan Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), discusses butter production. See also Elinor Oakes, "A Ticklish Business: Dairying in New England and Pennsylvania, 1750–1812," *Pennsylvania History* 47 (July 1980): 195–212. For an overview of markets important to the southeastern Pennsylvania farm economy, see Jo N. Hays, "Overlapping Hinterlands: York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, 1800–1850," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (July 1992): 295–321.

15. Joseph Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn*, 6; James Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups."

16. Peirce Lewis, "American Roots in Pennsylvania Soil," in E. Willard Miller, ed., *A Geography of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 1–16; Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 36–62.

17. They also built larger houses, belying the stereotype of the Dutchman as building a big barn and living in a small house. See Gabrielle Milan Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), especially chap. 2.

18. This conclusion derives from a close inspection and analysis of the manuscript census of agriculture for 1850. See especially Sadsbury, Little Britain, and East Donegal townships, where Germans and English lived side by side.

19. Mark Hornberger, "The Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Selected Counties in Pennsylvania 1800–1880: A Geographic Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1974), especially 50–51, 227.

20. Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn*, especially Figure 3–3, page 26.

21. Steven Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

22. David Fooks, "In Search of America's Oldest Hex Sign," *Der Reggeboge* 36 (2002): 21–27; Don Yoder and Thomas E. Graves, *Hex Signs: Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols and Their Meaning,* 2nd ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 2000).

23. I. Daniel Rupp, *History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties . . .* (Lancaster, Pa.: G. Hills, 1846), 367. The remark on thatching was in reference to Cumberland County. See also Robert Bucher and Alan Keyser, "Thatching in Pennsylvania," *Der Reggeboge* 16 (1982): 1–23.

24. Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357–70.

25. David Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 59–60. For accounts of threshing, see Beauveau Borie IV, *Farming and Folk Society: Threshing among the Pennsylvania Germans* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986). Regarding communal work rituals, there are examples in Sally McMurry, *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 10. Henry L. Fisher, "Harvesting," in *Olden Times: Or Rural Life Some Fifty Years Ago, and Other Poems* (York, Pa.: Fisher Brothers, 1888), 87–115, represented Pennsylvania German men and women working together at harvest time. Phebe Earle Gibbons, *"Pennsylvania Dutch," and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874), 43, noted that Pennsylvania German women did the milking, and on page 63, she quoted a Lehigh County woman who criticized the New Englanders because the men did all the milking and outside work. Labor patterns need more careful scholarly analysis.

26. Hermann Rebel, "Peasant Stem Families in Early Modern Austria: Life Plans, Status Tactics, and the Grid of Inheritance," *Social Science History* 2 (Spring 1978): 255–91; H. W. Spiegel, "The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security," *Rural Sociology* 4 (June 1939): 203–18; H. Winslow Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming: A Photographic Essay of Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1987), 55.

27. I. Daniel Rupp, *History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland . . . Counties*, 367.

28. Nancy Van Dolsen, *Cumberland County, Pennsylvania: An Architectural Survey* (Ephrata, Pa.: Science Press, 1990), 285, quotes an 1805 Cumberland County lease that stipu-

lated that one end of the barn was reserved for the landlord's use. Court disputes over crops sometimes mentioned similar arrangements; see *Rank v. Rank* (Supreme Court of Pa., 5 Pa. 211; 1847 Pa. lexis 27), where the tenant put his share of grain in the landlord's barn. See Sally McMurry, "The Pennsylvania Barn as a Collective Resource," *Buildings and Landscapes* 16 (Spring 2009): 9–29.

29. At the Durst-Neff farm in Centre County, the barn has a large granary with multiple bins, and the figures are scrawled on the granary door, with several dates in the mid-1870s and names of known tenants.

30. William Woys Weaver and Don Yoder, *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania Dutch Food and Foodways,* 2nd ed. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002); Don Yoder, "The Sausage Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans," in *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research, Cardiff, Wales, 1977* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), 409–23; Don Yoder, "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1961): 56–69; Susan J. Ellis, "Traditional Food on the Commercial Market: The History of Pennsylvania Scrapple," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23 (Spring 1973): 10–21; Don Yoder, "Historical Sources for American Traditional Cookery: Examples from the Pennsylvania German Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 20 (Spring 1971): 16–29. This last piece argues that no evidence for shoo-fly pie can be found in the historical record before about 1900, and that it isn't necessarily Pennsylvania German. Foods Yoder identifies as definitely Pennsylvania German include sauerkraut, panhaas (scrapple), schnitz un knepp, dumpling dishes, sausages, soups, dandelion greens, fastnacht, and hot salad.

31. 13th U.S. Census, 1910; *Abstract, with Supplement for Pennsylvania*, chap. 3, county tables.

32. In exploring the culture of Pennsylvania German tobacco growing, historians, geographers, and folklorists have explained this localization by extrapolating late twentieth-century patterns into the past, assuming that mostly Plain Sect farm households grew tobacco in the nineteenth century as is the case in the late twentieth century. See Horace Barnes, "Early History of Tobacco," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 45 (1941): 5–22; Daniel Good, "The Localization of Tobacco Production in Lancaster County Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 49 (July 1982): 190–200. For useful statistics and a thorough study, see W. W. Garner, et al, "History and Status of Tobacco Culture," *USDA Yearbook* (1922): 395–468.

33. Robert Abraham Barakat, "Tobaccuary: A Study of Tobacco Curing Sheds in Southeastern Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972). Also Barakat, "Glossary of Pennsylvania German Terms Related to Construction and Tobacco Agriculture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 27 (Spring 1977): 21–35.

34. "Pennsylvania's Crops and Livestock 1926," Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture *General Bulletin* # 445, May 1927.

35. David Walbert, *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

CHAPTER FIVE. TOWN HOUSE

1. James H. Mast, ed., "John Pearson's Description of Lancaster and Columbia in 1801," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 61 (April 1957): 51–52. See also Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

2. Jeffrey E. Klee, "An English House in the Germanic City: The Case of the William Montgomery House" (unpublished paper, University of Delaware, 1997).

3. Sehner-Ellicott House, 123 North Prince Street, Lancaster, Pa., Historic Preservation

Trust of Lancaster County; Michael Gundacker Probate Inventory (1815), Lancaster County Court House Archives, Lancaster, Pa.; see also Michael Gundacker's property assessments in the 1815 Federal Direct Tax Census (Lancaster County Historical Society).

4. Insurance Survey, John F. Griers, Reading, Pennsylvania (1820), Cigna Archives, Philadelphia.

5. Inventory of John F. Grier, Reading, Berks Co., Pennsylvania (March 23, 1829), Berks County Wills and Inventories, courtesy of Philip Pendleton.

