

Doorway

A Glimpse into a Past Life

"If we address stories as archaeological sites, and dust through their layers with meticulous care, we find at some level there is always a doorway. A dividing point between here and there, us and them, mundane and magical. It is at the moments when the doors open, when things flow between the worlds, that stories happen."

Alix E. Harrow, The Ten Thousand Doors of January

When my parents Rolly and Audrey Dollhopf died within four weeks of each other in May of 2017, they left behind a house in Florida filled with the "stuff" of their lives. Nine rooms, a garage, and an attic. It took weeks to sort. Clothes, furniture, books, music...it seemed endless. What we didn't keep we donated to Goodwill, or trashed. Countless trips to the curb.

Sorting through their things offered an intimate glimpse into their life. It was a doorway to a world filled with stories. For those few weeks of sorting memories, time stood still. There was no future, only a past.

If I were an archaeologist, these things – their "artifacts" – would provide me with a remarkable picture and understanding of their world. You can tell a lot about a person by what they owned, what they considered most important, or what was necessary.

We have precious few artifacts of our greatgrandfather Johann Bär Dollhopf – the deed to his Troy Hill property, a letter of recommendation from the Harmony Society, his emigration papers, a few pictures, and three letters he wrote to a friend. That's all. It's frustrating because he was a furniture maker. He created things. What I wouldn't give for one of his creations.

But imagine if we had an inventory of *everything* he owned. From the tools in his woodshop to the



Johann Bär Dollhopf was a furniture maker. He created things. What I wouldn't give for one of his creations. There is no date on this picture of Johann and his "creation," I would guess the 1890s.

pictures on his walls. From the shoes he wore on Sunday to the mandolin he played on Saturday. Did he own a radio? What did he read? What did he collect? *That* would offer us an extraordinary view of his life and times.

We have such an inventory. But not his, his father's.

I have a significant amount of information on 17 generations of Dollhopfs, covering more than 600 years, starting with Hans Tolhopff in 1400 – births, baptisms, marriages, children, deaths, causes of death, land ownership, church accounts, court records, et al.

Of all this research, of this mountain of data, the ancestor for whom I have the most is the one who lived the least – Johann Dollhopf, our great-great-grandfather.¹ He died prematurely of tuberculosis – the so-called "White Plague" – on December 6, 1858. He was only 28 years old. But I have more firsthand information about Johann than I do of his son Johann Bär Dollhopf, who lived to the age of 81, even more information than I have about his grandson, our grandfather, Edward Dollhopf, who lived to 93!

Even though Johann died 162 years ago, we still have the following documents:

Birth certificate	Letter of recommendation from the Mayor
Weekday school report cards	Marriage petition and application
Sunday school report cards	Marriage agreement and contract
Property tax records	Death certificate
Military discharge papers	Inheritance settlement

...and perhaps most remarkable, most revealing of all, we have an inventory of *everything* he owned the day he died – from the work clothes in his closet, to the tools in his barn, to the utensils on his kitchen table. Everything.

Unusual Circumstances

Report cards, military discharge papers, marriage contracts, letters of recommendation: these are not the sort of documents that one typically finds in church or court records. We have this information because of the unusual circumstances surrounding his marriage, and his death.

The early 1800s In Mistelbach was a time of intense poverty, famine, and disease – reasons for the mass migration of Germans to America. Many years of failed harvests and severe inflation caused widespread famine. The land simply could not support the peasant population of the day. In order to limit that population, local governments enacted measures to discourage, if not outright prevent, marriage. In order to marry, Johann and his fiancé Margarethe Bär were required to establish proof of sufficient net worth (a "residency requirement"), and provide evidence of "good moral standing." (Good grief, imagine if you had to produce your high school report cards and Sunday school attendance records in order to get married.)

Johann had to submit the above documents (except, of course, his death and inheritance records) to the courts to demonstrate his suitability for marriage. That submission included the following statement from the Mistelbach mayor and town council members, attesting to Johann's character:

"The unmarried farmer's son Johann Dollhopf, son of the deceased Eberhardt Dollhopf, who was a local farmer, from youth until now always has maintained a <u>very good</u> moral conduct [their underlining], which for the purpose of his marriage is hereby testified by the local administration with seal and signature. Signed, Mistelbach, September 24,1856:

The local administration:

Herr Schiller, mayor

Herr Bär, council member Herr Ruckriegel, council member Herr Keller, caretaker

¹ He is also the great-great-grandfather of the Dollhopfs living today in Mistelbach.

His wife to be, Margarethe Bär, mother of his four children, also had to produce a similar document, but hers read in part, "her previous renown [reputation] has been very good." I find it odd that his statement read, "he has maintained a good reputation," and hers read, "her previous reputation was good." Hmm.

There was probably a lot of handwringing in the production of these documents since Johann and Margarethe already had four children born out of wedlock. We think light of this now, but in the 1800s this was a serious transgression. The problem was, *everyone* was doing it. Beginning in the early 1800s, the number of illegitimate births dramatically increased throughout the Mistelbach region.

Legislation of the time allowed marriage only for those persons who had the "right" of citizenship in their community. That right had to be purchased, but many young people were unable to do so. In 1859, Mistelbach Pastor Johann Hermann wrote in his annual parish report:

> "The most deplorable manifestations of immorality regarding illegitimate births are due in large part to the legislation and social conditions of our time. It would therefore be desirable that marriage should not be made so much more difficult, and that lords and masters should be made more responsible to their citizens. It will therefore be necessary to look more carefully for the causes of irreligiousness, immorality, and unchurched life in the so-called civilization of peoples in our time."

