



# Dollhopf

## 600 Years in the Baking

### God's Little Acre: Dollhopf Landholding in Mistelbach

*God's Little Acre*, Erskine Caldwell's 1933 Southern gothic novel, is about the struggles of the *proletariat* – the social class whose sustenance is earned solely by the labor of their hands, not by capital or land.

The novel (there is also a 1958 classic movie based on the novel) is set in the rural south during the Depression, a land still controlled by plantation and mill owners.<sup>1</sup> A poor Georgia cotton farmer, Ty Ty Walden, believing rumors that his grandfather buried gold somewhere on his farm, and desperate to escape his plight in life, spends his days digging hole after hole searching for the gold, instead of planting cotton.

He sets one little acre of his farm aside for God (an allusion to medieval tithes), and any profit from that acre – crops planted above the ground or treasure dug from below – goes to the church. Trouble is, he keeps moving God's little acre to a different part of his farm every time he digs, lest he finds the gold on *that* acre, and thereby forfeit it to the church.

He digs for years in desperation, searching for an inheritance that isn't real, seeking escape from the land that holds him captive. God's little acre is at once a symbol of hope, desperation, and disappointment. His obsession to find that wealth tears his dysfunctional family apart; they are reduced to animal obsessions that betray their brutish proletarianism. The end of the novel leaves him mindlessly digging yet another hole.<sup>2</sup>

What were the obsessions of our peasant ancestors? I can't help but imagine their trials and tribulations – holding on to their feudal inheritances of farmland, enslaved to it, unable to set themselves free. They survived solely by the toil of their hands. To them the land itself was worthless because...

...they didn't own it. To reiterate: our Dollhopf grandparents did not "own" their land, they "held" their land in the form of a *fief* – a more or less permanent lease – from the margrave.<sup>3</sup> They paid "interest," or rent, on that lease, in the form of monetary payments, a percentage of their crops, and labor on the margrave's farms. To grant a peasant a fief was to *enfeoff* them (pronounced "enfeef"). Fiefs were mostly inherited but could also be bought or sold with the permission of the margrave.

In the Middle Ages, land ownership was not only a source of wealth, but also of legal rights, social status, and political power. In short, our Dollhopf ancestors had none, save for the immediate social status one might achieve in a small rural village of a few dozen farms.

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<sup>1</sup> For movie buffs: the film features performances by a number of unknown young actors who would later achieve television fame, including Tina Louise (*Gilligan's Island*), Jack Lord (*Hawaii Five-O*), Vic Morrow (*Combat*), Michael Landon (*Bonanza* and *Little House on the Prairie*), and, in a serious role, comedian Buddy Hackett.

<sup>2</sup> The book is also famous because of its brazen sexual themes – injunctions were sought in New York to censor it, and it was banned in Boston.

<sup>3</sup> A margrave, or German *margraf*, was a noble prince in the Middle Ages. Originally, a "margrave" was a military commander of a Roman border territory. Over time, as sons were able to inherit the rank, the position evolved into a rank of nobility. A margrave was higher than a count in rank, but lower than a duke. The equivalent in France was a *marquis*.

The nobility and the church were the majority landowners; it is estimated that they controlled between 50 and 70 percent of all land in Europe in the Middle Ages. Mistelbach, from 1260 until 1791, was mostly owned by margraves of the House of Hohenzollern.<sup>4</sup> They ruled much of the area that we know of today as Germany until its last king, Kaiser Wilhelm II, was defeated in World War I and overthrown in the German Revolution of November 1918. Hohenzollern rule ended in Mistelbach when Napoleon conquered the territory in 1806, and subsequently sold it to King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria in 1810.<sup>5</sup>

A minor family of knights, the *von Mistelbachs*, who bore the name of the village, also owned land in Mistelbach from 1321 until 1563, the year the last male heir, Hans Christoph von Mistelbach, died. I estimate they controlled about 20-30% of the village land.

In addition, there were a few farms in Mistelbach in the late Middle Ages that were not owned by the margraves or the Mistelbach knights. A register of fiefs compiled in the year 1398 shows that the Bayreuth Hospital<sup>6</sup> owned a small plot of land, as did several farmers who were *freemen* – nonserfs who actually owned land and had full political and civil rights.

The freemen holdings were largely inconsequential and mostly absorbed by the margrave over time. The margrave was in control. The margrave was law. If you were landless, as the overwhelming majority of peasants in Mistelbach were, you had precious few rights or status, and no means of redress. That said, the degree to which feudal power was enforced in Mistelbach, and its severity, varied considerably over time depending on the margrave in power. Some were ruthless, others benevolent.

The size of one's fief, however, *did* have consequences. The plight of the peasant – whether one survived or starved, whether one could support a family or not – was determined by the size of his fief (the number of acres he held) and thus the amount of food one could produce. The size also determined how much one had to surrender in taxes, and the amount of time one had to work on the lord's personal farm and communal properties – the more



**Hans Christoph von Mistelbach (?-1563)** was the last male heir of the Mistelbach family. This stone epitaph is mounted behind the pulpit in the Mistelbach church. While our direct line of Dollhopfs were not enfeoffed (granted leases) by the Mistelbach knights, other maternal branch members of our family were.

<sup>4</sup> "House" means dynasty or royal family. The other German royal family, with whom the Hohenzollern's often quarreled, was the House of Hapsburgs, who ruled from Austria.

<sup>5</sup> The seat of power for the Franconian margraviate (location of Mistelbach) of the Hohenzollerns, whose origins date from the eleventh century, shifted over time from Nürnberg (1260 AD to 1403 – 50 miles from Mistelbach), to Kulmbach (1403 to 1603 – 16 miles from Mistelbach), to Bayreuth (1604 to 1791 – abutting Mistelbach). In 1791 the seat shifted to Berlin when the margraviate of Bayreuth was sold to Prussia.

<sup>6</sup> The Bayreuth Hospital was not a hospital as we know it; it was a church institution that cared for the poor and indigent. The land was, of course, church land. In 1662, our 9<sup>th</sup> great grandfather Cuntz V Dollhopf acquired a fief from the Hospital and on that small plot he built house #55; thus, he was a subject of the Hospital, and owed taxes to the Hospital, not the margrave.

brutal side of serfdom. (Peasants often had to commit more time working the margraves' fields than their own.) If a peasant did not hold enough property to support a family, as most of our ancestors did not, then he had to practice a trade to earn additional income (women did not officially practice trades in rural villages). Whether one could practice a trade, and which one, was ultimately determined by the margrave.

The margrave also decided if and when peasants could marry. In the late 1700s and early 1800s, peasants had to prove they had sufficient land and/or financial resources to support a family in order to marry. This was an attempt to thwart poverty by limiting the number of families, and hence population growth. (It didn't work.) As discussed in *Blog #11 Doorway*, our 2<sup>nd</sup> great grandfather Johann Dollhopf had to prove as much before he could marry Margarethe Bär, the woman with whom he already had four children, one of whom was our great grandfather, Johann.<sup>7</sup>

The fate of our Dollhopf grandparents – their survival and social class – was bound to the number of acres they were enfeoffed.

We will never know of their obsessions, or if their families were dysfunctional as in the novel, but their landholding – how much or how little they possessed – tells us much about their triumphs and struggles.

### Primary Sources for Land Records

The land that the Dollhopfs held can be traced through three primary sources:

**Church Archives:** Since 1555, the year the Mistelbach church began keeping records, there is a trail of births, baptisms, marriages, deaths, and burials. That trail is mostly unbroken, save for certain periods of war and plague, notably the Second Margrave's War of the 1550s and the Thirty Years War of the early 1600s. Several entire years from the church records are missing from those dark times.

The amount of detail in the records depended on the diligence and interest of the pastor. Following is the information the pastor typically recorded, but certainly not always:

1. **Dates** (and sometimes the time of day!) of the baptism, marriage, or burial. Dates of the *actual* dates of birth and death were not necessarily recorded since the Catholic Church only required a record of the baptism and the burial. Typically, baptism occurred on the same day as the birth or the next, since the baby was quickly baptized in case it died, which unfortunately occurred often. Burials also occurred within a day or two since bodies could not be kept for long without refrigeration or embalming.
2. **Family relationships**, e.g., "Margarethe, second daughter born of Conrad and Margarethe Dollhopf." After Cuntz III Dollhopf, our 11<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, died, shortly after the birth of his sixth child, his wife Margarethe Gros married Hans Vogel. Her four surviving Dollhopf children (two of the six died as infants) took the name Vogel, which continued for the next *four* generations. The pastors, however, noted in the records that these descendants were actually Dollhopfs.<sup>8</sup> Today our last name would be Vogel were it not for these pastors.
3. **Godparents**, often indicating 1) the relationship to the godchild (e.g., "sister of the child's mother"), 2) the occupation of the godparent, and 3) the village where the godparent lived, if not Mistelbach. Every male

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<sup>7</sup> At the time Johann married Margarethe in 1856, Mistelbach belonged to the Kingdom of Bavaria. King Maximilian II was the ruler, not a margrave.

<sup>8</sup> We are fortunate that the pastors in Mistelbach were so diligent. I have traced other family lines where this was not the case, most often when a child was born out of wedlock and the pastor did not record the father's name. The children and subsequent generations were thereafter known by the mother's maiden name.

baby had a godfather and every female a godmother, as required by the Church, and every baby was named after that godparent (see *Blog #17 Naming Conventions*).

4. **Trade or occupation**, almost always that of the man. Sometimes we learn of the man's occupation, if it was not recorded, because of the description of his wife, e.g., *Bäuerin* ("farmer's wife"), or *Schneidersfrau* ("tailor's wife"), or *Müllersfrau* ("miller's wife), etc. – all descriptions of some of our Dollhopf grandmothers. Women rarely practiced a trade "officially" in rural villages.
5. **Public office**, such as *Gotteshaus Master* ("God's house – church – warden"), or *Vogt* (vöt) ("sheriff," or "mayor"). Peasants were not elected to these offices; they were appointed by the margrave.
6. **House number**, but only occasionally, and only after numbers were assigned to the houses and fields in Mistelbach in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The "house" of birth, however, was commonly cited if a person was born in one of the four mills – the Dorfmühle, Schnörleinsmühle, Zeckenmühle, or Poppenmühle.
7. **Size of their property**, not quoted in acres or other physical measurements, but indicated by their occupation or description of the type of farm they occupied. A *seldenbauer*, for example, was a *bauer* ("farmer") who owned a *selde* ("small farm") of a few acres. The various terms of farm ownership are further explained below.
8. **Cause of death**, if known, mostly noted after the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The most common diseases were those caused by impoverished living conditions and the lack of sanitation – pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhus, and dysentery.
9. **Village of origin** if they weren't born in Mistelbach but married into a Mistelbach household.
10. **Emigration**, if, and sometimes when, they left for America, e.g., "*Ausgewandert* ("emigrated," or literally, "went wandering") in America...."

Fortunately, in addition to these "official" records, pastors often added invaluable comments and anecdotes helping us to shape the historical narrative. This is how we learned, when the pastor noted, that Cuntz IV Dollhopf, our 10<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather, was "a pious, honest, and conscientious man who bequeathed 20 *gulden*s to the church so that the vault of the church could be painted."

**Feudal Books:** Extending our knowledge prior to the mid 1500s in the margraviate of Bayreuth are three *Landbücher*, or "landbooks," of the margraves. These are also known as *Lehenbücher* ("fief books"), and later called *Lehenhof* (loosely translated, "fief administrative records"). In the year 1398, Margrave Johann III of Nürnberg moved the seat of his government from Nürnberg to the Plassenburg Castle in Kulmbach, about 16 miles north of Mistelbach. As a consequence of that move, he created a registry of the land he controlled, which included a list of the peasants who were issued fiefs, and most importantly, the taxes they owed.

That first Landbook, referred to as *Landbuch A*, was recorded in 1398. Two subsequent compilations were *Landbuch B* in 1420/1422, when Johann III's brother, Frederick I, became the margrave; and *Landbuch C* in 1499, during the rule of Friedrich V. It is in *Landbuch B* that we first learn of a peasant named Hans Tolhopf who acquired a small fief of 3½ acres in Mistelbach in the 1430s.

**Court Documents:** In addition to the church records and landbooks, there are substantial court documents. The earliest documents were the above-mentioned feudal books, which were, in a sense, *ad hoc* "court" records.

Beginning in the 1400s, the margraves, through local city based *Kanzlei* ("chancelleries," or "administrative courts") began keeping more formal registers of land ownership, debt settlements, legal disputes, marriage agreements, and inheritance settlements. In Bayreuth this register was called the *Lehenhof* (as above "fief administrative records"). Local chancelleries kept these records in a variety of formats – some were sorted by social class (margrave, knight, etc., some by administrative districts, and some by village, all usually in alphabetical

order. Frustrating for the researcher is the fact that the records were rarely kept in chronological order! (The “laws” and legal procedures of those times will be the focus of a future post.)

Embedded in court documents are records of the properties that our Dollhopf ancestors inherited, willed, bought, or sold. The court documents also cite disputes that arose about those properties, debts owed and paid, and marriage agreements.

Interestingly, marriage (prenuptial) agreements are not a modern phenomenon. Marriage agreements were needed especially for second and subsequent marriages to clarify inheritances, especially in the case of stepchildren. Cuntz V Dollhopf, our 9<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, had four wives – not because of divorce, but because they all predeceased him. (He lived during the Thirty Years War, when famine, plague, and marauding armies took their toll.) Each time he married, he had to create a marriage contract to specify exactly whose children and other living heirs received what.

Appendix B is an *exhaustive* recitation of all of the court transactions pertaining to our ancestor’s landholdings. These recitations formed the basis of research for this blog.

Other administrative documents, not a part of this current research, but of future research, include:

- *Stadbücher* – city administrative records
- *Register* – records of business correspondence
- *Grundsteuerbücher* – tax records
- *Freiwillige Gerichtsbarkeit* – records such as adoptions, joint property, marriage agreements, etc,

Record keeping procedures varied dramatically; there was no standard format from principality to principality. Some court documents were a “kitchen sink” of any and all records, others were carefully delineated and categorically strict.

On the following pages are photos from the feudal books, court records, and church archives showing the specific entries about our Dollhopf grandparents.



**Friedrich I von Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach** (ruler 1486 - 1515) was the margrave of Bayreuth in 1499 when Dietrich Tolhopf, our 14<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, acquired the mill in Mistelbach. Friedrich’s court records of that year have Dietrich at the top of the taxpayer list, so the Margrave likely knew of Dietrich. Apparently Dietrich’s taxes were not enough, because Friedrich’s lavish spending depleted the royal treasury and thrust the principality into deep debt. Because of this flagrance his sons Casimir and Georg deposed him in 1515. They locked him up in a tower room of the Plassenburg Castle, where he remained for 12 years. He was released in 1527, but by then his sons had divided the margraviate, each of them taking half.

**Church Book Excerpt:** This is a photo of one of the oldest documents from St. Bartholomew's Church in Mistelbach – the **Church Annual Report of 1556**. The Catholic Council of Trent (1543-1565) decreed that churches keep records of baptisms, weddings, and funerals – largely to keep track of who was authentically Catholic. Although the Mistelbach Church switched to Lutheran in 1528, it followed custom and began keeping records in the mid 1550s, so this is probably one of the oldest official church documents that survives. At the time, our 12<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather, Cuntz Tolhopff (spelled Contz in this document, underlined in red at right), was the church warden. The title page of the document, at right, reads:

*Mistelbach  
1556*

*Accounts by the church treasurer of Mistelbach  
of all the revenues and expenditures of one year  
from [15]56 until [15]57.*

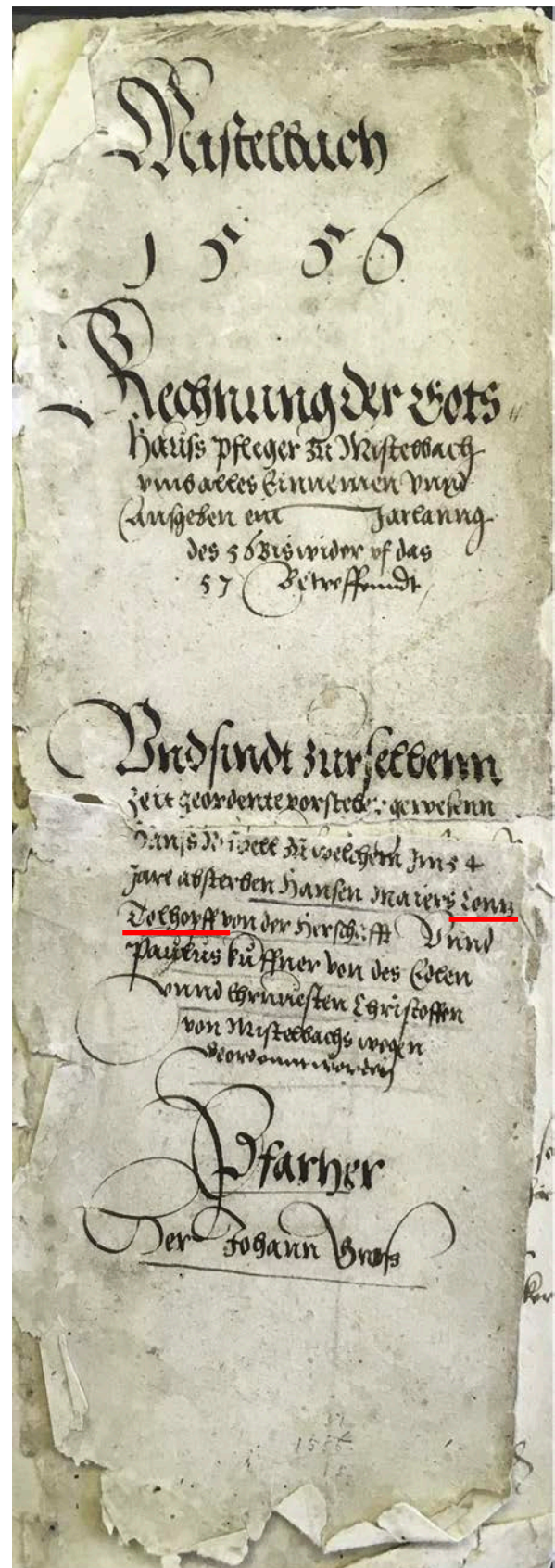
*At the time the appointed church wardens  
were Hans Nützel, who after his death in the [15]54th year  
was succeeded by Hans Maiers, [and] Contz Tolhopff from  
the lordship's side; and Paulus Kuffner from the noble and  
honorable Christoph of Mistelbach's side.*

[This means that Maiers and Tolhopff were appointed by the margrave ("the lordship"), and Kuffner was appointed by the knight – so the church wardens included representatives from both nobles.]

The annual report concludes on the last page (not pictured here) with the following:

*These accounts of the [15]56th year have been read aloud  
and were approved together with the five previous ones  
from the [15]51st year until present time, in presence of  
Mister Johan Gros, pastor; Contz Tholhopf, miller, and Hans  
Nützel from the lordship's side; Paulus Kueffner from the  
nobleman Christoff Mistelbach's side; all three are ap-  
pointed church wardens; besides Hans Waldung, who  
[illegible...]. And as no fault has been found they were  
accepted as valid, where-upon the appointed auditors  
decided that said church wardens regarding the money lent  
out shall demand sufficient guarantee and good interest  
from the debtors according to their bonds, so that the church  
will be brought back to sound condition and [illegible...].*

*Signed: In presence of Christoff von der Gruen, mayor;  
Wolff Man, property administrator of the Hospital;  
Georg Königstein  
Ulrich von Dietzen and  
Lorentz Urbanus, controller.  
Dated Friday after St. Johannis Baptist in the year of 1557.  
[June 25, 1557]*



**Feudal Book Excerpt:** Photo of page 56 from *Landbuch B*, the *Markgraftum Brandenburg-Bayreuth*, *Geheimes Hausarchiv Plassenburg*. *Akten und Bände*. Nr. 4354. [Plassenburg House Archives of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, File and Volume # 4354.] This register of feudal fiefs was started sometime between 1421 and 1430 and updated periodically in the 1430s and 1440s. The entry for Hans Tolhopf was an amendment made at some point in the 1430s. This is how we deduce that Hans acquired the farm in the 1430s.

Writing in the red box [my clarifications in brackets]:

**Mistelbach**

Also, Angrer owns 1 small farm which includes fields in the size of 2½ acker [acres], meadows in the size of 1 tagwerk;<sup>9</sup> he pays and does in everything like the young Vunck, nothing exempted.