6. Information on Strasburg dwellings courtesy of Laura Stutman. For Carlisle, see Nancy Van Dolsen, *Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey* (Ephrata, Pa.: Science Press, 1990), 76–88.

7. Horst Ossenburg, *Das Bürgerhaus in Baden* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1986), 46–48, plates 38, 40, 67, 86, 88, 217; Ernst Stephan, *Das Bürgerhaus in Mainz* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1974), 61, 98–99.

8. Thomas R. Ryan, ed., *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz: Portrait Painter of the Early Republic* (Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster County Historical Society, 2003).

9. William Stahle, *The Description of the Borough of Reading* (Reading, Pa.: published by the Author, 1841), 45–49. See also Jerome H. Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1979).

10. On the center square or diamond see Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account," *Geographical Review* 67 (April 1977): 127–47.

11. Raymond W. Albright, *Two Centuries of Reading, Pa. 1748–1948* (Reading: Historical Society of Berks County, 1948), 140, 146, 182, 251.

12. It is significant to note that the northern suburbs of Baltimore was the one urban landscape outside of Pennsylvania German country where single-story houses dominated into the early 1800s.

13. See Thomas R. Ryan, "Defining Jacob Eichholtz," in Ryan, ed., *Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz*, 16.

14. Thomas R. Winpenny, *Industrial Progress and Human Welfare: The Rise of the Factory System in 19th Century Lancaster* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), 105.

15. Ibid., 110.

16. *Lancaster New Era*, June 6, 1891.

17. Residential Security Map, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Records of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, RG 195, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.; Works Progress Administration, *Real Property Survey: Lancaster, Pennsylvania* (n.p., 1936), 32–33, 54–55. See also David Schuyler, *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1940–1980* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

CHAPTER SIX. COMMERCE AND CULTURE

1. On the commercial activities of the earliest immigrants see A. G. Roeber, "'The Origin of Whatever is Not English Among Us': The Dutch-speaking and the German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 257–59.

2. Pennsylvania Germans figured largely in the now-classic discussions about America's transition to capitalism and the extent of farmers' involvement with the market. James T. Lemon wrote that Pennsylvanians (of whom Germans were the largest minority) were classically liberal and inclined toward the pursuit of wealth. In response, James Henretta argued that early Americans were opposed to financial risks, and more inclined to preserve assets

for their families' use, and he cited communitarian Pennsylvania Germans specifically in his argument. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), xv, 6–7; James Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 35 (January 1978): 3–32. Philip Pendleton says that Oley farmers (a number of whom were German) were probably not concerned with making money for money's sake, but were involved in a vigorous economy based on wheat and iron production. Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years, 1700–1775* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 29–31.

3. Cornwall Iron Furnace, Cornwall, Pa., is an exception. The furnace produced iron from 1742 until 1883. A National Historic Landmark, the site is administered by the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission. See Sharon Hernes Silverman, "A Blast from the Past: Cornwall Iron Furnace," *Pennsylvania Heritage* (Spring 1998): 21–31.

4. Rex's papers are in the archives of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. and the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Del. Other Rex documents are in Leon E. Lewis Microfilm Collection (hereafter LEL), copies in Downs Collection, Winterthur, and in Lebanon County Historical Society, Lebanon, Pa. For further analysis of Rex and his business see Diane E. Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), and Wenger, "Delivering the Goods: The Country Storekeeper and Inland Commerce in the Mid-Atlantic," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 129 (January 2005): 45–72.

5. Susanna Ross Thompson daybook, Cumberland County Historical Society.

6. Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 21. Like Schaefferstown, Germantown also had a market house that was never put to its intended use.

7. A. S. Brendle, *A Brief History of Schaefferstown* (1901; reprint, with index, Schaefferstown, Pa.: Historic Schaefferstown, Inc., 1979), 11–13.

8. Market house documents, LEL Reel 5: AS52, Reel 13: M5; Brendle, *Brief History,* 31. On market houses, see Helen Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

9. *Souvenir History of Carlisle (America's Most Historic Town), Old Home Week, October 19–25, 1924* (Carlisle, Pa.: Robert H. Gibb, for benefit of Empire Hook & Ladder Co., 1924), 24; Conrad Wing, *History of Cumberland County* (Philadelphia: James D. Scott, 1879), 117, 121; Doris M. Hippensteel West, interview by Diane Wenger, May 28, 2007. West, a former resident of Cumberland County, remembers taking produce to the market with her family as a child.

10. The market was documented for the Local Legacies Project of the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. See "Central Market and the Tradition of Market in Lancaster, Pennsylvania," http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cocoon/legacies/PA/200002951.html (accessed May 30, 2007).

11. Lancaster Corporation Book, 1757, cited in Jerome H. Wood, Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1979), 96.

12. "Central Market and the Tradition of Market in Lancaster, Pennsylvania."

13. The photograph, dating from the first decade of the twentieth century, was sold on eBay in February 2003; copy in possession of the author.

14. See http://www.lebanonfarmersmarket.com (accessed May 29, 2007).

15. On country stores, see Wenger, "Creating Networks"; Ann Smart Martin, "Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to the Virginia Frontier" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1993), 203; Lu Ann De Cunzo, "The Culture Broker Revisited: Historical Archaeological Perspectives on Merchants in Delaware, 1760–1815," *North American Archaeologist* 16 (1995): 181–222; Susan Leigh Taylor, "'Where Humbler Shop-Men From the Crowd Retreat': Gable Front Stores and the Early Commercial Landscape of Rural Delaware" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1997).

16. François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797,* 2 vols., translated by H. Neuman (London: Printed by T. Gillet for R. Phillips, 1800), 2: 583.

17. See Wenger, "Creating Networks," 106. By the time the Direct Tax was assessed, Rex owned the buildings. 1798 Federal Direct Tax, Heidelberg Township, Dauphin County, Pa., Schedule I, Micro. Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware.

18. Frederick S. Weiser and Larry M. Neff, trans., *Records of Purchases at the King George Hotel, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1762–1773* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1987); reference to the Irisher, 94.

19. By that time the building was owned by Alexander Schaeffer's son, Henry.

20. Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County Pennsylvania, 1750–1840* (Carlisle, Pa.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1994), 46, 48; Earl W. Ibach, *Marching Through the Tulpehocken* (Womelsdorf, Pa.: Tulpehocken Settlement Historical Society, 1999), 208.

21. Charles Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 90, 152, 181, 510.

22. The post office counter from Lauser's Store, complete with window and mailboxes, is on display in the Thomas R. Brendle Museum, Schaefferstown.

23. On storekeepers as culture brokers, see Lu Ann De Cunzo, "The Culture Broker Revisited," and Gregory Nobles, "The Rise of Merchants in Rural Market Towns: A Case Study of Eighteenth-Century Northampton, Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History* 43 (1990): 3–20.