Beginning with the birth of their first child (our greatgrandfather) in 1852, Margarethe lived apart from Johann in her father's house. Over the next four years she and Johann would have three more children. (One child died at seven months.) During those years she remained with her father. The children were all baptized with her surname Bär. Many couples from this era never did marry, the children keeping the surname of the mother. Both of Johann's sisters had children but never married. Their children bore the name Dollhopf. But it is clear from their

No 149.

This is Johann Dollhopf's Certificate of Good Standing from the Mayor of Mistelbach. He needed this proof of his moral character in order to marry. Note they underlined very good.

court statements that Johann and Margarethe were determined to marry and live together.² By 1856 they had finally raised enough money from their parents to procure the required "right" of citizenship. So, on October 1st of that year, Johann, his mother Margarethe Dollhopf, his fiancé Margarethe Bär, and her father Peter Bär trekked four miles to the royal court in Bayreuth to make their case for marriage.³ Here is the report of their visit, along with the list of documents they produced:

² Margarethe Mohr, our great-great grandmother (grandmother of Susanna Born, Edward Dollhopf's wife), had six children by three men, but married only once. She used the surname of her only husband, Mohr, for all of the children alternately with her maiden name, Heilmann. She had a child by a unknown man before she married, and by another man after Mohr died. That last child, father unknown, was Mary Mohr, our great-grandmother. ³ Johann's father and Margarethe's mother had died.

³ Johann's father, and Margarethe's mother, had died.

Done at Bayreuth, October 1, 1856.

In presence of the royal court assessor Herr Hirschbeck.

There appeared:

1) The unmarried farmer's son Johann Dolhopf (sic) from Mistelbach;

- 2) The unmarried miller's daughter Margaretha Bär from the Schnörleins Mill;⁴
- 3) Her father Peter Bär from there;
- 4) Johann Dolhopf's mother Margaretha Dolhopf from Mistelbach.

The former [Johann Dolhopf] went on record as saying:

"Based on a secure income I intend to establish myself in the town of Mistelbach according to Article §2.4 of the Law of Establishment of Residency and Marriage from September 11, 1825, and July 1, 1855⁵ and marry Margaretha Bär from the Schnörleins Mill, present.

For this purpose, I submit:

- 1) My military discharge papers;
- 2) Certificate of good character;
- 3) Graduation certificate from the Sunday school;

4) Certificate of vaccination;

- 5) Me and my fiancée's certificates of birth;
- 6) My fiancée's certificate of good character;
- 7) Graduation certificate from weekday school.

For further explanation, I respectfully make the following statements.

From the paternal estate I will be given 700 guilders and my fiancée Margaretha Bär brings a dowry of 1,000 guilders into the marriage. This total fortune of 1,700 guilders shall be sufficient to ensure me and my future family's subsistence, all the more as in about half a year I will take over my parental home in Mistelbach, namely my deceased father's peasant farm, which will considerably increase my state of wealth even more."

This Dollhopf's mother, present, confirms her son's statements. She commits herself to give him 700 guilders at the time of his marriage and the fiancée's father, Master Miller Bär, commits himself to give his daughter 1,000 guilders. The parties declare that they want to establish a conjugal community of property and the present parents give their consents to their children's decision. Requester Dollhopf promises to submit his father's required certificate of death later, and requests:

To grant him the official permission to establish his residency in Mistelbach and marry Margaretha Bär from the Schnörleins Mill.

Signed:

Johann Dollhopf Margaretha Bär Peter Bär Margaretha Dollhopf Royal provincial court clerks, [2 signatures]

And this is why we have all of the information that we do concerning Johann and Margarethe.

⁴ The Schnörleins Mill was the mill and house owned by Peter Bär, and was where Margarethe and the children were living. Our great-grandfather Johann Bär Dollhopf was born in the mill, and lived there until he was 4. *Schnörleins* means "flour."

⁵ He is referring to the marriage tax laws and the dates of their enactment.

Reasons for the Inventory

Beyond the documents that he had to produce for marriage, the real treasure trove of information about Johann was, of course, the inventory of his possessions taken within weeks after his death.

He died prematurely, and this caused the unusual circumstances surrounding the need for an inventory.⁶ When he died, his wife Margarethe found herself alone with three children and a large farm to run. The farm had been owned by Johann's father Eberhardt Dollhopf, who died fifteen years earlier in 1843. Johann had no living brothers who could help with the farm. (He had four brothers, but they all died as children.) She couldn't manage a 25-acre farm by herself, so she was intent on finding a husband as soon as possible.

The farm was encumbered by some debt, owed exclusively to Johann's two living sisters – Catharina and Margarethe – as part of their father's inheritance. In order to attract a husband, Margarethe wanted to clear up the question of how much debt was owed, and to settle in advance the inheritance claims that her three children would have on the property when they reached adulthood. In this way, a future husband could enter into a marriage agreement with Margarethe without fear of taking on indeterminate liabilities, and without fear of diluting his own estate. The purpose of the inventory was to establish the value of his "estate" in order to divide it accordingly among his sisters and children.

On December 8, only two days after he died, Margarethe received instructions from the court for the preparation of a settlement agreement. She must have requested these instructions well in advance of his death since it is clear that she knew her husband was dying. The church books record that Johann had been bedridden, and slowly dying, for five months. The instructions of the court:

8 December 1858

Settlement of inheritance - citation

Letter by the Provincial Court of Bayreuth to Margaretha Bär.

Regarding the adjustment of the estate of Johann Dollhopf, farmer in Mistelbach, house #19, date was set for Tuesday, December 28, 9 o'clock in the morning. The surviving widow is being cited and instructed:

1. To provide attestation from the parish office about her husband's death and the births of all their children.

2. To suggest a guardian for the underage children, if possible a relative of the testator.

3. To prepare together with the guardian an inventory of the deceased's estate with estimated values, whose accuracy she is able to testify under oath, if necessary.