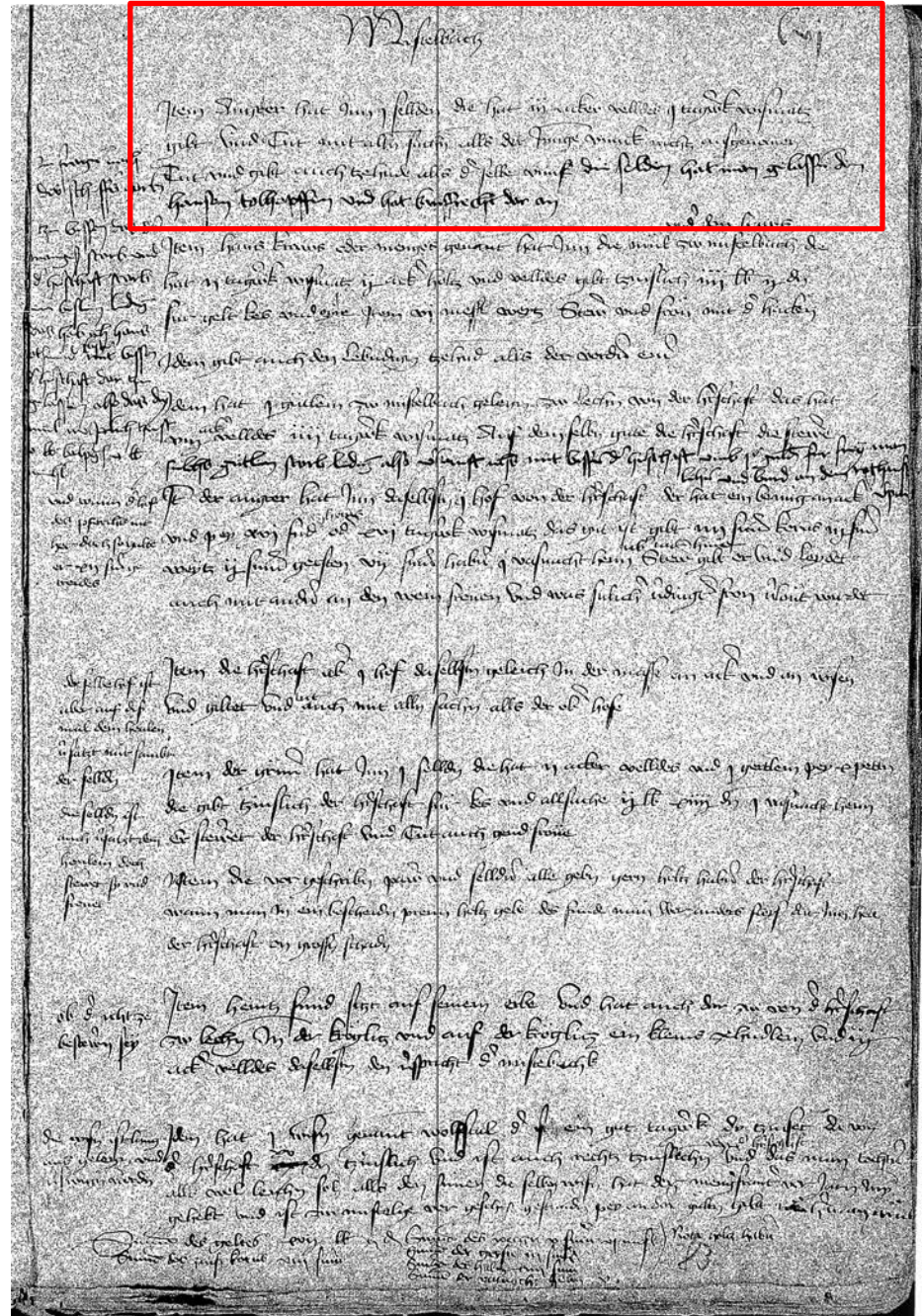
[Meaning that farmer Angrer pays his taxes just like the farmer called “the young Vunck.” No property was exempt from taxes. There was also an “old Vunck,” probably his father.]

Does and gives also a tithe, just like the same Vunck.<sup>10</sup>

[The writing in bolder ink was added later and reads:]

This small farm was left to Hans Tolhopff and he has purchase right.

[As surnames were only coming into common use around this time, “Angrer” and “Vunck” might be the sole names of the two peasants who originally owned the land. They probably had only the one name.]

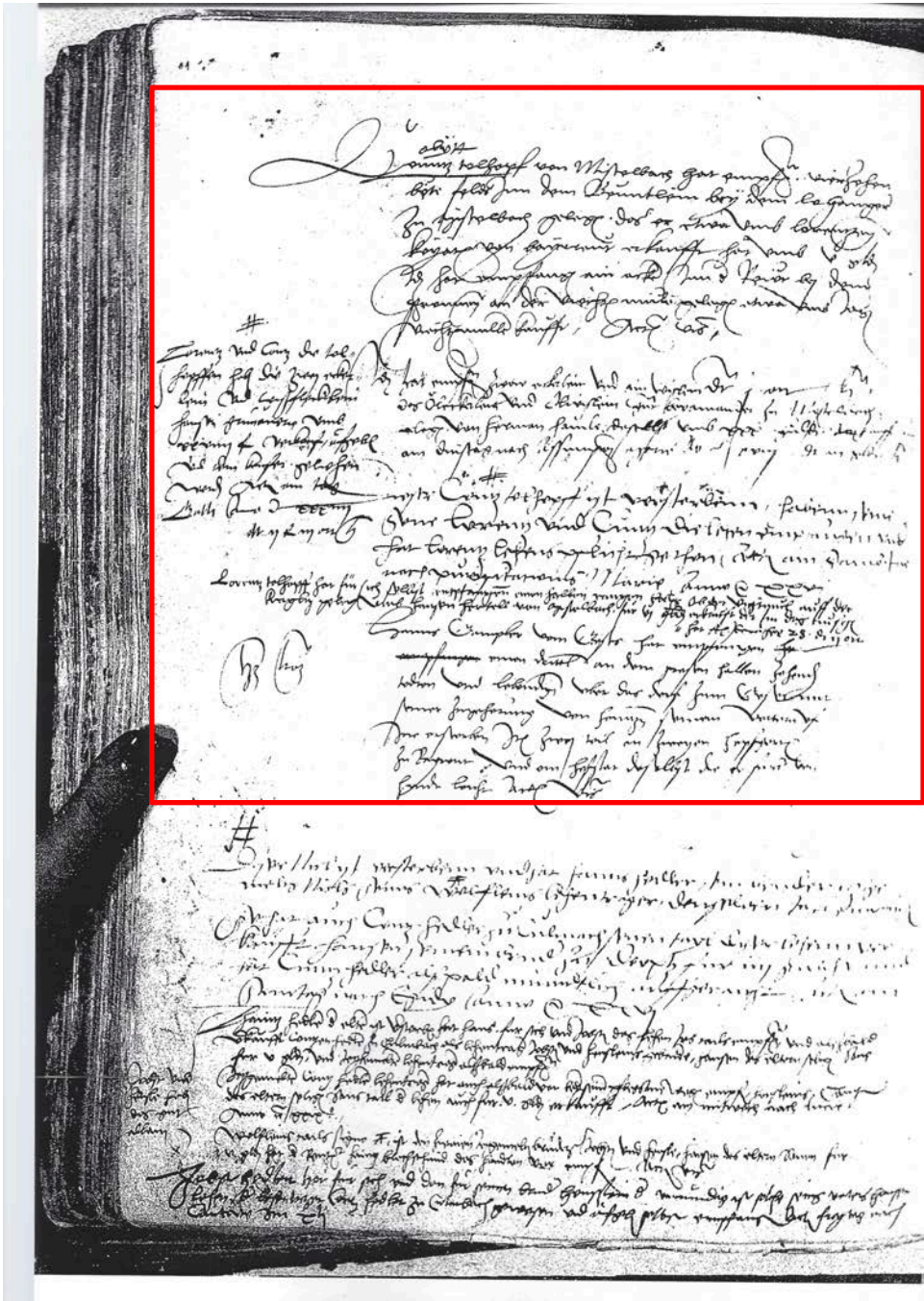


<sup>9</sup> A tagwerk is .79 of an acre.

<sup>10</sup> The tithe was the one tenth given to the church.

**Court Record Excerpt:** Photo of page 328 from the court records of the *Markgraftum Brandenburg-Bayreuth*. *Lehenhof*. ["Fiefs of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth"] Nr. 23. Dated 1516.

Writing in the red text box:  
"Cunntz [sic]  
Tolhopf from Mistelbach  
obtained a field in the  
size of 14 Bet<sup>11</sup> located  
at *in dem Beuntlein bey  
dem Leheuger* in Mistel-  
bach that he had purch-  
ased for 5 guilders  
from Lorentz Keyer from  
Bayreuth. He also obt-  
ained a field located at  
*in der Peier* by the well  
at the Viecht Mill that he  
had purchased from Jorg  
Viechtmuller. Dated  
1516. He also obtained  
two little fields and a  
meadow at the Ölenger-  
leins and a little meadow  
located at [illegible] in  
Mistelbach that he had  
purchased for 30  
guilders from Herman  
Hainle thereat. Tuesday  
after Assumption Day  
1518. This Cuntz  
Tolhopff passed away.  
His sons Lorentz and  
Cuntz obtained these  
fiefs and Lorentz acted  
as the principal. Satur-  
day after Purification  
Day 1526. Lorentz  
Tolhopff obtained for  
himself a field in the size  
of a ½ morgen located  
above the Vicht Mill at  
auf der Kagley that he  
had purchased for 6  
guilders from Hans  
Hertell from Mistelbach.  
1528. Lorentz and Cuntz,  
the Tolhopffs, sold the  
two little fields and the little meadow for 29 guilders to Hanns [...], who was granted the fief. Dated St. Galli's Day 1534.



<sup>11</sup> A *bet* (~1/16 of an acre) and *morgen* (~1/2 acre) are measurements of land.



As evident by the ancient and obscure handwriting in these documents, tracking the land transactions was not easy. Making it even more challenging was the fact that properties were not transferred in one neat and tidy bundle from one generation to the next. Small parcels were acquired or relinquished piecemeal over many years – and sometimes it took *years* before a transaction was officially recorded.

For example, our 4<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather, Johann Dollhopf, purchased house #19 from his mother-in-law in 1784, but it wasn't officially documented until 1799, *fifteen* years later. (We know he had already acquired the farm because of notes in subsequent court documents.)

It would be easy if Grandpa or Grandma Dollhopf willed the entire farm to just *one* of their children, and that child in turn passed it on to just *one* of his or her offspring. But because of *partible inheritance*, a single son or daughter did not inherit the whole farm – it was divided, more or less equally, among all the surviving heirs of the deceased, which might include his or her spouse, children, grandchildren, or even the siblings of the deceased! (Daughters, however, could not inherit the land. They were monetarily reimbursed for their share. In some areas, if there were no male heirs, the daughter could inherit the land. It is not clear if this was the case in Mistelbach.)

Indeed, there were many years in which Mrs. Dollhopf held the family farm outright, until she died. One of the male children would eventually become sole owner of the household and farm, as was custom, but only after the farmland was divvied up among the heirs, or they were reimbursed monetarily.<sup>12</sup>

Our 3<sup>rd</sup> great grandmother, Margaretha Graisinger Dollhopf, owned house #19 and the farm for 15 years, from the time when her husband Eberhard died in 1843, until she willed it to her son Johann in 1857, who in turn had to pay his three sisters their equal share of the inheritance.

Farms were subdivided more or less equally among heirs in nearly every generation. That subdivision upon subdivision led to increasingly smaller plots, eventually resulting in a crazy quilt of patchwork properties. By the 1800s the Dollhopf farm was a collection of 35 *noncontiguous* gardens, fields, meadows, and woods, many of which were less than an acre in size and dispersed over the whole of Mistelbach!

This patchwork of fields was tremendously inefficient – imagine having to move your ox team, plowing equipment, and other farming implements from field to field, among 35 fields, only a few of them next to each other. In addition, the continuous division and dispersal of farmland made it difficult for a farmer to amass enough land to sustain a family; this, along with the inefficiency, contributed to the intense poverty of the late 1700s to mid 1800s.



**Frederick I, Elector of Brandenburg (1371-1440), compiled the feudal Landbuch B in 1422. It is in this book that we first learn of a peasant named Hans Tolhopf, who acquired a small fief, or farm, of 3½ acres in Mistelbach, in the 1430s.**

<sup>12</sup> In the event that there were no male heirs, the farm would often go to the husband of one of the daughters. Lacking any heirs, the property, or fief, would be taken back by the margrave.

Although tedious, I learned much from tracing the land transfers of our ancestors:

- *Social status* – as described above, the amount of land they held determined social rank in the community. Almost all of the residents of the small village of Mistelbach were of similar peasant status – poor.
- *Economic status* – there were Dollhopf mill owners, tailors, and farmers. The mill owners were the wealthiest (relative to the other peasants), the tailors in between, the farmers mostly poor.
- *Tax obligations* – the size of the property determined the percentage their crops and income they had to surrender, as well as most egregiously how much time they had to devote to tending the margrave’s fields in lieu of their own.
- *Occupations* – if they didn’t hold enough land to support themselves, they had to practice a trade or craft (milling and tailoring in the case of our ancestors). The necessity, and the permission, to practice a trade was controlled by the margrave.
- *Inheritance patterns* – I learned the particulars of who inherited what and why. Why did the youngest son get the farmhouse and barn? Why didn’t the oldest inherit the mill? What happened when the father outlived his children? Which of the four wives’ children got the inheritance? etc....

### Social Status

Americans prefer not to admit it, but the land we own or occupy signals our social class. Mind you, it is not the only thing (occupations, intellectual pursuits, socialization patterns, etc., also betray class), but the amount and type of land we own is a significant indicator. Living in a cardboard box in an alleyway, or in a penthouse, or in a suburban development, or in a country estate with a mile-long driveway, or on a farm, or off the grid – these are signals of social class.<sup>13</sup>

Signals, *not determinants*. We have ample opportunity to move up in contemporary American society – as any rags to riches story attests.

Our Dollhopf ancestors did not have such opportunity. The size of their farms not only defined, but *determined* their social class, as it did for all peasants. Their destiny was their land. The tragedy of serfdom was that they didn’t own it.

Their trade or occupation also defined social class, but peasants could not better their status by choosing a “higher-class” occupation. The margrave controlled the trades. Peasants were forced to adopt a trade because they lacked sufficient land to provide for themselves. They didn’t choose to become a tailor because they had a passion for fashion. One became a tailor because the village needed a tailor, or the current tailor was looking for an apprentice, and the margrave gave you permission.<sup>14</sup>

Trades were most often passed from father to son, similar to fief inheritance. This was the path of least resistance to a trade, and the path that the margrave typically approved. Certain trades stayed within families for generations, as was clearly evident by our direct line of Dollhopfs. For four hundred years – 13 generations – they practiced only three trades: miller, tailor, and farmer.

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<sup>13</sup> Sociologists have identified roughly nine social classes in the American order, a subject that will be addressed on this blog in the future. For an exploration of American social classes, read the often-amusing *Class: A Guide through the American Status System*, by Princeton historian Paul Fussell.

<sup>14</sup> The Margrave did not personally get involved in these decisions. There were local administrators, sheriffs, and town councils that acted on his behalf.

How different it is today.

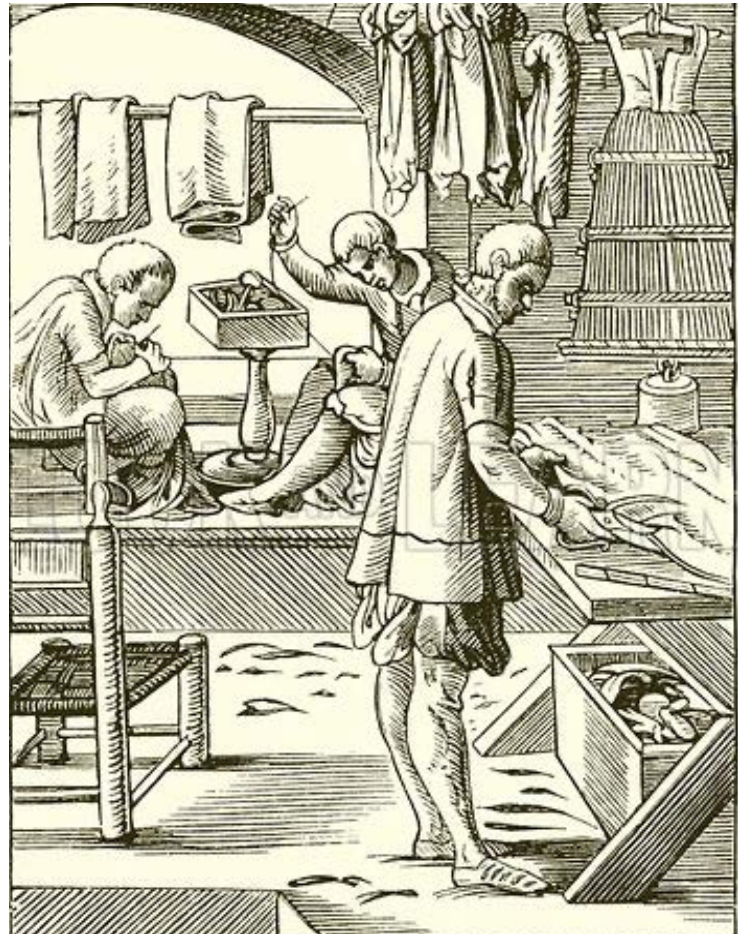
A trade could only be passed to *one* son, typically the oldest. If you were the second son, and you also wanted to be a tailor, you were out of luck, as the margrave was not inclined to approve it (unless the village needed another tailor). For second or following sons, the margrave didn't necessarily dictate which trade you could practice; rather, your father likely apprenticed you to another tradesman (butcher, weaver, cabinetmaker, smith, etc.), pending permission of the margrave. As a young boy or teenager, you really did not have a choice. Your other options: work as a day laborer (the poorest of the poor) on your family farm or another, marry into a family without male heirs to hopefully acquire that farm, become a mercenary soldier, or flee the territory to take your chances elsewhere.

As stated above, women did not pursue trades in a small rural village like Mistelbach. Women were known to practice trades in larger cities, but it was still rare. A woman had to acquire the permission of powerful trade guilds – you can imagine the overwhelming sexism of an old white male medieval trade guild.

“First, most trades and crafts were dominated by men, and the guilds formed by these occupations tended to treat women as second-class workers and second-class members. Second, most “women’s work” in medieval towns was either too low-skilled or too low-status to merit a guild. Most women in medieval towns worked as domestic servants, petty retailers, spinsters, midwives, prostitutes, and the like, all occupations never recognized as skilled, much less organized into guilds.”<sup>15</sup>

If you didn't marry, you were labeled a spinster (literally, a woman who spins yarn, a lowly profession), and you were likely working on a farm as a maid.

Most of our male Dollhopf ancestors who did not inherit the mill, the tailoring trade, or the farm, worked in other mills, or became farmers, marrying women who inherited farms. As near as I can determine, *none* of the male offspring, including the second or following born sons, pursued any other trade



Woodcut of a tailor in 1600. Beginning with **Cuntz (IV) Dollhopf** (1581-1635) the Dollhopfs were tailors for five generations until c.1750. Illustration: “Manners, Customs, and Dress during the Middle Ages” by Paul Lacroix, a facsimile of engravings on wood, designed and engraved by J. Amman in the sixteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Kowaleski, Maryanne, and Judith M. Bennett. “Crafts, Gilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale.” *Signs* 14, no. 2 (1989): 474-501. Accessed December 9, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174558>.

than milling, tailoring, or farming. A remarkable stat.

There was considerable status based on one's trade. Social class will be further explored in a future post, but in brief, millers and innkeepers occupied the top tier of the peasant class; day-laborers, weavers, mercenaries, among many others, occupied the bottom. Tailoring was somewhere in the middle. Thankfully, in a small rural village like Mistelbach, stratification and its prejudices were not likely as severe as they would be in a larger town.

It was nearly impossible for a serf to change social class. Not only did he have to obtain permission to adopt a trade, he also needed permission to leave the village, to marry, or to acquire additional property – reasons, of course, that so many left Germany altogether.

### **More on Fiefs...**

The period of time covered in this analysis is from 1430, the waning of the Late Middle Ages (the first time we learn of a direct Dollhopf ancestor), to 1871, the end of the Early Modern Period (the date when our great grandfather left for America) – fifteen generations of Dollhopfs.<sup>16</sup>

During this time all of our currently known Dollhopf ancestors were serfs, confined by feudalism. Serfdom arose in Europe in the tenth century, and while it largely came to an end in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it persisted in many areas of central and eastern Europe, including Mistelbach, until the mid-1800s. Legally, serfdom was officially abolished in Mistelbach on May 1, 1808, a result of Napoleon's defeat of Prussia in 1806 (Mistelbach was then owned by Prussia), but anti-serfdom laws were not enforced in Mistelbach until the German Revolution of 1848. In fact, some feudal land taxes persisted in Mistelbach until 1921, after the first World War.

Mistelbach was a rural, isolated, economic backwater.<sup>17</sup> Customs and traditions were slow to change. Our 2<sup>nd</sup> great grandfather Johann Dollhopf was living and farming much the same way as his 12<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather Hans Tolhopf. We have an inventory of everything our 2<sup>nd</sup> great-grandfather owned when he died in 1858 (see *Blog #11 Doorway*). There was nothing in that inventory that could not have been in a similar inventory of 1430, four hundred years earlier, with the exception possibly of a better engineered plow – a moldboard plow versus a scratch plow.<sup>18</sup>

For the privilege of a fief, and depending on the size of their property, our Dollhopf ancestors had to surrender a portion of their crops and animal production (cheese, eggs, butter, meat, etc.), *and* pay monetary taxes, *and*, most egregiously, work the margrave's fields before they worked their own, often devoting more than half of their working time to the lord's land (see *Blog #12: Feudalism and Taxes*).