24. *Lancaster Journal*, August 25, 1798.

25. On the cellar of the Franklin House, see Bergengren, "Cycle of Transformations," 146, 179.

26. On women and the Rex store, see Wenger, "Creating Networks," 102. Elizabeth A. Perkins found that 10 to 14 percent of shoppers in rural Kentucky were female. Perkins, "The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky," *Journal of American History* 78 (1991): 495–96. Daniel B. Thorp notes that less than 4 percent of account holders at the Lowrance, North Carolina, store were women, and they were all widows. Thorp, "Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly* 48 (1991): 399. Stephanie McCurry estimates that females made up 2 to 4 percent of customers in South Carolina low country stores. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 97.

27. On dairying and butter-making, see Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid–Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); Sally McMurry, *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change, 1820–1885* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

28. Kelker to Rex, August 1798, LEL Reel 5, AS103.

29. Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads,* 48–50, 93–156.

30. George Dobson announced in *The Lancaster Journal*, September 22, 1798, that he had moved his dry goods store from Philadelphia to Lancaster because of fever. For Lancaster businesses in general, see Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads*, 93–156.

31. Cited in David Brener, "Lancaster's First Jewish Community," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 80 (Michaelmas 1976): 253–54.

32. On German customs in high-style city homes, see Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 77–97. On Pennsylvania Germans' beds, food, furniture, and fraktur, see Ellen J. Gehret and Alan G. Keyser, *The Homespun Textile Tradition of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976), n.p.; and Alan G. Keyser, "Beds, Bedding, Bedsteads, and Sleep," *Der Reggeboge* 12 (1978): 1–28; *The Landis Valley Cookbook: Pennsylvania German Foods and Traditions* (Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999); William Woys Weaver, *Pennsylvania Dutch Country Cooking* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993) and *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania Dutch Foods and Foodways,* 2nd ed. (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002); Diane E. Wenger, "Saffron Use Among Pennsylvania Germans: A History and Ethnography," *Der Reggebogge* 36 (2002): 3–20; Monroe H. Fabian, *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest* (1978; reprint, Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing Co., 2004); and Frederick S. Weiser, "Fraktur," in Scott Swank, ed., with Benno M. Forman, et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by Norton, 1983), 230–64.

33. To date there have been no studies of taverns in the context of Pennsylvania German culture. Travelers' accounts and the study by Julius Sachse, *The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside between Philadelphia and Lancaster* (Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1914), provide descriptions of early taverns in the area. More recent secondary sources also provide valuable information about taverns in Pennsylvania German regions. Schaumann's *Taverns of Cumberland County Pennsylvania, 1750–1840*, includes period photographs and descriptions of that region's taverns, among them many that are no longer standing, along with references to relevant documents. H. Ray Worner, "The Taverns of Early Lancaster and the Later-Day Hotels," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 73 (1969) (special single issue) is an exhaustive catalogue of locations and proprietors of early Lancaster establishments. On city taverns, see Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

34. The same was true in Germany. See Charles Bergengren, "The Physical Thing Itself: Architectural/Stylistic/Material Aspects of the Gemberling-Rex Tavern House, Schaefferstown," *Pennsylvania History* 75 (Winter 2008): 90–118.

35. Worner, "The Taverns of Early Lancaster," 39; population table, Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads*, 47.

36. Based on tavern licenses listed in Priscilla Stanley Fox, "Our Old Taverns," *Papers of Lebanon County Historical Society* 10 (1931): 132–34.

37. John T. Faris, *Old Roads Out of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1917), 123.

38. Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County*, 162.

39. Cited by Sachse, *The Wayside Inns,* 33–35.

40. In 1763 Erpff listed his occupation as "innkeeper" (property deed, George Swengle, blacksmith, to Philip Erpff, innkeeper, LEL Reel 9: TR139), but in 1796, in a legal document concerning guardianship of a friend's children, Erpff listed himself as a "storekeeper" (LEL

Reel 12: G31). Erpff's receipt book for 1774–76 and 1787–98, in the Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. archives, shows purchases in Philadelphia for store goods.

41. Grubb lease, LEL Reel 11: A15.

42. All of this restructuring caused a decided sag in the center of the house, because main support elements were removed. On the Gemberling-Rex House, see Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations," especially 249–60 and 282–85.

43. Bergrengren, "The Cycle of Transformations," 284.

44. Seyfert tavern book, LEL Reel 7: GM6.

45. These taverns are shown in Worner, "Taverns of Early Lancaster," 54, 57, 66, 75, 81.

46. Peter Lydig account July 20, 1799; Stephenson account, 1800, Seyfert tavern book, LEL Reel 7: GM6.

47. Worner, "Taverns of Early Lancaster," 42, 46, 47, 49.

48. The turnpike was a joint project of merchants in the two cities. Sachse, "The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside," 49.

49. The Union Canal ran from Middletown, near Harrisburg, to Reading; from there, it connected with the Schuylkill Canal and Philadelphia. Dean M. Aungst, *The Union Canal and the Lehmans: 1828–1885* (Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1985), 41.

50. On Pennsylvania craftsmen, see Thomas R. Winpenny, *Bending Is Not Breaking: Adaptation and Persistence Among 19th Century Lancaster Artisans* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), and Scott T. Swank, "Germanic Fragment," in *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans,* 14–18.

51. These figures were obtained from the microfilm copy of the 1798 Federal Direct Tax, on file in the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware.

52. Horace R. Barnes, "Industries of Lancaster County Prior to 1800" (1944), reprinted in *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society, Centennial Editions,* "Business & Industry of Lancaster County," 100 (1998): 369. This entire issue is extremely useful for understanding the development of business in Lancaster,

53. Winpenny, *Bending Is Not Breaking,* 44.

54. For more on the Keim ancillary structure, see Pendleton, *Oley Valley*, 91–92.

55. The exact provenance of this document is unknown. It was framed and on display at Fulton Bank, Main Street, Schaefferstown, Pa.

56. Brendle, *Brief History,* 44, 55.

57. Charles D. Spotts, "Tobacco in Lancaster County," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 18 (1984): 59.

58. Spotts, "Tobacco in Lancaster County," 41.

59. Charles Huber, *Schaefferstown Bicentennial: 1763–1963* (Schaefferstown, Pa.: Bicentennial Committee, 1963), 171–74.

60. For photos of men and women working in cigar factories, see Huber, *Schaefferstown Bicentennial*, 171–74; Ibach, "Marching Through the Tulpehocken," 127–28, and John B. Kline, *Tobacco Farming and Cigar Making Tools*, A Tool Collectors' Guide (Reamstown(?), Pa.: published by the author, 1975), 33, 45. On "putting out" see Thomas Dublin, "Rural Putting-Out Work in Early Nineteenth-Century New England: Women and the Transition to Capitalism in the Countryside," *New England Quarterly* 64 (December 1991): 531–73.