4. To also provide documents about her dowry and the children's own property.

5. If a marriage contract was made between she and her husband, or he made a will or other disposition, to provide these as well as an excerpt from the register of properties and purchase deeds.

6. To declare whether or not she wants to be her husband's heir.

Bayreuth, December 8, 1858. Royal provincial court, [official's signature]

⁶ This "inventory" differs from a will. A will is a declaration of those specific things a living person intends to leave behind. It is rarely a detailed, or exhaustive, description of everything in one's possession.

She must have also requested court assistance for preparing the inventory, because on January 24, 1859, two tax assessors came to the Mistelbach house to itemize, and determine the value of, everything they owned, field by field, building by building, room by room.

As it turns out, this wouldn't be merely a list of one man's property and belongings, it would be an unparalleled glimpse into the life of a poor peasant farmer of the early 1800s. A doorway.

At the time I went through my parents' belongings in 2017, they had been living in Florida for about 25 years. There they accumulated "stuff," and that stuff was added to the stuff that came from their house in Pittsburgh, where they had lived for 33 years since 1958. (There were a few items that survived the West View years of their youth, and their time spent in Rhode Island and New York City before 1958.) All told there were 60 years of accumulated "artifacts." Today, when we move to a different house, it is cleared of the previous occupants' belongings. Not so in the Middle Ages, when houses, and everything in them, were passed down from generation to generation.

Johann Dollhopf, at the time of his death, was living in the house that had been in the family for *at least* 236 years, since 1622. Eleven generations lived and died in that house.⁷ That's a quarter of a millennium of accumulated belongings.

What is absolutely stunning to this 21st century observer is not how much stuff there was, *but how little*.

The inventory is a doorway into the life of peasantry. It wasn't just a glimpse of life in 1858, it was a glimpse of life in 1622.



A view of the farmland surrounding Mistelbach. Johann owned a total of 17 fields, totaling about 25 acres. The village appears in the background. The steeple of St. Bartholomew, the village parish, is visible in the distance to the right.

Although feudalism "officially" ended when Napoleon sold Franconia (and thereby Mistelbach) to Bavaria in 1808, the laws abolishing feudalism were not enforced in Mistelbach until 1848. Johann lived most of his short 28 years as a feudal peasant. That meant he, as did his ancestors, paid oppressive and onerous taxes. More than half of everything a peasant "produced" – crops, eggs, meat, milk, cheese, live animals, and monetary income – went to the noble ruler and the church. In addition, they had to work *at least* 40 days per year on the farms that belonged to the castle and the church (the church had a farm as well).⁸

⁷ The house was rebuilt in 1822, before then we don't know how many times it might have been rebuilt because of fire or dilapidation. In the Middle Ages houses were not built to last.

⁸ Peasant taxes will be the subject of another blog. They give oppression a whole other meaning.

Things Were Looking Up

Johann was a stocky man of 5 feet, 5 inches, average height for a man in 19th century Germany. He had gray eyes, a round face and chin, low forehead, blunt nose, small mouth, blond hair and eyebrows, and a healthy complexion. We know all of this and more from his military discharge papers of June 9, 1854.

But as robust and healthy as he might been in 1854, in 1858 he was emaciated and enduring a long and painful death. He was confined to his bed on the second floor of house #19 *for five months*, beginning in June of 1858. Church records indicate that he suffered from pulmonary consumption, now known as tuberculosis. Consumption was also known as the "White Plague," and in the Germany of the 1850s it was responsible for one in every seven deaths. It was especially prevalent in impoverished areas where poor nutrition, a lack of proper sanitation, and crowded living conditions caused its rapid spread.

It was called consumption because those infected experienced sudden and dramatic weight loss, as if their bodies were being "consumed." In the final stages the lungs fill with blood, and essentially, the victim drowns. For five months, as he wasted away, he likely suffered severe coughing, chest pains, fever, fatigue, and the constant coughing up of blood. Remember, there were no antibiotics or pain relief drugs in 1858 Mistelbach. Peasants typically treated diseases with herbs; mullein weed and warm goat milk were often used to treat lung ailments, but they would have had minimal, if any, curative effect. They certainly would not have relieved the pain.

His family must have known when his death was imminent. In the evening hours the day before he died they summoned Dr. Kölle from Bayreuth, the district physician. He came, but nothing could be done. Johann died at five o'clock in the morning on Monday, December 6, 1858, the day after the second Sunday in Advent. Dr. Kölle was present.⁹

Perhaps also at his bedside, living in the house at the time, were his wife Margaretha (age 29), his mother Margaretha (56), son Johann (6), (our great-grandfather), daughter Sophie (4), and son Johann Konrad (2). They were sad, and *scared*.

Scared because they didn't know who might catch the White Plague next. In its final stage, tuberculosis is *extremely* contagious, and he wasn't isolated as people in later generations would be – he was living at home. His sister, Barbara, who was two years older, died the day before, on Sunday.

Johann had nine brothers and sisters. Only four, including Johann, lived to adulthood. His closest brother, only two years younger and also named Johann, died at age 19. None of his four youngest brothers and sisters lived beyond the age of three. Only two sisters, Catharina and Margarethe, would live more than 30 years. #19 had been a house bustling in the 1830s with ten children, but famine and disease took its toll. There were no direct line Dollhopf families in prior generations that experienced such child mortality. These were terrible times.

This is all the more tragic because life had been looking up for Johann. After four years of living apart – and with three children – they finally had collected enough money to get married, only two years before he died.

Six months after they married, in 1857, Johann inherited the family house, barn, and about 25 acres of farmland. His industrious father Eberhardt had acquired seventeen fields; this was a sizable farm for the day.

