ACCULTURATION IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY: RHENISH HOUSES OF THE MASSANUTTEN SETTLEMENT

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ABSTRACT [1]

Swiss and German immigrants who moved from Pennsylvania to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley in the eighteenth century carried a Rhenish culture that distinguished them from neighboring Scots-Irish and English groups. One component of this culture was a basic vernacular house model that was executed in a variety of ways by individual builders. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Germanic people experienced increased acculturative pressures from the dominant Anglo-American group. The reaction to this pressure was the suppression of certain evidences of ethnic background, rather than a total abandonment of the culture. Traditional house forms and language represented critical symbols of social separation. As a result, public use of the German language declined, and the Rhenish house was first changed in response to new concepts of aesthetics and domestic functions, and later was entirely abandoned in favor of an Anglo-American form. Other less visible cultural distinctions have survived into the twentieth century. This paper utilizes the houses of the Massanutten Settlement in Page County as a regional sample to examine the architectural aspect of acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley.

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Form in folk architecture is primarily determined by the traditions and the symbolic needs of the people who construct and live in the buildings. For this reason, the identification and interpretation of building patterns in a region can provide a fertile resource for understanding the condition of people's culture. It is evident that much variation within artifact assemblages is the result of individual practical and psychological requirements. Yet patterns of continuity and change in essential forms, such as recurring or changing combinations of spatial arrangements in architecture, reflect corresponding stability or unrest within the culture (Deetz, 1973: p. 15). This essay will present a group of architecturally similar eighteenth-century Germanic-American houses built in a narrowly limited geographic area within a period of approximately fifty years. The unity of their forms is the result of the cohesive and separatist context in which the houses were constructed. Significant deviation in the form of some structures and later alterations to others are proposed as indications of the impact of acculturation.

The northern Shenandoah Valley, locally called the lower Valley, was settled in the last three quarters of the eighteenth century by Scots-Irish, English, and Germanic people migrating mostly from eastern and central Pennsylvania. The largest group consisted of Germans and Swiss, primarily first and second-generation immigrants from the Rhine Valley. In settling the lower Valley, this group of culturally related Rhenish people brought with them dialects, crafts, and according to contemporary accounts, a personal character that distinguished them from their Scots-Irish and English neighbors (Wust, 1969: p. 174). Although people of Germanic background retained numerical superiority in the lower Valley into the nineteenth century, they had, by the beginning of the century, begun to be absorbed into an Anglo-American regional culture. This is not intended to imply that some ethnic characteristics did not survive acculturation, or that some Germanic forms did not for a time affect the artifactual conceptions of the Scots-Irish and English (Upton, 1977*a*). Yet it was in the period around 1800 that the Germanic people rejected the most visible symbols of their background.

Two instructive examples are language and architecture. Klaus Wust has explained that there existed a bidialectal situation among the Valley Germans before they adopted the English language. The standard German language was used in writing and in public situations while a variety of related dialects, collectively called "Valley Dutch" but actually based on the dialects of the homeland, provided the medium for informal conversation. As a highly visible symbol of separation and as an obstacle to involvement in local business and government matters, the former was largely abandoned in favor of English by about 1830. The more personal use of the dialects survived, in some cases into the twentieth century (Wust, 1969: pp. 188–189; Smith *et al.*, 1964: pp. 3–5, 243–278).

Parallel to the abandonment of the standard Ger-

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man language was the rejection of a general house type that reflected both the aesthetic traditions and the domestic systems of the Rhenish settlers. Even the most casual examination of housing in the Shenandoah Valley reveals a rural landscape dominated by medium-sized farms with a single predominant house form, one that is distinctly nineteenth-century and Anglo-American. Throughout the century, the symmetrical two-story I house (Kniffen, 1965) was built in brick and frame in such numbers that its preeminence has not yet been seriously threatened by the tentacles of suburban ranch houses reaching out from the towns. The overwhelming dominance of the I house in the Valley is striking when compared to the diversity of vernacular house forms that were built in nineteenth-century Piedmont and Tidewater Virginia, where pre-1800 types continued to constitute a significant percentage of the houses built. It can be argued that the tenacious adherence to the I-house form in the Valley housing revolution represents a conscious replacement of the symbols of the old ethnic cultures (Chappell, 1977: pp. 76–80). For the Germanic people in the Valley, the I house provided highly-visible evidence of at least partial entrance into an acceptable regional culture. As a distinguishing cultural symbol, the form was less important to the relatively homogeneous population of eastern Virginia.

That the nineteenth-century housing revolution in the Shenandoah Valley swept away most of the buildings of the previous century also implies a relative lack of substantiality in the earlier buildings. Except for the most affluent, few nineteenth-century farmers could afford the luxury of replacing a sizable and sturdy old house when it could be altered to accommodate new needs. There is, for example, a relationship with early post-medieval English housing developments, when second floors and chimneys were commonly inserted in earlier open-hall houses (Hoskins, 1953; Barley, 1961: pp. 57-179). The dearth of eighteenth-century houses surviving in the Shenandoah Valley indicates that, as in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake region, most families lived in buildings that were less substantial than those built by people of average means in the following century.

There was, however, deviation from this pattern of insubstantial Shenandoah Valley housing. In several areas where settlements were established at an early date, farmers and small industrialists within one or two generations reached a level of economic success that led them to build dwellings of sufficient permanence to be occupied through the nineteenth century. An example of such a prosperous enclave is the Massanutten settlement in present Page County. In the 1720's a group consisting predominately of Swiss Mennonites and led by Adam Müller (usually anglicized to Miller) settled a 5,000-acre tract along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River east of Massanutten Mountain. Located roughly between Hawksbill Creek and the town of Alma, the land was purchased from Swiss immigrant Jacob Stover, a promoter who at the time of the sale had apparently not gained title to the land (Wust, 1969: pp. 29–32). In 1733 eight Massanutten settlers petitioned Virginia Governor William Gooch for confirmation of their ownership. Adam Müller (Miller), Abram Strickler, Mathias Selzer, Philip Lang (Long), Paul Lung (Long), Michael Rhinehart, Hans Rood, and Michael Kaufman stated that after purchasing the land from Stover about four years before, they had sold their properties in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, settled the Virginia land, and "cleared sevl. Plantations and made great Improvements theron" (Palmer, 1875: pp. 219–220; *Virginia Magazine,* 1906: pp. 121–122).

During the following seventy-five years, the Massanutten settlers or their descendants constructed a group of substantial houses that differ in form from the nineteenth-century houses of the region. Despite variations among the houses, unifying patterns exist that relate them to each other and to Pennsylvania Rhenish buildings. These patterns indicate a cultural distinction among eighteenth-century Germanic people that would diminish in the following century.

Acculturation was not, however, an instant phenomenon that involved the rapid assimilation of the separate ethnic groups of the Shenandoah Valley into a relatively homogeneous population. Some evidence of the gradual process of change is supplied by several of the buildings in the Massanutten group. Before the I house or one of its formal derivations became virtually the only house type a successful middle-class farmer in the region would build, certain of the ideas it embodied were utilized in combination with familiar Germanic forms. The original form of several of the buildings indicates a movement away from some of the old transported ideas of what a house should be. In addition, later alterations to most of the Massanutten houses are related to the new ideas. Definition of the essential characteristics of the group will help to establish the significant deviations.

The primary house form brought to America by eighteenth-century German and Swiss immigrants was a story-and-a-half or two-story building with a first-floor plan consisting of two, three, or four rooms disposed around an internal chimney (Hunziker, 1908–10: p. 137; Bucher, 1962*a*; Glassie, 1968). Exposed timber-frame construction called *Fachwerk,* stone, and hewn logs were the materials usually employed for exterior walling. Stone and log construction came to be favored in America, and no examples of *Fachwerk* are known in Virginia. Limestone laid as coursed rubble was generally used for foundations and chimneys.

In this *Flürkuchenhaus* or hall-kitchen house (Milner, 1975), a front and often rear door gives entry into a narrow kitchen room, or *Küche,* which was served by a large cooking fireplace (figs. 13*b,* 22, 34). Related to the function of the English hall, the room was utilized both for cooking and as the primary informal living space. The *Küche* is located to the right of the chimney in eighty per cent of the Massanutten examples. A wider room called a *Stube,* located on the opposite side of the chimney, was apparently used for more formal gatherings, a function similar to that of the Anglo-American parlor. That Valley Germans may have generally eaten in the *Stube* is indicated by Samuel Kercheval's statement that a long pine table was always located in a corner of the room, with benches permanently fixed on one side (Kercheval, 1850: p. 136). Similar fixed *Stube* furniture has been observed in houses in Switzerland (Weiss, 1973: pp. 135, 152; Waterman, 1950: p. 152). In most large *Flürkuchenhauser,* the rear of the *Stube* is partitioned to form a narrow unheated sleeping chamber, called a *Kammer* by the Germans and a *Stibli* by the Swiss (Weaver, 1973*b*: pp. 9, 54; Weiss, 1973: p. 135). Traditionally, the *Stube* was heated by an iron or tile stove that was fed with coals through an opening in the rear of the *Küche* fireplace (Mercer, 1941). All such heating devices were removed when the Massanutten houses were altered, but plates from five-plate iron stoves have survived in the region. An example marked MARL-[BORO] FURN[ACE] 1768 from Isaac Zane's iron works in Frederick County was until recently used as a fireback at Fort Paul Long (fig. 1). At Fort Egypt, the room above the *Stube* was also heated by a stove, which was furnished with coals from a small elevated fireplace on the opposite side of the chimney. In some large-scale variations of the *Flürkuchenhaus* form, the rear of the *Küche* is partitioned to form a fourth room, a space that was utilized as a workroom in Switzerland (Weiss, 1973: p. 135). Although the fourth room has been identified as a pantry in Pennsylvania, an example at Fort Egypt is provided with a small fireplace (fig. 6*b*). Evidence of another such fireplace was previously visible at the rear of the *Küche* in Wildflower Farm, a similar house in adjoining Shenandoah County.

The second floor is reached by enclosed stairs most often located in the *Küche,* and in a number of houses an additional stair rises from the *Kammer.* There is considerable variation in second-floor room disposition among the houses in which the original upper-level plan can be determined. Generally, the space is divided axially at the chimney, with one or both of the spaces sometimes divided into two rooms (fig. 6*c*). Only in one-and-a-half-story Page County houses is the loft space finished. The attics of all single- and two-story houses were originally undivided and the roof framing was left exposed.

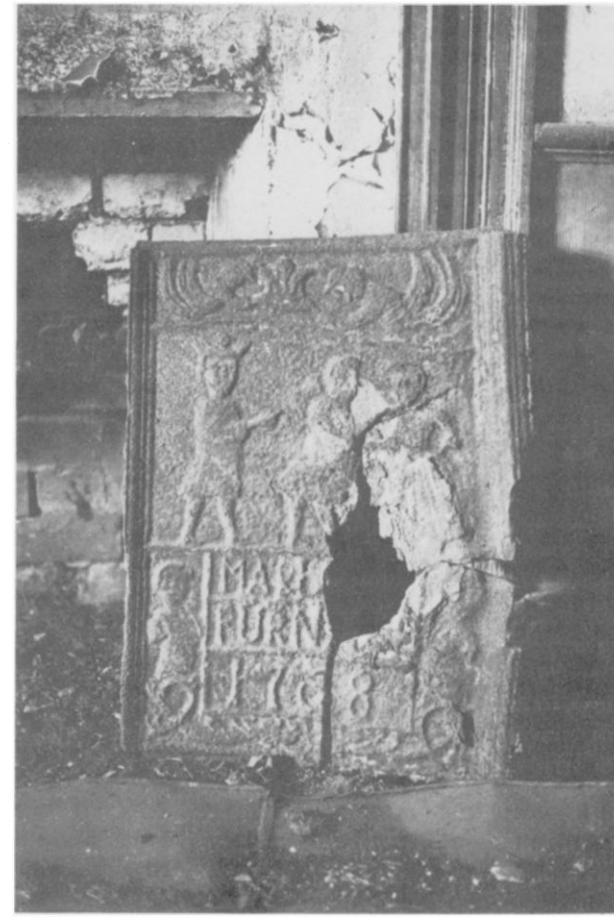


FIG. 1. Fort Paul Long. Plate from an iron stove cast at Isaac Zane's Marlboro Furnace.

The most conservative fenestration of Virginia as well as Pennsylvania *Flürkuchenhauser* consists of two openings in each story on the front and rear walls (figs. 4, 5). Three-bay fenestration is also found, and at Fort Rhodes one of the two facade openings into the *Stube* was originally a door. Like eighteenth-century Anglo-American Virginia builders (Glassie, 1975: p. 28), Germanic builders in the Valley tended to balance exterior openings in relation to internal spaces rather than in relation to the elevation. For example, the facade openings at Fort Rhodes are placed nearly equidistant from the ends of the *Stube* and *Küche,* with less attention given to exterior balance. This grammar of piercing was only loosely followed, however, and concern for external balance is perceptible in a number of the houses. Surprisingly, external symmetry is most often found on the gable ends.

Interior finish is characterized by an open expression of the construction methods, a quality that was distinctly avoided by later Valley builders. While

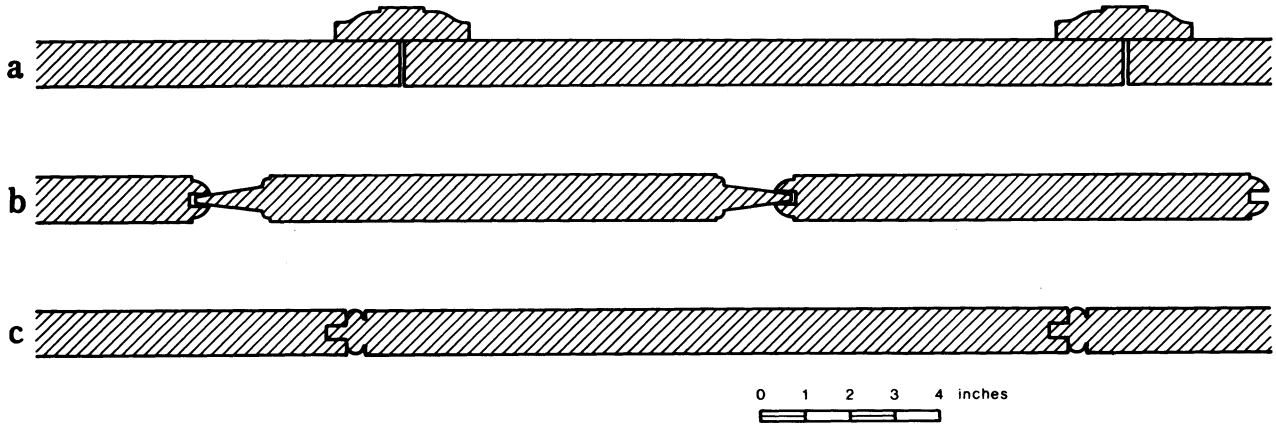


FIG. 2. Interior partition details. *a*. Fort Egypt, between the first-floor rear rooms. *b*. Fort Stover, second-floor partition. *c*. Fort Egypt, between the *Stube* and *Kammer*.

the builders of nineteenth-century I houses created spaces bounded by plastered surfaces and punctuated by non-structural architectural elements, the ceiling framing and a variety of wall surfaces were left exposed in *Flürkuchenhauser* and a minimum of cosmetic details were used. In most examples, interior trim is confined to chair rails, baseboards, and cornice strips over the fireplaces. With the exception of several short sections of masonry and exposed frame walls abutting the chimney, interior walls are of vertical-board construction. An early partition at Fort Egypt is constructed of plain boards and molded battens (figs. 2*a*, 8). Partitions on the first floor of Fort Rhodes and the second floor of Fort Stover consist of raised panels set into vertical boards with molded edges (figs. 2*b*, 61). More common among the Massanutten houses, however, are partitions constructed of tongue-and-groove vertical boards with beaded edges (fig. 2*c*). Only at Fort Stover, a house exhibiting a number of features that deviate from traditional German-American forms, are plastered stud walls found, and there they are confined to the first floor. Consistently, the first- and second-floor interior surfaces of stone walls are plastered, while log walls are usually left exposed and whitewashed. With the possible exception of the first floor at Fort Stover, ceiling framing was originally exposed in all the houses. In buildings of sufficient depth to require bridging beams, summers are used both singly and in pairs (figs. 14, 62). Running between the gable ends, most are set into the chimney masonry, although at the Abraham Heiston House and Fort Stover they are unsupported at the center. Unlike Anglo-American framing, the joists either rest entirely on top of the summers (as at Forts Egypt and Stover) or are only partially set into them (as at Fort Rhodes).