61. Pendleton, *Oley Valley*, 160.

62. Wenger, "Creating Networks," 117–18.

63. "Mascot Roller Mills, Ronks Vicinity, Pennsylvania," Historic American Engineering Record.

64. Philip Pendleton, unpublished manuscript on Berks County mills.

65. Surprisingly little has been written on grain milling in early America, much less mill

architecture. German technology in Pennsylvania is specifically addressed in Carter Litchfield, et al., *The Bethlehem Oil Mill, 1745–1934: German Technology in Early Pennsylvania* (Kemblesville, Pa.: Olearius Editions, 1984). A forthcoming volume by Stephen Kindig, Phillip Pendleton, et al. will provide information on the history and design of Berks County, Pennsylvania, mills. On grain trade see Brooke Hunter, "Rage for Grain: Flour Milling in the Mid-Atlantic, 1750–1815" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2002).

66. There have been numerous studies of Pennsylvania's iron industry, though few locate the industry in the context of Pennsylvania German culture and architecture. See Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1938, 1987); Paul F. Paskoff, *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry, 1750–1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); and Gerald G. Eggert, *The Iron Industry in Pennsylvania,* Pennsylvania Historical Studies No. 25 (Middletown, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1994). For studies of individual iron plantations, see Frederic Miller, *The Rise of an Iron Community: An Economic History of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, from 1740 to 1865* (Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1950); Joseph E. Walker, *Hopewell Village: The Dynamics of a Nineteenth Century Iron-Making Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966); and Estelle Cremers, *Reading Furnace 1736* (Elverson, Pa.: Reading Furnace Press, 1986). Iron plantations were a source of goods for Pennsylvania Germans, as well as a place of employment, and the group's affinity for iron stoves is well documented; Henry Chapman Mercer explored the production of stove plates for this ethnic market in *The Bible in Iron* (Doylestown, Pa.: Bucks County Historical Society, 1941).

67. Richard E. Noble, *The Touch of Time: Robert Habersham Coleman 1856–1930* (Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1983), 4–10; Miller, *Rise of an Iron Community*, 12, 88; Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, 20–21.

68. In England, by contrast, women did work directly in making iron. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture,* 26, 96–102.

69. See John Bezís-Selfa, "A Tale of Two Ironworks: Slavery, Free Labor, Work and Resistance in the Early Republic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 56 (October 1999): 677–700.

70. Pendleton, *Oley Valley*, 78.

71. Robert Coleman was estimated to be worth over £50,000 by the end of the eighteenth century.

72. Herbert H. Beck, "Cannon Hill and the Hessian Ditch with Personal Reminiscences of the Furnace Hills," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 44 (1940): 30.

73. Cary Carson, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand?" in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 672; Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

CHAPTER SEVEN. RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPES

1. Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 13; Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser, eds., *The Papers of William Penn,* vol. 5 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 223–28; Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, *A History of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), 21.

2. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa.: Gilbert Hills, 1844), 455; Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed*

Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717–1793, vol. 2 (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 9; Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves,* 17.

3. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves,* 10.

4. Ibid., 12, 14; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People,* 136; Rev. John C. Shelter, "Ecumenical Acts of Boehm, Leydich and Muhlenberg at the Founding of the Nation," *Der Reggeboge* 37: 29.

5. Rev. M. H. Groh, *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Landisburg Charge 1777–1887* (Landisburg, Pa.: Landisburg Job Print, 1887), 72.

6. Rev. David H. Focht, *Churches Between the Mountains* (Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1862), 23.

7. John Landis Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's: A Narrative History of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 2001), 45–55; Dietmar Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania 1740–1770* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 7.

8. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves,* 14, 17; Rupp, *History of Lancaster County,* 134–35; I. Daniel Rupp, *He Pasa Ekklesia: An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Clyde and Williams, 1844), 94, 419.

9. Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's,* 172, 179, 428–29, 201.

10. Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years: 1700–1775* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 105–6.

11. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves,* 18–19.

12. Steven M. Nolt, *A History of the Amish* (Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1996), 15, 35; Elam Lapp, *Ein Diener Register von Diener, Diaconien und Bischof in Lancaster County und Umliegende Gemeinde 1788 to 2000* (Millersburg, Pa.: Brookside Printing, 2000), i, ii, iii, 10; Rupp, *History of Lancaster County*, 457.

13. Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress,* 30–31.

14. *Two Centuries of Nazareth: 1740–1940* (Nazareth, Pa.: Nazareth Item Publishing Co., 1940), 1–7; Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress,* 16, 35.

15. Rupp, *He Pasa Ekklesia*, 419.

16. Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress,* 30–31.

17. Ibid., 65.

18. Steven M. Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 16, 45, 55.

19. Ibid., 51, 55; Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's,* 337.

20. Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land,* 51, 57.

21. Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's,* 335, 337.

22. Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land,* 113.

23. Scott Swank, ed., with Benno M. Forman, et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by Norton, 1983), 22; G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings* 41 (1933); William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms," *Winterthur Portfolio* 21 (Winter 1986): 243; Ruth E. Bonner, *Quaker Ways: Pictures of Meeting Houses in Current Middle-Atlantic America* (Kutztown, Pa.: Kutztown Publishing Co., 1978), 11.

24. Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's,* 267; Clarke Hess, *Mennonite Arts* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 2002), 23, 18; Swank, *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans,* 22.

25. Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's,* 369, 412, 550, 560, 688, 857.

26. Although Brethren writings state that Pricetown was constructed in 1777, some architectural historians disagree with that date.

27. Edward T. Rines, *Old Historic Churches of America* (New York: Macmillan, 1936),

203; K. Edward Lay, "European Antecedents of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Germanic and Scots-Irish Architecture in America" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 32 (Autumn 1982): 33.

28. Harold E. Dickson, *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings* (State College, Pa.: Bald Eagle Press, 1954), 26; Conversation with Don Yoder and Harry Focht at the Pennsylvania German Society Annual Meeting, June 6, 2003; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People,* 136; Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942), 70; Focht, *Churches Between the Mountains,* 22; Groh, *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Landisburg Charge ,* 64.

29. *Our Present Past: An Update of Lancaster's Heritage* (Lancaster, Pa.: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1985), 415; *Lancaster County Architecture 1700–1850* (Lancaster, Pa.: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1992), 145.