Fiefs could be willed to one's heirs, or sold, with the permission of the margrave. The margrave held absolute supremacy over our ancestors. He had the right to terminate their fiefs at will, but he could not casually or capriciously do so. Both parties – serfs and margraves – were bound to the fiefs by social convention, tradition, and later by increasingly influential courts.

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<sup>16</sup> Historians commonly define the Early Modern Period as 1500 to 1815. The Renaissance in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries was a transition period between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

<sup>17</sup> Mistelbach today can best be described as a commuting suburb of Bayreuth.

<sup>18</sup> The moldboard plow could furrow deeper and more efficiently, "...essentially a blade design, introduced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to churn up deeper soils, bringing more nutrients to the surface than the scratch plow, and softening the compacted undersoil—thus giving the crops a better environment in which to grow." Grenville Astill and John Langdon, eds., *Medieval Farming and Technology: the Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe* (Leiden & New York: Brill, 1997).

On the other hand, peasants were not free to vacate their fiefs (or change occupations), without permission, or there would be serious financial and legal repercussions – their rights to the property could be revoked, they could be fined and/or imprisoned, and in extreme cases they could be executed. Ouch.

Serfs could flee their village, and many did because they did not have fiefs. They had little to lose. It was also easy to flee since serfdom laws were difficult to enforce from one principality to another. But, if you did, and assuming you were not caught, you would be leaving your property and family behind, assuming you had any property (or family, for that matter).

I am not aware of any of our Dollhopf ancestors who fled the village, or the region – until the 1800s. And when they did, they obtained permission. In the 1800s this permission came from the king of Bavaria, since Mistelbach, after 1810, was a territory of Bavaria.

Prior to that time, almost all of the Dollhopfs lived and died in Mistelbach or one of the nearby villages. Many died during the wars and from the plague, but we can reasonably assume that feudalism was not so brutal in Mistelbach as to cause them to flee. Of course, even if they did flee to another region, they were not likely to improve their lot in life. (America was a different matter.) They probably recognized that the grass was not necessarily greener on the other side of the valley. Or maybe the tug of custom, tradition, and family was too great.<sup>19</sup>

### **Fiefs and Protection**

Peasants endured feudalism in part for protection. In fact, there were a few freemen in Mistelbach who *willingly* gave the property they owned outright to the margrave in exchange for a fief, to obtain protection. This is indicated in the Landbooks.

Medieval Europe was not a safe place – thieves and bands of outlaws roamed the countryside at will. Why? Because they could. In poor struggling societies, especially when food was scarce, acts of brutality, violence, and lawlessness were all too common. No police to call if your house was invaded, or if your crops or livestock stolen, or if your family's safety threatened. If you were a thief, there was no one to stop you.

The church books indicate that for decades after the Thirty Years War, roving gangs and outlaws terrorized the region, often forcing Mistelbachers to seek refuge in the woods. The “protection” that the margrave provided – knights, armed soldiers, or guards, and the sanctuary of a castle – was modest at best and certainly not immediate. If a gang invaded your house, you didn't just ring up the castle and say, “get someone down here.” “Protection” meant that there would be retribution for acts of lawlessness, and the perpetrators would be tracked down and prosecuted.

On at least a dozen occasions, Mistelbach was attacked and plundered by invading “armies” (often times the invaders were armed peasants from another village). Given the accounts of the devastation and plundering, it is clear the protection was inadequate. But I suppose it provided our peasant ancestors with some comfort knowing that there was the possibility of armed backup.

Although Mistelbach had a castle, it was very small (nine rooms), clearly not large enough to harbor several hundred villagers in the event of an attack. For over two hundred years, from roughly 1404 to 1604, the seat of the margraves who ruled Mistelbach was the enormous Plassenburg Castle in nearby Kulmbach, and it was indeed large enough, with its massive courtyard, to provide sanctuary for hundreds, if not thousands. Peasants sought

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<sup>19</sup> I know of at least nine ancestors from our family tree that emigrated to America in the 1800s. There were likely many more.

refuge there during the Thirty Years War, but there is no evidence that Mistelbachers availed themselves since the castle was over 15 miles away.

### Farming Practices

When surveying the land records for our Dollhopfs, it is helpful to understand the farming practices of the Middle Ages. Such practices inform us as to the amount of land needed to feed a family, the division of their labor, and their relative poverty (or prosperity).

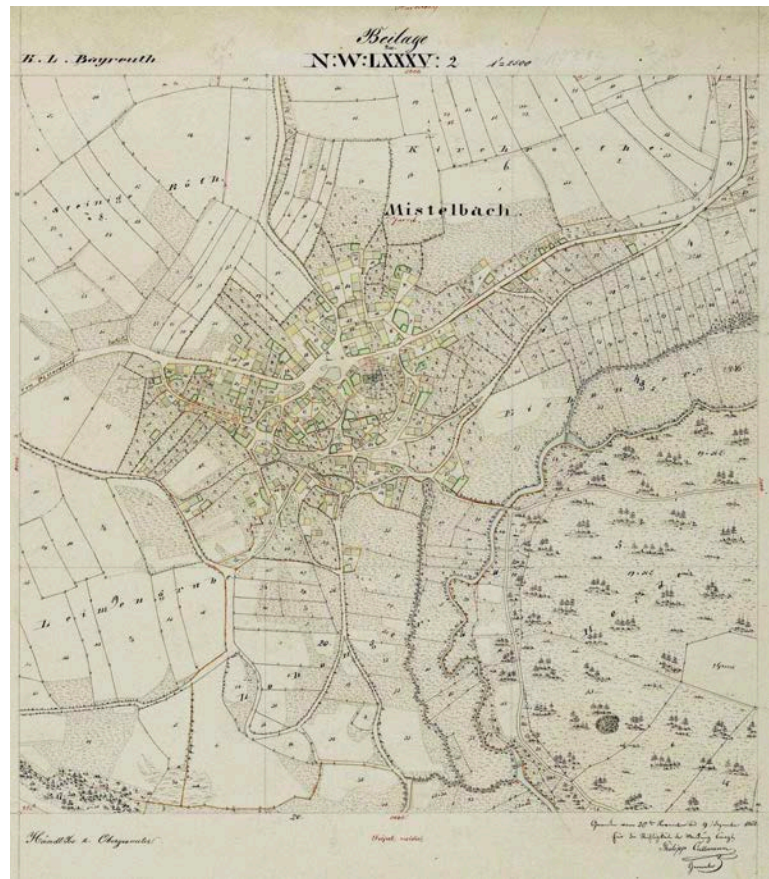
In addition, many of the terms used to describe the type and size of their fields are derived from these practices. For example, land was not defined in acres, but rather in units called *tagwerk* (*tag* = “day;” *werk* = “work”). A *tagwerk* was the amount of land that could be tilled, or worked, by one man and a team of oxen, in one day – a “day’s work.”

Additional Medieval practices:

**Open Field Farming:** Peasants in Mistelbach, as in most of Europe, practiced *open field* farming – a system of large fields, owned by the “lord” (in our case, the margrave), surrounding a cluster of village houses, typically next to a church.<sup>20</sup> The large fields were subdivided into narrow strips of land and *enfeoffed* to the serfs. The lord also owned nearly all of the forests, streams, and ponds, for which he would charge fees for their use (e.g., hunting, fishing, collecting firewood). These fees, which were in essence taxes, caused great unrest.

In 1398, according to *Landbook A*, Mistelbach consisted of two large fields – the larger owned by the margrave in Bayreuth, and the smaller by the knight in Mistelbach. There were several much smaller independently owned fields. The total land area was not more than a few hundred acres; Mistelbach was less than a square mile of land.<sup>21</sup> It was *small*.

On these two large fields there were 19 farms – the margrave owned ten, including several large farms, and the knight owned seven smaller farms. Two



*1850 Map of Mistelbach. The houses are clustered in the middle surrounded by fields. Note that the field subdivisions are long and narrow so that plows would not have to be turned often. Meadows and woods were the larger tracts of irregular size, shown above with tick marks or trees.*

<sup>20</sup> As opposed to American farming practice, where houses and barns are situated directly on the farmer’s fields.

<sup>21</sup> One square mile = 640 acres.

small independent farms were owned by unnamed individuals (unnamed because they were freemen and did not pay taxes to the margrave or the knight). Appendix A is a list of the farms in 1398. (Hans Tolhopf did not acquire property in Mistelbach until the 1430s. His land was owned by the margrave, not the knight.)

**Selions:** The narrow strips of arable land were called *selions*. Selions were by definition one *furlong*<sup>22</sup> by one *chain*, which equaled one acre. (The dimensions varied considerably from region to region.) The fields were long and narrow so that the farmer did not have to repeatedly turn his oxen and plow. If a field was square, the farmer would have to turn his plow more often. The longer and narrower the field, the more plowing and less turning. Turning used up tillable space and time. Note the narrow shape of most of the fields on the map of 1850.

**Three Field Crop Rotation:** Mistelbach farmers, until the twenty-first century, practiced three field crop rotation – one field was planted in the fall with winter wheat or other grains, another in the spring typically with legumes (legumes returned nitrogen to the soil), and the third field was left fallow for communal grazing (manure returned additional nutrients to the soil). Farmers rotated their fields every year.

**Oxen:**<sup>23</sup> It can reasonably be assumed that our 15<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather Hans Tolhopf used oxen to plow his fields in 1430 – if he plowed his fields at all. (There is considerable evidence that he was a miller and did not rely on farming for sustenance. He probably acquired the fields in Mistelbach as an investment,)

Striking is the fact that the Dollhopfs used oxen for the next 400 years, until the mid-twentieth century. Farmers in Mistelbach relied almost exclusively on oxen for plowing, not horses. In 1858 our 2<sup>nd</sup> great-grandfather Johann Dollhopf owned two oxen; he did not own any horses. Tax records indicate that there were very few horses in Mistelbach, even in the 1850s. Horses were stronger and faster, but oxen could pull heavier loads, and for longer periods of time. Horses were also temperamental, and, on average, four times more expensive to feed – an ox can eat any grassy plant life, whereas a horse's diet has to be supplemented with grain, mostly oats. Grain was precious and needed for family sustenance – this was perhaps the largest barrier to horse ownership in a poor rural village where food was scarce.

We do know however, that the Dollhopfs did own horses when they were relatively wealthy mill owners – Georg *der Ältere* Dollhopf, the oldest son of our 12<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, and next in line to inherit the mill, died on November 6, 1600 when he fell off his horse returning from Bayreuth. This was reported in the church book.

In general, the ox was a healthier animal than the horse, and when an ox reached the end of its productive life, perhaps eight to ten years, it was butchered for meat. Peasants did not eat horse meat, another reason they used 87oxen.

Oxen were so important to the peasant farmer that in the early Middle Ages the social class to which a man belonged depended on whether he tilled with his hands or with oxen. Oxen were like members of the family:

Whenever the plow, light or heavy, went forth into the fields, it was well attended by two or more shouting, whistling, hallooing peasants. The plowman who was in charge was cautioned "not to be melancholy, or irritable, but gay, full of song and joyous" so as to encourage "the oxen at their toil with melody and song ..." His assistant, who frequently both goaded the oxen along and cared for them when the day's work was

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<sup>22</sup> A *furlong* is a length of land one furrow long, or the length of a plowed furrow that equaled one acre. It was roughly 1/8 of a mile, or 660 feet. A *chain* was 66 feet, named for the surveyor's chains adopted in England in the 1500s.

<sup>23</sup> An ox is a gelded steer. Oxen were tamer and easier to handle, but ungelded bulls and female cows were also pressed into service for plowing as necessary.

finished, was also admonished to be light-hearted. In fact, he was to "love" the oxen and sleep with them so as to guard them from harm.<sup>24</sup>



*Dollhopf family with their oxen, c.1958 – evidence of how slowly change came to Mistelbach. Oxen were mostly not replaced until the 1960's. This picture was taken by Hans Dollhopf, who died last year (2019) at the age of 94. People in photo: 1 **Adam Dollhopf** (Hans' father, our grandfather Edward's first cousin; Adam was born in 1882, Edward in 1889); 2 **Barbara Schiller Dollhopf** (Adam's wife; her father Joseph Schiller owned the Dörfmühle until he died in 1894); 3 **Rosa Dollhopf** (Hans' wife), 4 **Margarete Dollhopf Hammon** (Hans' sister), 5 **Jürgen Dollhopf**, age 5, (Hans' son); 6 **Ursula Dollhopf**, age 2 (Hans' daughter).*

### Size of farm

The size of their "estate" – the amount of land that each of our Dollhopf ancestors held – tells us much about how they lived and survived. Were they comfortable, or did they struggle?

<sup>24</sup> The Ox in the Middle Ages; John H. Moore, *Agricultural History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Apr., 1961), pp. 90-93 (4 pages)  
Published by: Agricultural History Society



Most farms in Mistelbach were not large enough to support an average family of five, hence the reason that most of our ancestors plied a trade for additional, however meager, income. As mentioned previously, the relatively small size of Mistelbach farms led to the abject poverty of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The generic German term for a feudal farm was *Zinshof* (*zins* = “interest;” *hof* = “farm”). Simply defined: a property for which serfs paid interest, or rent, a form of taxes. These feudal farms varied in size and determined one’s social status. They were defined as follows in the Landbook B of 1420:

- **Hof:** a “whole farm” – 30 to 60 acres of arable fields, and 5 to 10 acres of meadows. Farmers that owned a *hof* were the wealthiest of peasants. In 1420 there were only two *hof* in Mistelbach, both held by the margrave, not by peasants. The peasants had to farm these fields before they farmed their own.

The fief holder of a whole farm was a *ganzer bauer* (“full farmer”). A whole farm was one that typically maintained the original size when it was first cultivated in the Middle Ages.

- **Gut:**<sup>25</sup> a “small rural property” – 15 to 30 acres of arable fields, and a “few” acres of meadows. The Mistelbach knight owned seven *gut* in 1420, freemen (independent farmers) owned four *gut*, and the Hospital in Bayreuth owned one – a portion of which, about ½ acre, was enfeoffed to Cuntz V Dollhopf, our 9<sup>th</sup> great grandfather in 1662. On that small plot he built house #55, where our Dollhopf family lived from 1682 to 1784. In the church books a farm of this size was called a *gutlein*.

A *gut* was farmed by a *halber bauer* (“half farmer”). A *gut* was typically a *hof* that had been divided to make two farms, typically because of inheritance.

- **Selde:** the “smallest rural property” – only 1 to 2 acres of fields on average, and 1 to 2 acres of meadows. There were six *selde* in Mistelbach, all controlled by the margrave. The occupants of a *selde* were called *Söldner, or selden- or sölden-bauers* (“selde farmers”). All of our Dollhopf ancestors fell into this class, with the exception of the millers.

A *Viertelsbauer* was farmer who owned a quarter or less sized farm, again typically after further subdivision.

- **Bauhöfe:** “tiny farms” that were not enfeoffed; the farmers had no rights and they had to give a fixed amount of grain – typically a third to a half of their crops – to the lord. Unlike a fief, it could not be inherited by the peasant’s children, nor could it be sold. When the farmer died, the property reverted to the lord, who could also terminate the lease at will. These were among the poorest of the poor.
- In addition, in 1420 (in a vilage of 19 farms) there were 17 landless peasants who worked as hired hands on the farms or for the knight.

At the time Landbook B was compiled in 1420,<sup>26</sup> there were not yet any Dollhopfs in the villate. The *Dorfmühle*, or “village mill,” was the property of the margrave and enfeoffed to Hans Kraus. It was acquired in 1499 by Dietrich Tolhopf, our 14<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather. The other mill in the village at the time, the *Schnörleinsmühle*, or “flour mill” (they were both flour mills despite the names), was owned by the church, and in 1421 it was enfeoffed to Fritz Snörl.<sup>27</sup> Fritz was not a relative of ours, but in later centuries the *Schnörleinsmühle* was owned by a succession of our ancestors beginning with our 7<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, Johann Kauper, in 1689.

<sup>25</sup> For *gut* and the following *selde* and *bauhöfe* there are no equivalent English translations.

<sup>26</sup> Although Landbook B was compiled in 1420, it was amended periodically until the 1440s.

<sup>27</sup> The church owned considerable land; remember, this is 100 years before the Reformation.

In the Middle Ages 90% of the German population worked the land; 80% were bound to a noble estate. As noted, farmers in Mistelbach were not equals as defined by the amount of land they held. As a way to compare, in a survey of seven English counties in 1279, perhaps typical of Mistelbach and Europe as a whole:<sup>28</sup>

- 46 percent of all peasant farmers held less than 10 acres (roughly equivalent to the above *selde*), which was insufficient land to support a family. Some of these peasants were completely landless, or possessed only a small garden adjacent to their house. These poor farmers were often employed by wealthier farmers, or practiced a trade in addition to farming. Most of the farmers in Mistelbach were of this class, including our Dollhopf grandparents.
- 33 percent of farmers held about one-half *virgate* of land (this was an English unit of measure, roughly 12 to 16 acres, equivalent to the above German *gut*). This was sufficient in most years to support a family of five, but barely.
- 20 percent of farmers held a full virgate (a *hof* in German), sufficient not only to support a family but to produce a surplus.
- A few farmers accumulated more than a virgate of land and thus were relatively wealthy, although not belonging to the nobility. These rich farmers might have tenants of their own and would hire additional peasants. None as far as I know existed in Mistelbach.

### Survival

How much land was needed to sustain a family in Mistelbach?

Historians estimate that the size of an average family in the Middle Ages – family members surviving beyond childhood – was five. We have data on 15 generations of Dollhopfs who lived and died in Mistelbach. In those 14 generations there were 28 parents and 47 children for an average family size of 5.3. This number does not include:

- The additional three wives of Cuntz V Dollhopf, and the additional two wives of Hans d.A. Dollhopf, both of whom married multiple times because of the deaths of their wives due to the Thirty Years War and the plague of the 1600s. (They were the only two in 14 generations to have more than one wife.)
- 14 children (in addition to the 47) who died as infants or young children. Roughly a quarter of all Dollhopf children did not make it to adulthood.

This makes for an average of 5.3 per family, which jibes with historians' estimates.

Although estimates vary (and we are estimating over a period of 400 years), it required an average of four to five hectares, or 9.5 to 12.35 acres of arable land, to support a family of five for one year. This number accounted for arable land on which three crop rotation was practiced, but not land held as meadows. On average our ancestors owned only four acres of arable land, less than half of what was needed to support a family. This required our Dollhopf ancestors to ply a trade to support themselves, with a few important exceptions, notably the millers.

Crops yields in Europe from 1250 to 1450 averaged 7 to 15 bushels of grain per acre. In poor years, because of bad weather, insects, or rodents, the yields could drop to less than 4 bushels per acre. By contrast, yields in the 21st century approach 60 bushels per acre.

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<sup>28</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agriculture\\_in\\_the\\_Middle\\_Ages](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agriculture_in_the_Middle_Ages)

We know from an inheritance agreement of 1808 (See *Blog #16: Grocery List*) that Johann Dollhopf and his wife Anna, in exchange for giving the farm to their son Eberhard, required him to provide them annually with 25 bushels of grain, or roughly 12 bushels per person, enough food for an entire year. From this we can surmise that if the average peasant consumed 12 bushels of grain per year, and if the average yield was four to six bushels per acre, it would then require approximately 10 to 12 acres to feed an average family of 5.3. Again, our Dollhopfs only held 4 to 6 acres, requiring them to practice a trade to purchase needed grains.

### **Dollhopf Holdings**

In the court records, land held by the peasants is listed, and defined, as follows:

1. **House plots**, which typically included a barn, a garden, and a very, very small orchard (maybe six trees). In an open field system, as previously described, houses and barns were clustered in the village; they were not attached to, or sitting on, the farmer's fields, which surrounded the village.
2. **Fields**, or arable land. On the map you will note the long and narrow shape – selions – of these tillable plots.
3. **Meadows**, uncultivated land used for grazing. They are indicated on the map with small tick marks. All of our ancestors owned meadows, so it is likely they all owned some livestock.
4. **Forests or woods**, which were not owned by peasants until the late 1600s. Prior to that time, forests, along with ponds, lakes, and streams, were owned by the margrave or the knight. As noted above, peasants were not allowed to hunt, fish, gather firewood, or fatten their pigs (on the acorns in the forest) without paying heavy fees to the lord. This was one of the principal complaints of peasants that led to the German Peasant War of 1524-1525.

Although I have been quoting land measurements in “acres,” the medieval German terminology for land measurement included the following terms:

- **Tagwerk**, not acres. The word "acre" is derived from the Old English *æcer* (originally meaning "open field", cognate to the German *acker*). As previously described, a tagwerk was the amount of land that could be worked by a man and a team of oxen in one day, defined as sunup to sundown.

The numbers in the tables that follow are quoted in tagwerk. A tagwerk varied considerably from region to region, even village to village. The amount of land that could be worked in a day depended on the climate (rainy and cool, or hot and dry), the type of soil (loose, sandy, rocky, or clay), and topology (flat, hilly, or mountainous). In Mistelbach, which was rolling hills with good soil, a tagwerk was about .79 of an acre.