Life was indeed looking up. He now had his family under one roof, a sizable farm, and sufficient finances. More children were undoubtedly on the way (Margarethe would eventually have seven more with her second husband), and now that anti-feudalism laws were finally being enforced, there would be freedom from burdensome taxes. They would be able to keep more of what they produced. The future looked bright.

⁹ From church records.

Everything fell into place for about a year, then life turned upside down for Johann, Margarethe, Johann, Johann Konrad, and Sophie.

He was buried two days after he died, on Wednesday, December 8th, with a "sermon, service, and a blessing." Pastor Johann Hermann was not available, so the vicar, Herr Sommerer, presided.¹⁰ He was laid to rest in the tiny graveyard next to the church, not more than 50 feet from his house. He had a view of that graveyard from his second-floor window. It was Advent. Christmas was around the corner. Margarethe and the children would not have father to celebrate Christmas.

The ground was frozen; it was doubtful that the winter wheat crop had been planted since Johann had been bedridden since June. Because of his illness, all was lacking in the household. There was hay and straw in the barn for the animals, but not enough to get them through the winter. In the stable on the first floor of the house were two oxen, three cows, a bull, a goat, and two hogs – but no chicken, geese, or pigeons, as were found in almost every other house.

There were a few bushels of beets and turnips in the barn, but that was the sum total of their foodstuffs. No other vegetables or fruit in the cellar to speak of, although there were several bushels of wheat, rye, and barley in the attic. Most of their meals likely consisted of porridge made from the grains, with beets and turnips thrown in. No meat, except on extremely rare occasions. (In 1850, peasants consumed on average 30 lbs. of meat per person <u>per</u> <u>year</u>.) A family of five, like the Dollhopfs, might butcher one pig a year, or a cow every few years.) They had two hogs, but they were needed for breeding. Perhaps they had already killed one. Maybe their chickens, too, because none were left. We can assume they had milk because of the cows, but no eggs since they no longer had chickens or geese.

Johann and Margarethe were finally able to marry after raising enough money for marriage taxes. Above are the signatures on their marriage agreement of November 11, 1856:

Johann Dollhopf Margaretha Bär Peter Bär (her father) Margarethe Dollhopf (his mother)

[In old German script an "h" looks like an "f" with a below the line loop.]

They were almost out of wood, just one small stack. The inventory showed that more had been ordered, but it had not been paid for. They needed a fire in the first floor living area not only for cooking, but also for heat and light. In the middle of December, the fire had to be fed night and day.

The food and fuel were running low. No money. How was it even possible that they were able to harvest their fields that summer? Margarethe must have been in extreme distress. She needed to find a husband.

¹⁰ In an interesting aside, from the *Mistelbach Chronicle* we learn that Pastor Hermann apparently "did not care about the congregation anymore." Johann Heinrich Hermann was Pastor in Mistelbach from 1832 to 1868. He was married twice and had 26 children. Beginning in 1857, after he had been Pastor for 25 years, most church services were conducted by the vicar, who "lived and ate in his room on the upper floor of the parsonage." We don't know why the Pastor didn't care. Perhaps he was led to despair because of the utter immorality and chaos of the time, or perhaps 26 children living in the parsonage proved to be too much of a distraction.

Four weeks after Johann died, and a week after New Year's, on January 8, 1859 she appeared before the Royal Provincial Court of Bayreuth. Her request:

Bayreuth, January 8, 1859

In presence of: Royal assessor, Maltz G. F. Hirschberg

Today appear:

1. The widow Marg. Dollhopf, assisted by her brother-in-law, Conrad Schiller, farmer; and 2. Johann Peter Potzel, farmer and master weaver; all from Mistelbach.

The former declares:

My husband Johann Dollhopf died on December 6 of the previous year, according to attestation from the parish office which I hereby submit. He left behind 3 children, namely:

Johann, born May 24, 1852; Sophie, born November 9, 1854; Johann Conrad, born October 29, 1856.

In consideration of my children's young age and as my deceased husband's estate includes a peasant farm of considerable size, it will certainly not be possible for me to lead the household and raise my children without the help of a husband. Therefore, I decided to immediately adjust my children's claims to their paternal inheritance and request to set a date in Mistelbach to draw up an inventory of my husband's estate to which I submit to the tax collector Herr Meier from Gesees. As there is no brother to my husband I elected Johann Potzel, present here, as the guardian of my children.

Thereupon said Potzel, who was willing to become the guardian of the three underage Dollhopf children, after proper instruction about his duties, was formally appointed with solemn promise in lieu of an oath. He confirms the widow's statements and agrees to the mother's request. Signed:

Johann Peter Potzler Konrad Schiller Margaretha Dollhopf Royal Provincial Court [court seal] Maltz Hirschberg

Two weeks later, two appraisers – tax collectors from nearby villages – appeared in Mistelbach to inventory their land, as well as everything in the house, barn, and yard.

They drafted an extensive, numbered list of 103 items and assigned a value for each. The list included the buildings, plots of land, livestock, harvested crops, and all of their possessions.

Following is the sum total of Johann Dollhopf's world, field by field, room by room, in the year 1858:¹¹

¹¹ Pictures of the twelve pages of the court report can be found in Appendix A. You are able to match the item numbers in the following list with the original document. If you have nothing else to do.

Mistelbach, January 24, 1859

Statement of Inventory

In presence of: Maltz Hirschberg, assessor of the provincial court

With regard to the adjustment of the claims of the farmer's widow Margaretha Dollhopf from Mistelbach and her three underage children, and following the decree from the 20th of this month, the ascertainment and assessment of her husband's estate was performed today, for the purpose of which said court commission [the following people] went to Mistelbach:

- 1. Said widow;
- 2. The guardian of the underage children, Johann Peter Potzel, farmer from here;
- 3. The appointed appraisers, Tax-Collector Meier from Gesees and Tax-Collector Brey from Voitsreuth. [Gesees and Voistreuth are neighboring villages.]