30. Rev. Frederick S. Weiser, *The Account Book of Christ Lutheran Church, Stouchsburg, Berks County, Pennsylvania 1747–1809* (Camden, Maine.: Picton Press, 1997).

31. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People,* 332, 334.

32. Ibid., 324–26.

33. William Henry Egle, *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1883), 201.

34. Deborah S. Burns and Richard J. Webster, *Pennsylvania Architecture: The Historic American Buildings Survey 1933–1990* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2000), 66.

35. In 1830 Rev. John William Heim of Perry County reported to the Lutheran Synod that he served eight congregations and each had "week-day schools" as well; Focht, *Churches Between the Mountains,* 92–93; *Bloomfield: A Commemorative Story 1831–1981* (Penbrook, Pa.: Triangle Press, 1984), 47.

36. Garth Howland, *An Architectural History of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Time Publishing Co., 1947), 21, 40.

37. Mary Augustus Huebener, *A Brief History of Lititz, Pennsylvania* (n.p., 1947), 7–8; Rupp, *History of Lancaster County*, 311, 314, 316, 318.

38. William J. Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 103; Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans,* plates 52, 73, and 75.

39. Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning,* 102–3.

40. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Schuylkill, and Carbon Counties* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Hickok and Cantine printers, 1845), p. 81.

41. Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans,* 22–23, plates 14 and 15.

42. Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning,* 102; Stephen G. Warfel, *Historical Archeology at Ephrata Cloister: A Report on 1996 Investigations* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1997), 23.

43. John Bradley, *Ephrata Cloister: Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2000), 20; Conversation with Stephen Warfel, October 15, 2003.

44. Warfel, *Historical Archaeology at Ephrata Cloister,* 29.

45. *A Visit in 1753 to Ephrata Cloister* (Ephrata, Pa.: Science Press, 1985), n.p.

46. Dickson, *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings,* 27.

47. Telephone conversation with Frederick Weiser, December 28, 2003.

48. Focht, *Churches Between the Mountains,* 55, 71–72, 129–30, 149, 200.

49. Burns and Webster, *Pennsylvania Architecture,* 221, 224.

50. John Ruth and Amos Hoover, telephone interviews, December 18, 2003.

51. Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land,* 50–56.

52. Rupp, *He Pasa Ekklesia*, 418, 420.

Selected Bibliography

Albright, Raymond W. *Two Centuries of Reading, Pa. 1748–1948.* Reading, Pa.: Historical Society of Berks County, 1948.

Alderfer, E. G. *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.

Aungst, Dean M. *The Union Canal and the Lehmans: 1828–1885.* Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1985.

Bach, Jeff. *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Barakat, Robert A. "Glossary of Pennsylvania German Terms Related to Construction and Tobacco Agriculture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 27 (Spring 1977): 21–35.

———. "The Herr and Zeller Houses." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 21 (Summer 1972): 2–22.

———. "Tobaccuary: A Study of Tobacco Curing Sheds in Southeastern Pennsylvania." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972.

Barnes, Horace R. "Early History of Tobacco." *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 45 (1941): 5–22.

———. "Industries of Lancaster County Prior to 1800" (1944). Reprinted in "Business & Industry of Lancaster County," special issue, *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society, Centennial Editions* 100 (Winter 1998): 352–72.

Baumeier, Stefan, G. Ulrich Grossmann, and Wolf-Dieter Konenkamp, eds. *Guide: Westphalian Open Air Museum, Detmold.* Detmold: Westphalian Open Air Museum Detmold, 1989.

Beck, Herbert H. "Cannon Hill and the Hessian Ditch with Personal Reminiscences of the Furnace Hills." *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 44 (1940): 21–40.

Bergengren, Charles. "The Cycle of Transformation in the Houses of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988.

———. "The Cycle of Transformation in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania Houses." In Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* vol. 4. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991: 98–107.

———. "From Lovers to Murderers: The Etiquette of Entry and the Social Implications of House Form." *Winterthur Portfolio* 29:1 (Winter 1994): 43–72.

———. "The Physical Thing Itself: Architectural/Stylistic/Material Aspects of the Gemberling-Rex Tavern House, Schaefferstown." *Pennsylvania History* 75 (Winter 2008): 90–118.

Bezís-Selfa, John. "A Tale of Two Ironworks: Slavery, Free Labor, Work and Resistance in the Early Republic." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 56 (October 1999): 677–700.

Bidwell, Percy Wells, and John Falconer. *History of Agriculture in the Northern States 1620–1840.* New York: Peter Smith, 1941.

Bining, Arthur C. *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1938, 1987.

Bloomfield: A Commemorative Story 1831–1981. Penbrook, Pa.: Triangle Press, 1984.

Bonner, Ruth E. *Quaker Ways: Pictures of Meeting Houses in Current Middle-Atlantic America.* Kutztown, Pa.: Kutztown Publishing Co., 1978.

Borie, Beauveau, IV. *Farming and Folk Society: Threshing Among the Pennsylvania Germans.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986.

Bradley, John. *Ephrata Cloister: Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide.* Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2000.

Brener, David. "Lancaster's First Jewish Community." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 80 (Michaelmas 1976): 211–321.

Brumbaugh, G. Edwin. "Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans." Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings* 41 (1933).

Brunner, Raymond J. *"That Ingenious Business": Pennsylvania German Organ Builders.* Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society 24 (1990).

Bucher, Robert C. "The Continental Log House." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1962): 14–19.

———. "Grain in the Attic." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Winter 1962–63): 7–15.

———. "Meadow Irrigation in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (Fall 1960): 24–32.

———. "Steep Roofs and Red Tiles." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1961): 17–26, 55.

———. "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 2–11.

Bucher, Robert C., and Alan G. Keyser. "Thatching in Pennsylvania." *Der Reggeboge* 16 (1982): 1–23.

Burns, Deborah S., and Richard J. Webster. *Pennsylvania Architecture: The Historic American Buildings Survey 1933–1990.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2000.

Carson, Cary. "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand?" In Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994: 483–697.

Chappell, Edward. "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124 (February 1980): 55–89. Reprinted in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture.* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986: 27–57.

———. "Germans and Swiss." In Dell Upton, ed., *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America.* Washington, D.C: Preservation Press, 1986: 69–74.

Chen, Kuan-I. "Agricultural Production in Pennsylvania, 1840–1950." Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1954.

Clouse, Jerry. "The German Element in Perry County." *Der Reggeboge* 31 (1997): 3–26.

Cohen, A. P. *The Symbolic Construction of Community.* London: Routledge, 1995.

Cremers, Estelle. *Reading Furnace 1736.* Elverson, Pa.: Reading Furnace Press, 1986.