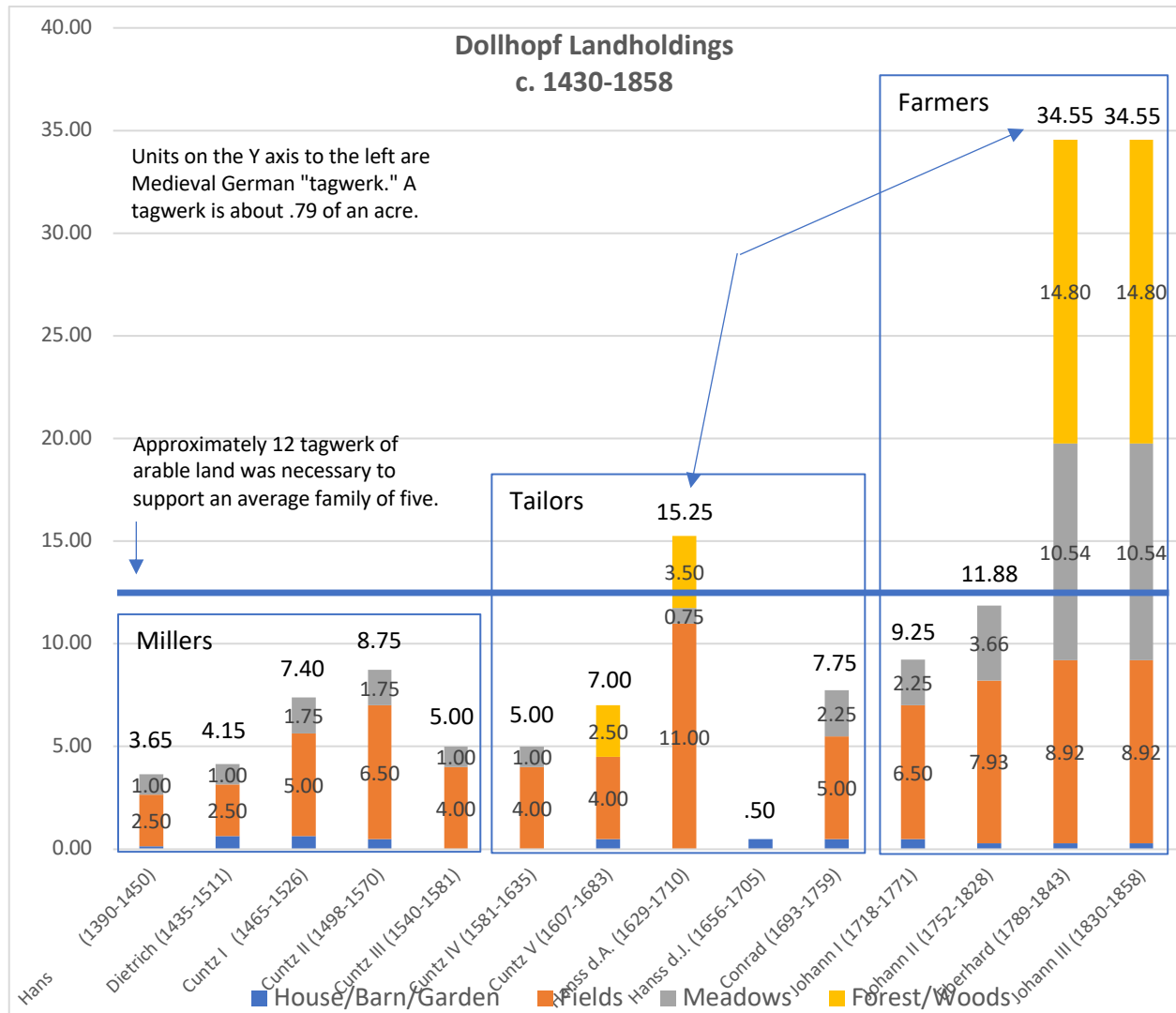
- A **morgen** was the amount of land that could be tilled in the morning, from sunup to noon, by two oxen pulling a single blade plow. It was usually more than half of a tagwerk because work in the morning, when the farmer was still fresh and “rarin’ to go,” was a more reliable measure than work completed in an entire day. Farmers tired near the end of the day, quit at various times, and did not accomplish as much as they did in the morning.<sup>29</sup> (That should be the standard used for work today....)
- A **bet**, or **beet**, was a garden plot of 1/16 of a tagwerk – 2,150 square feet or a plot roughly 40 x 50 sq ft.

Beginning on page 22 is the list of our Dollhopf ancestors in descending order, detailing the land that they held. I note whether or not they owned a house and the type and size of their land holdings – including the size of the house plot (since their houses were not located on their fields). The livestock stable was located in the house, and if there was a barn it was typically attached, or next to, the house. The barn was used to store tools and grains, not livestock.

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<sup>29</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morgen>

This list is a condensed summary. For the more courageous among you, and only if you are *really* interested, Appendix B is a much fuller explication, including citations from all relevant court documents. It is detailed, but every time I review these voluminous documents, I learn something new. Perhaps with a close read you might discern a new insight. I welcome your thoughts.



The above chart is a summary of the land held by our Dollhopf ancestors. Each column represents the total tagwerk – house plots, arable fields, meadows, and forests – held by each. (Note that the number of tagwerk for the house plots, at the bottom of each column in blue, do not appear because of space limitations.)

On average our ancestors held 11.86 tagwerk, of which 5.90 were arable fields. About 10 to 12 tagwerk of arable fields were necessary to provide enough food for an average Medieval family of five.

Only one ancestor – Hanss d.A. Dollhopf (d.A. = *der Ältere*, or “the older”) – was able to acquire close to that. He was a most industrious man and must have been an interesting character. The pastor reported that an unusually large number of people attended his funeral. You will note in the chart that his son, Hanss d.J. (d.J. = *der Junge*, or

“the younger”), predeceased him and so did not inherit any land (except for the house, which he inherited from his grandfather, Conrad V.)

The first five generations of our Dollhopf ancestors were millers; they were relatively wealthy and did not have to farm. They acquired their grain by taking a percentage of the grain that was brought to them for milling. This percentage was in effect a tax imposed upon the farmers by the margrave. The farmers by law *had* to bring their grain to the mill owned by the margrave, and *had* to pay a fixed percentage. This practice led to many abuses, including unscrupulous millers who “put their thumb on the scale” to fool unsuspecting peasants, and peasants who secretly ground their own grain, or sneaked off to other mills.

After losing the mill in 1632 during the Thirty Years War, the next five generations of Dollhopfs were tailors.

They had to earn supplemental income from a trade to purchase food they could not grow. The little land they held likely provided fruit and vegetables, and meadows for a few livestock.

Grain – the bulk of a peasant diet – for bread, porridge, and beer, had to be purchased.

The last four generations were farmers; they apparently struggled to amass sufficient land to sustain themselves without benefit of a trade. These were worst of times for peasants in all of Europe, but most especially Germany where small, independent, feudal principalities persisted until the 1800s.



**Barbara Schiller Dollhopf** (20 Jan 1894 to 18 Aug 1978) working the farm in a photo from the early 1900s. Barbara was the wife of Adam Dollhopf, who was our grandfather Edward’s first cousin. Adam died in 1959, and for 20 years Barbara owned the Dollhopf farm, which by the 1900s was one of the largest in Mistelbach. When she died her daughter Margarethe Dollhopf and husband Bernhard Hammon inherited the property. Barbara and Adam had five children – Georg (who lost an arm in WWII), Johann (killed in WWII), Anna, Hans (captured in WWII and held in a Russian prison camp), and Kunigunde. Barbara’s son Hans remembers her as outgoing, joyful, and loud, laughing all the time. This was the reason, he said, why his father Adam was so quiet.

The Dollhopfs would finally amass enough land in the 1900s to sufficiently sustain themselves, long after our great grandfather emigrated to America.

Our ancestors were busy acquiring property in almost every generation, but *partible inheritance* – dividing the property among all heirs – set each subsequent generation back. In almost every generation the heir had to begin the process of acquiring land all over again.

It was an uphill fight for our ancestors; they struggled for 400 years.

Following are the details of each generation:

*15<sup>th</sup> great grandfather*

**Hans Tolhopf** (~1400-~1454), likely a miller, but not confirmed. His father might have been Heintz Tollhopf, who was a miller (the miller trade stayed within families) at the Upper Gate in Bayreuth. Hans owned a house in Bayreuth located behind the town hall at Maximilianstrasse #75, and we don't know if he actually moved to Mistelbach. Much of the area around Mistelbach was laid to waste by Hussites in the Hussite War of the 1430s, so there might have been a lot of abandoned farmland, available for investment, after the war.

House/ Barn	Fields	Meadow	Forest	Total
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*All figures are quoted in tagwerk, about .79 of an acre.*

House in Bayreuth	0.15			
Land in Mistelbach		2.50	1.00	0 3.65

*14<sup>th</sup> great grandfather*

**Dietrich** (aka **Übellein**) **Tolhopf** (~1435-~1511) miller. He acquired the village mill in Mistelbach in 1499, most likely because his father was a miller in Bayreuth. He continued to own the house in Bayreuth, but lived in the mill. Historically the mill was known as House #57. As a miller he was relatively wealthy and did not have to farm – he could afford to buy his food stuffs from the other peasants.

House in Bayreuth	0.15			
House #57 (Mill) in Mistelbach	0.50	2.50	1.00	0 4.15



*The Dorfmühle (village mill) c.1914. Landbuch A reported a mill on this site in 1398. **Dietrich Tolhopf** (14<sup>th</sup> ggf) acquired it in 1499. It was destroyed and abandoned in 1634 in the Thirty Years War, and in 1649 it was acquired by **Wilhelm Drechsel** (our 9<sup>th</sup> ggf through a maternal line). It is not known when the structure in the photo was built, probably in the 16 or 1700s. On the right is **Barbara Schiller Dollhopf**, pictured on the previous page, wife of **Adam Dollhopf**. Her father, Joseph Schiller, owned the mill. After he died in 1894, Barbara's mother married the man in the middle, Johann Weydenhammer. Woman on left is Frau Heidenreich, first name and relationship unknown. The mill, now a house, remains in the Weydenhammer family today.*

	House/ Barn	Fields	Meadow	Forest	Total
<i>13<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>					
<b>Cuntz I<sup>30</sup></b> (aka <b>Übellein</b> ) <b>Tolhopf</b> (~1465-~1526) miller, inherited the mill from his father. He added to the size of the land holdings. These fields would have been used primarily to feed his livestock. He sold his grandfather's house in Bayreuth. He was known as Üblelein obly after his death.					
House in Bayreuth:	0.15				
House #57 (mill) in Mistelbach:	0.50	5.00	1.75	0	7.40
<i>12<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>					
<b>Cuntz II Tolhopf</b> (~1498-~1570) miller, Gotteshaus Master in 1557. He inherited the mill, increased the fields slightly.					
House #57 (mill) in Mistelbach:	0.50	6.50	1.75	0	8.75
<i>11<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>					
<b>Cuntz III Tolhopf</b> (~1540-~1581) miller. He had three male siblings, all named Georg. He and Georg "the older" die prematurely, Georg "the middle" returned to Bayreuth, so Georg "the younger" inherited the mill. Cuntz lived in the mill until he died. He inherited property, but not the mill.					
Land, no house:	0	4.00	1.00	0	5.00
<i>10<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>					
<b>Cuntz IV</b> (aka <b>Conrad</b> ) <b>Dollhopf (Vogel)</b> (~1581-~1635) tailor. According to church records, "a pious, honest and conscientious man." His father dies four weeks after his birth, his mother remarries Hans Vogel (they take the name Vogel) and they move to the Vogel house. (The Vogel house was destroyed in 1632 (Thirty Year War); we don't know where it was located.) Could be #23 or #39. Did not inherit the Vogel house, but he did inherit farm property from his father.					
Land, no house:	0	4.00	1.00	0	5.00
<i>9<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>					
<b>Cuntz V</b> (aka <b>Conrad</b> ) <b>Dollhopf (Vogel)</b> (1607-1683) tailor, Gotteshaus Master, and mayor of Mistelbach. He acquires a small plot next to the village mill from the Hospital in Bayreuth and builds House #55. He sold the house to his grandson, Hanss d.J. Dollhopf, listed below.					
House #55 next to mill:	0.50	4.00	0	2.50	7.00

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<sup>30</sup> The Roman Numerals after their names are my addition to tell them apart!





**House #55.** This postcard from 1904 shows the location of House #55 in the exact middle of the card. The village mill, #57, can be seen at the lower right. [There is a house in the upper middle incorrectly labeled #57.] The mill was owned by the Dollhopfs from 1499 to 1649. **Cuntz V Dollhopf**, our 9<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, built house #55 abutting the mill to the immediate northwest. Cuntz V acquired the fief for #55 from the Hospital in Bayreuth in 1662, and subsequently built the house. His son, **Hanss “the older” Dollhopf**, married the daughter of the owner of the Zeckenmühle (pictured on the next page) and moved there in 1654. On April 10, 1679, Cuntz sold the house to his grandson **Hanss “the younger” Dollhopf** for 50 guilders. Our line of Dollhopfs occupied house #55 from 1662 until 1784, at which time Cuntz’s great-great grandson Johann acquired house #19. The roof top of #19 is visible to the immediate right of the church steeple. #55 was torn down and replaced in 1961.

8<sup>th</sup> great grandfather

**Hanss d. A. Dollhopf (Vogel)**<sup>31</sup> (1629-1710) tailor, moved into the Zeckenmühle (“Zecken mill”) when he married the mill owner’s daughter, Dorothea Nuekam. Church records indicate he was an “honorable and industrious” man. He accumulated a number of properties, probably because of the amount of land that had been abandoned in the Thirty Years War. His youngest son inherited the Zeckenmühle. He must have been a standout individual because the pastor reported that an unusually great number of people attended his funeral. See photo on following page.

	House/ Barn	Fields	Meadow	Forest	Total
Lived at the Zeckenmühle, did not own a house:	0	11.00	0.75	3.50	15.25

<sup>31</sup> d. A stands for *der Ältere*, the “older one,” and d. J. for *der Jünger*, the “younger one.”



**The Zeckenmühle:** The “Zecken Mill” sits on the Mistel brook immediately northeast of Mistelbach. The mill was first mentioned in the Landbook of 1398. **Hanss d.A. Dollhopf** (our 8<sup>th</sup> ggf) moved here on June 13, 1654 after he married **Dorothea Neukam**, daughter of **Hans Neukam**, the mill owner. His youngest son **Stephan Dollhopf** (brother of Hanss d.J Dollhopf, our 7<sup>th</sup> ggf) inherited the mill after his mother died in 1687 (Hans Neukam had no other living children or grandchildren). The mill stayed in that branch of the Dollhopf family until 1820. Subsequent owners were also relatives in a maternal line. This photograph was taken around 1920. In the foreground is six-year-old **Margarete Dörnhöfer**, daughter of the mill owner. She is our 6<sup>th</sup> cousin. With her is an unknown mill hand. Today the former mill houses a clock museum and a restaurant.

	House/ Barn	Fields	Meadow	Forest	Total	
<i>7<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>						
<b>Hanss d. J. Dollhopf (Vogel)</b> (1656-~1705) tailor. He acquired house #55 from his grandfather. He predeceased his father, so he did not inherit any land.	House #55 next to mill:	0.50	0	0	0	0.50
<i>6<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>						
<b>Conrad Dollhopf</b> (1693-1759) [194] tailor, farmer, and church treasurer. He inherited house #55 from father, and land from his grandfather, but it was divided among two heirs, so he only got half the land.	House #55 next to mill:	0.50	5.00	2.25	0	7.75
<i>5<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i>						
<b>Johann I Dollhopf</b> (1718-1771) farmer. He acquired an additional 1.5 tagwerk from his step father-in-law. It is not known why he did not inherit his father’s tailor trade, or how he could survive as a farmer with only 6.5 tagwerk of arable land. He was the only boy of the family with two sisters.	House #55 next to mill:	0.50	6.50	2.25	0	9.25



House #19 c.1910. This is one of the oldest known photographs of the house, which was rebuilt after the great fire of 1822 – a fire that started in the house seen on the left (they were making deep fried pastries and the lard caught fire, destroying a dozen houses). Standing in front is our great-grandfather’s brother **Johann Konrad Dollhopf** (1856-1947), and his third wife **Margarethe Hartung** (1868-?). They were married in 1910. Johann’s son Adam would be the next owner. He and Adam acquired additional land making it one of the largest farms in the 1900s.

	House/ Barn	Fields	Meadow	Forest	Total
<i>4<sup>th</sup> great grandfather</i> <b>Johann II Dollhopf</b> (1752-1828) farmer. Acquired house #19 from his father-in-law and purchased additional fields. His 8 tagwerk of arable land was barely subsistence level. House #19, next to church:	0.29	7.93	3.66	0	11.88
<i>3<sup>rd</sup> great grandfather</i> <b>Eberhard Dollhopf</b> (1789-1843) farmer. He <i>tripled</i> his landholdings, including a large tract of forest acquired and co-owned with his brother. In addition to tripling the size of the family farm he was also mayor. House #19:	0.29	8.92	10.54	14.80	34.55
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> great grandfather</i> <b>Johann III Dollhopf</b> (1830-1858) farmer. He inherited the farm from his mother, who acquired it from her husband when he died. Johann died only seven months later at the age of 28. House #19:	0.29	8.92	10.54	14.80	34.55

	House/ Barn	Fields	Meadow	Forest	Total
<i>Great grandfather</i>					
<b>Johann IV Bär Dollhopf</b> (1852-1934) cooper and furniture maker.					
Emigrated to America in 1871. Eventually owned a small plot of land at 22 Iona Street on Troy Hill in Allegheny City, which today is a part of Pittsburgh.					
22 Iona Street in Pittsburgh:	.15	0	0	0	.15

### What the Records Tell Us

Over these 13 generations our Dollhopf ancestors never owned a farm larger than a *selde*, the smallest possible landholding under the terms of a fief. After their mill-owning days, the church books listed the Dollnopfs as *söldenbauer* (“selde farmer”) – one rung from the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. But they had good company – roughly half of all peasants in Europe fell into the same category. Roughly 80% of the farmers in Mistelbach were *söldenbauer*.

In the late Middle Ages the Dollhopfs enjoyed relatively elevated social and economic status as mill owners. Because of that status, millers in general were often viewed with envy and suspicion. In many of the court records of the day there were complaints about overcharging and theft – they were accused of cheating by “putting their thumb on the scale” when weighing the grain. The sobriquet “Übellein,” meaning the “evil or dishonest one,” was given to Dietrich Dollhopf and each of his mill-owning heirs. Whether this name was given in jest, or whether it was actually true, we don’t (yet) know. I have not found a court document that directly accuses any of the Dollhopf millers with cheating, but the records do suggest that there was indeed a lot of haggling, as you will see in the more detailed analysis in Appendix B.

Takeaways from the land records:

- **Hans Tolhopf**, the first Dollhopf in Mistelbach, was likely the son of a mill owner in Bayreuth. He only acquired 3.5 tagwerk in Mistelbach, certainly not enough to support himself or a family. It was not uncommon for city dwellers to acquire investment properties “outside the city walls” (Bayreuth was a walled city). Such land would be leased to other farmers. I surmise that he was seeking to expand his holdings and continued to work the family mill in Bayreuth.
- His son, **Dietrich “Übellein” Dollhopf**, probably was able to acquire the village mill in 1499 because he came from a family of millers. It would be highly unusual for a lowly farmer to acquire a mill – it took someone with considerable experience and connections. Dietrich was most likely in his 50s when he took possession of the mill. When the mills in Mistelbach changed hands, they were typically acquired by men with prior milling experience.
- It was not necessary for mill owners to own substantial land since they were relatively prosperous. The little land they did hold was probably used to support livestock. The Dollhopf millers never owned more than 6.50 tagwerk of arable fields. (Again, it required about 9 to 12 tagwerk of arable land to support an average family at subsistence levels.)
- Our mill owning days ended in September of 1581 when our 11<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, **Cuntz III Dollhopf**, died, four weeks after the birth of his 6<sup>th</sup> child. We don’t know the exact date of Cuntz’s birth; he was probably in his early thirties when he died. Subsequently, his younger brother Georg inherited the mill. It is at this point that our direct line of ancestors are no longer millers. Beginning with Cuntz III’s son, **Cuntz IV**, they did not have enough land to be full-time farmers, and so became tailors.