Particular attention was paid to the real estate. After all of the land which is part of the Dollhopf estate had been inspected, they went to widow Dollhopf's home, where the appraisers gave their value determinations to the records. Following is the itemized list:

Peasant Farm:

#	Item [I added comments and words of explanation in brackets]	Value ¹²
1	Residential house , #19, 30 feet wide, 51 feet long, massive, thatched with tiles. The first floor includes living chamber, kitchen, storage chamber and hallway, stable for 8 heads of cattle, besides a staircase. The second floor includes 1 living chamber and 2 bedrooms and attic for fodder. The stable is lined with wooden boards. The structural condition is good. There is also a cellar. [The cellar would have been outside the house, not underneath. It was used for the cold storage of root vegetables and fruit.]	375
2	A barn, 32 feet long, 36 feet wife, massive, thatched with tiles. It includes a threshing floor. The main and stable buildings are lined with wooden boards.	200
	[A threshing floor is a large, flat, hard surface used for threshing wheat. Since cement did not exist, the surface of the threshing floor was likely composed of tightly compacted hard stones or blocks. Wheat was placed on the floor and thr <u>a</u> shed, or pounded, with a rod to separate the wheat seeds from the chaff.]	
3	Orchard with kitchen-garden by the house, plot 15, size 0.14 tagwerk.	30
	[A <i>tagwerk</i> (<i>tag</i> = day; <i>werk</i> = work), is a measurement of land equal to the size of land that can be plowed by one man in one day, one "day of work," from sunrise to sunset. It varied considerably from village to village. In Mistelbach it was about .89 acres.)	
4	A 1/13 share in the common baking-oven and village pond, plot 128.	5
	[Individual houses did not have ovens or running water. You owned a share in a communal oven and water fountain, both of which were located on the village square in front of house #19.]	

¹² Value is stated in guilders. The value of a guilder varied dramatically from village to village. There were no currency standards among the hundreds of medieval German kingdoms. An *extremely* rough estimate would be one guilder equals \$5 in today's currency.

- 5 Meadows and fields (plots numbered 1126 a and b, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 3,090
- to 182, 184, 275, 276, 303, 329, 549, 729, 875, 1163, 1169) with the particular
- 20 value in guilders of 275, 125, 300, 45, 100, 45, 90, 375, 300, 500, 340, 45, 75, 75, 150, 250.

[This is a summary of the plots of land owned by Johann. After hundreds of years the village farms had been subdivided so many times through inheritance that practically no one owned one contiguous plot of farmland. Everyone owned numerous small plots. This was a contributing factor to the poverty of the time – the farms were so small that they could not adequately provide for a family, much less produce surplus for sale.]

21 **Forest, p**lot #1263, located in the Heide district, one half. [Farmers used 1,200 forest plots to fatten their pigs, allowing them to forage for acorns.]



The total of all the plots was of 28.74 tagwerk [about 25 acres.]

View of house and barn from the church graveyard. The barn is to the right. In the background with the red tile roof is a neighboring house. The village houses are set close to each other. The "orchard" and kitchen garden occupied the yard (less than a tenth of an acre) immediately behind the house and around the barn. The livestock, including eight head of cattle, goats, and pigs, lived in the house, not in the barn. Johann died on the second floor. The upper attic, or third floor, was used to store grain, and also served as a work area to prepare flax for linens and clothing.

11

In the first floor living chamber:

#		Value
1	1 ta ble	.18
2	1 chair [They obviously did not sit down for dinner, or sit for much of anything. ONE chair in the entire house.]	.15
3	1 dish rack	.09

- 3 1 dish rack
- 4 1 iron pan
- 5 13 **pewter plates** [Johann's father had ten children plus a mother-in-law living in the same house - 13.]
- 6 1 lantern [There was ONE lantern for the entire house. Oil for the lamp could have been flax seed oil, or most likely, lard. The great Mistelbach fire of 1822 was caused by a pot of lard that caught fire, in the process of being boiled down for oil.]
- 7 Earthen crockery [Probably for storing cheese and other food. There was no means of refrigeration.]
- 8 1 reel [Not sure what this was, probably a wooden spool for rope.]
- 9 6 table spoons [Note that they did not have forks or knives. A typical meal consisted of some sort of one pot stew and bread. No forks needed.]
- 10 1 milk sieve [To strain impurities from milk. Milk was .06 not pasteurized, it went straight from cow to table, another reason for disease]
- 11 1 sauerkraut vat [No good German would be 3.00 without.]
- 12 2 little pots .08 13 1 vat .04 14 1 butter crock .04

In the closet in the living chamber:

15	1 closet [The house obviously did not have built-in, or walk-in, closets as we know them. This closet would have been a large wooden "wardrobe" type closet. See right. There was only one in the house.]	3
16	1 collar [Assuming this was a shirt collar, it was detachable from the shirt and affixed with a button.]	2.30
17	1 cloth coat [For winter wear.]	5
18	1 pair of cloth pants [Assuming he was buried in	3
	clothes, he owned one other pair of pants.]	
19	1 cap with laces [To hold the cap on.]	1
20	1 cap, like above	.30
21	1 felt hat	1
22	1 <i>hamm</i> chain [Not sure what this is, probably a belt	1
	or suspenders of some sort. A hamm also might	
	have been a sack or purse.]	
23	Another one [Ditto.]	1

The "first floor living chamber" was living room, dining room, and kitchen combined. A fire would be constantly burning for cooking, heat, and light. The animals were in the stable next to the living chamber.