De Cunzo, Lu Ann. "The Culture Broker Revisited: Historical Archaeological Perspectives on Merchants in Delaware, 1760–1815." *North American Archaeologist* 16 (1995): 181–222.

Dickson, Harold E. *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings.* State College, Pa.: Bald Eagle Press, 1954.

Dornbusch, Charles H., and John K. Heyl. *Pennsylvania German Barns.* Allentown, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1956.

Dublin, Thomas. "Rural Putting-Out Work in Early Nineteenth-Century New England:

Women and the Transition to Capitalism in the Countryside." *New England Quarterly* 64 (December 1991): 531–73.

Eggert, Gerald G. *The Iron Industry in Pennsylvania.* Pennsylvania Historical Studies No. 25. Middletown, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1994.

Ellis, Susan J. "Traditional Food on the Commercial Market: The History of Pennsylvania Scrapple." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23 (Spring 1973): 10–21.

Ensminger, Robert F. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America.* 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Fabian, Monroe H. *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest.* New York: Universe Books, 1978. Reprint, Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer, 2004.

Falk, Cynthia Gayle. *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

Faris, John T. *Old Roads Out of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1917.

Fegley, H. Winslow. *Farming, Always Farming: A Photographic Essay of Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life.* Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1987.

Fletcher, Stevenson Whitcomb. *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950.

———. *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840–1940.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955.

Fogleman, Aaron Spencer. *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial American.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Fooks, David. "In Search of America's Oldest Hex Sign." *Der Reggeboge* 36 (2002): 21–27.

Fox, Priscilla Stanley. "Our Old Taverns." *Papers of the Lebanon County Historical Society* 10 (1931): 132–34.

Friesen, Steve. "The Five-Plate Stove Revisited." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 41 (Autumn 1991): 20–24.

Fromm, Roger W. "The Migration and Settlement of Pennsylvania Germans in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina and their Effects on the Landscape." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 37 (Autumn 1987): 33–42.

Gehret, Ellen J., and Alan G. Keyser. *The Homespun Textile Tradition of the Pennsylvania Germans.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976.

Getty, Joseph. *Carroll's Heritage.* Westminster, Md.: Historical Society of Carroll County, 1987.

Gibbons, Phebe Earle. *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1872.

Glass, Joseph W. *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986.

Glassie, Henry. "A Central-Chimney Continental Log House." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 32–40.

———. "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building." *Winterthur Portfolio* 7 (1972): 29–57. Reprinted in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture.* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986: 415–18.

———. *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Glatfelter, Charles H. *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717–1793.* 2 vols. Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981.

Good, Daniel. "The Localization of Tobacco Production in Lancaster County Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History* 49 (July 1982): 190–200.

Grubb, Farley. "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709–1820." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20 (Winter 1990): 417–36.

———. "Immigrant Servant Labor: Their Occupational and Geographic Distribution in the Late Eighteenth Century Mid Atlantic Economy." *Social Science History* 9 (1985): 249–76.

Hays, Jo N. "Overlapping Hinterlands: York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, 1800–1850." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (July 1992): 295–321.

Henretta, James. "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 35 (January 1978): 3–32.

Herman, Bernard L. *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Hess, Clarke. *Mennonite Arts.* Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer, 2002.

Hopple, Lee C. "Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Group Culture Region to 1975." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 29 (Autumn 1979): 13–27.

Hostetler, John A. *Amish Society.* 4th ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Hornberger, Mark. "Germans in Pennsylvania: 1800, 1850, 1880; A Spatial Perspective." *Yearbook of German American Studies* 24 (1989): 97–104.

———. "The Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Selected Counties in Pennsylvania, 1800–1880: A Geographic Interpretation." Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1974.

Howland, Garth. *An Architectural History of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.* Bethlehem, Pa.: Time Publishing Co., 1947.

Huebener, Mary Augustus. *A Brief History of Lititz, Pennsylvania.* N.p., 1947.

Hunter, Brooke. "Rage for Grain: Flour Milling in the Mid-Atlantic, 1750–1815." Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2002.

Huyler, Edwin, and Christian Sidler, eds. *Guide to the Swiss Open-Air Museum, Ballenberg.* Ballenberg: Swiss Open-Air Museum, 1999.

Ibach, Earl W. *Marching Through the Tulpehocken.* Womelsdorf, Pa.: Tulpehocken Settlement Historical Society, 1999.

Jensen, Joan. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Jordan, Terry G. "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (June 1980): 154–80.

Kauffman, Henry. "The Riddle of the Two Front Doors." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 6 (Winter 1954–55): 27–28.

Kelly, Charles Greg. "Lewis Miller's *Chronicle of York:* A Picture of Life in Early America." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 42 (Winter 1992–93): 66–68.

Kennedy, Michael V. "'Cash for His Turnups': Agricultural Production for Local Markets in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1725–1783." *Agricultural History* 74 (Summer 2000): 587–608.

Keyser, Alan G. "Beds, Bedding, Bedsteads, and Sleep." *Der Reggeboge* 12 (1978): 1–28.

Keyser, Alan G., and William P. Stein. "The Pennsylvania German Tri-Level Ground Barn." *Der Reggeboge* 9 (December 1975): 1–25.

Klee, Jeffrey E. "An English House in the Germanic City: The Case of the William Montgomery House." Unpublished paper, University of Delaware, 1997.

Klees, Frederic. *The Pennsylvania Dutch.* New York: Macmillan, 1950.

Klein, Philip S., and Ari Hoogenboom. *A History of Pennsylvania.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980.

Kniffen, Fred, and Henry Glassie. "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective." Originally published in 1972. Reprinted in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture.* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986: 159–82.