Some of the Massanutten houses preserve roof structures of distinctly ethnic form, while others have simple common rafter roofs that to a certain degree can be recognized as an early acceptance of Anglo-American framing techniques. Two traditional Germanic systems of framing a complex gable roof were used in the Shenandoah Valley, both consisting of common rafters supported by a heavy substructure (*cf.* Weiss, 1973: p. 79; Schilli, 1977: pp. 170, 222; Zippelius, 1957: pp. 115, 145). In the one method used at Fort Egypt, Fort Rhodes, and the Abraham Spitler House, but surviving unaltered only at Spitler, the supporting structure is comprised of horizontal purlins resting on three pairs of large vertical posts (figs. 3*a*, 19). At the Spitler House and also at Wildflower Farm in Shenandoah County, the posts are connected to the joists by angle braces and to the purlins by arch braces. Collars tie together the posts and common rafters above them, but the other rafters are without collars. Not found in the Massanutten houses but used at Fort Bowman in Shenandoah County as well as in Pennsylvania and Maryland buildings is a second system of rafter support which consists of pairs of truncated principal rafters linked by double collars (fig. 3*b*). The rafters broaden toward the top, where they are slotted to receive the purlins. A lower collar is morticed to the inner sides of the principals, and a larger collar rests on top, tying together the principals, purlins, and common rafters. Principal rafter collars on similar roofs at the Schiefferstadt House in Frederick, Maryland (HABS, 1974: sheet 11) and the Golden Plough Tavern in York, Pennsylvania, have a slight camber, although those at Bowman are straight. Arch braces add additional stability by connecting the principals to the purlins and lower collars. At Fort Bowman, the common rafters have large 4″ × 6″ collars that are pegged to the purlins, and it is the common collars rather than the rafters that are directly seated on the support system.

In both the post and principal rafter systems, the

rafter feet usually rest directly on the joists, without the false plate intermediary that was popular in Anglo-Virginia framing (Whiffen, 1960: pp. 65–66). Story-and-a-half houses represent an exception, for when the walls are carried above the level of the joists, the rafters must be seated on plates (Glassie, 1974: fig. 65*c*; Kocher, 1921: p. 36). A feature common to Germanic roofs is a kick, or lowering of pitch near the eaves. In the Old World, this broken silhouette was often achieved by placing the rafter feet on the joists directly over the wall and extending the joists beyond. A short partial rafter, or *Aufschifter*, was then framed between the top of the extended joists and the common rafter (Weaver, 1973*b*: pp. 68–70; Weiss, 1973: p. 89; Suckow, 1763: pl. 4). Where the kicks are found on American Germanic houses, the rafter feet are often set above the outer face of the wall, and a wedge is merely nailed or pegged to the top of the rafter (figs. 3*a* and *b*., 20).

Simple common rafter roofs are known in the Rhineland (Zippelins, 1957: pp. 147–153), and to some extent their use here might be attributed to their cheapness and sufficiency for spanning shorter distances. Yet the size of the building does not constitute the essential factor in the choice of roof type, as illustrated by Moravians' use of the Spitler roof system on relatively small buildings in Salem, North Carolina. While it is true that unsupported common rafter roofs are used on all the smaller Massanutten buildings, they are also found at the Abraham Heiston House and at Fort Stover (fig. 3*c*), both of which are deeper than Spitler and Bowman. What seems to have happened at the Massanutten settlement and at other Germanic communities in America is a gradual abandonment of the complex roofing systems that were indigenous to Germanic culture. Although the old systems were remembered and aspects of their forms were used on barns and a few other large non-domestic buildings as late as the second half of the nineteenth century (e.g., Upton, 1977*d*), they were apparently abandoned for houses, where simple common rafter roofs usually would suffice. The general demise of the traditional roofs was exemplified by the construction of a log house built by the Long family at Fort Paul Long early in the nineteenth century. The new house was as deep as the Spitler House, and because the roof was to have a low (33°) pitch, it was felt that a common rafter system was not sufficient. The builders eschewed the old systems, however, and instead built an Anglo-American principal rafter roof with butt purlins (fig. 3*d*).

An essential feature of the Rhenish farm on both sides of the Atlantic is the provision for storage within the body of the house. In some Shenandoah Valley houses an old concept of multi-level attic storage has survived in the utilization of space above the

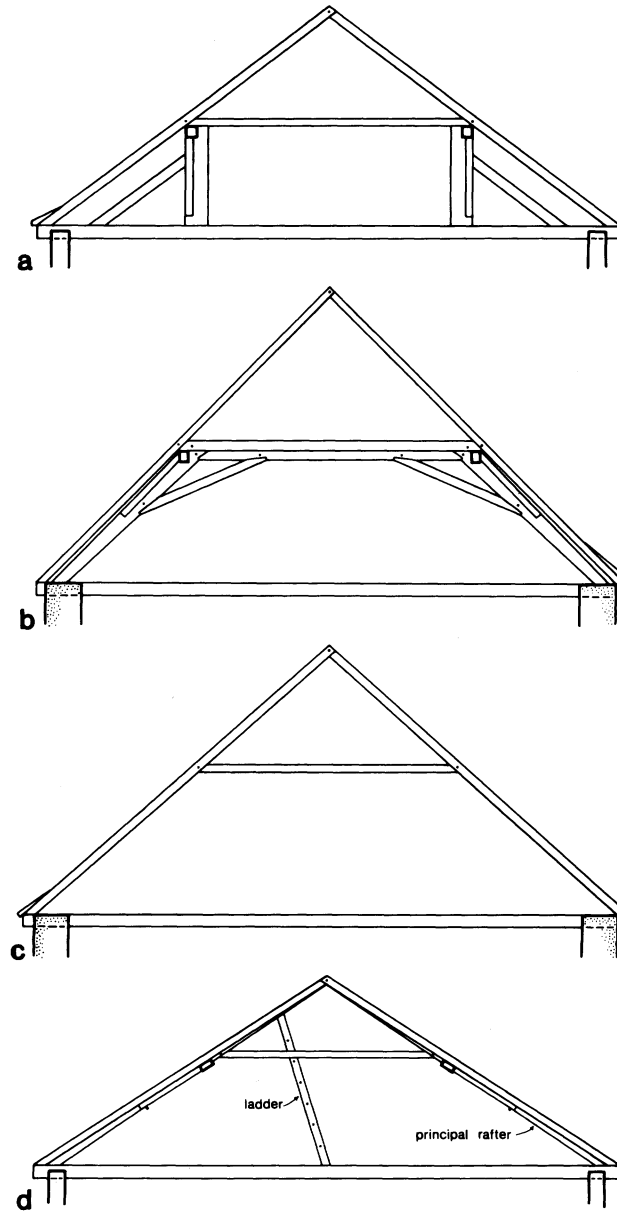


FIG. 3. Roofs on Rhenish houses in the Massanutten settlement and nearby. *a*. Abraham Spitler House. *b*. Fort Bowman, Shenandoah County. *c*. Fort Stover. *d*. An early-nineteenth-century log house at Fort Paul Long. *a* and *b* were drawn from measurements supplied by Dell Upton and *c* is based on a Historic American Building Survey drawing by Tarquin M. Rachelle. Scale: $\frac{1}{8}'' = 1' - 0''$.

roof collars, reached by a permanent ladder. Kercheval (1850: p. 136) states that garners for grain were a common feature in the upper floor of Valley German houses, and Robert Bucher (1962*b*) has described a similar practice in Pennsylvania. (Also see Raymond, 1977: pls. 51 and 157.)

The most dramatic accommodation, however, is a

variable cellar form drawn from Rhineland and Pennsylvania precedents (Weaver, 1973*b*: pp. 56–63; Long, 1960; Kindig n.d.: p. 7; Forman, 1967: p. 288). As an integral part of their houses, the Massanutten builders constructed single-and two-room cellars employing techniques that protected large quantities of perishable food from changes in temperature. The cellars housed functions that were relegated to detached spring houses in the nineteenth century, and two Massanutten cellars, as well as a number of Pennsylvania examples (Brumbaugh, 1933: p. 30), contain springs. The primary insulation method involved construction of a rubble stone barrel vault rising from low walls (figs. 10, 14). These vaulted rooms, or *die Gewölbkeller* (Long, 1972: pp. 100–101), were provided with small vaulted and trabeated window openings that were tapered toward the exterior. Iron and wooden hooks embedded in the vaults carried wooden poles for suspension of foods such as meat and cheese (Weaver, 1973*a*: p. 26). Surviving in two of the Massanutten houses is a second insulation method, which consists of straw and clay infilling between the cellar ceiling joists (figs. 9, 24). The latter method is found in Germanic buildings north of the Shenandoah Valley, both confined to the cellar (for example, at the Alexander Schaeffer House at Schaefferstown and the Golden Plough Tavern at York in Pennsylvania) and extended to insulate the upper floors (Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and the Schiefferstadt House in Frederick, Maryland.) The walls of both cellar forms are pierced with small rectangular niches, which are locally called pine holes. The oral evidence that at least some of the niches were used to burn pine knots or other lighting material is supported by one example that has a flue (fig. 46), although it has been suggested that similar recesses in New England Anglo-American cellars were used for cooling (Kelly, 1924: pp. 69–70). Further, the cooling function is unlikely for two niches that are located in the chimney breasts of the upper floors (fig. 53*a*). In both Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley, early houses have sometimes acquired the term fort, and present use of the prefix may have been encouraged by conjecture about the defensive functions of the vaulted cellars. Despite the improbability of this function, it is of interest that White House was referred to as a "Fort House" as early as 1827 (Shenandoah County Land Tax Book 1827).

Several patterns of cellar room disposition and entrance are evident in the Massanutten houses. With the exception of the Andrew Keyser House, all of the cellars have an exterior entrance. The larger houses originally had an additional internal entrance from the first floor. In two-room cellar plans, the external doorway provides entrance to the outer room and the inner room is given the strongest method of insulation, usually by means of a vault. Although it is assumed that both rooms were used for storage, a fireplace in the outer room at the Abraham Spitler House and underground access to a well from the lower of two vertically stacked cellars at Fort Philip Long suggest that those rooms were also the scenes of productive activities. Full-size windows in the cellars at Philip Long and in the outer rooms at the Spitler House and Fort Stover further evidence their use as work rooms. The presence of a cooking fireplace in the outer cellar room at Fort Stover is an indication of changing functions within the *Flürkuchenhaus* form, although Robert C. Bucher (1968: pp. 5–7) has interpreted cellar kitchens in early Pennsylvania houses as survivals of a Swiss *Weinbauern* housing tradition.

Most of the existing houses are sited so that the ground slopes downward at the rear and at one gable end, allowing external entrance to the cellar either at ground level or by way of a short flight of steps. This method of hillside siting, with relatively direct entrance into two floors, is a distinguishing feature of the Rhenish house in America. Multilevel dwellings and farm buildings that take advantage of sloping ground exist in Britain (Brunskill, 1970: pp. 109, 138–139), but the form is seldom found in English-settled areas of Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia. The occasional appearance of the siting choice in nineteenth-century Shenandoah Valley houses can be attributed to the persistence of a Germanic minority trait (Upton, 1977*a*).

The formal, structural, and functional characteristics of the Rhenish houses in the Massanutten group constitute a set of related traits, most of which were rejected by the builders of similarly scaled houses in the nineteenth century. Structural characteristics include stone and log exterior walling and an honest expression of a diverse assortment of internal construction devices. Formally, the houses often utilize sloping topography to allow direct entrance to cellar and first-floor levels. The first-floor plans consist of two to four rooms grouped around an internal chimney, with an exterior entrance directly into the principal living room, without the mediation of a passage or lobby. The fenestration, like the off-center placement of the chimney, is asymmetrical. Productive and storage functions were contained within the body of the house. Cooking took place in the same room in which the family gathered, and the cellar is equipped with features intended to preserve the food stored there for the family's use. Despite variations, the surviving buildings form a coherent group that is recognizably distinct from the contemporary house forms of other ethnic groups in the region, and that is indicative of the separate nature of Germanic culture in eighteenth-century Virginia. The shared charac-

teristics of the buildings represent an architectural vocabulary that was one aspect of a transported cultural heritage.

Members of the Germanic community, however, became increasingly susceptible to the acculturative pressures of the dominant ethnic group. Because of social and perhaps political aspirations, some wealthy Valley Germans were especially receptive to Anglo-American affectations. Klaus Wust (1969: p. 52) has cited examples of families who in the eighteenth century sought to associate themselves with Anglo gentility by giving properly bucolic, English-sounding names to their estates and by sending their sons to English schools. Jacob Stover even attempted to follow an English-speaking route to heaven by receiving Presbyterian baptism on his deathbed in 1741 (Wust, 1969: p. 32).

Some of the buildings of the Massanutten group display significant deviations from the *Flürkuchenhaus* model, changes that can be attributed to selective cultural assimilation, both aesthetic and functional. The amalgam of Rhenish and English forms does not follow a clear pattern of development towards a formal Georgian model, and a number of disparate English forms can be discovered in different houses. The two surviving Long houses, for example, present a complex mixture of Rhenish and English building types of an equally informal nature.

The original first-floor plan at Fort Philip Long (fig. 45*c*) consisted of two rooms of essentially *Flürkuchenhaus* proportions, that is, a narrow *Küche* with wider *Stube* adjoining. Yet the chimneys are located on the gable walls, with the kitchen entrance beside the large cooking fireplace, following the form of some sub-medieval Western English and Welsh houses (Smith, 1975: pp. 160, 314; Brunskill, 1974: p. 53). The large irregularly shaped kitchen chimney is placed off center on the gable end and the flue of a corner fireplace in the *Stube* rises through the wall to a small internal stack. Into this informal massing was introduced an unfamiliar form of symmetrical fenestration, with a single door near the center of the front wall giving entrance to the larger room, and three windows evenly spaced in the rear wall. At Fort Paul Long we find an English hall-parlor plan, with the cooking fireplace in the larger room (fig. 39*b*). There both chimneys are located on the interior of the gable walls, but no attempt has been made toward symmetrical fenestration. Both Long houses utilize sloping ground to provide access to cellars of distinctly Rhenish form.

Gable-end chimneys and multiple fireplaces were also employed in conjunction with the *Flürkuchenhaus* plan at three larger, and probably later, Massanutten houses: the Abraham Heiston House, Locust Grove, and Fort Stover. At the Heiston House the chimneys were simply an affectation of Anglo-American form grafted to a house that retained a two-bay fenestration and traditional interior spacial distribution and functions. But at Locust Grove and Fort Stover, the formal changes were more extensive, and in them we see a desire to present an external facade that more completely resembled the two-story Anglo-American hall-parlor or center-passage house. In both cases, the fenestration of the front wall is ordered in an approximation of symmetrical tripartite form, with windows flanking a doorway. The builders were still designing their houses in accordance with the spatial arrangements of the *Flürkuchenhaus* model, however, and rather than placing the front door at the center of the facade, they located it far to one side, so that it still provided entrance to the old *Küche* space. The tripartite fenestration was barely attempted on the rear wall of either house; there the builders were content to utilize more or less traditional patterns of openings.

Locust Grove no longer stands, and insufficient information survives to clearly determine its room uses. Fort Stover, however, exhibits a functional change that indicates that the effects of acculturation within the ethnic community were not confined to a new concern for visual order. That the living patterns within at least one of the familiar spaces had significantly changed is shown by the location of the cooking fireplace in the cellar rather than in the usual first-floor *Küche* location. The separation of food preparation from the primary living space of the house represents abandonment of an essential characteristic of the Rhenish house.

A parallel division of cooking and living spaces that occurred in the English-settled Chesapeake region around the middle of the seventeenth century is considered by scholars to represent an attempt by house owners to separate themselves from the activities of indentured servants and slaves (Carson, 1976: p. 28). Although a desire for social division may in fact have been the primary impetus for the detached kitchen in the American South, the expulsion of cooking, with its attendant sounds and smells, conforms with the rationalizing concepts that reached the eighteenth-century American masses as what James Deetz and Henry Glassie call the Georgian world view (Deetz, 1977) and Norbert Elias calls an advance in the threshold of delicacy (Elias, 1978). Whatever its initial stimulus, the suppressed kitchen became a feature common to the households of eastern Virginia slave owners and non-slave owners alike, and in the nineteenth century it was part of the regional cultural complex accepted by Germanic people in the Shenandoah Valley. The kitchen occupied a number of positions in relation to the ubiquitous nineteenth-century I house, primarily at the end of the rear ell, in the basement, or in a detached building, but never within the main body of the house.

All of the Massanutten houses that continued to serve as dwellings in the nineteenth century were altered to accommodate Anglo-American room functions. The general pattern of alteration involved removal of the kitchen and provision of heating fireplaces for two rooms of comparable size, although plan changes were more drastic in some buildings than others. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century functions described by informants indicate that the two rooms were used as living room and parlor. At the Charles Keyser House, the larger room was reserved for the entertainment of guests, and it contained the best furniture in the house. The smaller room was used as both a bedroom and family gathering place. The functions of master bedroom and living room were commonly combined in the same first-floor space in nineteenth-century and later Piedmont Virginia houses, a combination that was also found at Fort Rhodes. At Fort Rhodes, the left rear room was utilized as a living room-chamber and the larger left front room was a parlor. In winter, the family living at Fort Rhodes ate in the former *Küche,* and in the summer in the detached kitchen. Alterations to first-floor partitions at the Abraham Heiston House resulted in two rooms of nearly equal size, both entered by way of a narrow lateral passage. The right-hand room, occupying part of the original *Küche,* was and still is used as a parlor, and the *Stube* space to the left was used as a living room. A warping frame socket in the ceiling indicates that at one time weaving was done in the living room of the Heiston House.