Tin milk sieve used to strain impurities from milk – large particles (not germs or bacteria}.



Example of a closet – this one is hundreds of years old and sits in the St. Bartholomew Church across the street from the house.

Poor peasants typically owned one set of clothes. They were washed infrequently. Pastors were known to complain that no one attended church because they did not have clean clothes.

12

.20

.12

.38

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.06

3.15

2

1

.06

.04

.30

.09

4

4 belly chains [Belts.]	2
1 tempelstock with hammer [An iron bar that fits in	.45
the body of the plough holding the blade in place.]	
1 hand saw	2
1 grubbing axe [Grubbing is the removal of shrubs,	.15
trees, and stumps.]	
4 broad hoes [For breaking up soil.]	.40
1 spade t o cut up green turf	.30
1 churn [For butter.]	.20
1 whetsone [For sharpening blades.]	.15
yard:	
1 water tub [Probably for livestock.]	.30
3 scythes [Long blades used for cutting wheat and	1
other grains.]	
3 r akes	.15
1 dung hoe [For spreading dung.]	.09
3 dung forks [For pitching dung.]	.45
2 sh ovels	.50
	<pre>1 tempelstock with hammer [An iron bar that fits in the body of the plough holding the blade in place.] 1 hand saw 1 grubbing axe [Grubbing is the removal of shrubs, trees, and stumps.] 4 broad hoes [For breaking up soil.] 1 spade to cut up green turf 1 churn [For butter.] 1 whetsone [For sharpening blades.] eyard: 1 water tub [Probably for livestock.] 3 scythes [Long blades used for cutting wheat and other grains.] 3 rakes 1 dung hoe [For spreading dung.] 3 dung forks [For pitching dung.]</pre>

- 38 2 big hoes
- 39 1 little hoe
- 40 2 Schränzlein [Basket for carrying dung]
- 1 pruning saw [For the fruit trees in the back yard.] 41
- 42 1 oxen's harness
- 43 1 chopping bench [Cutting wood, stalks, meat, etc.]

In the barn:

44	1 wagon with ladders and harness	35
45	1 plough with hardware	4
46	1 big sledge [Sledge hammer.]	2.30
47	2 threshing flails [A wooden rod with a stick joined at one end by a chain or link, and used for beating	.30
	wheat to separate the seeds from the chaff.]	
48	1 little sack with undressed hemp [Hemp not yet prepared for making into cloth or linen.]	1.30
49	2 hay forks	1
50	3 forks to shake the straw for the grains to fall out	.09
	[Winnowing forks to toss flailed wheat into the air	
	and let the chaff blow away.]	
51	4 floor boards	2.40
52	1 lot of wood	4
53	11 roof battens [Wood boards to affix roof shingles.]	1.06
54	7 wooden boards	2.20
55	Baking utensils	.10
56	24 hundredweights of hay [About 24 hundred	36
	pounds of hay, a little over a ton. This inventory was	
	taken in January, so this was the amount of hay	
	remaining to feed the animals until next harvest.]	



A flail – a long wooden rod with a stick attached to the end. Wheat would be spread on the floor and one would one "flail," or beat the wheat with this instrument to separate the wheat from the chaff.

- 58 6 schock of **beets** [A schock of beets would probably be something less than a bushel.]
- 59 3 schock of **swedes** [A swede is a turnip.]
- 60 % klafter of sticks [A klafter is a unit of measure for logs and sticks that was equal to the length of a man's arm. A klafter was also a volume of logs or sticks – a pile of three-foot-long sticks, three feet high by three feet long.]
- 61 1 lot of **litter** [Probably kindling, for kitchen and heating fires.]

In the upper chamber (bedroom):

- 62 1 b**ed** with under bedding, duvet, cushion, 2 pillows and sheet
- 63 **1 tub w**ith salt [For bathing with bath salts, minerals that were popular in the area. There were mineral baths not far from Mistelbach.]
- 64 1 **fruit press** [Why this was in his bedroom I have no idea. Fruit trees common to the area, and probably in his backyard, would be apple, cherry, and pear.]
- 65 1 b**ed** with ticking [Ticking is mattress material.]

In the upper attic: [The third floor.]

- 66 1 chaff cutter with knife [For cutting the flax.]
- 67 2 schock of **dressed flax**

[Flax was a crop used for food and fiber. Fibers from the plant were spun into yarn for linen and clothing. Flax oil, also known as linseed oil, can be used for oil lamps. "Dressed" flax was flax that had been prepared for spinning. It is a multistep process to separate the fiber from the stalk. Flax was central to the lives of peasants because of its use for clothing. (There were sheep in the village, so they probably had wool as well.) For a demonstration of how peasants prepared flax in the 1800s, copy and paste this link to your browser to see a video from an outdoor peasant museum in Konz, Germany. The video is in German, but you'll get it: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/ d/d1/Rhof-flachsbearbeitung.ogv

- 68 1 **chopping bench** [For preparing flax.]
- 69 1 long piece of wood on the *Pflugwetter.* [*A Pflugwetter* was a flax spinning wheel.]
- 70 17 strands of **yarn** [Flax yarn.]



This woman is using a winnowing fork to toss wheat into the air. The lighter chaff blows away in the wind and the heavier grain seed falls to the ground.



A number of Johann's fields were planted with flax, a crop used for food, oil, and clothing.



Above is an illustration of the dressed flax, from stalk fiber to yarn.

14

36

6

3

3

30

5

.30

25

3

2

1.15

.15

.34

1.30

- 56 *metzen* of **wheat** [A metzen was a unit of dry capacity used for grain, about 5.85 liters, or about 1/5 of a bushel. 56 metzen would have been about 11 bushels]
- 72 10 metzen of **rye** [2 bushels]
- 3 metzen of barley [3/5 of a bushel. Wheat, rye, and 4.30 barley would be used not only for bread and baking, but also for thickening stews.]