- The Thirty Years War was a devastating turning point for the Dollhopf family, from which they never fully recovered. After the mill was destroyed in 1632, it was abandoned. (See *Blog #9: Pandemics and War.*) **Conrad IV Dollhopf**, listed in the paragraph above, was the only Dollhopf to survive the war in Mistelbach.
- **Cuntz IV Dollhopf**, our 10<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, the first Dollhopf to be a tailor, was likely forced to adopt a trade because the amount of land he held could not support a family. How he came to be a tailor, and why the margrave granted him permission to do so, is not known. It is likely that his stepfather, **Hans Vogel**, apprenticed him to a tailor as a boy, as was common practice. This Cuntz, about which we have previously written, was an enigma. He donated almost two years' worth of a tailor's wage to hire the margrave's court artists to paint the magnificent Biblical scenes on the ceiling of the Mistelbach church. Although he did not inherit the mill, perhaps he inherited a financial settlement for his share of the mill, which he donated to the church. But this is pure speculation. He lived long enough to see the family mill destroyed in 1634.
- As tailors the Dollhopfs were never able to accumulate enough property to be self-sufficient farmers, although **Hans d.A.** came close.
- Because they held the least amount of farmland – a *selde* – under the terms of a fief, it is likely that they had to devote a significant amount of time tending the fields that belonged to the margrave. The smaller the farm, the more time, i.e., labor, was owed to the margrave. Although exact figures are not known in Mistelbach, in many regions of Germany a *seldenbauer* spent *more* time tending the margrave's fields than he did tending his own.
- Our 5<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, **Johann I Dollhopf** (1718-1771) was the first Dollhopf after six generations *not* to inherit the tailor's trade. Why he did not is not known. He was the only son in a family of three children, so it was not the case that a brother inherited the trade. He only held 6.50 tagwerk of arable land, certainly not enough to support a family, but somehow, he did. He was likely extremely poor. His wife was the daughter of the owner of the Poppenmühle, so perhaps he helped in the mill, or at the very least benefitted from his wife's relatively wealthier family. He and his wife **Kunigunde Seuffert** had five children, of which only three lived to adulthood.
- The church books make mention of the fact that the plight of the peasants in Mistelbach considerably worsened in the 1700s, in large part due to widespread famines, inflation, and the aforementioned partible inheritance. Conditions would not improve until the late 1800s.
- Johann's grandson, **Eberhard Dollhopf** (1789-1843), must have been an enterprising individual – he tripled the family landholdings from 11 to 34 tagwerk. This was remarkable. Where did he obtain the money to acquire the property? He must have been enterprising since the margrave appointed him mayor. One possible explanation for the increase in land is that he acquired abandoned properties. In the early 1800s almost a third of the Mistelbach population emigrated to America. That would have resulted in many empty houses and abandoned fields.
- Crop failures, hyperinflation, and wars continued to drive the family into deeper poverty, despite Eberhard's larger holdings.
- Eberhard's son, our 2<sup>nd</sup> great grandfather **Johann III Dollhopf** (1830-1858), never enjoyed the fruits of his father's land acquisitions. Seven months after inheriting this relatively large farm he died of tuberculosis at the age of 28.
- His son, our great grandfather, **Johann Bär Dollhopf**, who probably would have inherited the farm, decided the conditions were too bleak to make a go of it. He left for America at the age of 19 and was

probably not thinking so much about inheritance. His mind was on America and his friends who left the Mistelbach area the year before. He left Mistelbach (he was actually living in his stepfather's house in the neighboring village of Oberwaiz) on October 2, 1871, at the age of 19, bound to start a family in Pittsburgh.

- His younger brother by three years, Johann Konrad, inherited the farm, and through further acquisitions the farm became one of the largest in Mistelbach in the 1900s.

## Epilogue

For four hundred years our Dollhopf grandparents toiled as serfs in a remote central European farming village. Life was at best tenuous; church records report that the peasants in Mistelbach were cold and hungry most of the time. The land they managed to hold onto over that period of time, and struggled to expand in each generation, never increased in value – at least not for them, because they didn't own it. In contemporary America we count on the fact that our houses and real estate increase in value – imagine if your house was worth no more than when you bought it. Now imagine that it was worth no more than it might have been if it was built in 1620.

The margrave set the prices, and the ability to acquire additional land was controlled by the margrave. The margrave had no incentive to allow his peasants to acquire enough property in order to produce sufficient revenues to buy their freedom.

In the mid 1700s, Margrave Frederick IV, the ruler of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, the territory that included Mistelbach, had every incentive to keep the peasants in their place. He needed them to support his well-known lavish lifestyle – witness the “New Palace” in Bayreuth below, which he completed in 1759. A mere five miles from the Dollhopf house, I wonder what our 4<sup>th</sup> great grandparents Johann and Kunigunde thought when they strolled by on their way to the Bayreuth market square. Awe? Pride? Resentment? Bitterness?



*The “New Palace” of Margrave Friedrich IV von Brandenburg-Bayreuth. The Palace, about five miles from the Dollhopf house, was completed in 1759 in part with taxes paid by our Dollhopf ancestors. The Margrave’s lavish spending forced his son, the Margrave Karl Alexander, to sell local peasants to the English to fight in the American Revolutionary War. Still in debt, he later sold his entire kingdom to Prussia.*

Johann was 40, Kunigunde was 36, and at the time they had two boys, Stephan, 4, and Johann, 1. They only had six acres of land and were desperately poor. They were struggling to feed their young family while the Margrave dined in the Palace Drawing Room – famous for its gold ceiling. How *did* they feel?

Although they were certainly not slaves, they were enslaved to the land, always a few acres short.

And if that wasn't enough...

...the margrave demanded not only burdensome secular taxes, but, as owner of the Mistelbach church,<sup>32</sup> he also extracted from the Dollhopfs a tithe for the church, a "tenth" of everything they earned or produced – money, crops, milk, cheese, eggs, chickens, et al. While a portion of that tithe indeed went to support the pastor and his family, margraves were known to pocket most of it. 11

But our Dollhopfs dutifully set aside that tithe, that tenth, for the church.

Ironically, over the course of 13 generations, our Dollhopfs averaged 11.86 tagwerk, or just about 10 acres, in landholdings.

That tenth was indeed *one* acre – God's Little Acre – at once a symbol of hope and despair.

Mark R. Dollhopf  
New Haven, CT  
December 24, 2020  
(*vigilia Nativitatis Domini, in anno corona virum.*)

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<sup>32</sup> After the Reformation the Catholic Church no longer owned the church property. The margrave did.

## Appendix A:

When Mistelbach was acquired by Margrave Johann III of Nürnberg in 1398, it consisted of: a castle dating from the 1100s; a church from the same period; and 19 farms. It was no bigger than a square mile, if that. Following is a list of the peasants and the land they held in that year.

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**1398 Landbuch A (about 19 farmers total):**

The Margrave owned a total of two hof<sup>33</sup> (full farms), six selde (smaller farms), one mill, and the property with a “dilapidated castle.” Following are the names of the peasants who held those farms<sup>34</sup>

**Hof (35 to 70 acres):**

- Ulrich Wydemman
- Heinrich Sticzling

**Gut (15 to 30 acres):** The following were landowners who did not pay taxes, but they had to give their time to rebuild the castle:

- Ulrich Zadler, who lived in Bayreuth, had a gut (a midsize farm) which employed five men; in 1421 his son-in-law Heinz Zicle owned it.
- Fritz Zecher had a gut and a man (employee). It was owned by Wolfhart Lindner in 1399.
- The Hospital owned a gut. [Cuntz V Dollhopf would acquire a portion of this in 1662.]
- Fritz and Hensel Krause had two gut and a courtyard.

**Selde (2 to 4 acres):**

- Sezc
- Heinrich Burckhart
- Fricz
- Heinrich Straubinger
- Heinrich Betsch
- Leupolt

**Mühle (mill):**

- Hennan Mulner “sat on” (held) the mill, he was the brother of Hans Kraus who operated the mill later in 1421. “In 1398 Mulner gave his free farm to the Margrave (in exchange for protection) and he had to pay taxes.”

The Mistelbach knight had 7 **gut**. The peasants who held this land are not listed because they paid taxes to the knight, not the margrave (The Landbook was the margrave’s register, not the knight’s).

A few other farmers paid taxes to other margraves; their names are also not recorded.

Additional miscellaneous transactions mentioned in the register:

- Hans von Mengersreud bought 2 selde.
- The provost of Speinshart had a manor which Hans vom Gefrees owned in 1421.

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<sup>33</sup> [As described earlier] *Hof*: a farm consisting of 30 to 60 acres of arable fields, and 5 to 10 acres of meadows. *Gut*: a smaller farm of 15 to 30 acres of arable fields, and a “few” acres of meadows. *Selde*: the smallest farm of only 1 to 2 acres of fields, and 1 to 2 acres of meadows

<sup>34</sup> Some of the peasants, the poorest ones, only had one name. The use of surnames only became common in Franconia in the mid to late 1300s. As Mistelbach was a remote area, it is likely that some did not have surnames.



- Fritz Heckel had a selde which he gave to the Margrave in return for protection.
  - Two more unnamed farms.
  - The parish had a gut.
- 

#### 1422 Landbuch B:

The following are mentioned as *Seldner* (owners of selde farms):

1. Fritz Peck.
  2. Fritz Funck, known as “the old Funck.”
  3. Grüner (only one name).
  4. Angerer (only one name). The right to buy a part of his selde (3½ acres) was then given to Hans Tolhopff [our first known ancestor], while Angerer leased an additional hof (whole farm).
  5. As already mentioned, Hans Kraus owned the mill under the castle. He also had a gut. This gut was sold to the town hall for a florin – this is the first mention a town hall in Mistelbach. [Having been sold to the “town hall” it was now owned by the margrave. This is the mill that Dietrich would acquire in 1499,]
  6. Fritz Snorrel probably sat on the Schnörleinsmühle (also known as the the Putzenmühle), which was subject to (owned by) the Gotteshaus (church). In 1405, he and his brother Hans Krausschuster purchased from their brothers Hermann Mülner and Conrad Schuster 12 arable fields, 3 farmland meadows, and 2 houses.
  7. Henlein also had a farm (hof); on the selde which belonged to this farm sat Grüner.
  8. Heintz Smit sits on His legacy and has a small farm and two acres of fields, which belong to the Mistelbach knight, and a meadow near Wolfstal.
  9. Fritz Hertweg and Hans Köyant also have a farmstead, and a small estate.
  10. At Mistelbach there is also a sheep farm belonging to the ruler. The shepherds have the right to drive their sheep through the ford between the Schnörleinsmühle and the Zeckenmühle on the river and over the fields [of the farmer] Randers past the old forest.
  11. Hans Koyant was granted a fief from the Mistelbach knight for the Finkenmühle (also called the Pemmil, according to the Landbuch, it was rather dilapidated).
- 

#### 1499 Landbuch C:

At the beginning of the 16th century, Christoph von Mistelbach (the knight) had 17 gut (small farms) in Mistelbach, one gut in Bärnreuth, and two gut in Pettendorf.

Here are the subjects and tenants of the Mistelbach knight according to the Landbuch C of 1499: (Does not include Dietrich Tolhopf because the Tolhopf mill belonged to the margrave.)<sup>35</sup>

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Hans Pader                    | 8. Kuntz Koch  |
| 2. Jorg Pauer                    | 9. Arnold Pauer  |
| 3. Heintz Puchmann               | 10. Klein Heintz   |
| 4. Steffel Heintz                | 11. Henslein Koler   |
| 5. Hermann Weber                 | 12. Cuntz Waldinger and Hans Grünauer, the miller on the Putzenmühle (Schnörleinsmühle). |
| 6. Klaus Pauer (owns a hof farm) |  |
| 7. Hans Waischenfelder           |  |
- 

<sup>35</sup> A number of these surnames appear in our Dollhopf tree are almost certainly ancestors of ours. But because church records did not exist at the time, we can't connect them definitively to later generations. We are able to do this with the Dollhopfs because of extensive court records research. We have not yet done such extensive research with those in the above list.

## Appendix B (for the hardcore genealogist):

Following are my detailed and extensive research notes for each of our direct ancestors, including entries from the actual court records (translated, of course into English). I have mostly included only those entries that reference the inheritance, acquisition, or sale of land, but with a few exceptions to greater context to the contracts.

This is a deep dive, probably more information than you *ever* wanted to know....

...however, in wrestling with these records, in piecing them together from disparate and numerous sources, the stories of these men and women come alive. Most of them probably could not read or write, but they had stories to tell. We don't have personal notes, letters, or diaries; we do have land contracts, marriage agreements, and tax records. The stuff of real life. These legal records are the *only* written clues they left behind, shaping the narrative of their lives. There are lots of surprises, both good and bad.

I am most grateful for the fastidious research of Uwe Porten, the professional genealogist retained for this work. As you have probably noticed from the pictures of the documents, the handwriting is not only in the old *kursive schrift* of the Middle Ages, but is also dense and most of the time sloppy. I took those records and set them in context with other primary and secondary sources.

Court records are nonexistent for some of our ancestors, and I had to make educated guesses from earlier or later records. For example, we have one ancestor whose occupation was not listed, but his father, grandfather, son, and grandson were all tailors. It would be highly unlikely that he was anything but a tailor.

Most of the court information revolves around the men. It was after all, a patriarchal society. Women could not appear in court without their husband, and if he was dead, they needed a guardian to stand in for the husband. Most fiefs were masculine fiefs and could only be passed

### Notes:

Numbers following ancestors' names (e.g. "635" in Hans' record below) are genealogical reference numbers assigned by the software used for the research.

Dates in parentheses are for birth and death. If there is no church book entry, the birth and death dates have been approximated from court records. Court records will often include such references as "the recently deceased."

Page numbers in parentheses refer to the research reports of Uwe Porten – the genealogist retained for the court research. His references include all relevant citations. The citations, which are voluminous, are not repeated here.

Roman numerals inserted after the given names of ancestors named Cuntz and Johann are for differentiation. I added these numerals; they were never a part of their actual names.

15<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Hans Tolhopf 635 (~1400~1454) miller (not confirmed).**

**Summary Notes**

Hans acquired a small farm (*seide*) from one-named farmer “Angrer” in the 1430s: 2½ acres of fields, 1 acre meadow (page 130. Porten Research Collection #2). No church records exist from this time, but from court records we have been able to determine that he had three children – Dietrich, Hans, and Gershaws (a girl). We do not know the name of his wife.

This is the only information we have at this time about Hans, further research to come. If I had to guess, Hans probably operated the mill at the Bayreuth Upper Gate on the Main River in the early 1400s.<sup>36</sup> We have a record of a mill at that location owned by a Heinz Dollhopf, probably his father (how many Dollhopfs could there be in a medieval village?). Mills generally stayed within families, and the fact that his son Dietrich became the mill owner in Mistelbach is a clue to Hans’ occupation.

The property he acquired in Mistelbach was not large enough to support a family, and there is no evidence that he built a house on that land or moved to Mistelbach. It was likely investment property that he leased to another farmer, which was fairly common.

In the 1430s, in the aftermath of the Hussite War, Mistelbach was a essentially a large manor – a small castle, a church, and 19 farms. The margrave in Bayreuth owned about 70% of the land, the Mistelbach knight owned about 30%, and there were a few farms owned by freemen farmers, the church, and a noble from another principality. It was a patchwork of properties, similar to the larger territory of Franconia. After the Mistelbach family line died out in 1563, the Mistelbach knight’s land, and that of the freemen farmers, were absorbed by the margrave.

**Feudal Book Notes:**

	<b>Description</b>	<b>Tagwerk</b>
House in Bayreuth (he might have owned the mill in Bayreuth and other land) .....	House	0.15
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1430s: “Also, Angrer owns 1 small farm which includes fields in the size of 2½ acker [acres], meadows in the size of 1 tagwerk;<sup>37</sup> he pays and does in everything like the young Vunck [in taxes], nothing exempted.” From <i>Landbuch B 1420</i>.....</li> </ul>	Field	2.50
	Meadow	1.00
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3.65</b>

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<sup>36</sup> The Mistel flows into the Main River. The Dorfmuhle is probably three miles above the Main.

<sup>37</sup> A *tagwerk* is .79 of an acre.

14<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Dietrich (aka Übellein) Dollhopf 609 (~1435~1511) miller.**

### Summary Notes

Dietrich acquired the fief for the Mistelbach *Dorfmühle* (*Dorf* = “village”, *mühle* = “mill”) from the margrave in 1499. (Note that in the court documents below he is often referred to as *Ubelein*, which means “the dishonest one.” More about that in a later blog....) Since mill ownership ran in families, it is likely that his father Hans was a miller in Bayreuth. Although not yet confirmed, Hans’ father might have been Heinz Tolhopf, who owned a mill at the “Upper Gate” in Bayreuth. Since the *Dorfmühle* was owned by the margrave, Dietrich paid taxes to him.

Farmers who obtained fiefs from the margrave were required to have their grain milled at the *Dorfmühle*, the mill owned by the margrave. The other mills in Mistelbach were owned by the church and the knight. If you occupied a fief from either of them, you had your grain milled at the appropriate mill. Mill owners earned a substantial income, so they did not need land for farming, but they did acquire land for vegetables and livestock grazing.

The second entry below from the year 1475 provides an interesting clue as to Dietrich’s occupation and relative status. In 1475 Dietrich inherited his father’s estate (frustrating as it is, it does not indicate what that estate was) and paid his sister, Gershaws, her share of the inheritance. This contract also mentions that they had a brother, Hans, who was already dead. It must have been a fairly large inheritance (therefore, probably a mill) because they are making such a fuss about it, and, as one might infer, there must have been some family friction. To wit, Gershaws’ statement in the contract:

“...and with this regard no more owed anything to her, that was her [Gershaw’s] true message and statement, so that she and all of her heirs and descendants neither now nor ever again will bother said Ubelein Tollhopf, all of his heirs and descendants, with the foregoing claim...”

“Nor ever again will bother...” seems to indicate that she *was* bothering Dietrich, and that her share of property was in contention. The court would likely only bother recording such contracts if the property in question was substantial, providing some evidence that Dietrich and Gershaw’s father Hans was indeed a mill owner.

Dietrich was born between 1435 and 1445. He does not appear on the Mistelbach tax rolls until 1497, and not as the Mistelbach mill owner until 1499 (there could have been a lag in the official reporting). He would have been 55 to 65 years old when he acquired the mill. At that relatively advanced age in the 1400s I do not believe that he would have been starting a new career, giving further evidence that he was likely operating a mill in Bayreuth before moving to Mistelbach.

### Court Records

**Description Tagwerk**

House in Bayreuth – Maximilianstrasse #75 (He inherited #75 from his father, Hans. No record of inheritance exists, but a record does exist that Dietrich later sold the house).....	House	.15
--	-------	-----

1475, Thursday after *ad vincula Petri*.<sup>38</sup> “Mertein Biderman and Jew Hirs regarding the debt that the former owed to the latter agreed that all of the Jew’s claims shall be satisfied by the payment of 38 guilders, which Ubelein Tolhopf promised to give for Biderman to said Jew. Dated Thursday after *ad vincula Petri* in the year of 1475.” [We don’t know Dietrich paid off this debt (p.142).]

<sup>38</sup> *ad vincula Petri*, or Saint Peter *ad Vincula* (“Saint Peter in Chains”) is August 1<sup>st</sup>, the day celebrating the liberation of St. Peter. As you will see, most of the dates in these contracts were pegged to Holy Days.

1475, Monday after Walpurgis [May 1<sup>st</sup>, Feast Day of St. Walpurgis, a German saint]:  
 “Ulrich Mulner and Gerhaws [Tolhopf], his wife, both confirmed publicly that Ubelein Tolhopf, their brother and brother-in-law, gave and paid out to said Gerhaws, his sister, all her inheritance, paternal and maternal, amicably, all and everything; therefore they for themselves, all of their heirs and descendants, exonerate and absolve said Ubelein Tolhopf, all of his heirs and descendants; in particular Gerhaws Mulner said that her brother Ubelein Tolhopf had given and paid out to her the share of the inheritance of Hans Tolhopf, late, their brother, paternal and maternal, and with this regard no more owed anything to her, that was her true message and statement, so that she and all of her heirs and descendants neither now nor ever again will bother said Ubelein Tollhopf, all of his heirs and descendants, with the foregoing claim, paternal and maternal, will neither apply civil nor churchly right, in no way whatsoever, however, if she or anybody else on her behalf did so and sooner or later made a claim against Ubelein Tolhopf or his heirs, it shall not have any force nor power, but Ubelein Tolhopf and his heirs shall be right and win, and they shall be wrong and lose. Done on Monday after Walpurgis in the year of the Lord 1475. Witnesses Heintz Eisen, bailiff, Hans Vischmeister and Mathes Tolhopf. (p. 138).

- We can assume that Hans’ property in Mistelbach was part of this settlement, since Dietrich later passed it on to his son.(p. .146).....

Field	2.50
Meadow	1.00

1497: In 1497 he is listed on Mistelbach tax roll living with his wife, his son, son’s wife, and one maid (p.144).

1499: there are only 19 taxpayers recorded in Mistelbach, and one whose record was deleted. The record for Dietrich Tolhopf is the first one on top, indicating prominence, likely the mill owner.

- 1499: Acquired the Dorfmühle, later known as House #57, and whatever land might have been included. The mill was preexisting, so the land from his father would have been additional land. The mill was owned by the margrave, not the knight.....

Mill	.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>4.15</b>

13<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Cuntz I (aka Übellein) Dollhopf 598 (~1465-~1526) miller.**<sup>39</sup>

### **Summary Notes**

[As a reminder, I have added the Roman numerals after their first names – “Cuntz I” – to be able to differentiate them, since there were so many ancestors named Cuntz and Johann.]

Cuntz I was the oldest son of two; he had a younger sister Kunigunda. He inherited the mill from his father, and Kunigunda was paid her fair share of the inheritance. Cuntz I increased his holdings by a little over 3 tagwerk, likely to accommodate more land for grazing, but this is a guess.

It is clear from the volume of court records following that Cuntz I was a relatively wealthy man. There is a lot of wheeling and dealing, not typical for the average peasant. As in the above contract for Dietrich, there is considerable emphasis placed on assuring that the parties in these contracts are satisfied, and that there will be no more haggling, or claims made against each other. To wit, this excerpt from below is from the inheritance agreement between Cuntz and his sister Kunigunda, dividing their father Dietrich’s estate:

“...and that she [Kunigunda] was sincerely grateful to him [Cuntz], and for herself and on behalf of her heirs exonerates and absolves said Contz Tolhopf [sic], her brother, and all of his heirs, from any payment commitments regarding her paternal and maternal property, whatever its name, nothing excluded, with the promise to no more raise any claim against him for this, either with nor without law, in no way, as she has gratefully been provided with all of this and more by him and is absolutely satisfied, without any malice, and this has been recorded here upon her diligent request.”