Henry Glassie (1974: pp. 228–231; 1975) has drawn a parallel between transformational linguistic models and artifact analysis that is helpful in understanding the process of change in ethnic cultures. According to Glassie, traditional builders call on conceptual models that provide direction for design. The models consist of both a basic idea of what a house or other artifact should be, and a limited number of ways in which the artifact can be transformed. The builder performs mental operations using the obligatory and optional rules of the model to generate a specific form that fulfills individual need, resource, and fancy. As a result, buildings produced by the members of a culture share characteristics, but are not exactly alike. The transformational model is derived from experience, that is, abstracted from observation of examples. It follows that essential change or replacement of the model is an indication of some disruption in the culture. By studying the nature of model changes, both the forces at work and the systems of response can be approached.

Eighteenth-century German and Swiss immigrants to America established groups of individual farms located in socially-related rural enclaves, a pattern that allowed the survival of a strong cultural identity. Germanic settlements presented a sufficiently cohesive ethnic front to be viewed by some English-speaking politicians as threats to the stability of the Anglo-American culture (Wust, 1969: pp. 52, 107). The continued relationship between families sharing, among other things, a common minority language, resulted in the retention of traditional conceptual models that might not have long survived in a more intensely heterogeneous environment, like those encountered by German immigrants in nineteenth-century American cities. The most prominent artifact model in the mental assemblage brought from the Rhine Valley was the *Flürkuchenhaus,* a house form with an unbalanced plan, asymmetrical fenestration, an off-center internal chimney, and a kitchen located on the first floor. Available evidence indicates that the *Flürkuchenhaus* remained the primary model for German and Swiss houses built in America through most of the eighteenth century.

Contact between cultures and the observation of foreign artifacts allows the assimilation of new models, but as Dell Upton (1977*b*) has pointed out, familiarity with new ideas does not necessitate their adoption. The grafting to the *Flürkuchenhaus* of some Anglo-American building features, such as simple common-rafter roofs, gable chimneys, and rooms heated with fireplaces rather than with stoves, can be viewed as similar to the use of various stylistic details on vernacular buildings. Although these features represent the acceptance of some parts of a foreign building model, they do not signal a shift in functions within the old house form. The same might be said regarding the quasi-symmetrical ordering of window openings, but where this stylish affectation is found in the Massanutten group, at Fort Stover, a significant functional change has also occurred: the cooking fireplace has been moved from the main floor of the house. This shift in functions suggests that the traditional conceptual model of family activities within the familiar plan has changed, and the occupants have accepted aspects of the domestic patterns of their Anglo-American neighbors.

Soon after 1800, the *Flürkuchenhaus* was entirely abandoned for new construction in the Shenandoah Valley, and thereafter moderately successful German and Swiss farmers there would normally build their houses according to the Anglo-American I-house model. Characterized by symmetrical elevations and a balanced plan with rooms of near-equal size flanking an entrance passage, the I house represented a radical formal change.

More importantly, use of the new form enforced and was engendered by essential functional changes. Similarities exist in the functions of the most prominent rooms in both forms: the *Küche* and *Stube* in the *Flürkuchenhaus* and the hall and parlor in the I house. Unlike the *Küche,* however, the hall is en-

tered only by way of a passage, an intermediate space with psychological and especially proxemic implications that have been discussed by Glassie (1975). Appendages to the I house further provided for a division of functions that was unknown in the Rhenish House. People most often ate in a room in an ell, and the kitchen was located either in the rear of the ell or in another position distant from the family's living space. In addition, storage and farm-related activities that had once been housed in the attic and cellar were dispersed to detached buildings.

The abandonment of the traditional Rhenish house model and a roughly-concurrent replacement of the standard German language are conspicuous indicators of a breakdown in the separate identity of Germanic culture in the Shenandoah Valley. It is because of the highly symbolic nature of the two complex models, however, that they should not be interpreted as signaling the demise of all ethnic distinctions. Rather, the most visible minority distinctions are often the first to fall to the pressure of a dominant group. Although German inscriptions are seldom found on gravestones south of Pennsylvania after about 1800, Germanic motifs continued to be utilized to embellish the stones through the first half of the nineteenth century (Wust, 1970; Rauschenburg, 1977: pp. 24–50; Upton, 1977*c*), and a related decorative aesthetic remains visible in the distinctive interior woodwork of Valley houses from *circa* 1800 to 1840 (Chappell, 1977: pp. 159–170). English inscriptions were combined with old design formulas in *Fraktur* in the early nineteenth century (Wust, 1972), and the painted decoration of barns remains a prominent feature of the Valley landscape. Dialects survived as a means of communication between close friends into the twentieth century, and distinctions between cultural backgrounds is still a part of the social consciousness of the region (Stewart, 1967: pp. 5–6, 17–19).

Beginning in the eighteenth century, Germanic people in America experienced pressure to conform to the culture of the dominant Anglo-American group. That Germanic culture survived as a distinct entity through the century is indicated by the regional sample provided by the Massanutten houses. When acculturation took place, it was not a rapid process that erased all levels of ethnic distinction. Families that first accepted features of eastern Virginia living patterns did so within a familiar building form, although the exterior of the house might resemble an Anglo-American house. The traditional house model, like the German language, was finally replaced because it represented a conspicuous symbol of ethnic division. Other less visible culturally derived and ethnically distinct models remained in use.

FIG. 4. Fort Egypt.

FIG. 5. Fort Egypt. Rear.

CATALOG

Fort Egypt

The least altered as well as most complex internal-chimney Rhenish house in Page County is Fort Egypt (figs. 4 and 5), located at the middle of a large tract of arable land in a bend of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River, opposite the mouth of Mill Creek. Harry Strickler (1924: pp. 66–68) relates the tradition that Fort Egypt was built by Jacob Strickler, son of Abraham, a first generation Swiss immigrant. The nearly square 36′ × 32′2″ house is constructed of logs averaging 9″ × 1′4″ in section, with narrow interstices and dovetail corner notching. Except for the principal facade, the house is now covered with asbestos siding. A nineteenth-century deck-on-hip roof replaces the original gable roof, and the line of the higher old roof ridge is visible on the stone chimney shaft. In the 1940's, a shed-roofed room was added to the east side of the house, in the location of a destroyed nineteenth-century gable-roofed addition.

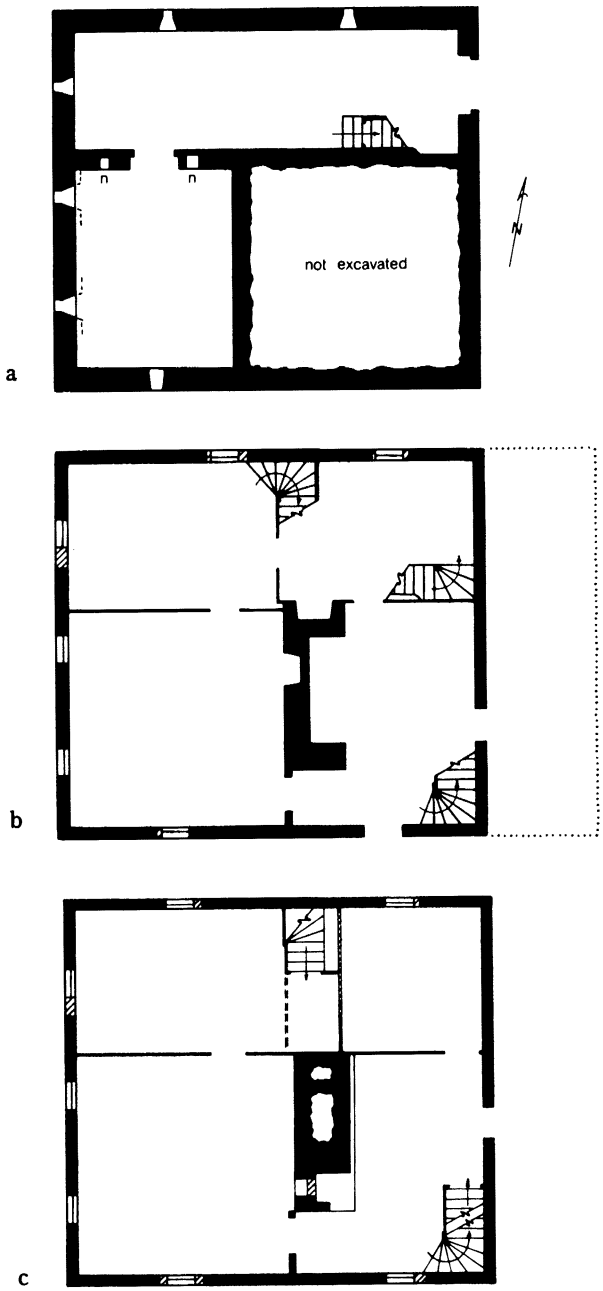


FIG. 6. Fort Egypt. Cellar, first-, and second-floor plans. From 1940 Historic American Buildings Survey plans, revised by author.

Note: The scale of all plans is $\frac{1}{16}'' = 1' - 0''$. Original fabric is shown as black, later fabric is hatched, and second-stage alterations are stippled. The location of destroyed early features is indicated with broken lines, and recent additions are represented with dotted lines. Recent porches are omitted. Wall niches are noted with the letter *n*. All illustrations are by the author, unless otherwise attributed.

The first-floor plan (fig. 6*b*) consists of four rooms disposed around a central chimney, with the front door giving access to the *Küche* to the right. The chimney is brought forward of center, allowing the rear of the *Küche* to be partitioned as another room. The space to the left of the chimney is divided into a 18′3″-square *Stube* and a 11′10″-deep rear *Kammer*, with the partition wall attached to the rear summer beam. A 8′10″-wide cooking fireplace in the *Küche* is now open, although it had been enclosed to form a smaller heating fireplace when the house was recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1940 (HABS, 1940*a*: sheet 2). The room to the rear of the kitchen is served by a small fireplace that is apparently original, but a roughly-finished interior and flue indicate that the *Stube* fireplace is a later insertion. Enclosed stairs rise from both the right front corner of the *Küche* and the right rear corner of the *Kammer*.

A similar four-room plan is found on the second floor, although the partition between the rear rooms has been moved to the right of the stair (fig. 6*c*). Conspicuous evidence for an original heating stove is found at the front of the chimney stack, where a small recessed fireplace with a raised hearth faces the room over the *Küche*. In the rear of the fireplace is a 1′5″ × 1′4″ opening through which coals could be pushed into a five-plate stove. The opening has been partly blocked, and there are no further indications of the stove's form. The diminutive size of the fireplace suggests that it, like a fireplace in the second-floor passage of the Schiefferstadt House in Frederick, Maryland, was principally intended to provide fuel for the stove rather than to directly heat the room in which it is located.

Recently, whitewash coating has been stripped from the interior surface of the log walls, providing clearer evidence of early fenestration (fig. 7). Log patches indicate that although the original fenestration of the front and rear walls was similar to that of the present nineteenth-century arrangement, the previous windows were horizontal openings measuring approximately 3′ × 2′. The same change in window

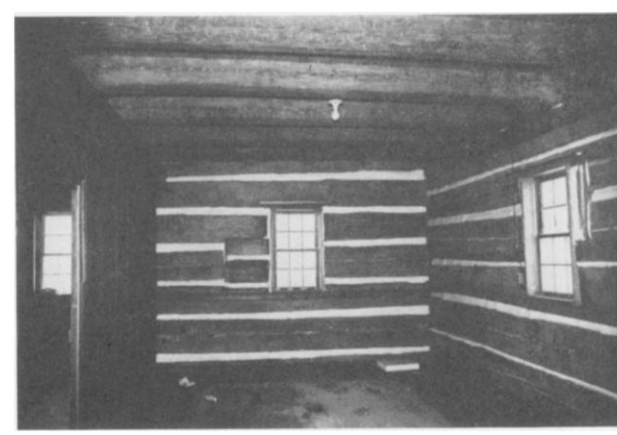


FIG. 7. Fort Egypt. *Kammer*.

FIG. 8. Fort Egypt. First-floor partition, between rear rooms.

FIG. 10. Fort Egypt. Inner cellar room.

form is visible at Fort Rhodes, and comparable horizontal openings survive in the log Adam Miller House at Elkton in Rockingham County. Despite the large proportions of the Fort Egypt plan, the house retained a conservative two-bay fenestration, with a single door and window piercing the first-floor facade.

Following the precedent of framing in Pennsylvania Rhenish houses (Waterman, 1950: p. 153), exposed second-floor and attic joists rest on top of pairs of summer beams extending from the gable walls to the chimney. The edges of both the summer and joists have beveled chamfers. The forward summer on the first floor has been removed, perhaps to facilitate addition of a board ceiling that remains in the *Stube* and *Kammer,* but chamfer stops on the exposed *Küche* joists indicate its original location. The form of interior partitions varies at Fort Egypt. On both first and second floors, the short partition abutting the chimney and separating the front rooms is a frame wall with exposed posts. The partition between the first floor rear rooms (figs. 2*a* and 8) is constructed of vertical boards with 3″ battens enriched with fillets and flattened cymas. All other partitions are of vertical tongue-and-groove beaded boards (fig. 2*c*). Early doors in the cellar and upper floors are constructed of vertical boards and horizontal battens, and are hung on HL and curvilinear strap hinges. As in other Shenandoah Valley Rhenish houses, latches at Fort Egypt are of a decorative quality that relates them to Germanic latches elsewhere, but they are considerably less rich than the most flamboyant Pennsylvania examples.

Although the original roof was removed in the

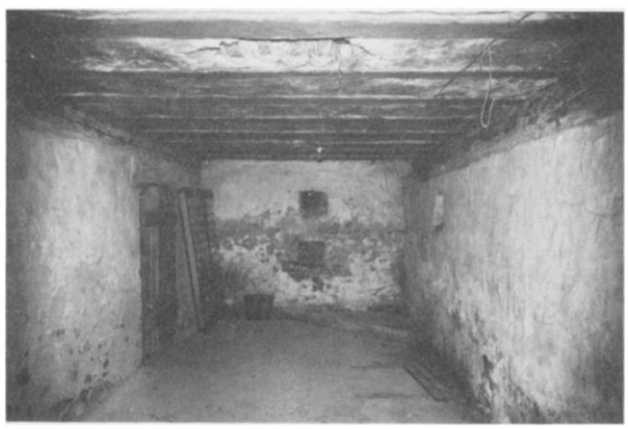


FIG. 9. Fort Egypt. Outer cellar room.

FIG. 11. Fort Egypt. Cellar window opening, exterior.

FIG. 12. Fort Rhodes.

nineteenth century, a pair of mortices in the top of a joist and corresponding holes in the early attic flooring to the west of the chimney indicate that the house previously had a triple-truss roof frame like that surviving at the Spitler House.

The cellar consists of two rooms (fig. 6*a*), each incorporating Pennsylvania-German methods for insulating storage space. A 32′4″ × 9′11″ room (fig. 9) at the rear runs the length of the building, and is entered through double doors in the east gable wall, and by a recent flight of steps descending from the room behind the *Küche* through an original opening in the ceiling framing. In constructing this room its builders utilized a ceiling form, paralleled at a large number of Rhenish houses in Pennsylvania and at the Abram Strickler House in Page County, that helped provide a constant cellar temperature by insulating the space between the joists. The sides of the 6″ × 8″ joists are slotted to receive wooden slats wrapped with straw and clay, and the surface is plastered and whitewashed, with the lower faces of the joists left exposed. The room is lighted by unglazed windows cut directly through the exterior walls. Toward the end of this long room is a door to an inner cellar room, which is ceiled with a stone barrel vault and is without exterior entrance (fig. 10). Light shafts taper upward from wide openings in the vault to narrow slots in the exterior wall (fig. 11), and several niches pierce the stone partition wall. Embedded in the vault are iron and wooden hooks for suspension of poles. Until the floor was recently covered with a concrete slab, this room is reported to have had an open spring in the southwest corner. Like the other room, the vaulted room is plastered and whitewashed. The land drops away to the rear of the house, so that the outer room is at ground level and the vaulted room is more than half below grade.