In the stable [The stable was in the house on the first floor next to the living chamber.]

74	Two 1 ½-year-old piebald oxen [Piebald = red and white, or black and white markings.]	120
75	1 red piebald cow [Piebald = red and white markings, probably a breed of Ansbacher.]	40
76	1 red c ow	30
77	Another one	30
78	1 two-year-old b ull	33
79	1 g oat	3
80	2 h ogs	20
81	The available d ung [Dung was valuable, their only fertilizer.]	20
	Total Value of Estate	6.576.29

Hereby this inventory has been closed, as the parties mentioned above as well as the decedent's mother, the 57-year-old widow Margaretha Dollhopf, who lives in the house, stated that there was nothing else that belonged to the estate, except of 375 guilders buying price for wood, already received, and 600 guilders buying price for wood that has to be paid by Candlemas this year to Georg Meisel, farmer in Hörlinreuth near Hutschdorf, district of Thurnau.

The assets amount to a total value of 6,576.29 guilders.

This estate is burdened with the following liabilities:

1,000.00	Remaining living expenses to the widow Margaretha Dollhopf. [Johann's mother who was still living in the house.]
3,000.00	Compensation payments to the decedent's three siblings. [1,000 was to be given each to Johann's three sisters – Catharina, Margarethe, and Barbara. Barbara had just died the day before Johann, so not sure where this payment went.]
144.00	Interests from these compensation payments. [Interest payments on the amount owed.]
50.00	Securitized debt owed to the decedent's unmarried sister, Catharina Dollhopf in Streit.
<u>10.00</u>	Loan debt owed to the decedent's brother-in-law, Conrad Weiss in Streit
4,204.00	Total



A Pflugwetter, or spinning wheel for flax. The Dollhopfs kept their Pflugwetter in the attic.



This dung was apparently worth its weight in guilders.

135

15

To be added is the provision in the amount of 100 guilders annually, which according to the contract from July 14, 1857, which of a copy has been attached to the file, is to be given to the decedent's mother.

When it had started to dawn [they did business very early in the morning!] this business was closed and the interested parties requested to appear before the court for the execution of the partition on this coming Thursday, the 27th of this month. Read aloud, approved, and signed:

A) The two experts: Johann Meyer, Johann Brey
B) The interested parties: Margaretha Dollhopf, J. Peter Potzler
Personal mark XXX of Margaretha Dollhopf; testified, Weber Hammon
Royal Provincial Court Commission: Maltz Weber

In addition to the liabilities of 4,204.00 guilders listed above, claims of 2,539.30 guilders were held against the estate to be divided equally among the three surviving children – Johann, Sophie, and Johann Konrad – in the amount of 846.30 guilders each. This was to be paid when they reached the "age of majority," interest to be paid at an annual rate of four percent.

From this amount, our great grandfather received 300 guilders shortly before he left for America in 1871. It is not clear to me what happened to the other 546.30 guilders.

The property was not sold. It is also not clear how these funds were distributed. If I understand their inheritance laws, the amounts owed were debts against the property, and were passed down to succeeding generations just as assets would be. They would appear on the ledger, so to speak, until the property was dissolved. This is why Johann, who owned the farm, still owed his sisters their share of the inheritance.

In other words, the assets and liabilities kept passing from one generation to the next. The inheritance tradition in this part of Germany was the practice of *partible* inheritance – that upon the death of a male owner, the property passed immediately to the wife, and then equally distributed among all the children when they reached majority age. This differed from the more common form of inheritance known as *primogeniture*, whereby the oldest son inherits the estate.

Within five months, on June 6, 1859, Margarethe married the widower Johann Hacker from the neighboring hamlet of Oberwaiz, a village even smaller than Mistelbach. A short courtship.

Hacker had five children from his first marriage; they were all under the age of 17. Margarethe had three. He and Margarethe would have another seven, so the house would have a total of 15 children by the time Johann left for America in 1871.

After she moved to Oberwaiz, Margarethe rented out house #19 (and I assume the farm) to George Zimmerman, a distant cousin. (No surprise there.)

Johann Konrad Dollhopf, her second oldest son, our great-grandfather's brother, inherited the house and the farm in 1881. This was just about the time that his older brother Johann was acquiring a small residential lot on Troy Hill in Pittsburgh, 4,000 miles, and a world, away.

A Doorway

What can we learn from this inventory? What threshold did we cross in our understanding of where we came from and why? What flows between our world and theirs, in the words of Alix Harrow?

The inventory that took place on January 24, 1859 was a doorway to another world – a world not so far removed in time from our own. Johann's grandson was our grandfather. In genealogical time, this is a blip. In a mere two generations, we traveled the distance from Middle Ages feudalism to middle classes America.

This is not an exaggeration.

To wit: In 1914 a momentous event occurred, a time for celebration (and for posing for one of those new-fangled things called photographs, as seen below). In 1914 the village of Mistelbach celebrated the arrival of the first mechanical, steam-driven, *dreschenmachine*, or "threshing machine." As can be seen in the photo (maybe not so clearly), it was the size of a small locomotive. (Farmers today use combines, which threshes the wheat as it is harvested.)