Sounds like there might have been some malice!

[The text in some of the following entries is color coded to be able trace the properties from one generation to the next. For example, all records in red represent the same plot of land handed down from one generation to the next. In the court records the fields, meadows, and woods are given names, a convention in Germany that continues partially to this day. For example. in the red text below, Cuntz acquired 14 *bet* (a bet was 1/16 of a tagwerk) in the “*Beuntlein*” area near the “*Leheuger*.” Since this small plot of land stayed in the family for generations, we can assume that it was attached to the mill. I do not know the origins of the plot names “*Beuntlien*” and “*Leheuger*,” they could be the names of the original owners, nobility, or descriptive names like the “low lying field next to the marsh.”]

### **Court Records**

### **Description Tagwerk**

1511: “Kunigundt, surviving wife of Eckel, late of Pottenstein, before the witnesses stated hereafter, personally, voluntarily and unforcedly confirmed publicly that Contz Tolhopf from Mistelbach, her brother, as the owner [of the parental property] after the deaths of Dietrich Tolhopf<sup>40</sup> alias Ubellein and Margaretha, his wife, their dear parents, late, amicably and completely paid out and gave her all of her share of the paternal and maternal inheritance she had a claim to, and that she was sincerely grateful to him, and for herself and on behalf of her heirs exonerates and absolves said Contz Tolhopf, her brother, and all of his heirs, from any payment commitments regarding her paternal and

<sup>39</sup> All of our ancestors who owned the mill had the sobriquet “Ubelein.”

<sup>40</sup> This is how we determine the approximate date of Dietrich’s death since there were no church books at this time.

maternal property, whatever its name, nothing excluded, with the promise to no more raise any claim against him for this, either with nor without law, in no way, as she has gratefully been provided with all of this and more by him and is absolutely satisfied, without any malice, and this has been recorded here upon her diligent request.

Witnesses: Hans Hammerbach, mayor, Fritz Schneider, Albrecht Weygel, Contz Kuffner, Veit Mann, Claus Kun, Heintz Part, Heintz Leuttolt, Jorg Heynt and Albrecht Lautterbach, as the city council, on Thursday after Reminiscere,<sup>41</sup> in the year of 1511.”

- [We can assume that this is the mill and land that Dietrich had inherited from his father Hans 1430.....

	House/Mill	.50
	Field	2.50
	Meadow	1.00
  
- 1516: “Cunntz Tolhopf from Mistelbach obtained a field in the size of 14 Bet located at in dem Beuntlein bey dem Leheuger in Mistelbach that he had purchased for 5 guilders from Lorentz Keyer from Bayreuth. He also obtained a field located at in der Peier by the well at the Viecht Mill that he had purchased from Jorg Viechtmuller. Dated 1516” .....

	Field	.50
	Field	1.00
  
- 1518, “Tuesday after Assumption Day<sup>42</sup>: He also obtained little fields, a meadow, a little meadow at the *Ölengerleins* for 30 guilders from Herman Hainle” .....

	Field	.50
	Field	.50
	Meadow	.50
	Meadow	.25

1526: “This Cuntz Tolhopff passed away. His sons Lorentz and Cuntz obtained these fiefs and Lorentz acted as the principal. Saturday after Purification Day 1526.”<sup>43</sup>

1528: “Lorentz Tolhopff obtained for himself a field in the size of a ½ morgen located above the Vicht Mill at auf der Kagley that he had purchased for 6 guilders from Hans Hertell from Mistelbach. 1528.”

1534: “Lorentz and Cuntz, the Tolhopffs, sold the two little fields and the little meadow for 29 guilders to Hanns [...], who was granted the fief. Dated St. Galli's Day 1534.”<sup>44</sup>

1523: “On June 21, 1515, Eberhart Eck from Bayreuth, and his wife Cristina Tolhopf, former wife of Lorentz Tolhopf, late of Creussen, have their marriage contract recorded that they had settled in Creussen on September 19, 1513.” [Following the text of the agreement is an annotation made in the year 1523, showing that Cuntz paid out his share of the inheritance to his sister. It reads:] “The above-mentioned Cristina Eck has today appeared before the witnesses stated hereafter and publicly confirmed that Contz Tolhopf from Mistelbach and Jorg Breunling from Creussen, as her husband's sons-in-law and heirs, amicably paid and gave to her 140 guilders and everything she had brought into the marriage and belongs to her, thus she exonerates and absolves them, also voluntarily regards the respective determination in the foregoing contract and marriage agreement as settled with the promise to no more have and make any claim regarding

<sup>41</sup> *Reminiscere* Sunday is the second Sunday of Lent.

<sup>42</sup> Assumption Day is August 15<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Purification Day, also known as Candlemas, also known as the Feast of the Presentation of Jesus Christ, also known as the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (whew....) is February 2<sup>nd</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> St. Galli's Day, October 16<sup>th</sup>, St, Gall was an Irish monk who spread Christianity to western Europe.

her inheritance, in no way, and requested to record and write this down. Witnesses Heintz Part, mayor, Claus Kun, Heintz Leuttolt, Veit Mann, as the city council, and also the city scribe and Claus Kun the younger. Dated Sunday Exaudi in the year of 1523.<sup>45</sup>

- 1525: Cuntz sold the Bayreuth house at Maximilianstrasse that he inherited from his father, “located behind the city hall, between the houses of Contz Piderman and Hans Todtschniter. Afterwards Cuntz Ubellein Tollhopf, miller in Mistelbach, with the consent, knowledge and authorization of both said women, his wife and sister-in-law, regarding this same house made a solid, everlasting and irrevocable sale with Hans Staud “the elder” from Laineck, and sold it to him for the amount of 150 guilders in Rhenish currency<sup>46</sup> (p.156) (Recorded in 1534 after Cuntz I death.).....

House	.15
<b>Total</b>	<b>7.40</b>

1529: Cuntz dies before his wife and mother, and they have to pay off his debts --(p.154). “Veit Richter, tailor, and Margaretha [Eck], surviving widow of Contz Tolhopf, late of Mistelbach, acquittance of a debt of 20 guilders. Veit Richter, tailor, citizen here in Bayreuth, appeared today, on the date of this record, and stated, that he for himself, his late mother, and as the authorized representative of his cousins, regarding four quarters of an unpaid debt of 20 guilders, that derived from Mister Hans Viechtemulner, late, had previously been made against Contz Tolhopf, miller in Mistelbach, late, during his life-time, and therefore stood in a lengthy dispute, yet after his death and an order amicably settled the matter with Margaretha, said Contz Tolhopf's surviving widow, and her guardians named Herman Haynlein and Contz Schmid from Mistelbach, through mediation of the honorable and highly respectable Jerg Sendelbeck, treasurer in Bayreuth, and a honorable councillor thereat. It had been agreed that regarding he and his cousins' claim said Tolhopfin (the term for the female Margaretha Tolhopf) shall pay one amount of 20 guilders for capital, accumulated interests and expenses in two installments, through which all claims, none excluded, shall be satisfied, according to a record in the court book of Monday after undecim milium virginum in the year of [15]28. He publicly confirmed for himself and on behalf of his heirs and those he has been given authorization by that Margaretha Tolhopf amicably paid and settled the said amount of 20 guilders within the determined time limits and therefore for himself and on behalf of his heirs and all those he has been given authorization by completely and absolutely exonerates and absolves said Tolhopfin, her son Lorentz and all of her heirs, also said guardians, from the amount of 20 guilders and all accumulated interests and expenses, without any malice. All parties vowed to keep this and upon their diligent request it has been documented and recorded in this city book.

Witnesses: Claus Kun, current mayor, Veit Man, Hans Hammerbach, Contz Gerhart, Jorg Steger, Balthasar Otschneider and Jorg Schamel, as the city council of Bayreuth, on Monday after Petronella in the year of [15]29.”

“Purchase and receipt regarding the house behind the city hall, which had been owned by the old Eck, tailor, and was sold by Contz Ubellein, miller in Mistelbach, to Hans Staud from Laineck the elder. Before the wise mayor and city council of Bayreuth specified below today personally appeared Hans Urban Mulner and Heintz Gorll from Bayreuth, in

<sup>45</sup> SundayExaudi is the sixth Sunday after Easter. *Ex audi* are the first words of the Introit [in Latin] for that day....

<sup>46</sup> Many principalities had their own currencies, so it was necessary to specify in the contract which currency was being used.



their capacity as the appointed custodians and guardians of Margaretha [Dollhopf],<sup>47</sup> widow of Cuntz Ubellein [Dollhopf], miller in Mistelbach, late, with their said ward; besides Anna, widow of Lorentz Preunl, late of Creussen; which two women are the surviving daughters and legal heirs of the old Hans<sup>1</sup> Eck, tailor, and explained that their ward, both said women, after their friendly and dear late father, said tailor Eck's death inherited a house in Bayreuth, located behind the city hall, between Contz Piderman and Hans Todtschniter's houses. Afterwards Cuntz Ubellein, miller in Mistelbach, with the consent, knowledge and authorization of both said women, his wife and sister-in-law, regarding this same house made a solid, everlasting and irrevocable sale with Hans Staud the elder from Laineck and sold it to him for the amount of 150 guilders in Rhenish currency. On behalf of both women said Ubellein during his lifetime had been amicably paid part of the purchase price and these two heirs after his death the balance, completely and absolutely, including all costs and expenses, by said buyer Staud. As they had been completely satisfied they confirmed that regarding this sale they have no more claims against the buyer and his heirs."

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<sup>47</sup> A woman could not appear in court without a husband or a guardian, hence the reference to "Hans Urban Mulner and Heintz Gorll from Bayreuth, in their capacity as the appointed custodians and guardians of Margaretha [Dollhopf]." There are numerous such references throughout these court documents.

12<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Cuntz II 401 Dollhopf (~1498-1570) miller and Gotteshaus Master<sup>48</sup>**

### Summary Notes

Cuntz II inherited the mill from his father in addition to property that he co-inherited with his only living sibling, his brother Lorentz. He had two other unnamed siblings who presumably died at birth. He and his younger brother co-inherited the land, but Cuntz II became the mill owner and operator. Lorentz transferred his inheritance to Cuntz II, probably because Lorentz married a woman from the village of Creussen (9 miles from Mistelbach) and moved there.

Cuntz II bought and sold some land, but the mill and the properties remained roughly the same size.

The church in Mistelbach began keeping records in 1555. Cuntz II was Church Warden at the time. The Church Warden was appointed by the margrave, since it was the margrave who “owned” the church. The wardens typically served a few years at a time, probably because no one wanted the thankless task. A warden was responsible for collecting the tithe and other debts owed to the church. (Because churches typically had endowments, they served as a bank, loaning money to the peasants.)

Prior to the Reformation, the Catholic Church owned the churches and the accompanying properties. Churches owned houses for the pastors, in addition to farmland, meadows and woods. (Actually, it was the religious “princes” – bishops, archbishops, cardinals, abbots, et al. – who “owned” the properties.) After the Reformation, margraves and other nobles took possession of the land now occupied by Protestant churches. This is why the nobility was so eager to convert to Protestantism – they could then control the land and collect the tithes given to the church. The church in Mistelbach was known as St. Michael’s when it was Catholic, and changed its name to St. Bartholomäus when it switched to Lutheranism in 1528. (With Luther’s personal blessing, no less.)

Cuntz II had four sons (this information was inferred from court records since the church records were incomplete): Georg d.A., or der Ältere (“the older”), Cuntz III, Georg d.M., der Mitte (“the middle”), and Georg d.J. der Junge, (“the younger”). Georg d.A., who as the oldest was presumably next in line to inherit the mill (he was also called “Übele”) dies prematurely when he falls off his horse returning from Bayreuth in 1600. Cuntz III had already died in 1581 in his 30s, and Georg d.M. had married and moved to Bayreuth. Therefore Georg d.J. inherits the mill and our direct line of Dollhopfs no longer have an ownership in the mill.

### Court Records

	Description	Tagwerk
Inherited the Dorfmühle and whatever land might have been included.....	House	.50
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1526: Cuntz II and his brother Lorentz obtained the above fiefs from father in 1526 (p.148).....</li> </ul>	Field	2.50
	Meadow	1.00
[Lorentz obtains field of ½ morgen for 6 guilders from Hans Hertell (p.148).]		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cuntz II and Lorentz co-inherit 14 Bet (in dem Beuntlein bey dem Leheuger). Lorentz transferred it to Cuntz II].....</li> </ul>	Field	.50
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presumed inherited by Cuntz II was 1 field in der Peier by the well at the Viecht Mill also purchased from Jorg Viechtmuller.....</li> </ul>	Field	1.00

<sup>48</sup> Gotteshaus Master = “Master of God’s House,” or “church warden.”

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1534 St. Galli's Day, Oct 16: Cuntz II and Lorentz sold 2 little fields, a meadow, a little meadow (at the Ölengerleins) for 29 guilders to Hans NN .....</li> <li>• 1552 "Contz [sic] Dolhopff from Mistelbach obtained fief of two little fields and little meadow at Herrosen, adjoining the Ölengerlein, that he purchased for 30 guilders from the brothers Hans and Albrecht Grönauer therat, who transferred it to him right after October 11 in the year of 1552." (p.160) .....</li> </ul>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>Field</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Field</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Meadow</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Meadow</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.25</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2"> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fields/ Meadows</td> <td style="text-align: right; vertical-align: bottom;">1.50</td> </tr> </table>	Field	.50	Field	.50	Meadow	.50	Meadow	.25			Fields/ Meadows	1.50
Field	.50												
Field	.50												
Meadow	.50												
Meadow	.25												
Fields/ Meadows	1.50												

[This is later transferred to Georg der Junge (the younger) Dollhopf in 1604. (p.176):

" Georg Tolhopf the younger [373] thereat obtained as a masculine fief two little fields and a piece of a meadow located at Harressen, altogether in the size of one tagwerk, adjoining the Oelengerlein. Pays tithe to the church of [...]. He purchased all of this from Georg Tolhopf the elder [376], his brother, and his late brother Contz Tolhopf's [372] surviving sons for 35 guilders. Dated Bayreuth, November 5, 1604."

In 1627 these plots were inherited by Georg der Junge's sons Conradt and Hans. In 1649 they are sold to Wilhelm Drechsel (new owner of the village mill) after Conradt died."

<b>Total</b>	<b>8.75</b>
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11<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Cuntz III 372 Dollhopf (~1550-1581) tailor.**

### **Summary Notes**

Cuntz III dies prematurely in his early 30s, four weeks after his son Cuntz IV is born, the last of six children. From the church records: “Cuntz Tholhopff died at 9 o'clock in the night; he had been a weak man before, yet it was still unexpectedly; on September 7.” His older brother Georg d.A “the older” later died in 1600 before *he* could inherit the mill, and his next younger brother Georg d.M (“the middle”) moved back to Bayreuth, so his youngest brother Georg d.J “the younger” inherited mill.

There are no court or tax records that exist for Cuntz III, so we don't know much about him. He was likely a mill hand to his father, along with two of his brothers. More curious is the question of where they were all living. The oldest housing records for Mistelbach date from the early 1600s, so we don't know where the extended Dollhopf families were living in the late 1500s. When Cuntz III died in 1581, there were three Dollhopf brothers and their families in Mistelbach and one in Bayreuth:

- Georg d.A Dollhopf, his oldest brother, had 4 living children (he eventually would have 10), but his wife was not from Mistelbach, so he was almost certainly living at the mill, especially since he was the oldest, and would likely inherit the mill. Records label him as the miller, and although he had not yet inherited the mill, he was likely living there.
- Cuntz III also had 4 living children out of a total of 6. His wife, Margartha Gros, was not from Mistelbach, so it is likely they also were living at the mill, or nearby.
- Georg d.M. Dollhopf, his next younger brother, married a woman from Bayreuth and he moved there. They did not have any children.
- Georg d.J. Dollhopf, his youngest brother, *also* had four living children (he would eventually have 14), and his wife, Barbara Hübner, likewise was not from Mistelbach. Where did they live? He, because two of his older brothers had already died, and the third moved away, inherited the mill.

If the three families were living at the mill at the same time in 1581, a not unheard-of phenomena, but unlikely, they would total 18 – six adults and 12 children.

Regardless of where they were living, the mill must have been a busy place.<sup>49</sup>

This much we do know, astounding as it is: Out of the four brothers and the 30 children they generated, *only one* – the last of Cuntz III's six children – would survive the Thirty Years War in Mistelbach. That one child was Cuntz IV, our 10<sup>th</sup> great grandfather.

In June of 1583, almost two years after her husband Cuntz III died prematurely, Margaretha married Hans Vogel and the family moved to the Hans Vogel house. The children took the name Vogel. Margarethe died in 1598. This Vogel house was destroyed in 1632 during the Thirty Years War and the property was abandoned.

---

<sup>49</sup> There was another Dollhopf house listed in 1622. The Mistelbach Chronicle lists house #38 in 1622 belonging to a Georg Dollhopf. There were only two Georg's living at the time: Georg d.J., the mill owner, who obviously lived at the mill, and Georg Dollhopf (1596-1635) the youngest son of Georg d.A. (Georg d.A died in 1600). This Georg was a “herdsman” (likely a shepherd); he and his wife Magdalena Steinach had six children. In 1628 he was issued a loan of 15 guilders from the church that was marked uncollected because the entire family had been killed by the plague, likely in 1634 or 1635. The Chronicle also reports that his house was burned down in 1632 and still had not been rebuilt in the year 1649. The Chronicle listing of houses also described house #38 as *öde* (“abandoned”).

His son Cuntz IV inherited a fief of 14 bet (.50 tagwerk) at the *Lohanger*, so Cuntz III obviously owned it. If he owned any additional land it might have been inherited by his wife, now remarried to Hans Vogel.

**Court Records**

Presumed that he lived in the mill until he died prematurely. His younger brother Georg inherits the mill. He never owned a house or the mill.....

<i>Description</i>	<i>Tagwerk</i>
None	

Although there are no court records for Cuntz III, his son inherited the following property, so we can assume that he owned following parcels:

- 14 Bet (in dem Beuntlein bey dem Leheuger).....
- in der Peier by the well at the Viecht Mill .....

Field	.50
Field	1.00
Field	2.50
Meadow	1.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.00</b>

10<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Cuntz IV 359 Vogel Dollhopf (1581-1635) tailor, Gotteshaus Master.**

**Summary Notes**

[For the next three generations, they used the name Vogel, the name of Cuntz IV’s stepfather. The church books, however, continued to record them as Dollhopfs. (Otherwise today our last name would be Vogel. Hmm, no more spelling, “...P as in Paul, F as in Frank.”)]

Cuntz IV was a tailor. Trades, like tailoring, were most often passed from father to son, inherited much the same as fiefs were inherited because one’s trade required the permission of the margrave (or the town council appointed by the margrave). But Cuntz IV’s father died when he was only six weeks old. Therefore, he could not have inherited, or learned the trade from his father. Trades required a number of years of apprenticeship. There is also no record of his father Cuntz III practicing the trade.

Why did Cuntz IV become a tailor? His stepfather likely apprenticed him to a tailor, with the permission of the margrave, when he was a young teenager, as was the custom. Thus, began the long line of Dollhopf tailors.

When Cuntz IV was almost two, his mother married Hans Vogel, and the family moved to the Vogel house and assumed the name Vogel. The next three generations of Dollhopfs continued to use Vogel; the pastor prevented the permanent use by noting in the church records that these generations were actually Dollhopfs. Since he and his son used the name Vogel, it is likely they both lived there. His son Cuntz V acquire a fief from the Bayreuth Hospital in 1662, and built a house.

As has been previously reported, Cuntz IV was enigma because he was able to donate almost two year’s worth of income to the St. Bartholomew Church for the special purpose of hiring the margrave’s court painters to decorate the church ceiling. [See Blog 9]

The only land record that exists for Cuntz IV is from 1604 when he inherits a small field with his brother Stephan. On November 5, 1604 it was recorded that he and his brother Stephan obtained a fief consisting of fields that they assumed in the division of the estate "performed together with their late father Cuntz Tolhopf's brothers Georg the elder, Georg the middle, Georg the younger" [Staatsarchiv Bamberg. Markgraftum Brandenburg-Bayreuth. Lehenhof Nr. 68. Page 176.

Cuntz IV lived long enough to see Mistelbach plundered several times in the Thirty Years War. He died in a barn fire in 1635.