Fort Rhodes

Closely related to the form of Fort Egypt is Fort Rhodes (fig. 12), located four miles downstream on the west side of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River. Believed to have been built after the house of Mennonite Minister John Rhodes (or Rodes) at this site was burned by Indians in 1764 (Kercheval, 1850: p. 91; Frederick County Will Book, 1765: p. 351), the large two-story *Flürkuchenhaus* was more radically altered in the mid-nineteenth century, but it retains details and evidence of a plan similar to Fort Egypt. The 34′9″ × 32′3″ house has been stripped of its exterior weatherboarding to reveal log walls with dovetail corner notching and chinked interstices. Nineteenth-century alterations intended

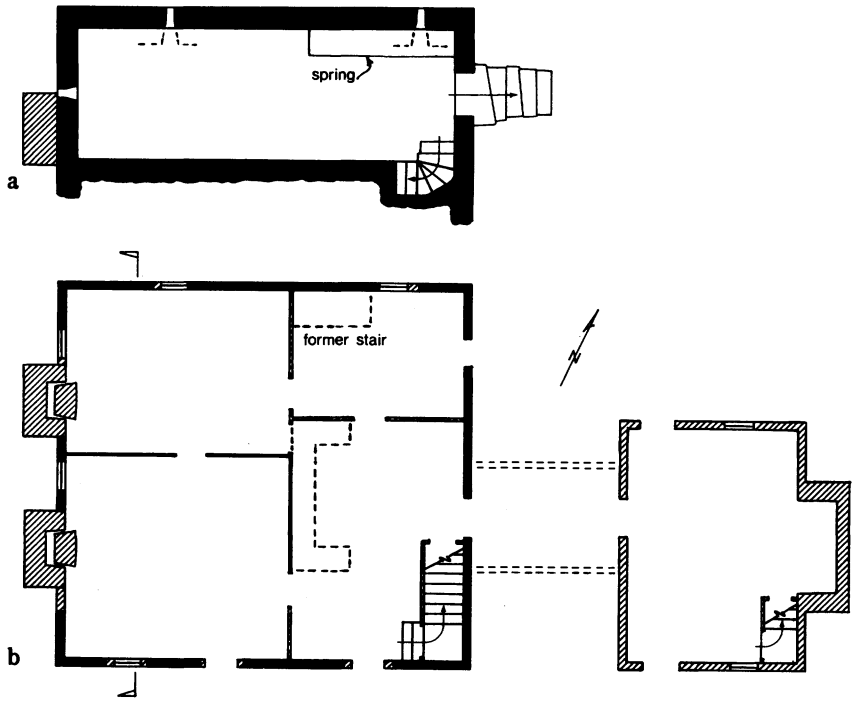


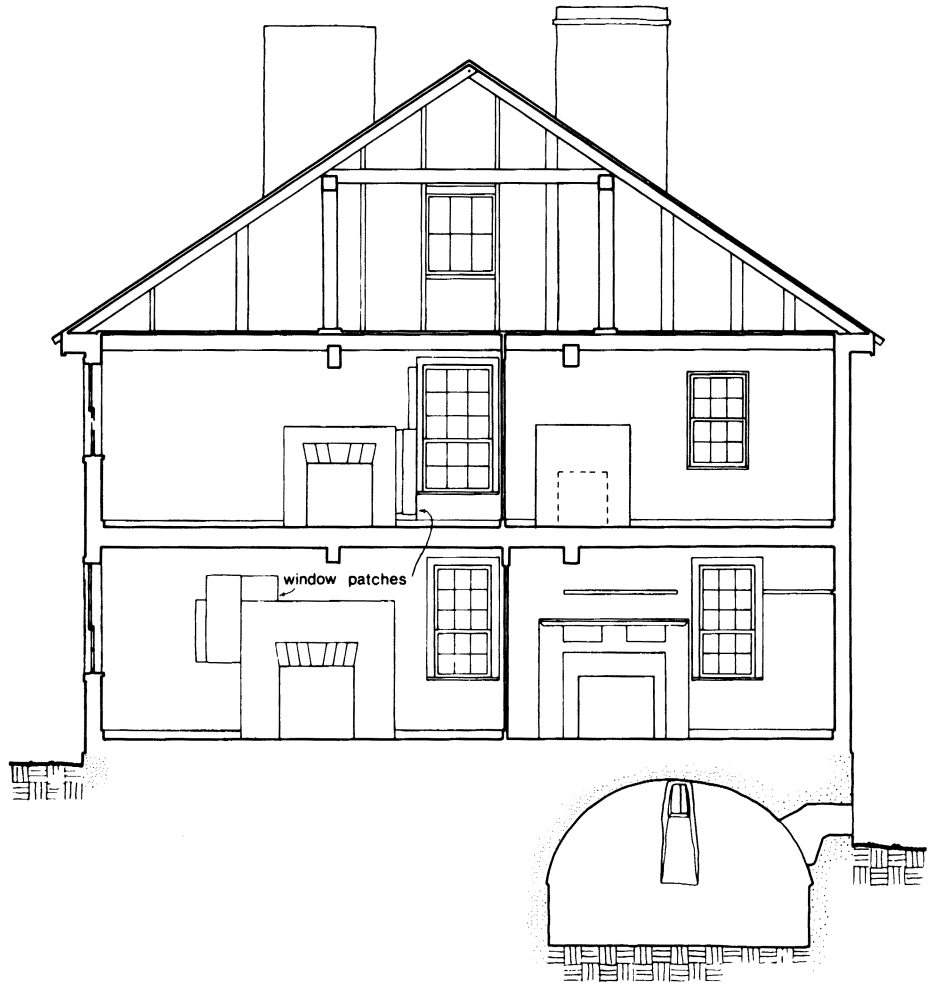
FIG. 13. Fort Rhodes. Cellar and first-floor plans.

to remove cooking activities to a detached kitchen building involved the demolition of a large interior chimney, the construction of stone exterior chimneys on the north-west gable wall, and the alteration of the second-floor plan. Interruption of the first-floor ceiling framing indicates the location of the original chimney and cooking fireplace, which served a right-hand *Küche* (fig. 13*b*). As at Fort Egypt, the rear of the *Küche* is now partitioned to form a fourth room. The partition between the left-hand rooms is constructed of vertical bevel-edged sheathing set between boards with quarter-round molded edges. An original door in this wall is constructed of vertical boards held together with dovetailed tapering horizontal battens, and is hung on HL hinges. Although other first-floor partitions, of flat vertical boards with beaded edges, may be nineteenth-century replacements of eighteenth-century fabric, it is uncertain whether or not the partition between the *Stube* and *Kammer* was moved forward in order to equalize the size of the left-hand rooms.

A patch in the second-story floorboards indicates that a stair rising from one of the two rear rooms was the predecessor of the nineteenth-century stair that now is located on the front wall of the *Küche*. Patches in the log walls demonstrate that the rooms at Fort Rhodes were lighted by horizontal openings like those at Fort Egypt. Evidence appears for two early first-floor windows in both the southwest gable and rear walls, and a single first-floor window in the facade. Front doors entering the *Küche* and *Stube* appear to replace shorter and wider early doors in the same locations.

Representing a slight variation from the framing method used at Forts Egypt and Stover, joists are joined to pairs of summer beams with 3″ slots rather than resting entirely on top of the summers (fig. 14). Both summers and joists are cut with a rough chamfer. The ceiling framing remains exposed on the second floor, but first-floor *Stube* and *Kammer* joists were covered with sheathing in the nineteenth century. Roof framing, which has been reworked using early members, consists of common rafters supported by a pair of purlins and collars seated on vertical posts. The rafters are lapped and pegged at the ridge, and at the eaves they rest on a thin board plate set into the joists. The light framing of the gable visible in fig. 14 dates from the twentieth century.

The single-room cellar plan at Fort Rhodes (fig. 13*a*) is similar to the outer room at Fort Egypt. The 31′6″ × 10′10″ room (fig. 15) is located at the rear of the house, where the land slopes downward, and is ceiled with a vault pierced by two window openings. A third window, in the southeast end wall, is partly covered by a nineteenth-century chimney. Entry to the cellar is through an exterior door in the northeast wall, and a blocked series of stone steps beside the door show that originally there was also interior access from the *Küche*. A spring flows from the north corner of the room out through a hole in the rear wall, and an opening in the vault above once allowed water to be drawn up to the first floor.



The ruinous nineteenth-century kitchen is a one-and-a-half story building with gable walls longer than the facade. The walls are constructed of V-notched logs that are smaller and less carefully finished than those of the log Rhenish houses in Page County. Seams in the exterior walls of both buildings indicate that the kitchen was previously attached to the house by an enclosed frame passageway.

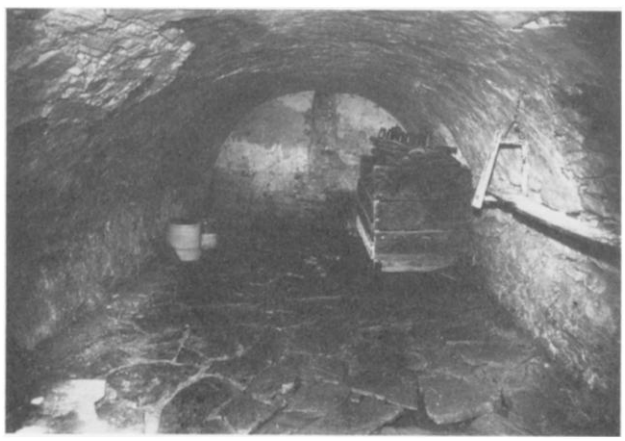


FIG. 15. Fort Rhodes. Cellar.

Abraham Spitler House

The Abraham Spitler House (fig. 16) on Mill Creek east of Leaksville is another log two-story internal chimney house that was altered in the nineteenth century. The changes were so severe at the Spitler House that only minimal evidence of its original first and second-floor plans has survived. Several reused early details, such as a five-panel closet door with rat-tail hinges, do survive, however, and the roof structure and cellar arrangement remain intact. The exterior walls are constructed of logs with dovetail corner notching and narrow interstices (fig. 17). They are now covered with stucco applied to lathes that are attached to vertical nailers. Fragments of

FIG. 16. Abraham Spitler House.

cantilevered second-floor joists projecting from the front wall show that previously a full-length porch was covered with a pent roof 4′6″ deep. Remains of a fireplace in the cellar (fig. 18*a*) indicate the location of the original chimney to the left (east) of the center of the house, and the cellar chimney breast corbels

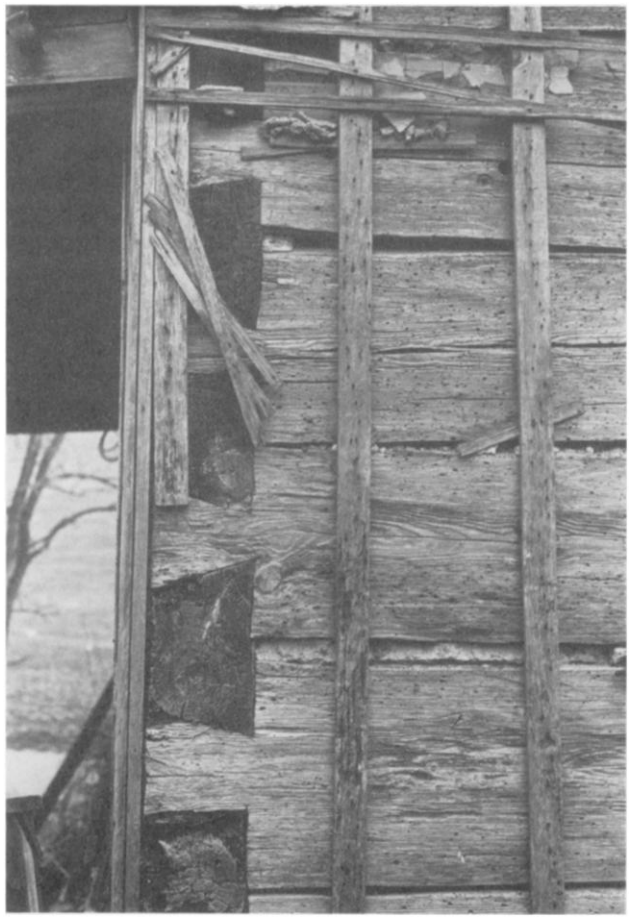


FIG. 17. Abraham Spitler House. Exterior wall detail.

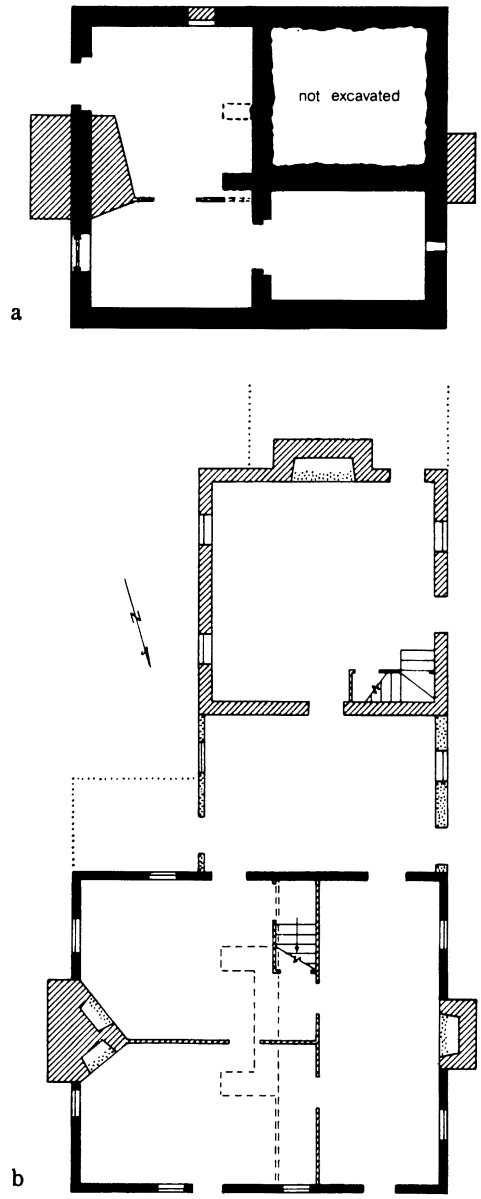


FIG. 18. Abraham Spitler House. Cellar and first-floor plans.

outward to support a wider *Küche* fireplace above. A *Stube* and *Kammer* must have occupied the first floor space to the right of the chimney, but their respective depths are unknown.

About 1820–1830 a different three-room first-floor plan was introduced (fig. 18*b*), with a narrow room to the right running the length of the house, and two rooms divided by a longitudinal partition wall to the left. The stone internal chimney was removed, and brick external chimneys were set into the gable walls. Ceiling joists, originally cut with beveled chamfers and whitewashed, were covered with plaster ceilings, and contemporary Federal-style trim was installed. This three-room plan is perhaps related to

FIG. 19. Abraham Spitler House. Roof post and purlin.

FIG. 21. Abram Strickler House.

the old *Flürkuchenhaus* form, but room uses had clearly changed, and the most important feature of the change was the removal of the kitchen from the body of the house. A single-story brick kitchen was constructed to the rear, and it was not connected to the house until a hyphen was added later in the nineteenth century.

The surviving original roof framing at the Spitler House consists of common rafters resting on a pair of purlins and collars that are supported by heavy vertical posts (figs. 3*a* and 19). Arch braces rise from the posts to the purlins, and angle braces give added stability between the posts and joists on which they sit. The rafters are joined with open-face mortices and pinned at the ridge, and in the fashion of most Rhenish houses in the Shenandoah Valley, the rafters rest directly on the joists. In order to create a slight splay at the rear eaves, triangular wedges are attached to the upper surface of the rafter ends (fig. 20).

The cellar plan is a variation on the two-room form at Fort Egypt, although the presence of a fireplace and large windows indicate functions in addition to storage for the outer room. The land falls away to the east of the house, allowing ground-level entrance to the cellar through the left gable wall. Almost entirely below grade, the small inner room has a vaulted ceiling and is lighted by a single window slot rising in the west end wall. Both the inner cellar door and the outer double "Dutch" door are constructed of heavy vertical boards and are hung on decorative strap hinges. Rails and stiles are nailed to the exterior of the doors, forming four panels on the outer door and two on the one to the inner room.

Joseph Burner House

In *Massanutten,* Harry Strickler (1924: pp. 69–73) describes and illustrates the remains of a log *Flürkuchenhaus* that had stood at the foot of elevated ground on the east side of the South Fork of the Shenandoah opposite Lick Run, three quarters of a mile north of Fort Egypt. The house was occupied by the Burner family in the nineteenth century, and was believed to have been constructed by an eighteenth-century ancestor named Joseph Burner. Only the stone internal chimney and cellar remained when Strickler visited the site, and no evidence now survives above ground. The 11′½″-wide chimney seems to have contained a single fireplace, an 8′-wide *Küche* fireplace, half of which had been blocked with later

FIG. 20. Abraham Spitler House. Rafter ends.

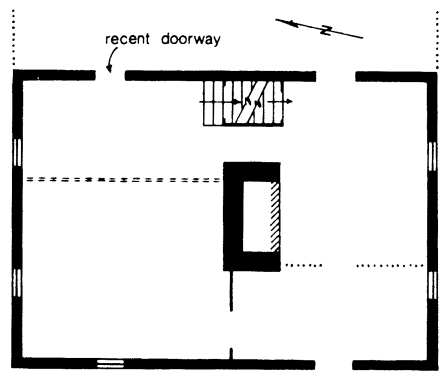


FIG. 22. Abram Strickler House. First-floor plan.

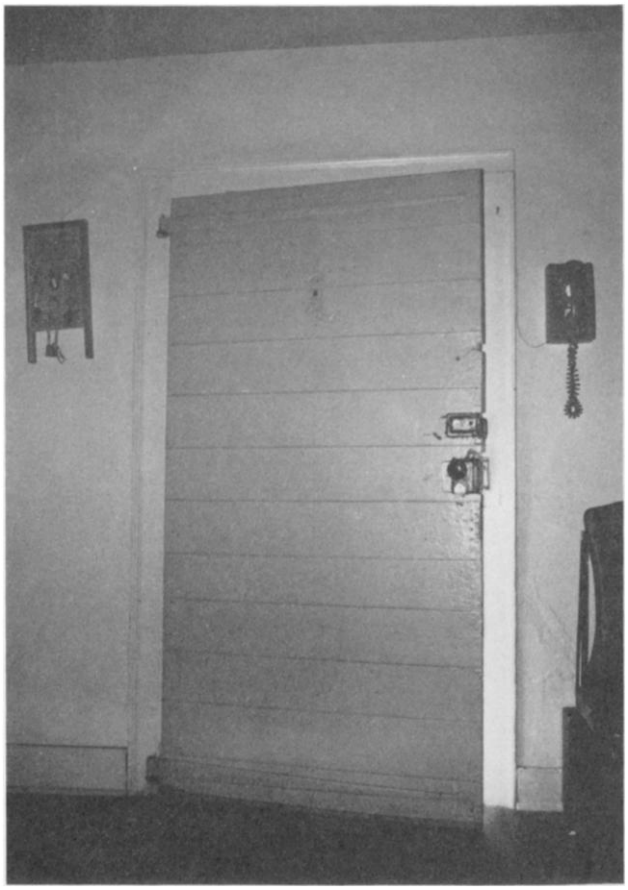


FIG. 23. Abram Strickler House. Interior face of *Küche* door.