Kocher, A. Lawrence. "Early Architecture of Pennsylvania." *Architectural Record* 48 (January 1921): 31–47.
Lainhoff, Thomas. "The Buildings of Lancaster County, 1815." Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Capitol Campus, 1981.
Lancaster County Architecture 1700–1850. Lancaster, Pa.: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1992.
Landis, Henry Kinzer. "Early Kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans." Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings* 47 (1939): 23–28.
The Landis Valley Cookbook: Pennsylvania German Foods and Traditions. Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999.
Lanier, Gabrielle Milan. *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
Lanier, Gabrielle M. and Bernard L. Herman. *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
Lay, K. Edward. "European Antecedents of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Germanic and Scots-Irish Architecture in America." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 32 (Autumn 1982): 2–43.
Lemon, James T. "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania." *Geographical Review* 56 (October 1966): 467–96.
———. *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
———. "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America and its Relationship to Production and Trade: The Situation Among Farmers in Southeastern Pennsylvania." *Agricultural History* 41 (January 1967): 59–70.
Lestz, Gerald S. and John Herr. *Lancaster County Architecture, 1700–1850.* Lancaster, Pa.: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1992.
Lewars, James. "Pennsylvania German Kicked Roofs." *Historical Review of Berks County* 42 (1981): 10–15, 28, 30.
Lewis, Peirce. "American Roots in Pennsylvania Soil." In E. Willard Miller, ed., *A Geography of Pennsylvania.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995: 1–16.
Lindstrom, Diane. *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region 1810–1850.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
Litchfield, Carter, Hans-Joachim Finke, Stephen G. Young, and Karen Zerbe Huetter. *The Bethlehem Oil Mill, 1745–1934: German Technology in Early Pennsylvania.* Kemblesville, Pa.: Olearius Editions, 1984.
Long, Amos, Jr. "Bakeovens in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14 (December 1964): 16–29.
———. "Lime and Manure: Agricultural Practices Among the Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 45 (Winter 1995–96): 64–72.
———. "Outdoor Bakeovens in Berks." *Historical Review of Berks County* 28 (Winter 1962–63): 11–14, 31–32.
———. "Pennsylvania Cave and Ground Cellars." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (Winter 1960): 36–41.
———. *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm: A Regional and Architectural Folk Cultural Study of an American Agricultural Community.* Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1972.
———. "Smokehouses in the Lebanon Valley." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Fall 1962): 25–32.
Lord, Arthur C. "Architectural Characteristics of Houses: Lancaster County, 1798." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 85 (Michaelmas 1981): 132–51.
———. "Barns of Lancaster County: 1798." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 77 (Hilarymas 1973): 26–40.

———. "The Pre-Revolutionary Agriculture of Lancaster County." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 79 (Hilarymas 1975): 23–42.
Marshall, Howard Wight. "The Pelster Housebarn: Endurance of Germanic Architecture on the Midwestern Frontier." *Material Culture* 18 (1986): 65–104.
Martin, Ann Smart. "Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to the Virginia Frontier." Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1993.
McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
McMurry, Sally. *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
———. "The Pennsylvania Barn as a Collective Resource." *Buildings and Landscapes* 16 (Spring 2009): 9–29.
———. *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change, 1820–1885.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
Mercer, Henry. *The Bible in Iron; or, Pictured Stoves and Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans.* Doylestown, Pa.: Bucks County Historical Society, 1941.
Miller, Frederic. *The Rise of an Iron Community: An Economic History of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, from 1740 to 1865.* Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1950.
Milner, John. "Germanic Architecture in the New World." Proceedings of Thematic Sessions of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34 (December 1975): 299.
Murtagh, William J. *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning: Bethlehem Pennsylvania and Other Eighteenth-Century American Settlements.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.
Nash, Gary, and Jean Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Neiman, Fraser. "Domestic Architecture at the Clifts Plantation: The Social Context of Early Virginia Building." In Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture.* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986: 292–314.
Noble, Richard E. *The Touch of Time: Robert Habersham Coleman 1856–1930.* Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1983.
Nobles, Gregory. "The Rise of Merchants in Rural Market Towns: A Case Study of Eighteenth-Century Northampton, Massachusetts." *Journal of Social History* 43 (1990): 3–20.
Nolt, Steven M. *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.
———. *A History of the Amish.* Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1996.
Oakes, Elinor. "A Ticklish Business: Dairying in New England and Pennsylvania, 1750–1812." *Pennsylvania History* 47 (July 1980): 195–212.
Ossenburg, Horst. *Das Bürgerhaus in Baden.* Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1986.
Our Present Past: An Update of Lancaster's Heritage. Lancaster, Pa.: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1985.
Parsons, William T. *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority.* Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976.
Paskoff, Paul F. *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry, 1750–1860.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
Pendleton, Philip E. *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years, 1700–1775.* Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1994.

Perkins, Elizabeth. "The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky." *Journal of American History* 78 (1991): 495–96.

Pillsbury, Richard. "Patterns in Folk and Vernacular House Forms of the Pennsylvania Culture Region." *Pioneer America* 9 (July 1977): 12–31.

Rauhauser, Barry. "The Development of the Pennsylvania Farmhouse Type in Manchester Township, York County, Pennsylvania." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2002.

Raymond, Eleanor. *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania.* New York: W. Helburn, 1931.

Rebel, Hermann. "Peasant Stem Families in Early Modern Austria: Life Plans, Status Tactics, and the Grid of Inheritance." *Social Science History* 2 (Spring 1978): 255–91.

Ridner, Judith. "Status, Culture, and the Structural World in the Valley of Pennsylvania." In Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra, eds., *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000: 77–91.

Rines, Edward T. *Old Historic Churches of America.* New York: Macmillan, 1936.

Roeber, A. G. "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 44 (October 1987): 750–74.

———. "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English Among Us:' The Dutch-speaking and German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America." In Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991: 220–83.

———. *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Rothermund, Dietmar. *The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740–1770*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.

Ruth, John Landis. *The Earth Is the Lord's: A Narrative History of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 2001.

Ryan, Thomas R., ed. *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz: Portrait Painter of the Early Republic.* Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster County Historical Society, 2003.

Sabean, David. *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Sachse, Julius. *The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside Between Philadelphia and Lancaster.* Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1914.

Salinger, Sharon. *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Schaumann, Merri Lou Scribner. *Taverns of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1750–1840.* Carlisle, Pa.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1994.

Schiffer, Margaret Berwind. *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania Architecture, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries.* Exton, Pa.: Schiffer, 1984.

Schneider, David B. *Foundations in a Fertile Soil.* Lancaster: Historical Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, 1994.

Schuyler, David. *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Shammas, Carole. "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13 (Autumn 1982): 247–72.

Shoemaker, Alfred L. *The Pennsylvania Barn.* Kutztown, Pa.: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959.

———. *The Pennsylvania Dutch Country*: *Art by Malcolm R. Potteiger.* Lancaster, Pa.: Rudisill, 1954.

Silverman, Sharon Hernes. "A Blast from the Past: Cornwall Iron Furnace." *Pennsylvania Heritage* (Spring 1998): 21–31

Simler, Lucy. "Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Chester County." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 43 (October 1986): 542–69.

Smith, C. Henry. *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century.* Norristown, Pa., 1929.

Sollors, Werner, ed. *The Invention of Ethnicity.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Soltow, Lee. "Rural Pennsylvania in 1800: A Portrait from the Septennial Census." *Pennsylvania History* 49 (January 1982): 25–48.

Spiegel, H. W. "The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security." *Rural Sociology* 4 (June 1939): 203–18.

Stair, J. William. "Brick-End Barns." *The Dutchman* 6 (Fall 1954): 14–33.

Stephan, Ernst. *Das Bürgerhaus in Mainz.* Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1974.