Almost all of the people in this pre-WWI 1914 photo are our cousins of some degree. The people were identified only by their last names, beginning with the woman on the far left: "Hopfmüller, Heidenreich, Ratzenberger (with basket), Leistner, Herath, Hauenstein, Pfaffenberger (man with fork), Stahlmann, Dollhopf [this is Barbara Dollhopf, wife of Adam Dollhopf, first cousin of our grandfather, Edward. She was 20 when this photo was taken, and not yet married to Adam. She died in 1978.], Nützel, Johann Heider (holding on to the machine), Kurz (with sack), Johann Freyberger, man next to him unknown, Johann Lüchauer (with hat and apron), Anna Seitz (child), all other persons are unknown." This photo was taken at the Freyberger farm, next to the Dollhopfs.

With the arrival of the dreschenmachine, the village formed a *dreschverein*, or "threshing society." All of the farmers shared in the use and cost of the machine. The occasion was significant because prior to the acquisition of the dreschenmachine, our relatives, including Johann and Margarethe, were still threshing wheat by hand, with a flail, just as their peasant ancestors had done for the last 1,000 years since the early Middle Ages.

And this event of 1914, this doorway to the modern world, was almost 60 years – two generations – *after* Johann's inventory. Peasantry was slow to die in Mistelbach.

Johann and Margarethe were struggling to gain a foothold in life, life in a village still burdened by feudal oppression and poverty. They owned so little – the clothes on their backs (plus one extra pair of pants and two extra hats); a few eating and cooking utensils, and farming tools. One chair, a table, a lantern, and two beds – in a house that had been in the family for 236 years. Are you kidding me?

They struggled to get married, they struggled to keep food in the barn, they struggled to stock wood for heat, they struggled against diseases that had no cure and spread so fast. Johann had nine brothers and sisters. Only two would see the age of 30.

Their poverty, their anguish, was real. People were in terrible pain. In 1840, when Johann was ten years old, the population of Mistelbach was 630. In his short life time, until the year 1866, 180 people left Mistelbach for America. This included whole families, not just individuals like our great-grandfather. That's nearly a third of the village. Imagine if a third of your town disappeared. And I'm *not* counting the large number of their neighbors who succumbed to the White Plague, pneumonia, and dysentery.

Genealogy is not the sum total of sepia-toned, dusty photographs. It's not just the few notes scribbled on the back page of a Bible. It is a portal through which we witness the journey of our grandparents, through which we better understand the forces that shaped, and continue to shape, our lives. Millions of Americans have similar stories, but the one told on these pages is <u>our</u> story – a firsthand account written by people who were there.

Stories shape a narrative; they give personal impetus and meaning to our actions and decisions. To know where we have been gives greater perspective to where we are going. Sadly, we were never privy to these stories. We didn't know our "saga," the long arc of our history. How many of us knew of Mistelbach, or understood the *personal* struggles of our great-grandparents?

Perhaps our ignorance of history was simply a matter of the casual unconcern of our immigrant greatgrandparents. They kept no tokens, told no stories, wrote no tales of the old world. Class anxiety and world wars surely played a role in that silence. Perhaps this was bad, perhaps this was good. Americans are known for constantly reinventing themselves. But I am disappointed by not having had the chance to consider the trajectory of our lives, to consider firsthand, for real, the pain of our grandparents, and most especially, their endurance. Until now.

Were Johann and Margarethe happy? I wish I knew.

This much I do know. We live in a culture consumed by consumption. And not of the tuberculosis type. We consume "things" – cars, appliances, electronics, clothes...well you get the point. What would Johann and Margarethe have thought of their great-great-grandchildren today? Would they think we were happier because of our things? Would they be unhappy because of what they didn't have?

The other story to be told is that of rapid change and the compression of time. Our grandfather Edward was born before the invention of the automobile and the plane, never mind trips to the moon. Our grandfather! *His* grandfather was a feudal peasant, who plowed his fields with oxen and harvested his crops by hand.

Social psychologists tell us that rapid change can foster feelings of helplessness and inadequacy – the root causes, many argue, of nationalism and the debilitating nativism that is sweeping across Europe and the US.

Perhaps if we all had a better understanding of the journey of our grandparents – of their need for change, of their pursuit of happiness – of the fact that we are all products of immigrant circumstances; perhaps then we might have a renewed sense of community, of belonging, of integration. We might better understand the plight of immigrants everywhere today, and *their* pursuit of a better life.

Doorways. Does opening this door have meaning for you?

Mark Dollhopf New Haven, Connecticut June 3, 2020 (In anno corona virum.)



This is photo of the Mistelbach Dollhopf family c. 1958. The daily green fodder for the cows was still cut almost exclusively by the women and carried home in baskets; only rarely was it transported by cart as shown. The Dollhopfs never owned a tractor, all work was done with oxen, as it had been done for 700 years. In the photo Adam Dollhopf (Grandpa Edward's first cousin) is standing on the wagon, the group of women from the left: Barbara Dollhopf (Adam's wife), in the middle Rosa Dollhopf (wife of Adam's third son, Hans), on the right Margarete Dollhopf Hammon (Adam's daughter). Margarete and her husband Bernhard Hammon inherited the farm, Margarete died in 2018. The two children belong to Rosa – Jürgen age 5, and Ursula, age 2. Both now live in Regensburg. Although you can't tell in this picture, Ursula looks identical to our Ruth and Lois Dollhopf. Adam's first son George lost an arm in WWII, and so could not work the farm. His second son Johann was killed on the Russian front in 1941.

Appendix A

The Inventory

On January 24, 1859, two tax appraisers, with Margarethe, went through the Mistelbach house and barn, and surveyed the seventeen fields that the Dollhopfs owned. To the right and following are their twelve pages of extensive, itemized notes. The notes are written in *Kurrent*, an old German script based on medieval cursive, still in common usage in the 1800s.

Appendix B is a chart of the Kurrent alphabet if you would like to try your hand at translation.

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Doorway: A Glimpse into a Past Life

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Appendix B Kurrent: German medieval script

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