FIG. 24. Abram Strickler House. Inner cellar room ceiling.

stonework. The cellar arrangement consisted of two rooms, a 14′ × 24′ outer room with framed ceiling and 9′ × 11′ inner room with a vaulted ceiling. The outer room ran the depth of the building on the downhill side, apparently below the *Stube,* and it followed the precedent seen in other two-room cellar plans by providing the only entrance to the vaulted room. The cellar dimensions appear to indicate a nearly-square structure measuring approximately 30′ × 27′, proportions close to those at Forts Egypt and Rhodes and the Abraham Spitler House.

Abram Strickler House

Located on a knoll that commands a view of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River and White House to the north is the Abram Strickler House, a two-story log building of *Flürkuchenhaus* form (fig. 21). Although the exterior is now covered with asbestos siding and the sash and chimney stack are replacements, the house retains its original two-bay facade fenestration and clear evidence of a three-room first-floor plan (fig. 22). The Strickler House measures 25′ × 35′11″, with a 16′7″-wide *Küche* located to the right. Presently partitioned into two rooms, the *Küche* is entered by opposed front and rear doors, and was served by a cooking fireplace that is now sealed. To the left is a single large room that plaster seams indicate was once divided into a roughly square *Stube* and narrow *Kammer.* A stair rises to the second floor from the rear of this room, with steps below it descending from the *Küche* to the cellar. The second-floor room arrangement is modern, and the alterations obscure evidence of the original plan.

Notable surviving details are the two exterior doors, with six raised panels on the exterior surface and horizontal sheathing on the interior, hung on tapering iron strap hinges with decorative ends (fig. 23). The combination of interior board sheathing and exterior panels is a method of door construction found in early buildings in New England and the Chesapeake region, but while it does not commonly appear in later eighteenth-century Anglo-American buildings on the East Coast, it was retained as a standard feature of both Pennsylvania and Virginia Rhenish houses throughout the century.

Floor joists are covered by later plaster ceilings, but those visible from the attic are cut with beveled chamfers and whitewashed. In the roof, common rafters are joined by pinned open face mortices at the ridge and are stabilized with lap-jointed collars and 1½″ × 6″ diagonal braces set into their upper surfaces at both gable ends.

The ground floor below the north end of the Strickler House provides another variation on the two-room cellar concept found at the Abraham Spitler House and Forts Egypt and Stover. As in those houses, the desire for a storage space buffered from temperature change led the builder to construct two cellar rooms, the smaller inner room provided with a more heavily insulated ceiling and entered only by an interior door from the outer room. The outer room, measuring 20″7″ × 12′6″, is entered by enclosed stairs from the *Küche* and an exterior doorway in the rear wall, and is lighted by windows in the

FIG. 25. White House.

rear and north gable walls. It is ceiled with exposed floorboards and log joists hewn only on the upper and lower surfaces. Rather than being vaulted, the 15′10″ × 7′10″ inner room is provided with an insulated joist ceiling (fig. 24) similar to that in the outer cellar room at Fort Egypt. In this case, however, the joists are not structural, but rather are seated below the log joists, on a summer beam just within the larger room and on board sills set into the front exterior wall and atop the interior stone partition. Wooden slats wrapped with straw and clay are inserted in triangular grooves in the sides of the 5″ × 7½″ lower joists, and the interstices are plastered and whitewashed. The house is sited at the edge of a knoll, with the land sloping away to the rear, so the placement of the inner room at the front of the house further buffered its contents from external elements.

White House

Page County historians state that White House (fig. 25), located on flat land beside the South Fork of the Shenandoah River west of Hamburg, was built as a dwelling and meeting house by Mennonite Minister Martin Kauffman II about 1760 (Strickler, 1924: pp. 76–77; Kerkhoff, 1962: pp. 37–38). Kauffman was the son of a Mennonite minister who had moved to the region from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, a quarter century before. The younger Kauffman appears to have been a religious leader when the Massanutten Mennonite community accepted the Baptist faith prior to the Revolutionary War, and it was at White House that Baptist minister James Ireland records having established a so-called Mennonite Baptist Church (Brunk, 1959: p. 26).

About 1830–1840, the three-bay two-story stone house was altered in response to some of the same new ideas regarding domestic functions that caused the alterations at Fort Rhodes a decade or so later. Except for the chimney, no first- or second-floor features seem to have survived the change. White House now has a two-room plan, with an off-center internal chimney that provides heating fireplaces for both rooms (fig. 26). Enclosed stairs rise to the second floor on the gable wall of each room. The smaller eastern room was originally the *Küche,* and its wide cooking fireplace was diminished in size when a fireplace was cut through for the other room. The broad flue of the original fireplace remains exposed above the present small opening, and the rough

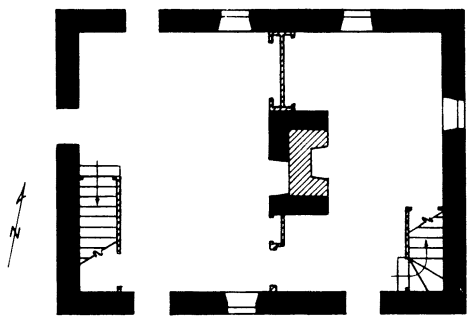


FIG. 26. White House. First-floor plan.

FIG. 27. White House. Cabinet, first floor, west room.

interior of the opposite fireplace indicates that it was an insertion. Local residents remember a log kitchen building that stood within this century about twenty feet to the south-east. Either this or an earlier detached kitchen must have been built when the house was altered to what was probably utilized as a hall-parlor plan. There is no visible evidence that the larger room was divided into a *Stube* and *Kammer,* but the depth of the room indicates that the space was probably originally partitioned.

Several coats of stucco prevent the discovery of the earliest fenestration pattern, but the precedent of other three-bay *Flürkuchenhausen* implies that the front and rear walls of the large room were probably pierced by pairs of windows, and the opposed doorways now serving that room may date from the alteration. In addition, the presence of a blocked cellar window shaft that originally rose through the south wall in the location of the present exterior *Küche* doorway may indicate that the *Küche* was first entered through a doorway in the north wall, and that the orientation of the house has been changed. Exterior cellar entrances are usually found on the rear or end walls, so the possibility that the house previously faced north is further supported by the placement of the bulkhead on the south wall.

FIG. 28. White House. Mantel, first floor, east room.

FIG. 29. Andrew Keyser House. From the W.P.A. Collection, Virginia State Library.

Evidence for the existence of another stack of rooms beyond the *Stube* is provided by the west gable wall, which is stepped in on the exterior at second floor and attic levels, and in which is visible a sealed doorway at the second floor level. The fact that the stone gable is original may be interpreted as indicating that the destroyed rooms were covered with a shed roof, although leantos are an uncommon feature on American Rhenish houses.

While the alteration has obscured features of the original structure, it has also provided the house with fine examples of late Federal-era Shenandoah Valley woodwork. The larger of the two first-floor rooms has the richest trim, including paneled wainscoting and glazed cabinet doors (fig. 27). Both first-floor rooms have Federal-style mantels with pilasters supporting paneled entablatures. As is usual with Valley mantels of the period, the shelves are emphasized by sharply projecting moldings, and the general designs vary considerably from any published prototypes. The west mantel has tapered pilasters and reeded architrave and cornice strips, and the mantel in the smaller room is decorated with a free interpretation of Adamesque sunburst patterns (fig. 28). The larger room retains its early color scheme of light blue walls, pink trim, and tiger-maple-grained doors and wainscoting. In the alteration, the second floor was given the same plan as the first, with a tiger-maple-grained vertical-board partition and closets between the two rooms. Both second-floor rooms have been recently subdivided with reused early beaded vertical boards.

The roof structure consists of common rafters with collars, and open-face mortices at the ridge. A ghost of a ladder on the interior of the east gable indicates that, as at the *circa* 1784 Henry Miller House at Mossy Creek in Augusta County, the space above the collars was once used for storage. Dell Upton

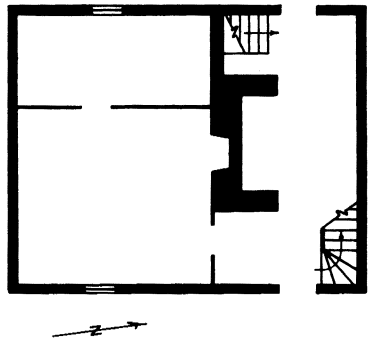


FIG. 30. Andrew Keyser House. Restored first-floor plan.

has observed the same feature in eighteenth-century Dutch and German houses in the Hudson River Valley of New York State, where collars were usually covered with movable boards and the space reached by permanent ladders.

White House has a 17'6" × 13'6" vaulted cellar located beneath the *Küche* and north-eastern part of the *Stube*. It is entered from a bulkhead at the center of the southern wall, and is lighted by a window slot in the eastern end and previously by a second window opening in the southern side of the vault.

Andrew Keyser House

The Andrew Keyser House (fig. 29), survived as a largely intact small three-room plan *Flürkuchenhaus* until it was regettably demolished about 1967. Believed built about 1765 by a first-generation German immigrant, the house was sited on level ground at the edge of a terrace above arable land on the South Fork of the Shenandoah River opposite the mouth of Hawksbill Creek. As with Forts Paul Long and Philip Long, the small size of the Keyser House may have been a major factor in the decision to replace it with a larger house in the nineteenth century. The result of the construction of a new frame I house at mid-century and the loss of the old building's status as the primary dwelling on the property was the preservation of its original internal spacial arrangement and the retention of the first-floor *Küche* as a room used for cooking.

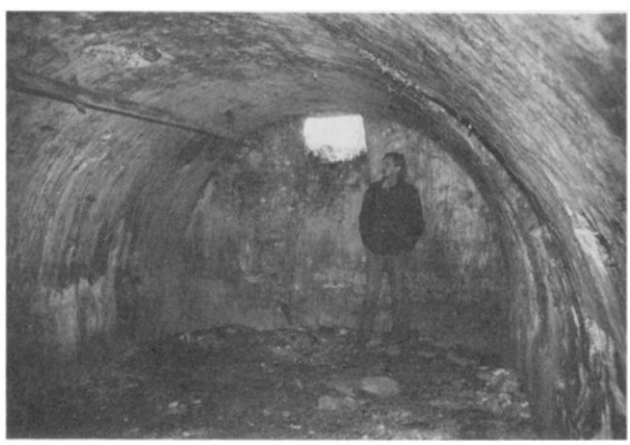


FIG. 31. Andrew Keyser House. Cellar.

FIG. 32. Andrew Keyser House. Cellar entrance. The upper part of the wall to the right has recently been rebuilt.

Photographs show that the house was a story-and-a-half two-bay log structure with dovetail corner notching and narrow interstices. Parts of the foundations remain exposed, and with the owner's description, allow a reconstruction of the first floor plan (fig. 30). Front and rear doors gave access to a narrow *Küche* provided with an eight-foot wide cooking fireplace. An enclosed stair rose to the upper half story from the right corner of the windowless *Küche,* and in the opposite corner a stair descended to the cellar, which survives. The house was divided axially by a board partition in front of the chimney and a masonry wall to the rear. Another board partition separated the roughly square *Stube* from a narrow *Kammer,* each lighted by a single window. The *Stube* was heated by a fireplace in the center chimney, but whether or not the fireplace was a later insertion is unknown. Second-floor joists and the interior surface of the log walls were exposed and whitewashed.

The upper half story was partitioned into three rooms, a room over the *Küche* with no windows and two southern rooms of near-equal size, each lighted by a single window in the gable wall. Second-floor

FIG. 33. Charles Keyser House. Rear.

ceilings and end walls were finished with board sheathing.

A 17′2″ × 12′2″ cellar (fig. 31) below the northwest corner of the house was entered only by a flight of interior steps passing under the exposed end of the vault (fig. 32). Window openings pierce the south end wall and the west side of the vault, and a small niche is located in the south wall.

Charles Keyser House

On the same terrace a quarter of a mile west of the Andrew Keyser House is located the Charles Keyser House, a narrowly-proportioned story-and-a-half Rhenish house with an internal stone chimney (fig. 33). Its walls are constructed of log with dovetail corner notching and, except for the weatherboarded rear, are whitewashed on the exterior and interior. Although the building has been extended to accommodate a change in room use, the original two-room *Flürkuchenhaus* plan (fig. 34) has remained unchanged. A partition wall located at the rear of the *Küche* fireplace divides the house into almost equal halves. There is no visible evidence that the *Stube* was partitioned, and space used solely for sleeping was probably confined to the upper half story (fig. 35). An uncommon feature of the *Stube* is its gable exterior entrance.

As at the Andrew Keyser House, only single windows pierce the front and rear walls of the *Stube*, but here the wide *Küche* is also lighted by windows in both long walls. Breaking with the precedent of small window openings at the Andrew Keyser House and Forts Egypt and Rhodes, and perhaps supplying an indication of a later date, first floor windows have

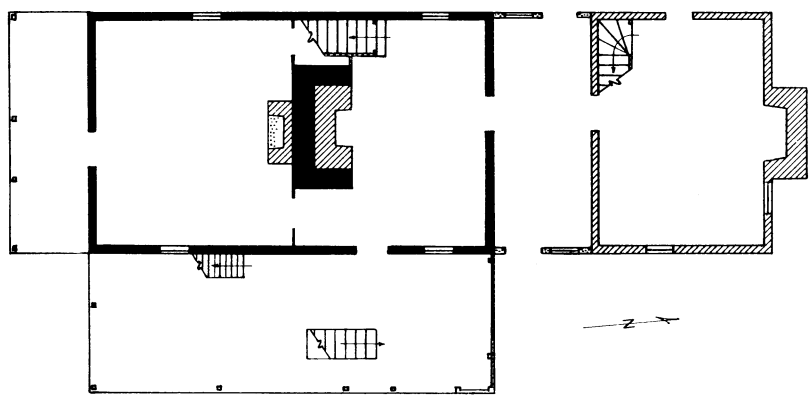


FIG. 34. Charles Keyser House. First-floor plan.

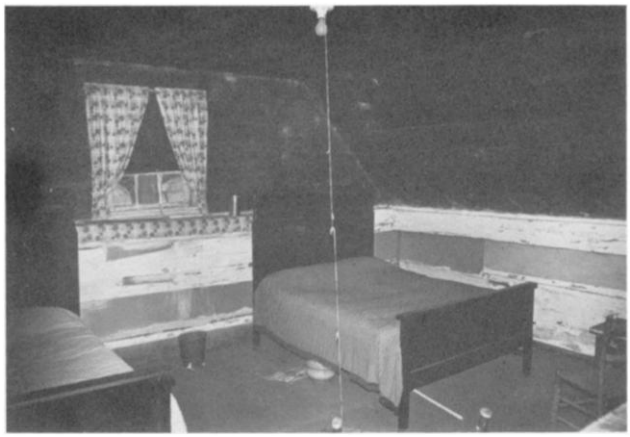


FIG. 35. Charles Keyser House. Second floor, south room.

six-over-six sash and frames with cyma-molded architrave trim. The *Stube* ceiling received a plasterboard covering in the twentieth century, but previously its whitewashed joists were exposed like those of the *Küche* and northern addition.

The second floor is partitioned by board walls into two rooms flanking the chimney and a small lobby containing the stair from the *Küche*. Neither second-floor room has a fireplace. The roof framing, covered by horizontal boards on the interior, consists of common rafters resting on log plates that project from the gable ends. Splayed eaves indicate that wedges were inserted above the ends of the rafters, as at the Abraham Spitler House and Fort Stover.

A 14′7″ × 10′ vaulted cellar (fig. 36) is located below the south end of the porch, and is reached by stone steps descending from a trap door in the porch floor (fig. 37). The cellar room is lighted by a window in the south end wall. Reached by an open ladder stair with beaded stringers, space in the pent above the porch was probably used originally, as it is today, for storage.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Keyser House

FIG. 36. Charles Keyser House. Cellar.