Swank, Scott, ed., with Benno M. Forman, Frank H. Sommer, Arlene Palmer Schwind, Frederick S. Weiser, Donald H. Fennimore, and Susan Burrows Swan. *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans.* Ed. Catherine E. Hutchins. New York: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by Norton, 1983.

Tangires, Helen. *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Taylor, Susan Leigh. "'Where Humbler Shop-Men From the Crowd Retreat': Gable Front Stores and the Early Commercial Landscape of Rural Delaware." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1997.

Thompson, James Westfall. *History of Livestock Raising in the US, 1607–1860.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942.

Thompson, Peter. *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Thorp, Daniel B. "Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 48 (July 1991): 387–408.

Turner, Robert P., ed. *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles.* York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966.

Two Centuries of Nazareth: 1740–1940. Nazareth, Pa.: Nazareth Item Publishing Co., 1940.

Upton, Dell. "Ethnicity, Authenticity, and Invented Traditions." *Historical Archaeology* 30:2 (1996): 1–7.

———. "Traditional Timber Framing." In Brooke Hindle, ed., *Material Culture of the Wooden Age.* Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981: 35–96.

———. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia." In Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600–1860.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988: 357–70.

Van Dolsen, Nancy. *Cumberland County, Pennsylvania: An Architectural Survey.* Ephrata, Pa.: Science Press, 1990.

Wacker, Peter O. *The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey: A Historical Geography.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968.

Walbert, David J. *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Walker, Joseph E. *Hopewell Village: The Dynamics of a Nineteenth Century Iron-Making Community.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966.

Walzer, John F. "Colonial Philadelphia and Its Backcountry." *Winterthur Portfolio* 7 (1973): 161–73.

Warfel, Stephen G. *Historical Archaeology at Ephrata Cloister: A Report on 1996 Investigations.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1997.

———. *Historical Archaeology at Ephrata Cloister: A Report on 1999 Investigations.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2000.

Watts, Frederick. "The Pennsylvania Barn." *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1864*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865.

Weaver, William Woys. *Pennsylvania Dutch Country Cooking*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1993.

———. "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms." *Winterthur Portfolio* 21 (1986): 243–63.

Weaver, William Woys, and Don Yoder. *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania Dutch Foods and Foodways*. 2nd ed. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002 .

Weaver-Zercher, David. *The Amish in the American Imagination*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Wenger, Diane. *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

———. "Delivering the Goods: The Country Storekeeper and the Inland Commerce in the Mid-Atlantic." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 129 (January 2005): 45–72.

———. "Saffron Use Among Pennsylvania Germans: A History and Ethnography." *Der Reggebogge* 36 (2002): 3–20.

Winpenny, Thomas R. *Bending Is Not Breaking: Adaptation and Persistence Among 19th Century Lancaster Artisans*. Lantham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990.

———. *Industrial Progress and Human Welfare: The Rise of the Factory System in 19th Century Lancaster*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.

Wokeck, Marianne. *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. "Hyphenated America: The Creation of an Eighteenth-Century German-American Culture." In Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985: 66–85.

———. *Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Wood, Jerome H. *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1979.

Worner, H. Ray. "The Taverns of Early Lancaster and the Later-Day Hotels." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 73 (1969): 37–95.

Yoder, Don. "Historical Sources for American Traditional Cookery: Examples from the Pennsylvania German Culture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 20 (Spring 1971): 16–29.

———. "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two Worlds in the Dutch Country." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 8 (Summer 1956): 34–56.

———. "The Sausage Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans." In Alexander Fenton and Trefor M. Owen, eds., *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research, Cardiff, Wales, 1977*. Edinburgh: Donald, 1977: 409–23.

———. "Three Centuries of Pennsylvania German Identity Crisis." In Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans,* vol. 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985: 41–66.

———, ed. *Rhineland Emigrants: Lists of Settlers in Colonial America*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981.

Yoder, Don, and Henry Glassie. *Discovering American Folklife: Essays in Folk Culture and the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 2001.

Yoder, Don, and Thomas E. Graves. *Hex Signs: Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols and Their Meaning*. 2nd ed. New York: E. P. Dutton, 2000.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account." *Geographical Review* 67 (April 1977): 127–47.

This page intentionally left blank

Contributors

Jerry Clouse is Architectural Historian at McCormick Taylor Associates.

J. Ritchie Garrison is Director of the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture at the University of Delaware.

Bernard L. Herman is George B. Tindall Professor in the Department of American Studies at the University of North Carolina.

Gabrielle Lanier is Associate Professor of History at James Madison University.

Sally McMurry is Professor of History at Penn State University, and Vernacular Architecture Forum 2004 conference organizer.

Philip E. Pendleton is an architectural historian in Oley, Pennsylvania, and with the Historic Documentation Company, Inc., of Portsmouth, R.I.

Thomas Ryan is President and Chief Executive Officer of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

David Schuyler is Arthur and Katherine Shadek Professor of Humanities and American Studies at Franklin and Marshall College.

Nancy Van Dolsen is an architectural historian in Wilson, N.C.

Diane Wenger is Associate Professor of History at Wilkes University.

This page intentionally left blank

Index

Page numbers in italics indicate illustrations

Acknowledgments

This volume arose from the 2004 Vernacular Architecture Forum Annual Conference in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. We would like to thank the property owners for permitting fieldworkers to document their properties and for their efforts in preserving their houses, mills, churches, outbuildings, barns, and fields. We also acknowledge the History Department and the Max Kade Institute at Penn State University; and the Center for Historic Architecture and Design (CHAD), the Okie Fund, the Center for Material Culture Studies, the Department of History, and the Department of Art History at the University of Delaware for their financial support and efforts on behalf of the conference. Many thanks to the students and staff at CHAD for their excellent fieldwork: Rebecca Sheppard, Rochelle Bohm, Jennifer Cathey, Daniel Claro, Darrell Cook, Amardeep Dhanju, Heidi Harendza, Kristen Hill, Jeff Klee, Kat Larrivee, Amy Mann, Brooke Miller, Jennifer Orrigo, Beth Ross, Sarah Salvatoriello, Anne Samuel, Susan Schneider, Aaron Shriber, Daniel Siders, Charles Simmons, Jason Smith, Karen Spry, Daniel Uncles, Jeroen van den Hurk, and Emma Young.

As the conference guidebook evolved into a book, additional financial support came from the Penn State Institute for the Arts and Humanities, Marica Tacconi, Director. We also deeply appreciate all the help extended by A. G. Roeber, Penn State History Department; and Jo Joslyn, Erica Ginsburg, and Caroline Winschel, University of Pennsylvania Press. Finally, we thank our families for their patience on those multiple occasions when we took off for that "one last field trip."