<i>Court Records:</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Tagwerk</i>
Presumed that he lived in the Vogel House, so he never owned or inherited property.....	House	0

**1604 He inherited this with his brother:**

- 14 Bet (in dem Beuntlein bey dem Leheuger). Stephan: “Steffan [411] and Contz Tolhopf [359] from Mistelbach, brothers, jointly obtained a fief consisting of a field<sup>1</sup> located at am Lohranger, called Peunthäckerlein, that they solely assumed in the division of estate performed together with their late father Cuntz Tolhopf's [372] brothers Georg the elder [376], Georg the middle [596], and Georg the younger [373]. Is completely tithe-exempt and assessed to five guilders. Dated Bayreuth, November 5, 1604”. (p.178) [This is the only plot that survived in our direct line of ancestors, all other properties described above were inherited by other branches of the family].....
- |  |       |     |
|--|-------|-----|
|  | Field | .50 |
|--|-------|-----|

1604: Sold:

• a field in der Peier by the well at the Viecht Mill.....	Field	1.00
• When the inheritance from his father was settled. Cuntz IVpresumably sold these properties to his Uncle Georg d.J. who was the owner of the mill.].....	Field	2.50
	Meadow	1.00
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5.00</b>

9<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Cuntz V 352 Vogel Dollhopf (1607-1683) miller, tailor, Gotteshaus Master (1644,1656) and Vogt (mayor). (1662,1663)**

### Summary Notes

Cuntz V, a tailor, is a pivotal figure who lived in remarkably troubled times. He was 11 years old when the Thirty Years War started, and he survived two raids by marauding armies, in 1632 and 1634, when most of the homes in Mistelbach were destroyed. This was followed by decades of lawlessness and abuse – most of the farms were abandoned and countryside was rife with roving gangs and thieves desperate for food and money.

He must have been remarkable because during this time he not only served as church warden, he was our first ancestor to serve as *Vogt* – translated sometimes as “mayor”, other times as “sherriff.” This was not an elected position; it too was an appointment made by the margrave, and therefore probably also a thankless task. He was responsible for settling disputes, debts, trade approvals, marriage agreements, et al. The mayor was the representative of the margrave, so how popular could this position have been?

Cuntz V inherits only ½ of a tagwerk from his father – no house or other property. He indeed survived the Thirty Years War, but the Vogel house was reported destroyed during a raid in 1634, and he was homeless. (The Dorfmühle was destroyed in 1632 and it remained desolate for 18 years until 1649.) We don’t know where he and his family lived until he acquired a fief from the Bayreuth Hospital (next to the Dorfmühle) and built house #55.

He outlived four wives, all of whom succumbed to the civil unrest of the times and disease. Over his lifetime he acquired additional fields and meadows of 6.50 tagwerk.

His son, Hanss d.Ä (der Älter, or “the older”) Dollhopf, who in turn inherited his father’s trade of tailoring, married the daughter of the Zeckenmühle and lived there. Cuntz V willed house #55 to his grandson, Hanss d.J. (der Junge, or “the younger”) with the stipulation that he could live in that house until he died. That contract appears on the next page.

### Court Records

	Description	Tagwerk
1662: House #55 Söldengüthlein <sup>50</sup> , called <i>Hackers Eckerlein</i> , in the size of ½ Tagwerk, located at zur Herrösten, above the Wischholtz. Owned by the Hospital in Bayreuth.....	House	.50
Owed interest of 2 <i>ort</i> (unit of currency)/year on a loan of 10 guilders to the church in years 1631, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1660 [This was about 5% interest] (p.183)		
1659 obtained fief of one field		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“at the <i>Lohanger</i> also called <i>Peunthäckerlein</i> (see above field of 14 bet) tithe exempt” (p.194).....</li> </ul>	Field	.50
1660 obtained		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“masculine fief consisting of one tagwerk of fields, located at <i>am Morgenholz</i>, called <i>Seurüsel</i>. Pays tithe to the church in Obernsees. This had been returned to the gracious lordship by Hans Küffner, and was sold to him for 2.30 guilders.” .....</li> </ul>	Field	1.00

<sup>50</sup> *Söldengüthlein* is the house of a Sölden farmer.



1660 obtained a masculine fief consisting of

- “½ tagwerk of fields, located *at im Boden*, including a little meadow thereby. Pays tithe to the church in Obersees. This had been returned to the gracious lordship by Hans Küffner, and was sold to him for 1.12 guilders.” ..... Field .50

In addition to the **Lohranger district**, called **Peunthäckerlein field**, the following were willed by Cuntz to his son Hans d.A. (“the older”). We do not have a record of his acquiring these properties, but it was recorded that Hans d.A. inherited them.

• at uffn Alendt.....	Field	1.00
• pasture grounds, adjoining the Hackers Gassen.....	Field	1.00
• in Mosing.....	Woods	.50
• am Mühlanger.....	Woods	1.00
• im Lohr.....	Woods	1.00
	<b>Total</b>	<b>7.00</b>

1672 *[From the court record]*: “Said Cuntz Dolhopff promised a small farm (Söldengütlein), which is a fief from the hospital, to the current wife, provided she experiences her husband's death and survives him. Then she has the right to use this small farm and a separated field in the size of ½ tagwerk, called Hackers Eckerlein, as long as she lives, but also has to pay the official fees involved. As long as the husband lives, he will keep it in good structural shape. After his death, except in the case stated above, it shall be inherited by his two children, namely Hans Dolhopff at the Fichten Mill, and Anna, who is married to Hans Hacker from Gesees. After her death all of the property, as well as her individual property, reverts to the husband and after his death is assigned to the children. The chattels (property other than real estate) shall be divided into three equal portions. The other little real estate not mentioned here excepted. The remaining few little fields and meadows owned by the frequently mentioned Cuntz Dollhopf, apart from the small farm and field stated above, after his death shall be inherited by his two children, and the mother has no claim to it.” (p. 212).

1679, April 10: *[From the court record]* “Cuntz sells to Hans Dohlhopff the younger, his [Cuntz'] grandson, his [Hans'] wife and their mutual heirs, a small farm, located in said Mistelbach, which is a fief from and under the jurisdiction of the hospital in Bayreuth, with its belongings and like the buildings are now standing before one's eyes, in particular the residential house (Söldengüthlein) (housed #55!) and the attached little barn, the court-yard and the little garden and a meadow in the size of ½ tagwerk, located at zur Herrösten, above the Wischholtz, adjoining the lordship's meadows, with all rights and privileges in its proper plot boundaries and everything inside the house and barn fixed to floor and wall, and all other reasonable rights, here mentioned or not mentioned, including all rights of use and obligations. Sold for 50 guilders. House belongs to hospital to which rent is paid” (p. 225)

8<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Hanss 342 d.A. (*der Ältere*, or “the older”) Vogel Dollhopf (1629-1710) tailor.**

### **Summary Notes**

Hanss d.A., a tailor, was born at the height of the Thirty Years War. As a young boy at the age of three his family’s house was destroyed by invading soldiers, and his family was left homeless, taking refuge in the woods. When he was five, marauders again returned to Mistelbach during his grandmother’s funeral service, and those in attendance were forced to flee into the woods carrying the coffin. Again, many houses were destroyed.

In 1654 he married Dorothea Neukam, the daughter of Hans Neukam, the owner of the Zeckenmühle.<sup>51</sup> He moved to the Zeckenmühle, which apparently survived the war, and never left. His father, Cuntz V, who living in House #55, willed that house to his son Hanss d.J., skipping a generation, probably because Hanss d.Ä. was happily ensconced in the mill. Hanss d.Ä. had two children, both boys, Hanss d.J. and Stephan. Hanss d.J. followed in his father’s footsteps and became a tailor. Stephan eventually inherited the mill because his father-in-law, Hans Neukam, the mill owner, had no male children. The mill remained in Stephan’s branch of the Dollhopf family until 1820.

Although Hanss d.A. did not inherit the mill, he did acquire substantially more property, more than doubling his father’s 7 acres to 15.25. Whatever he did, he must have been an outstanding individual. “An honorable and industrious man,” is how he was described in a church record of 1678. According to the pastor, there was an unusually large crowd, a “great number” of people, at his funeral. (Either he was beloved, or people wanted to see him gone. One or the other.)

Hanss d.A., like his father, also had multiple wives, although it wasn’t necessarily because his wives died prematurely because of the war – it’s because Hanss lived to the age of 81. His first wife Dorothea, who was ten years older than Hanss, died at the age of 68. Hanss then married the widow Barbara Richter when he was 58 and she, 45. They were married for 15 years until Barbara died in 1703 at the age of 60. Hanss then married again in 1706, to the widow Margareta Hess, a shepherd’s wife, who was 44; he was 77! That marriage lasted four years; Hanss died in 1710.

Despite three marriages he only had two children, Hanss d.J., and Stephan.

He left behind the following substantial trail of court records.

### **Court Records**

### **Description Tagwerk**

Hanss d.A. lives at the Zeckenmühle, but never owns it. His father’s house, #55, went to his son, Hanss d.J., skipping the generation, so Hanss d.A. never owns a house.

1657: [Hanss d.A.’s brother-in-law Albrecht inherited the following from his father Hans Neukam, owner of the mill (Hanss d.A.’s father-in-law). Albrecht would sell the bulk of these properties to Hanss d.A. as described in the following paragraph.]

1657: “Albrecht Neuckam (his) for himself and his late brother Niclas’ surviving little son Friederich, obtained a masculine fief consisting of

- one tan-wood and one little brush-wood, together in the size of one tagwerk, located above the Fichten Mill, and

---

<sup>51</sup> The Zeckenmühle was the fourth mill located in Mistelbach, located about a quarter mile north and downstream of the Dorf mühle.

- pasture grounds in the size of one tagwerk thereby, adjoining the Höpfel Meadow;
- besides one tan-wood, located at uf der Kräglitz, in the size of one tagwerk,
- and a field whose three tagwerk stretch along the old forest upwards. As a tithe every 30th sheaf is given to the lordship. They inherited this from their father and grandfather Hans Neuckam, late. Assessed to 50 guilders.” P.196

1659: Hanss acquired from Albrecht Neuckam (his brother in law} from the above properties:

- “1 tagwerk of woods located above the Fichten Mill and the pasture grounds thereby, adjoining the Höpfel Meadow ..... Woods 1.00
- 2 tagwerk of fields out of the three tagwerk located at am alten Pors ..... Field 2.00
- The remaining two tagwerk remain with Friederich Neuckam. He purchased this from Albrecht Neuckam, who gave it up, for [...] guilders [...]” P.196

1659: Hanss acquired one fief of

- “1 tagwerk at located at Crautschenhaydt, below the Podenweyer..... Field 1.00
- and a little meadow in the size of ¾ tagwerk thereby. Pays tithe to the church in Obernsees. He purchased this from Hans Holl from this place. Assessed to 35 guilders. This property was sold to his brother Stephan Dollhopf by Hanss’ son in 1710” p.192..... Meadow .75

1670: “The same Dolhopff obtained a masculine fief consisting of the remaining

- two tagwerk out of the above-mentioned field and woods located at uf der Kreglitz, which he purchased from Friederich Neuckam, who gave it up, for 25 guilders. However, as the seller is still single this sale could not be approved otherwise than for payment of an indemnity of 6 guilders. (p.196)” ..... Fields and Woods 2.00

1677: Hanss “obtained a masculine fief consisting of the abovementioned

- 1½ tagwerk of fields and meadows, located at in der Wormbsreuth which he purchased from Friederich Wolff from Mistelbach for 35 guilders, (p. 222).” [This property was inherited by his son Stephan Dollhopf in 1710]..... Fields and Meadows 1.50

1683: Hanss d.A.’s father, Cuntz V, dies and wills to Hanss:

“[Here today] 1.) his son Hans Dolhopff [Hanss d.A.] at the Fichtel Mill [aka the Zeckenmüle], located below Mistelbach, as the only son; and 2.) his granddaughter Magdalena, bodily daughter of Hans Hacker from Gesees, who he had generated with his first wife Anna née Dolhopff, late; which of both personally appeared today, on the date stated below, before the hospital here in Bayreuth and voluntarily and honestly indicated the estate their bodily father and father-in-law has left behind and in which way they amicably and friendly settled its partition, as follows.”

- 1 field in the size of 1 tagwerk, located in Mistelbach at uffn Alendt..... Field 1.00
- 1 field in the size of 1 tagwerk, which had been used as pasture grounds, adjoining the Hackers Gassen..... Field 1.00
- 1 meadow in the size of ½ tagwerk, located at in Mosing..... Wood .50
- 1 wood in the size of 1 tagwerk, located at am Mühlanger..... Wood 1.00
- 1 wood in the size of 1 tagwerk, called Lohr..... Wood 1.00
- 1 field im Lohranger district, called Peunthäckerlein All of these six own pieces of land have been given to Hans Dollhopf. P. 233..... Field .50

1684: Hanss obtained masculine fief consisting of

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the aforementioned field, located at am Lohranger, called Peunthäckerlein, which is tithe-exempt. It adjoins community property and Lüschwitz fiefs. He inherited this from his late father Cuntz Dollhopff [352]. p. 194.....</li> <li>• one tagwerk of fields, located at am Morgenholz, called Seurüsel. Pays tithe to the church in Obersees. He inherited this from his late father Cuntz V [In 1709 this fief was sold to Erhardt Lüchaer from Mistelbach who had purchased it together with a field and little meadow in Mistelgau from Hans Dollhopf for 30 guilders].....</li> <li>• ½ tagwerk of fields, located at im Boden, including a little meadow thereby. Pays tithe to the church in Obersees. One side of the field adjoins community property, the other side the trumpeter’s [swans?] little meadow. He inherited this from his late father Cuntz V Dollhopf.....</li> </ul>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">Field</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">Field</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">Field</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-top: 1px solid black; padding-top: 5px;"><b>Total</b></td> <td style="border-top: 1px solid black; text-align: right;"><b>15.25</b></td> </tr> </table>	Field	.50	Field	1.00	Field	.50	<b>Total</b>	<b>15.25</b>
Field	.50								
Field	1.00								
Field	.50								
<b>Total</b>	<b>15.25</b>								

1710: [This plot of land leaves our direct line of ancestors and goes to Hanss d. A.’s other son] “Stephan Dolhopff [201] owner of the Fichten Mill (aka Zecken Mill) for himself as the fief-holder and for his underage nephew Conradt Dolhopff [194] from Mistelbach obtained a masculine fief consisting of the above-mentioned field located at am Lohranger, called Peunthäckerlein, which they inherited from their late father, respectively grandfather, who passed away recently, Hans Dolhopff [342], as can also be seen on page 73a.”

7<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Hanss 329 d.J. (*der Junge*, “the younger”) Vogel Dollhopf (1656~1705) tailor.**

**Summary Notes**

Hanss d.J. predeceased his father, and did not die in Mistelbach, possibly indicating that he 1) died in an accident, 2) took ill while away, or 3) was killed as part of a military campaign, although there were none indicated at the time. We also don’t know exactly when he died, although we know from various contracts that it was sometime between 1705 and 1709; he would have been 49 to 54 years of age.

He was born at the Zeckenmühle in 1656, and likely adopted his father’s trade as a tailor. Because his death was not recorded in the church books, his trade was never mentioned. But his father was a tailor, and his son was a tailor, so it is extremely likely that he was a tailor too. For unknown reasons, his younger brother Stephan became a miller and inherited the Zeckenmühle in 1705. Their grandfather, Hans Neukam, the mill owner, died in 1654, two years before Hanss was born. Nuekam’s only son, Niclas, died in 1652, so it is not clear who ran the mill until Stephan assumed ownership in 1705. The Mistelbach Chronicle reports it was “Nützel from the village of Creez,” but this is not confirmed. The miller’s trade, though lucrative, was also physically demanding work, and work that required substantial contact with other villagers. Not everyone was eager for such a job. Perhaps Hanss was better “suited” to remain a tailor. (Get it?)

Hanss d.J. bought his grandfather’s house #55 in 1679. His grandfather Cuntz V stipulated that he, Cuntz V, and his wife could continue to live there until they died. It is not clear whether Hanss and his family moved in immediately or waited until his grandfather died four years later in 1683. Other than the house, Hanss did not inherit anything because of his premature death. There are no court records, other than the following contract detailing the sale of house #55.

**Court Records**

**Description Tagwerk**

1679, April 10: “Cuntz V sells to Hans Dohlhopff the younger, his grandson, his wife and their mutual heirs a small farm, located in said Mistelbach, which is a fief from, and under. the jurisdiction of the hospital in Bayreuth, with its belongings and like the buildings are now standing before one's eyes, in particular the residential house (Söldengüthlein) [house #55] and the attached little barn, the courtyard and the little garden and a meadow in the size of ½ tagwerk, located at zur Herrösten, above the Wischholtz, adjoining the lordship's [margrave’s] meadows, with all rights and privileges in its proper plot boundaries and everything inside the house and barn fixed to floor and wall, and all other reasonable rights, here mentioned or not mentioned, including all rights of use and obligations. Sold for 50 guilders. House belongs to hospital to which rent is paid” (p.225).....

House	.50
Total	.50

*6<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather*

**Conrad 194 Dollhopf (1693-1759) master tailor, Gotteshaus Pfleger for 26 years.**

**Summary Notes**

Conrad was the last tailor in our line of Dollhopfs. He was the sixth of six children, and the only boy, so it is not surprising that the tailoring trade was passed on to him. His father Hanss d.J. died in his 40s or early 50s, before the year 1710, giving Conrad barely enough time to be an apprentice to his father.

Conrad was born in 1693; he was between the ages of 12 and 16 when his father died, an indication of how early he might have begun apprenticing to be a tailor. In the Middle Ages, apprenticeship, or training for a trade, began in one's early teens, but children as young as seven were known to be apprentices. We know that his father died sometime between the years 1705 and 1709. This is evidence that he probably died closer to the year 1709, giving his son ample time to learn the trade. Seven years was the average time for apprenticing, so Conrad must have been on the fast track.

It is noted in the church book that he served as church *pfleger* for 26 years – noted because this was an extraordinarily long period of time. A *pfleger* was a building and groundskeeper, as opposed to a warden. Why he served so long we don't know.

His father, Hanss d.J., predeceased his father Hanss d.A., by one or a few years (Hanss d.A. died in 1710). Therefore, Conrad did not inherit anything from his father, only the land that was owned by Hanss d.A., his grandfather. There are no court records indicating his inheritance. We only know of his land holdings because of the inheritance records of his son, Johann I.

Since his son inherited the following properties, we can assume these are the properties that Conrad owned, having inherited them from his father:

<b>Court Records:</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Tagwerk</b>
House #55 Söldengüthlein.....	House	.50
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In Trautschenhaid district, below the Bodenweyher pond, with a little meadow in the size of <math>\frac{3}{4}</math> tagwerk near by. ....</li> </ul>	Field	1.00
	Meadow	.75
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A field in the size of <math>\frac{1}{2}</math> tagwerk, located in the Creyzig district, and a little meadow near by; for the field tithe has to be paid to the Reuschels in Pettendorf.....</li> </ul>	Field	.50
	Meadow	?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A field and meadow in the size of <math>1\frac{1}{2}</math> tagwerk, located in the Warmsreuth district, which is now all meadows.....</li> </ul>	Meadows	1.50
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A field in the size of 2 tagwerk, also located in the Warmsreuth district.....</li> </ul>	Field	2.00
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>A field in the size of 14 beet, located in the Lohranger district, called Peunthäckerlein.....</b></li> </ul>	Field	.50
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A field, also located in the Lohranger district, considered 1 tagwerk, which adjoins the village of Mistelbach and is exempted from tithe.....</li> </ul>	Field	1.00
	<b>Total</b>	<b>7.75</b>

5<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Johann I 23 Dollhopf (1718-1771), farmer.**

### Summary Notes

We know even less about Conrad's son, Johann I. Conditions in Mistelbach, as in most of feudal Europe, deteriorated from the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 until the late 1800s. The debilitating effects of feudalism took its toll, resulting in intense poverty, economic stagnation, hyperinflation, famines, and the spread of disease. These were the darkest of times for our ancestors. The next four generations of Dollhopfs were likely the most impoverished and destitute.

Johann did not follow in his father's footsteps as a tailor, even though he was the only son and stood to inherit the trade. He was the oldest of three children, he had two younger sisters. Why he chose not to become a tailor is unknown. Maybe he wasn't "cut" out for it.<sup>52</sup>

He married Kunigunda Seyferth, daughter of Simon Seyferth, the owner of the Poppenmühle, another mill about one mile south upstream of the Dorfmühle. Moving to a mill could have provided economic opportunity since Kunigunda was one of four children, all girls, leaving the mill with no apparent heir. But Simon died in 1726 and his wife remarried Hans Beyerlein, who then acquired the mill in 1727, long before Johann and Kunigunde were married in 1750. Johann was 32 when he married, Kunigunde was 28, very old for their time, evidence of the intense poverty and perhaps the pressure by local government not to marry. They had five children, four of whom survived to adulthood.

It must be noted that when House #55 was built by Cuntz V Dollhopf in 1662, it was very small – it was valued at 50 guilders, far less than half the price of the average house. In the contract above (under Cuntz V) the barn and yard are described as small. The house today, which was rebuilt in 1961, sits closely nestled among other houses.

Johann had only 6.50 tagwerk of arable land. It bears repeating that a family of five required, on average, nine to twelve tagwerk for sustenance. Johann did not practice a trade, yet the farm was barely large enough to support his family. Perhaps he toiled as a laborer on another farm to make ends meet.

### Court Records:

	<i>Description</i>	<i>Tagwerk</i>
House #55 <i>Söldengüthlein</i> ("small farm").....	House	.50
1764: "Excerpt from the high-princely register of fiefs of the Treasury of the Court in Bayreuth: Johann Dollhopf from Mistelbach got his masculine fief renewed, consisting of:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A field in the size of 1 tagwerk, located in the Trautschenhaid district, below the Bodenweyher pond, with a little meadow in the size of ¼ tagwerk near by...</li> </ul>	Field	1.00
	Meadow	.75
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A field in the size of 14 beet, located in the Lohranger district, called <i>Peunthäckerlein</i>.....</li> </ul>	Field	.50
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A field, also located in the Lohranger district, considered 1 tagwerk, which adjoins the village of Mistelbach and is exempted from tithe.....</li> </ul>	Field	1.00
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A field in the size of ½ tagwerk, located in the Creyzig district, and a little meadow near by; for the field tithe has to be paid to the Reuschels in Pettendorf.....</li> </ul>	Field	.50
	Meadow	?