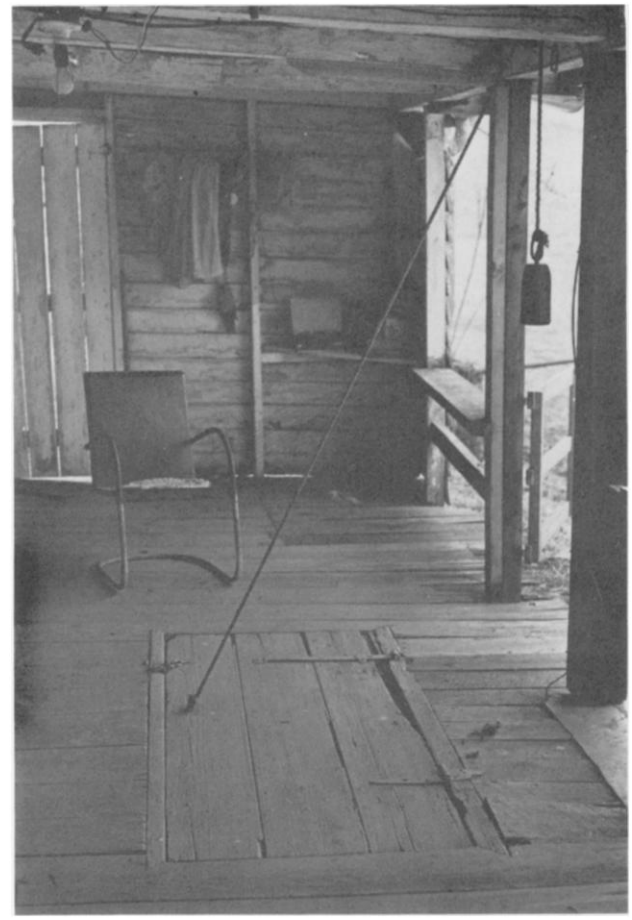


FIG. 37. Charles Keyser House. Cellar entrance.

was altered and enlarged in order to remove cooking activities from the main block, and to provide heating fireplaces for the original first-floor rooms. A weatherboarded log kitchen with 15′2″ × 20′4″ dimensions similar to those of the nineteenth-century Rhodes kitchen was built eight feet north of the *Küche*, and the old kitchen fireplace was reduced in size. The two buildings were later connected by a frame hyphen. Stonework was also added to the rear of the chimney to provide a fireplace for the *Stube*. It was probably during this renovation that dormers were added to the old roof, supplying light for the north attic room, which may have previously been lighted by a gable window.

Fort Paul Long

Several Massanutten houses combine the *Flürkuchenhaus* model with features of the Anglo-American hall-parlor house. Two single-story stone houses that are built into hillsides and have Rhenish cellar forms and first-floor kitchens are provided with chimneys on the gable ends and have rooms heated with fireplaces rather than stoves.

The smaller of the two houses (fig. 38) is locally believed to have been built by Paul Long, or Lung, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Kerkhoff, 1962: pp. 17–20), although a third or fourth quarter date is perhaps more likely. It is located at the edge of the first ridge rising from a wide expanse of bottom land on the north-west side of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River two miles above the mouth of Massanutten Run, also called Big Run. The 30′3″ × 20′ house is sited with gable ends facing the slope, allowing direct entrances to the *Küche* through the front wall and to the vaulted cellar in the down-hill gable end. Two rear first-floor doors are reached by means of a porch supported by floor joists that cantilever beyond the wall. Wall construction is of coursed limestone rubble. Except at the cellar door, which is spanned by a flat arch of cut voussoirs, the weight above openings is carried by window and door frames and internal lintels. Chimneys project on the interior of both gable walls, each serving a single first-floor fireplace.

The plan (fig. 39*b*) consists of two rooms divided by a vertical-board partition. The larger room, entered by the original front doorway, contains a 7′-wide cooking fireplace and an enclosed stair to the attic, and the smaller room is served by a small heating fireplace. Joists are now covered with plaster, and aside from rear batten doors with strap hinges hung on pintles, no early interior trim survives. Because the house was replaced as the primary dwelling on the farm by a larger house early in the nineteenth century, however, the *Küche* fireplace was never altered, and iron sockets for a cooking crane remain exposed in its right rear corner. Conforming to a practice found elsewhere in the Shenandoah Valley, the attic joists are seated on thin boards set flush with the exterior surface of the walls, and spaces between the joists are filled with stone. The original roof structure was removed and the walls were raised with wood in the late nineteenth century.

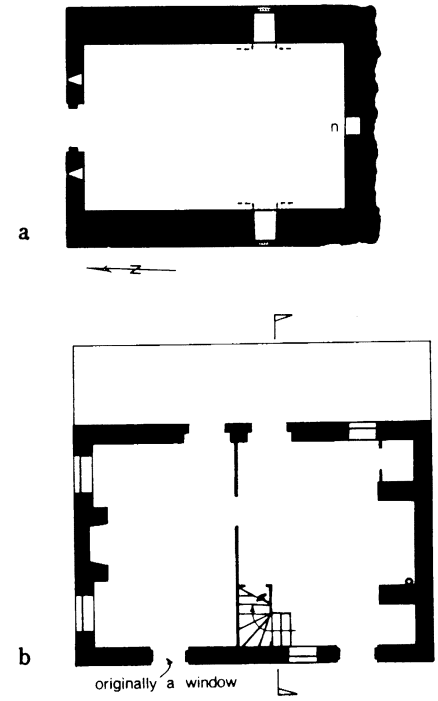


FIG. 39. Fort Paul Long. Cellar and first-floor plans.

A single cellar room occupies most of the space below the first floor (fig. 39*a*). The surface of its asymmetrical elliptical vault is unplastered, and seams formed by the centering boards used in its construction remain visible (fig. 40). The cellar is lighted by tapered slots flanking the doorway and by shafts that rise to square openings in the long walls (fig. 41). The western opening retains its original frame with diagonally-set square vertical bars and a solid wooden shutter hung with strap hinges (fig. 42). A breach in the west wall allows examination of the relationship between the first-floor joists and

FIG. 38. Fort Paul Long. Rear.

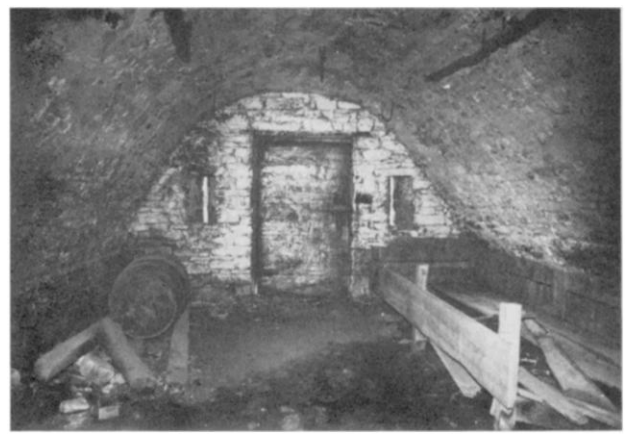


FIG. 40. Fort Paul Long. Cellar.

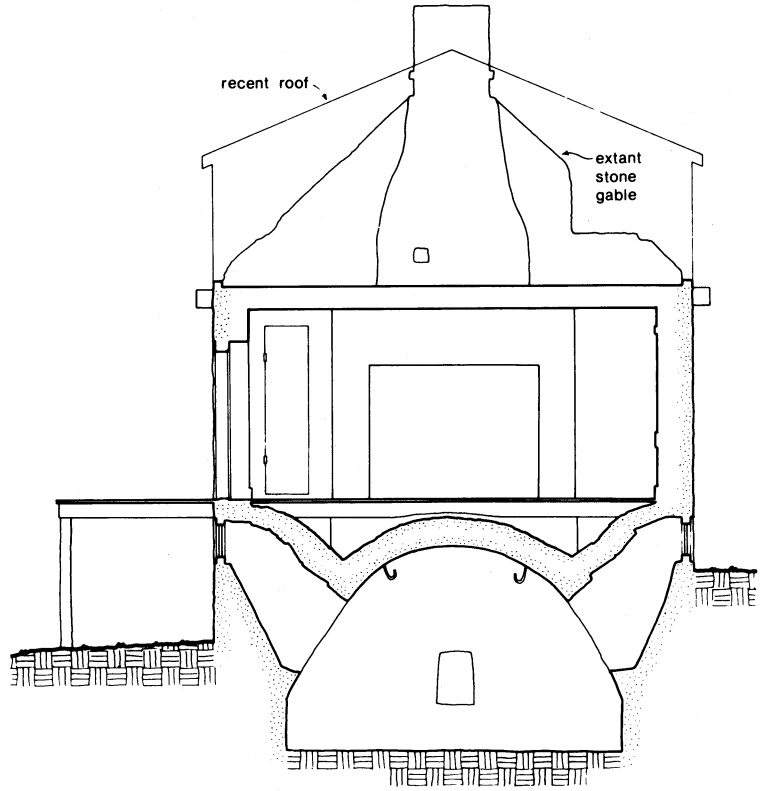


FIG. 41. Fort Paul Long. Section. Scale: $\frac{1}{8}'' = 1' - 0''$.

the rough top surface of the vault. Adzed only on their upper and lower surfaces, the joists were undercut at the center in order to clear the top of the vault.

Fort Philip Long

Related in form to Fort Paul Long is Fort Philip Long (figs. 43 and 44), located two miles upstream on the east side of the river. It is a 37′7″ × 19′4″ stone structure that, like Paul Long, has a two-room plan with end chimneys and is built with gable walls facing up a hillside. Details of the form vary considerably from the other Long house, however. The fenestration of Fort Philip Long is more regular, with a single doorway near the center of the facade and three evenly-spaced windows in the first floor of the rear wall. A large asymmetrical chimney is located off-center on the exterior of the uphill gable, and a small interior chimney stack protrudes from the roof at the opposite end. Wall openings are

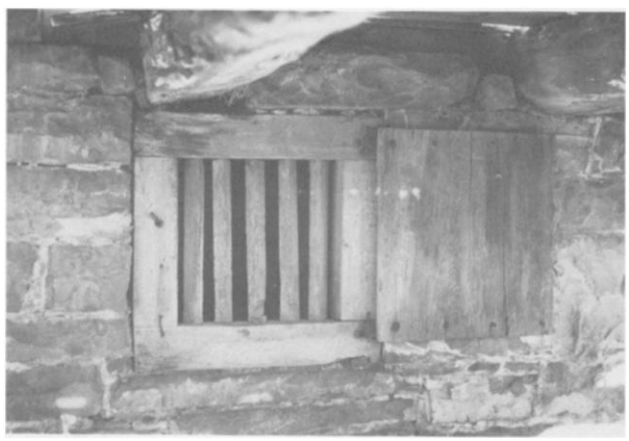


FIG. 42. Fort Paul Long. Cellar window opening, exterior.

FIG. 43. Fort Philip Long.

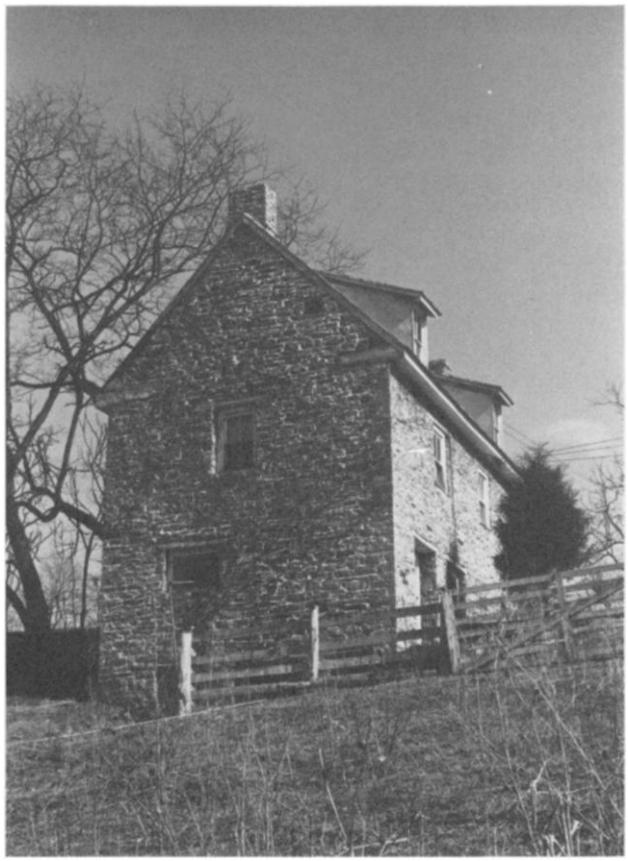


FIG. 44. Fort Philip Long.

spanned with thin wooden lintels, a rare feature in Virginia Germanic houses.

The plan was altered early in the present century, but ghosts of an old interior wall and a stair patch in the attic floor illustrate that it previously consisted of two rooms, the smaller of which was a *Küche,* with a cooking fireplace and exterior door on the east gable wall and a single window in the south wall (fig. 45*c*). The attic stair appears to have risen from this room. Breaking with *Flürkuchenhaus* tradition, the front door enters the larger room, which was heated by a corner fireplace and lighted by three windows. Pintles in the original frames indicate that the doorway to the *Küche* was hung with a pair of Dutch doors and the front door was a single piece. Nailed to the cooking fireplace lintel is an early shelf supported by a heavy classical cornice consisting of cyma and ovolo moldings separated by a fillet. A plaster ceiling now covers the joists, which have chamfered edges. As at the Andrew Keyser House and Fort Paul Long, this house was replaced by a larger dwelling in the nineteenth century, and as a result its fireplace arrangement has not been altered.

Recently stripped of its modern interior sheathing, the roof structure consists of common rafters morticed and pinned together at the ridge and to the ends of the joists below. Following a common Pennsylvania and Shenandoah Valley practice, the end rafters are seated on pairs of short timbers exposed on the exterior of the gable walls. There were origi-

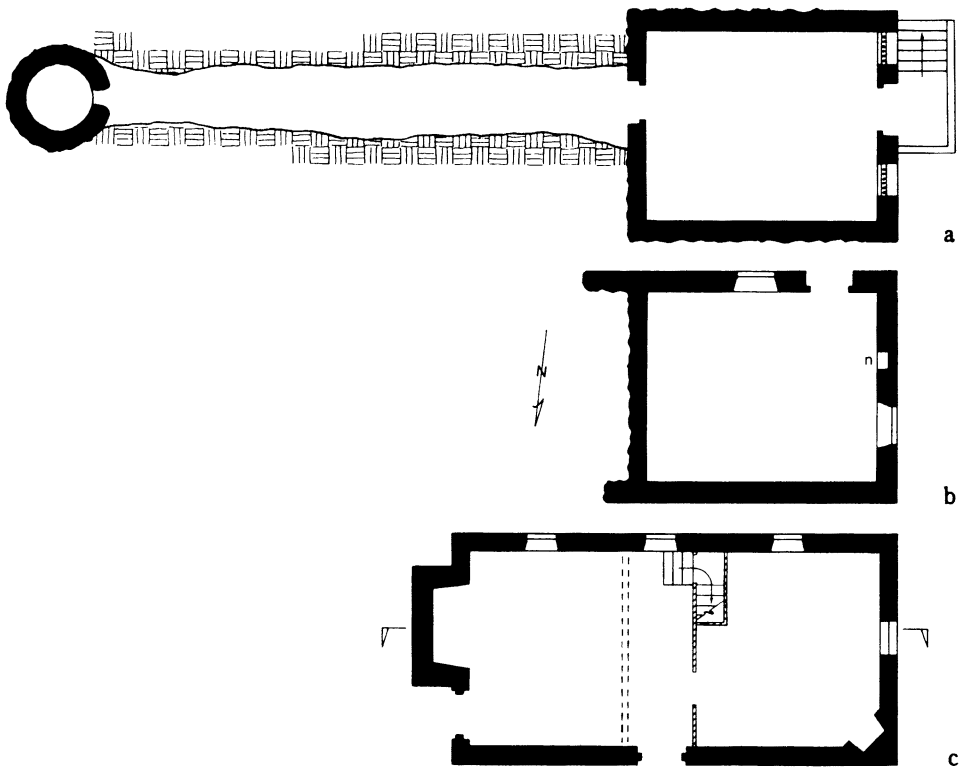


FIG. 45. Fort Philip Long. Cellar and first-floor plans.

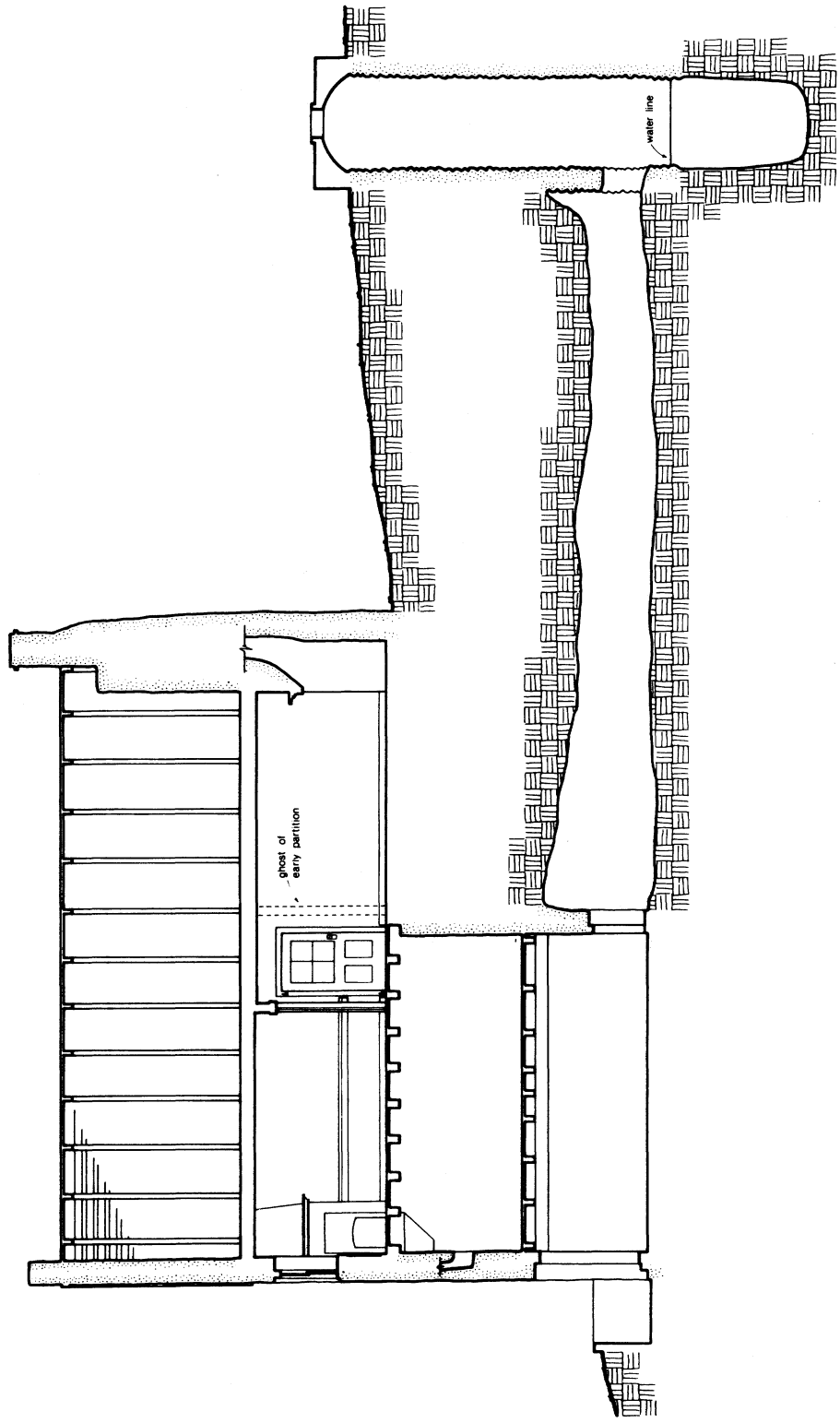


FIG. 46. Fort Philip Long. Section. Scale: $\frac{1}{8}'' = 1' - 0''$.

FIG. 47. Fort Philip Long. Subsidiary building, rear.

nally no collars, and the attic was unfinished until the twentieth century, when two dormers were added. Previously the space was lighted only by a window in the east gable and a tiny opening in the west gable.

A distinctive feature of this extraordinary house is its cellar arrangement, which consists of two rooms, one beneath the other, the lower of which has underground access to a well through a 44′ tunnel (fig. 46). The upper room (fig. 45*b*) is entered by a door in the south long wall, and is lighted by horizontal rectangular windows that are reminiscent of the early openings at Forts Egypt and Rhodes. Unique within the Page County group, a niche or pine hole in the west wall has a small flue that winds upward through the wall to the chimney above. The lower room (fig. 45*a*) is entered by a gable-end doorway flanked by horizontal windows with diagonally-placed vertical wooden bars. The present ceiling framing in this room is said to have replaced a system of close-set joists with mud and straw in-fill. A low door in the rear wall opens into a 3′6″ to 5′-tall tunnel cut through the hillside to an opening in the river-cobble lining of a well dug from the surface. There is no evidence of stairs for interior circulation between the cellar rooms and the main floor, so an activity requiring relatively easy access to water is indicated for the lower room.

A second building and a fragment of a third on the property both embody Rhenish forms, and together they provide the only known Germanic farm group in Page County. Constructed on flat ground several hundred feet east of the house is a stone structure now called the kitchen (fig. 47). The single-story building has a two-room plan, the smaller room containing a 7′2″-wide fireplace on the internal wall (fig. 48). Wall construction is of coursed rubble limestone, with the inclusion of large blocks on the rear and east gable walls. Each room is entered by doors in the facade, and the smaller room has a second

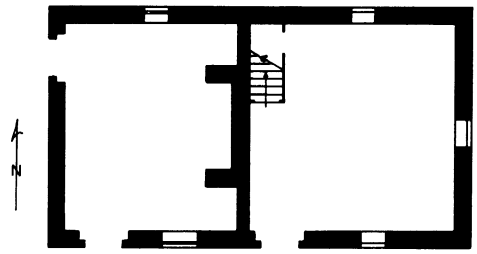


FIG. 48. Fort Philip Long. Subsidiary building, first-floor plan.

door in the west gable end, towards the early house. Both entrances to the smaller room retain eighteenth-century Dutch doors constructed of vertical boards with stiles and rails nailed to the exterior to form pairs of horizontal panels (fig. 49). The doors are hung with decorative strap hinges on pintles. There is no opening between the rooms. Original window treatment does not survive; openings in the larger room are now provided with casement sash and those in the smaller room are unglazed and hung with wooden shutters. Probably occupying the location of the previous stair, a late nineteenth-century replacement rises on the internal wall of the larger room. Joists are exposed on the interior and at the eaves, their bottom surfaces cut with beveled chamfers and the projecting ends rounded. The joists rest on 1″ boards set into the exterior walls, and the interstices are filled with stones (also see fig. 38). The roof structure consists of common rafters seated directly on the joists and open-faced morticed and pinned together at the ridge, without collars. Rough vertical boards held together with early nineteenth-century nails divide the attic at the chimney stack and the space above the smaller room is secured by a lockable hasp. Soot staining in the smaller room and attic above indicate heavy use of the fireplace, and it is probable that the building was used for cooking after a modern house without internal kitchen replaced the stone house as the primary dwelling about 1856. Yet the cooking fireplace in the early Long house makes the original function of this building less certain. The lack of communication between the first-floor rooms seems to preclude its use as simply a second dwelling.

A relatively recent crib covers a remnant of a third building, a 27′2″ × 14′7″ vaulted cellar south of the stone service building. The cellar is excavated from sloping ground, with the long walls at right angle to the contours. Contrary to precedent, the room seems to have originally been entered by a bulkhead in the uphill end and by internal stairs in the downhill end, where a 5′10″ span is unvaulted. Two window shafts rise from the south side of the vault, indicating the superstructure may have projected on the opposite

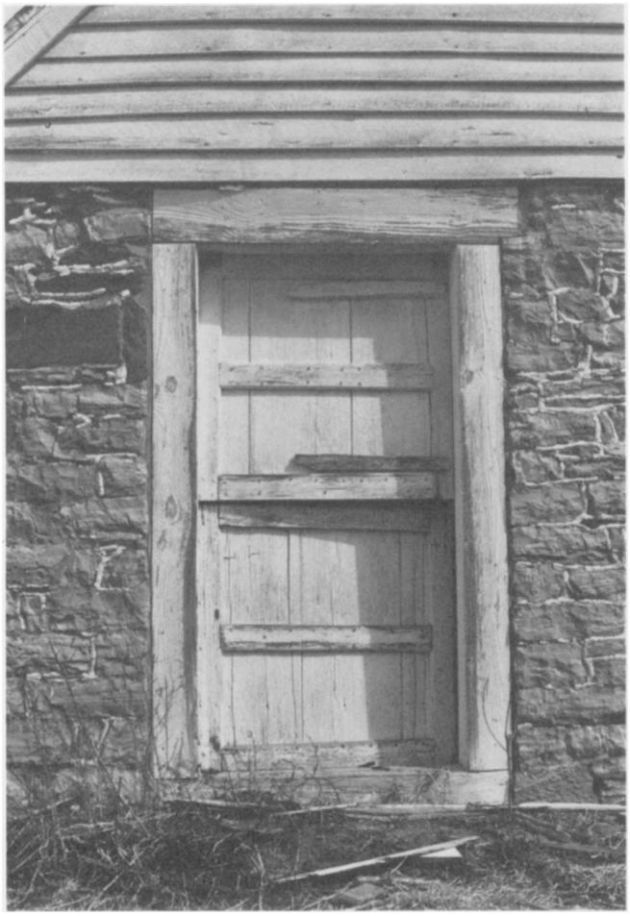


FIG. 49. Fort Philip Long. Subsidiary building, gable-end door.

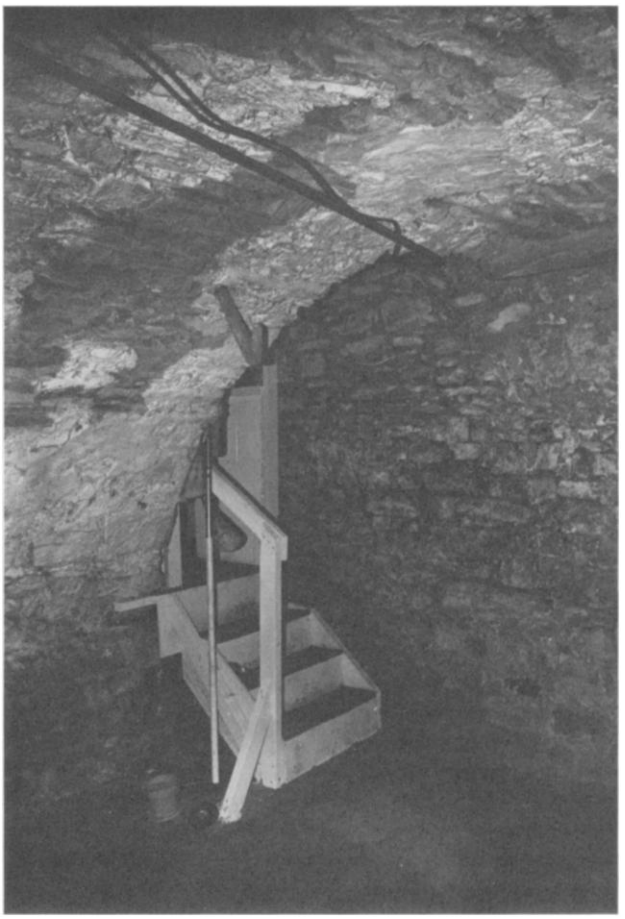


FIG. 50. Peter Long House. Cellar entrance.

side. This is further evidenced by early floor joists of the present crib, which project on the north side, and which, like parallels visible at the Abram Strickler House, Abraham Heiston House, and Forts Paul Long and Rhodes, are logs finished only on the upper and lower surfaces.

Peter Long House

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a brick I house with two room-plan ell was built on the site of an earlier house, and the old vaulted cellar was retained beneath the ell. The site is on flat ground a half mile east of Fort Paul Long. The cellar measures 17′10″ × 13′6″, with a single window opening in each long wall, demonstrating that if in fact it was located entirely below the previous Long House, the house would have been of narrower depth than either Forts Paul or Philip Long. The cellar is now entered by modern steps descending through an original arched opening at the end of the vault (fig. 50), a form similar to the internal entrance at Fort Rhodes and the external one at White House. Wooden suspension hooks are embedded in the vault. The substantial nature of the vaulted cellars is perhaps best demonstrated by this example, which though built for insulative rather than structural purposes, supports at its center the weight of a two-story brick

FIG. 51. Abraham Heiston House.

interior wall and chimney of the nineteenth-century house.

Abraham Heiston House

Three two-story Page County houses of the scale of Forts Egypt and Rhodes combined distinct remnants of the *Flürkuchenhaus* plan with internal gable-end chimneys. Of the two that survive, the Abraham Heiston House (fig. 51) west of Bixler Bridge on the South Fork of the Shenandoah River retains the closest association with the traditional Germanic form. The substantial stone house is believed to have been built for Abraham Heiston in 1790 (Kerkhoff, 1962: 61), and a modern concrete replacement of one of two lost gable datestones is inscribed AH 1790. Soon after construction, the house was obtained by wealthy slaveowner Colonel Daniel Strickler, and it has since remained in the Strickler family. Morris Strickler, the present owner, states the tradition that both Heiston's and Strickler's families were Swiss immigrants who moved to the Shenandoah Valley after first settling in Pennsylvania.

The house is constructed of coursed rubble lime-

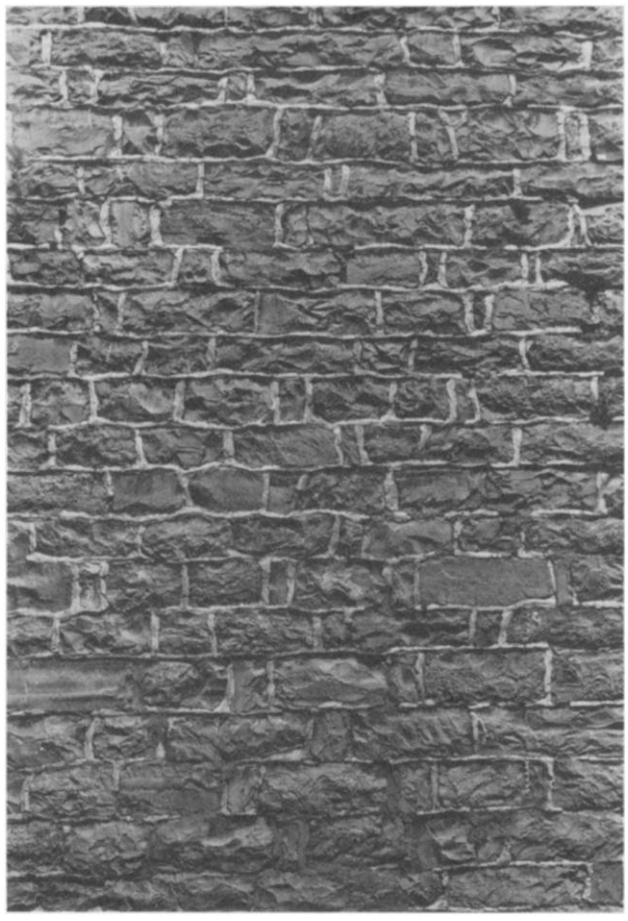


FIG. 52. Abraham Heiston House. Detail of front wall.

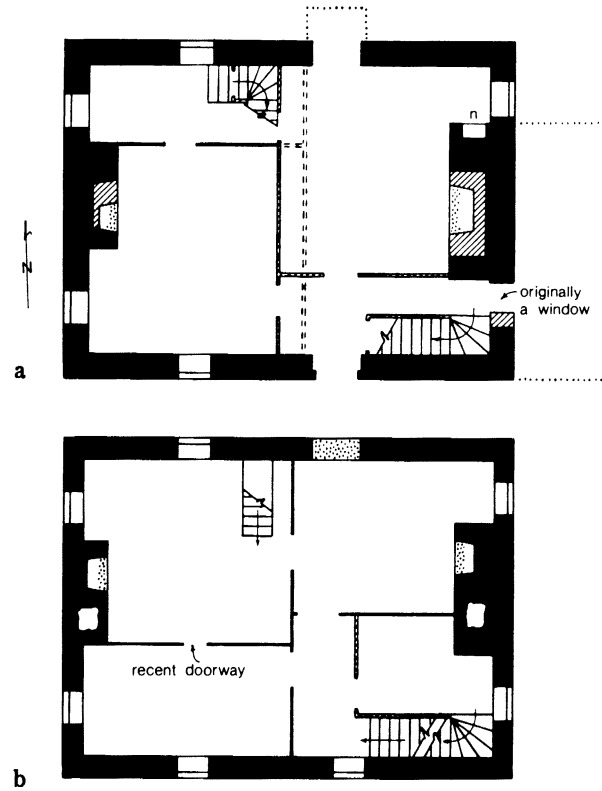


FIG. 53. Abraham Heiston House. First- and second-floor plans.

stone with a facade of randomly alternating long and short squared blocks (fig. 52). Both front and rear elevations have a two-bay fenestration, with doorways located to the right. An apparently original doorway, now blocked, once served a second-story rear porch whose marks are visible across the rear wall.