<sup>52</sup> Get it?

- A field and meadow in the size of 1 ½ tagwerk, located in the Warmsreuth district, which is now all meadows..... Meadow 1.50
- A field in the size of 2 tagwerk, also located in the Warmsreuth district..... Field 2.00

He inherited all of the above from his father, the deceased Conrad Dollhopf from Mistelbach, which was judicially approved on May 18, 1760. Taxes: 500 guilders. Case-of-death fee: 25 guilders.

These following two items he purchased half from his stepfather-in-law, Johann Beyerlein from the Poppen Mill, and half from Friederich Niclas, horse-smith in Mistelgau, which he had judicially approved on July 11, 1757. Taxes: 400 guilders. Case-of-death fee: 10 guilders. Done in Bayreuth, February 10, 1764. Case of death and other fees, in total 38.06 guilders, were paid immediately.

- A field in the size of 1 tagwerk, called Melmacker, adjoining the Essach..... Field 1.00
  - And finally, a field in the size of ½ tagwerk, located in the Essach district, called Kerzenäckerlein..... Field .50
- Total 9.25**



4<sup>th</sup> great-grandfather

**Johann II 11 Dollhopf (1752-1828), farmer.**

**Summary Notes**

Johann II moved out of house #55 in 1774 when he married Anna Catherina Hagen. He was 22, she was 20. Anna’s father was Stephan Hagen, a stone mason, who owned house #19. He had already died in 1771 and the house at the time of their marriage was owned by his widow, Catharina Bär. She immediately sold house #19 in 1774 to her new son-in-law, Johann. Stephan and Catharina had six children, only one boy among them, and except for Anna, they all left Mistelbach (probably because of the poverty). Since Anna and Johann remained, they received the farm. Or maybe they stayed because they got the farm

The house that Johann left, #55, would next be owned by Johann’s brother Albrecht Dollhopf. His great grandson Conrad Dollhopf (1849-1918) emigrated to America in 1875 and settled, you guessed it, on Troy Hill in Pittsburgh. In 1876 he lived two blocks from our great grandfather Johann Bär Dollhopf. He was listed then as a broom salesman, but later became a real estate agent active on the North Side and the then-new suburbs of Perrysville Avenue in Ross Township.

Johann II inherited only one half of his father’s estate 9.25 tagwerk, and so started with a very small farm of 4.75 tagwerk. Although we don’t know exactly when, he did acquire an additional 7.13 tagwerk, bringing the total for his farm to 11.88 tagwerk, ten of which were arable fields, which would have provided enough crop production to be at subsistence level. So we can assume that Johann II could at least “make a living” from his farm and feed his family of eight (two of his children died before the age of 4).

As documented in several other Blogs, the late 1700s and early 1800s were a time of serial famines and hyperinflation. In this time of great uncertainty, exacerbated by the Napoleonic Wars and the occupation of Mistelbach by French troops, Johann decided to sell the farm to his unmarried son Eberhard when Eberhard was only 18, an extraordinary gesture.

Johann and wife Anna continued to live in house #19 until they died. When they sold the farm they stipulated in the sales contract that Eberhard would have to continue to feed them, so they included a list of the food items they would need annually. The circumstances surrounding this extraordinary sale, and the food they requested, is the subject of *Blog #16, The Grocery List*.

Despite the trials and tribulations of those times, Johann lived to the ripe old age of 75, in the same house where he enjoyed (I assume) living with four very young grandchildren (his son Eberhard would eventually have 10 children) before he died in 1828.

**Court Records:**

**Description Tagwerk**

The estate of his father, Johann I, was divided between Johann II and his brother Albrecht Dollhopf. Johann II received the following property; his brother Albrecht inherited the rest of the property and house #55.

“Excerpt from the royal register of fiefs of the Treasury of the Court in Bayreuth: Johann Dollhopf from Mistelbach got his masculine fief renewed, consisting of:

- A field in the size of 1 tagwerk, located in the Trauscheid district, below the Bodenweyher pond, with a little meadow in the size of ¾ tagwerk near by; taxes: 130 guilders.....
- |  |        |      |
|--|--------|------|
|  | Field  | 1.00 |
|  | Meadow | .75  |

• A field in the size of ½ tagwerk, located in the Essach district, called Kerzenäckerlein; taxes: 35 guilders.....	Field	.50
• A field in the size of ½ tagwerk, located in the Creuzig district, and a little meadow near by, for the field tithe has to be given to the chimney-sweeper Seuss from this place; taxes: 35 guilders.....	Field Meadow	.50 ?
• A field in the size of 2 tagwerk, located in the Warmsreuth district; taxes: 155 guilders.....	Field	2.00

He received all of this in the previous estate distribution between him and his two brothers Stephan and Albrecht Dollhopf from said Mistelbach, and had it judicially approved on May 11, 1785. The fee due in case of death is suspended until the highest death of His high princely Highness, Margrave Alexander.

Done in Bayreuth, February 6, 1794. The fees in the amount of 4.48 guilders were paid.  
[Signed]

Johann Christ Eherdörfler  
Johann Friederich Neukam

In addition, he acquired the following which he in turn passed to his son Eberhard:

“Letter of investiture with farm #19 [The government officially recognized the sale of #19 to Johann from Stephan Hagen, his father-in-law, in 1799. The property was actually sold 15 years earlier in 1784. The wheels of government turned slowly.

Bayreuth, 4 February 1799

We, Friederich Wilhelm [Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia], by the grace of God king of Prussia, prince-elector of Brandenburg, burgrave of Nürnberg, above and below Gebürg, etc., hereby document and confirm to the public, that We lawfully and honestly furnished our dear faithful Johann Dollhopf from Mistelbach with a continuous hereditary fief consisting of a farm thereat, located opposite church and graveyard, where formerly home and barn stood, and an orchard, in the size of 1/8 tagwerk; including the field specified on page 341 b, in the size of ½ tagwerk, located in the Warmsreuth district. For changing the quality of a masculine fief<sup>3</sup> and cancelling the case-of-death fee he pays an annual rent of 1.12 guilders to the local treasury<sup>4</sup>. All of this was immediately transferred to him by his wife Margaretha née Hagen, who had inherited this together with her sister Cunigunda married Hagen after her mother's death, who was the deceased Catharina widowed Hagen,<sup>53</sup> and had taken it over in the succeeding estate distribution. Besides the judicial approval fee in the amount of 60 guilders, that his wife and sister-in-law were jointly liable to, he had to pay the quit-rent and also a fee for the most deplorable death of Our highly-respected Father and Majesty. We bestow on him, Johann Dollhopf from Mistelbach, this farm and orchard thereat, in the customary way and according to the law, by virtue of this letter, so that he and all of his heirs of male and female sex in the future shall have, take and receive this as a continuous hereditary fief from Us and Our successors, according to custom and law, as often as is necessary, however, without prejudice to Us and Our successors'

<sup>53</sup> Simon Hagen, butcher in Mistelbach, sold the property to his son Conrad Hagen on February 14, 1722. After Conrad's death it was inherited by his widow Margaretha and their children Johann and Stephan in 1743. After Stephan's death it was inherited by his widow Catharina on May 29, 1772. In 1784 it was acquired by Johann Dollhopf.

rights, and the rights of any third party, without malice. Authenticated by the bigger seal of the 2nd senate, Our government as the Feudal Court, and usual signature,  
[Signed]

Dipprecht

Done in Bayreuth, February 4 1799.

There were no other properties listed as part of the transfer at the time. However, we learn in property tax record, dated February 14, 1853, that Johann also owned the following plots that he passed on to his son Eberhard. [Note that from this time forward, the plots of land, like the houses, were assigned numbers. Also, the measurements in tagwerk became far more precise,]

• Plot #14: A peasant farm (building #19) including plots #15 and 1126a and 1126b, residential house with stable, barn, and courtyard.....	House	.15
• #15: Orchard with kitchen-garden by the house.....	Garden	.14
• #182: Im Eichanger.....	Meadow	.26
• #275: In der Warmuth partly purchased from Johann Lüchaer.....	Field with Meadow	2.49
• #276: In der Warmuth.....	Field with Meadow	<b>1.88</b>
• #549: Im Guntersanger.....	Field	.27
• #729: Im Guntersanger.....	Field	.36
• #875: Im Guntersanger.....	Field with Meadow	.81
• #1169: Im Lochanger.....	Meadow	.77
	<b>Total</b>	<b>11.88</b>

*3<sup>rd</sup> great-grandfather*

**Eberhard Dollhopf (1789-1843), farmer and mayor.**

### **Summary Notes**

Eberhard was a go-getter in a time of desperate poverty. I can't help but to think that he had a remarkably healthy and optimistic outlook on life – in spite of the war, poverty, and disease around him. He inherited his father's estate at the age of 18, which was not yet the age of majority (19 in Mistelbach). He went on to *triple* his landholdings, from his father's 11.88 tagwerk to 34.55 tagwerk, the largest in the farm's 400-year history – more than enough to sustain a family in good times. He and wife Margaretha Graisinger had ten children, the most of any of our direct ancestors, although half of them died before the age of four, evidence of the abject poverty.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to acquiring land (and children!), he found time to be mayor, overseeing a village that in his lifetime saw one third of its inhabitants flee to America. Sad times indeed.

In 1822, he and his family had a brush with death. On, August 28, 1822, a great fire broke out in the Johann Schramm house no. 13, the house immediately next to the Dollhopf house. Mrs. Schramm (I assume) was making *küchla*, a type of deep-fried pastry, and the lard caught fire. In addition to the Dollhopf house, fifteen houses burned down – houses numbered 7 to 18, 28, and 30 to 31 – as well as 14 barns. Eberhard rebuilt the substantial sandstone house that still stands today. The date "1823" is painted above the door.

Unfortunately, he died at the relatively young age of 54 from "nervous pneumonia," otherwise known as typhoid fever, a highly contagious bacterial infection caused in part by crowded and unsanitary living conditions. He died only four months after the death of his last child, Conrad, who lived only 13 months. In fact, Eberhard and Margaritha lost the last three of their ten children in the three years preceding his death. We don't know the cause of the death of these three young children, but contagious diseases such as typhoid and dysentery were rampant and leading candidates. His wife Margaretha soldiered on and operated the farm for 15 years until she willed it to her son Johann. Only two of their children lived beyond the age of 30; Margaretha outlived eight of her children.

### **Court Records**

**Description Tagwerk**

Transfer of farm # 19 to son Eberhard, Bayreuth, 13 April 1808  
Done in the treasury in Bayreuth, April 13, 1808

There appears the subject Johann Dollhopf from Mistelbach with his youngest son Eberhard Dollhopf, 19 years old, whom he had his peasant farm, which is a fief from the treasury, transferred to today, with the following remarks. According to the produced letter of investiture, issued by the local Feudal Court on February 4, 1799, he had then received as a continuous hereditary fief<sup>55</sup>: a farm thereat, located opposite church and graveyard, where formerly home and barn stood, and an orchard, in the size of 1/8 tagwerk; including the field owned by Kunigunde née and married Hagen, in the size of ½ tagwerk, located in the Warmsreuth district. For changing the quality of a masculine fief and cancelling the case-of-death fee he pays an annual rent of 1.12 guilders to the local treasury, and in all cases of transfer, like sale, barter, inheritance, pays a transfer fee of 10 per cent. He now wanted to have this farm and orchard ceded into his son Eberhardt Dollhopf's possession, for 50 guilders, that the same may charge to the parental inheritance. The son gratefully accepts his father's declaration and asks for the

<sup>54</sup> The reasons surrounding his inheritance of the farm are detailed in Blog 16: Grocery List.

<sup>55</sup> A "continuous hereditary fief" was as its name implied, a fief that could be inherited. Some fiefs were not hereditary; typically extremely small holdings.

transfer of the fief. Thus said farm and orchard located opposite the church in Mistelbach, in the size of 1/8 tagwerk, was transferred to Eberhard Dollhopf as a continuous hereditary fief, and the same informed about the particular related obligations. The same was also instructed to pay the taxes of 60 guilders in Rhenish currency, transfer fee of 6 guilders in Rheinisch currency, and the usual charges.

Read aloud, approved and signed.

Ammon

Johann Dollhopf

Eberhardt Dollhopf

This is a true copy of the original.

[official's signature]

[The above transfer was contingent on the following contract.]

Contract of Transfer

Bayreuth, 18 May 1808

Originally the date for making the contract of transfer was set for May 16, however, it had to be postponed by two days because originally it had been forgotten to summon Eberhard's trustee and Johann Dollhopf's wife, who was relevant as a co-owner of the property. For making this contract appeared at the Law Office in Bayreuth on May 18:

1. The subject Johann Dollhopf;
2. His wife Catharina;
3. Eberhard Dollhopf, still underage;
4. His trustee, Innkeeper Pozel; all from Mistelbach.

Johann Dollhopf transferred to Eberhard his peasant farm, located opposite the church, with an orchard, in the size of 1/8 tagwerk, and a field in the size of 2 tagwerk located in the Warmsreuth district, for 250 guilders. This amount shall be considered an advance to the inheritance, which means that there was no actual money flow. In addition to the usual legal formalities the contract includes the following particular determinations: The transfer shall be effective from Candlemas 1808.

The son commits himself to provide his parents with the following annual reserving: 6 mass of wheat; 8 mass of rye; 8 mass of potatoes; 1 ½ schock of cabbage; 4 mass of barley; one third of the fruit from the garden; 12 mass of lard; daily 1 mass of milk, provided there are milk cows on the farm; 2 schock of eggs and every week a quarter pound of butter; 4 guilders for meat; 5 ells of flax cloth; 5 ells of hemp cloth; besides wood, light, and free accommodation in the house. The property is free of debts. The transferor remarked that he purchased this property from his father-in-law, the deceased Stephan Hagen from Mistelbach, in the year of 1784.

The contract is signed as follows:

Johan Dolhopff [sic]

Personal mark +++ of Catharina Dollhopf

Eberhardt Dolhopf

Peter Potzler

According to a contract from May 18, 1808, he had taken over the peasant farm together with the following plots: no. 182, 276, 549, 729, 875, 1169 and part of 275, from his father Johann Dollhopf for the amount of 250 guilders. Following are the plots:

• #14: A peasant farm including plots #15 and 1126b Residential house (house #19) with stable, barn and courtyard.....	House	.15
• #15: Orchard with kitchen-garden by the house.....	Garden	.14
• #128: A share of 1/13 of the baking oven and the village pond.....	[Oven]	
• #1126a: Im Gunzengraben.....	Meadow	1.85
• #1126b: Im Gunzengraben .....	Field	.90
• #1127: Im Gunzengraben.....	Field	1.07
• #1128: Im Gunzengraben.....	Meadow	1.98
• #1129: Im Gunzengraben.....	Forest	.43
• #1130: Im Gunzengraben.....	Field	1.06

All of the above lots cannot be sold separately. [By terms of the fief these lots could not be broken up.]

According to the Property Tax Record of February 14, 1853, Eberhard made the following additional acquisitions in addition to the above plots:

• #182: Im Eichanger (items in red received from his father).....	Meadow	.26
• #184: Im Eichanger Plot 184 partly purchased from Johann Birkel for 100 guilders according to a contract from December 13, 1831; partly purchased together with plot 1163 from Johann Dollhopf from Eckersdorf for 11 guilders according to a contract from March 13, 1826.....	Meadow	.57
• #275: In der Warmuth Plot 275 partly taken over with the peasant farm, partly purchased by the widow Margaretha Dollhopf from Johann Lüchauer for 150 guilders, according to a contract from July 26, 1844. ....	Field with meadow	2.49
• #276: In der Warmuth.....	Field with meadow	1.88
• #303: In der Warmuth Plot 303 purchased from Johann Schiller for 200 guilders, according to a contract from June 2, 1822.....	Meadow	2.57
• #329: In der Kirchröthe Plot 329 purchased from Johann Bauer for 200 guilders, according to a contract from June 28, 1822.....	Field	1.96
• #549: Im Guntersanger.....	Field	.27
• #729: Im Guntersanger.....	Field	.36
• #875: Im Guntersanger.....	Field with meadow	.81
• #1163: Im Lochanger purchased from Johann Dollhopf of Eckersdorf in 1826.....	Meadow with Field	.66
• #1169: Im Lochanger.....	Meadow	.77
• #1262: In der Heide, ½ share, the total plot is 28.74 tagwerk, together with Eckersdorf, house #36 (House owned by his four year older brother Johann Dollhopf) purchased from the state for 177.30 guilders according to a letter from February 1, 1814. ....	Forest	14.37

Accuracy of the entries made above confirmed by signature:

Margaretha Dollhopf, Johann Lorenz Opel as assistant [Margaretha required a guardian]

The royal tax liquidation commission, Heydolph, commissioner

<b>Total</b>	<b>34.55</b>
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*2<sup>nd</sup> great-grandfather*

**Johann III Dollhopf (1830-1858), farmer.**

### **Summary Notes**

Johann III's story is perhaps the saddest of our direct ancestors. He was certainly the youngest grandparent to die. The period of time from 1808, when Mistelbach came under the rule of the King of Bavaria, until 1871, the German unification under Otto von Bismarck, was bleak, not only in Mistelbach, but in all of the German principalities. Millions of Germans left for America because of the lingering and oppressive manifestations of feudalism. As stated previously, Mistelbach lost more than a third of its population. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were only 70 to 80 homes in the village; over the next 75 years many would be abandoned.

Johann III was the fifth of ten children, one of only four who lived beyond the age of 25, and the only male to do so. His father Eberhard died when he was 13, so he, along with his 11-year-old brother, also named Johann (this Johann died in 1861 at the age of 19) were the "men" of the household. They had three older sisters, the oldest, Catharina, was 19. These five teenagers had to care for the family farm, which by this time, was over 30 acres, a formidable challenge for five young people.

Because of overpopulation and debilitating poverty, the Bavarian government, in an effort to discourage marriage and thereby curb population growth, required proof of financial wherewithal before a couple could marry. Many impoverished couples could not afford marriage, so illegitimate childbirth became common. Johann and Margarithhe Bâr had four illegitimate children before, fortunately, they were permitted to marry. Likewise, two of Johann's older sisters both bore children out of wedlock. Catharina, the oldest, had an illegitimate child, whom she named Johann Dollhopf, bearing her surname. She and the father of her child could not prove financial worth, and never did marry. Their son Johann established a family line that continued to bear the surname of the maternal line. This was a fairly common phenomenon.<sup>56</sup>

In the spring of 1856, Johann III, by then the only living son, inherited the farm at the age of 26 (after paying his three sisters their fair share). With additional financial contributions from his mother and father-in-law, he was finally able to prove his financial wherewithal, and six months later, on November 11, 1856, he married Margarethe (with their three children, including a two-week old newborn, at the altar).<sup>57</sup>

He was set. But then disaster struck. In April of 1858, only seventeen months after he married, he contracted "pulmonary consumption," otherwise known as tuberculosis. He spent the next five months wasting away in bed, dying on December 8, 1858. He was only 28 years old.<sup>58</sup>

His wife Margarethe, with three young children under the age of four, could not manage the farm on her own. Eager to find a husband, she had the local authorities conduct an inventory of the farm to clear up any taxes owed and settle the estate.

That inventory, which can be found in Blog 11, listed all of the land that is described above in Eberhard's landholdings. The entire estate of 34.55 tagwerk was inherited by Johann before he died.

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<sup>56</sup> There is another branch of Dollhopfs in the US who trace their ancestry to a Johann Georg Dollhopf, an immigrant from Zirndorf (a village near Nürnberg). He settled in Milwaukee. His father, Friedrich Dollhopf, was the illegitimate son of Sabine Dollhopf, who could not marry, so he bore the surname of his mother.

<sup>57</sup> Their second child, also named Johann, died at the age of eight months. There are numerous court records attesting to the suitability of their marriage. Because the records did not necessarily pertain to the transfer of real estate, I did not include them here. An extensive look at the lives of Johann and Margaretha, including relevant court documents, can be found in *Blog 11 Doorway*.

<sup>58</sup> The details of Johann's life can be found in *Blog 11 Doorway*.

Margarethe did indeed remarry, a widower named Johann Hacker from the nearby village of Oberwaiz. She moved to his farm, house #8 in Oberwaiz. She had three children from her marriage to Johann, he had five children from his previous marriage, and together they had *seven* more – fifteen children living under one roof. Johann Bär Dollhopf, our great grandfather, was one of them. He “escaped” in October of 1871 for the wilds of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he would eventually have 13 children of his own. He followed several of his friends who had left the year before for the German industrial village of the Harmony Society in Economy, Pennsylvania, 18 miles downriver from Pittsburgh.

Margarethe leased farm #19 to farmer George Zimmerman (a distant cousin, but she probably didn’t know that). After she died in 1891, the farm was inherited by our great grandfather’s younger brother, Johann Konrad Dollhopf. Johann Konrad and his son Adam built the farm into one of the largest in Mistelbach.

It only took 500 years.