The first floor was altered early in the nineteenth century, but there is evidence that the original plan consisted of three rooms following the *Küche, Stube, Kammer* pattern (fig. 53*a*). The present vertical-board axial partition appears to be original fabric and seams in the masonry walls indicate it was moved two feet to the left. Originally entered by opposed front and rear doors and not partitioned, the right-hand room served as a *Küche,* with an approximately seven-foot-wide cooking fireplace. The present stair in the front right corner of this room is a successor to an earlier stair that occupied the same location. A reused early post-and-panel door with molded frame serves a closet below the stair (fig. 54), and a lateral vertical-board partition dividing the space to the left of the *Küche* appears to be original. Before being shortened in the alteration, the partition separated a wider heated *Stube* and unheated *Kammer.* Masonry walls in the *Stube* retain the lower part of a plate shelf that extended around two sides of the fireplace breast. During the present owner's childhood, the

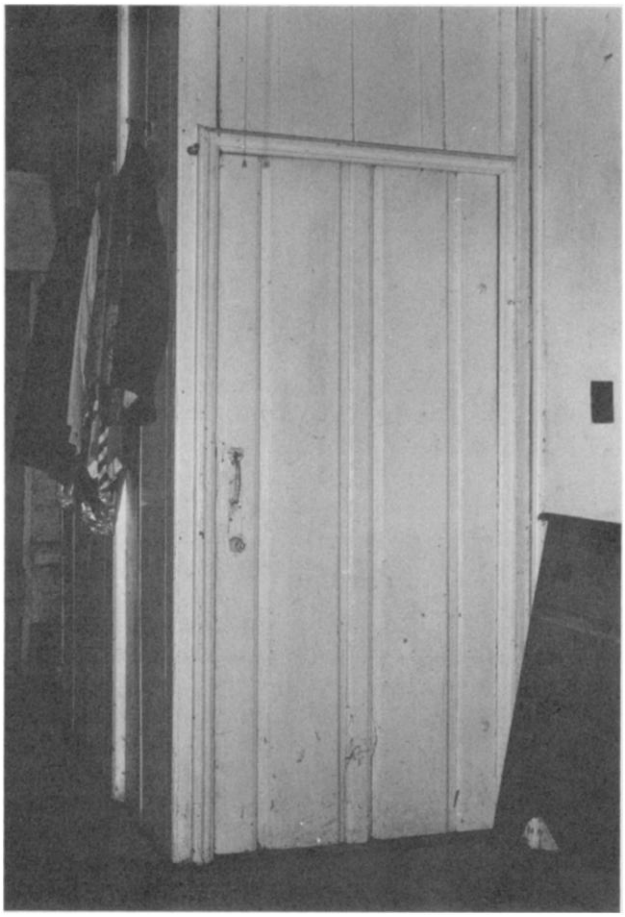


FIG. 54. Abraham Heiston House. Interior door, first floor.

small room was used as a bedroom for the oldest member of the family.

Dating from the alteration, a stair in the rear room rises between floor joists that, like the summer beam on which they rest, are molded with a bead below a thin cyma. Joists in the two larger first-floor rooms are covered with board sheathing, and the joists in the *Kammer* and second-floor rooms were covered at a later time. The interior first-floor batten doors date from the nineteenth century, but the front door, constructed of vertical boards with tapered battens and hung with three strap hinges on pintles, is original.

The four-room second-floor plan (fig. 53b) remains intact, with vertical board partitions hung with six-panel doors. The larger rear rooms are provided with fireplaces, and an original stair winds up to the attic from the corner of the front right room. Family tradition identifies the smaller left-hand room as "the strangers room," and previously its only access was from the room in which the stair rises.

The roof is constructed of common rafters with lapped half-dovetailed collars (fig. 55). The rafters

FIG. 55. Abraham Heiston House. Attic.

are open face morticed and pinned together at the ridge, and morticed and pinned to the joists below.

A 10'11" × 24' vaulted cellar beneath the *Küche* space is now entered at the south end through stairs descending from the addition. A five foot-wide opening in the vault at the southern end of the cellar and patterns in the whitewash of the end wall indicate that interior entrance was previously by way of steps below those at the front right corner of the *Küche*. In addition, there was a 4'10"-wide bulkhead entrance in the rear wall, now blocked and provided with a window. The angle of the vault is unusually low, a factor that combined with an adventurously wide window arch in the eastern wall to cause a fault that has been remedied by timber shoring. The single south window opening has a square aperture similar to that at Fort Paul Long.

Fort Stover

Fort Stover provides a pivotal example illustrating the change from the traditional concepts that directed Rhenish house building in eighteenth-century America to the popular ideas that affected both later build-

FIG. 56. Fort Stover.

FIG. 57. Fort Stover. Rear.

ing in the Shenandoah Valley and the alterations that were made to earlier houses. Believed to have been built about 1760 by mill-owner Samuel Stover (Strickler, 1924: pp. 74–75), the two-story stone house is located at the base of a steep ridge paralleling the South Fork of the Shenandoah River three-quarters of a mile downstream from the mouth of Hawksbill Creek. Except for its front and rear asymmetrical fenestration, the exterior of Fort Stover (figs. 56 and 57), with a 36′5″ × 28′ rectangular plan and interior end chimneys, could be mistaken for an Anglo-American hall-parlor house. Yet the fenestration gives evidence that this little-altered house was in fact constructed around a plan that is directly derived from traditional *Flürkuchenhaus* spatial distribution. The uphill east elevation, apparently considered the facade, has a three-bay fenestration with first- and second-floor openings ordered one above the other. Eastern exterior doors to both floors are located to the right of center. The piercing of the three-story west elevation is more irregular, with no opening placed directly above another, and first-floor and cellar doors located to the left of the windows. As at the Abraham Heiston House, upper-level doors

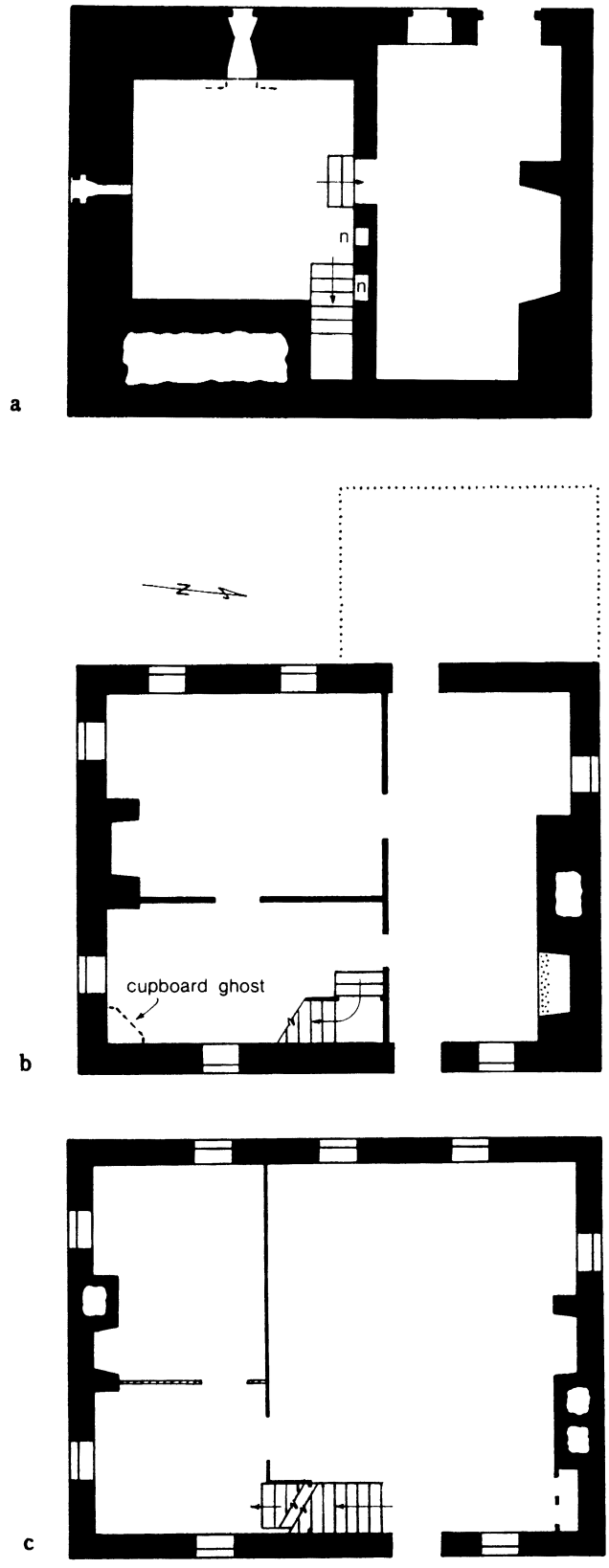


FIG. 58. Fort Stover. Cellar, first-, and second-floor plans. From 1940 Historic American Buildings Survey plans.

FIG. 59. Fort Stover. Cellar fireplace.

on both walls must have served elevated porches, and broad stone piers now supporting a modern rear leanto may be the remains of an early first-story west porch. Despite its asymmetrical composition of wall openings, the exterior of Fort Stover recalls Anglo-American or Renaissance ideas of visual order. Chimneys are built at both ends, and although the plan made a symmetrical tripartite facade impossible, doors placed towards the center of the east wall are flanked by balancing windows, and the second-floor windows of the west wall have nearly equal spacing.

The first-floor plan of Fort Stover (fig. 58*b*) follows a three-room *Flürkuchenhaus* model, with opposed exterior doors giving entrance to a narrow room flanked on one side by two wider rooms of unequal depth. Room use within this familiar spatial distribution had changed, however, for the cooking fireplace is located in an outer cellar room below the first-floor entrance room (fig. 59), and the old *Küche* and *Stube* spaces are heated by small fireplaces. Concurrent with the owner's somewhat schizophrenic concern for external visual order was his desire to separate such productive activities as cooking from

FIG. 60. Fort Stover. First floor, south-east room.

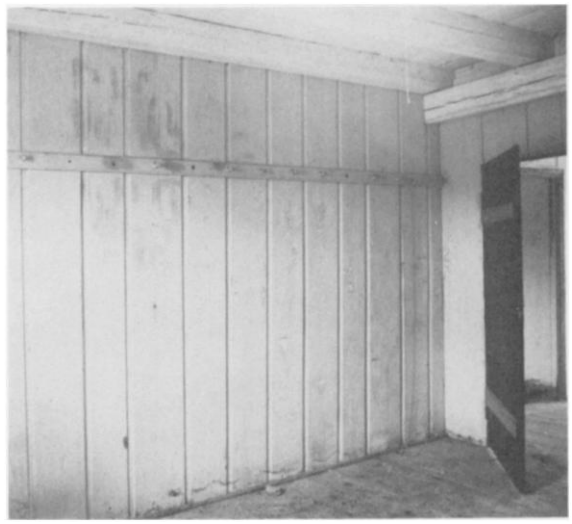


FIG. 61. Fort Stover. Second-floor partition, south side.

the living space of the house, an attitude shared by owners who later altered most of the houses previously examined. At Fort Stover, the unheated first-floor room with narrow proportions is located on the uphill side of the house. Whether or not the room retained its traditional use as a chamber is uncertain, but a plate shelf with hanging pegs (fig. 60) and the marks of a built-in corner cupboard indicate that its functions may have included the storage and display of eating accoutrements. An enclosed stair to the second floor rises from this room. The first-floor interior walls are constructed of studs and covered with plaster.

The second-floor plan (fig. 58*c*) originally consisted of two rooms separated by a paneled wall of the type found at Fort Rhodes (figs. 2b and 61). Fireplaces heated both the large 24′7″ × 21′2″ room

FIG. 62. Fort Stover. Second floor, north room.

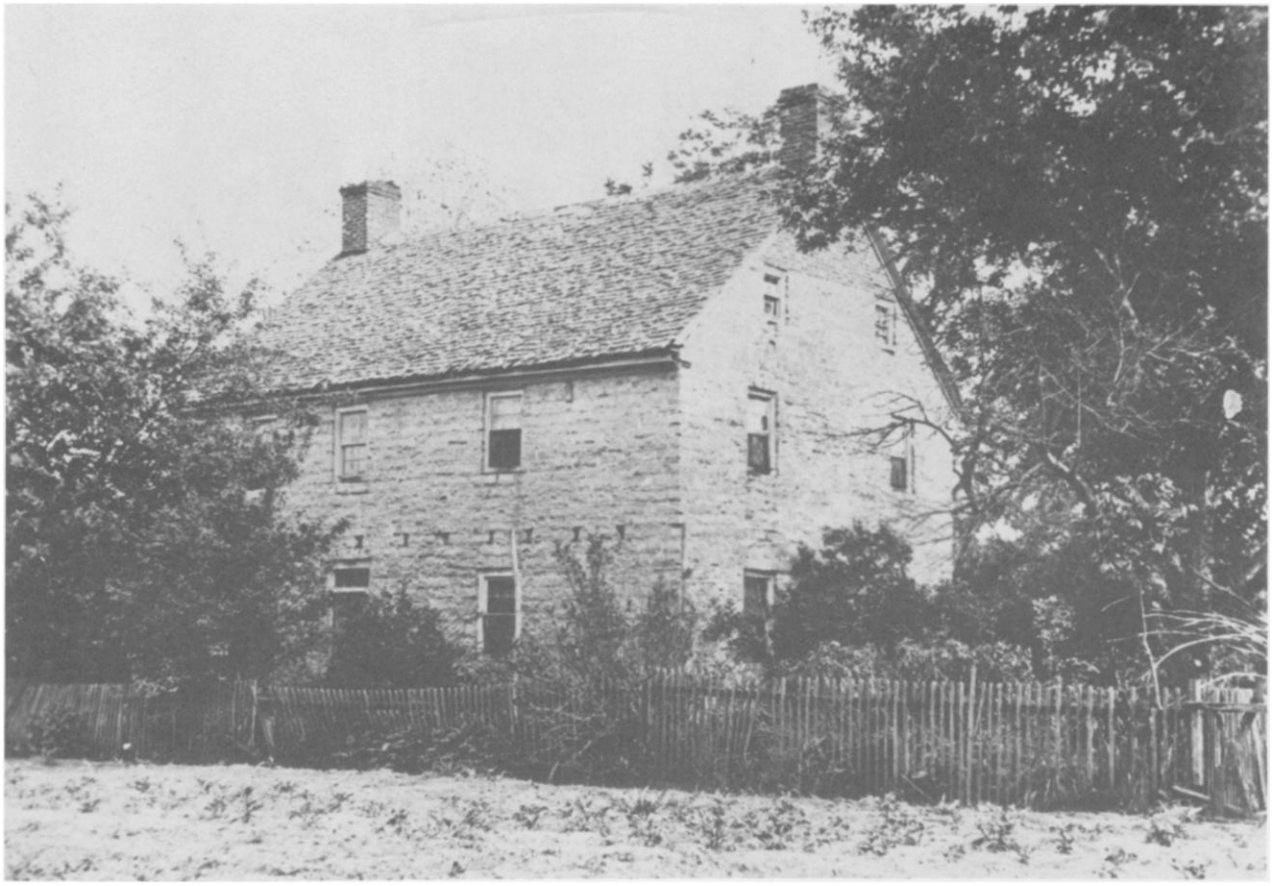


FIG. 63. Locust Grove. Old photograph copied by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1941. From the HABS collection, Library of Congress.

and the smaller 11′8″ × 21′2″ room, later partitioned into two rooms. The former was provided with a closet with hanging pegs. Although the first-floor ceilings are plastered, the framing is exposed on the second floor, revealing a system of joists resting on a single summer beam extending between the two chimneys (fig. 62). Both the summer and joists have beveled chamfers, and are whitewashed.

The first and second-story trim consists of chair rails, baseboards, and cornice-strip mantels. Standard six-panel doors are hung with strap hinges on pintles. Historic American Buildings Survey drawings (1940*b*) and ghosts on surviving doors illustrate that the house retained until recently a group of iron latches of traditional decorative form.

The roof framing consists of common rafters pinned together at the ridge with open-face mortices and resting on the attic joists (fig. 3c). The collars are half-lapped to the rafters.

The two-room cellar pattern seen elsewhere is utilized at Fort Stover, with exterior access to the inner vaulted room through a larger outer room (fig. 58*a*). Here the outer room served as a kitchen; it has a dirt floor and a ceiling constructed of 10″ to 1′2″ × 7″ hewn timbers laid side by side. It is lighted by a window hung with a batten shutter. The vaulted room is lighted by window slots that taper to 1′4″-wide exterior openings that, like the larger openings, are spanned with flat arches. A partial set of stone steps rising through the north-east corner of the vault indicates that the inner room was also originally entered through an opening below the first-floor stairs. Wooden and iron suspension hooks are embedded in the plastered and whitewashed vault.

Locust Grove

A stone house that previously stood on the north side of Massanutten Run had a form that relates it to the Heiston House and Fort Stover. Locust Grove, also called Fort Massanutten (fig. 63), was burned about 1930, but the ruins survived in 1941, when they were photographed by the Historic American Buildings Survey. According to Harry Strickler (1924: pp. 60–63), the two-story block measured 38′ × 28′ and a single-story lateral wing measured 30′ or 35′ × 19′. The front wall of the main block had a three-bay fenestration, with windows flanking a door located to the left of center. The rear wall

apparently was pierced by four openings on each story, with two window bays to the left of a door. As at the Heiston House and at Fort Stover, interior end chimneys were flanked by gable windows. The chimney shafts and apexes of the gables were brick, the latter of Flemish bond with random glazed headers.

Ella Bauserman, who visited Locust Grove before the fire, remembers a four-room first-floor plan similar to the present plan at the Heiston House. Opposed exterior doors gave access to a left-hand *Küche* space, which was partitioned to form a narrow passage at the rear. The right-hand space was divided into two rooms of *Stube* and *Kammer* proportions. A 1941 HABS photograph of the ruined interior shows plastered stone walls with baseboard and chair rail trim and arched first- and second-floor fireplace openings. In the photograph, the fireplace in the *Küche* room appears to be an alteration of a larger cooking fireplace. It is probable that the single-story addition was built to house the kitchen after removal of cooking activities from the main block. Harry Strickler relates the tradition that Isaac Strickler built the house after he acquired the property in 1761, and that the wing was added by later owner John Strickler. Strickler also describes a two-room cellar, the inner room covered with a vault in the familiar manner.

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