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## Folk Doctors and Home Remedies among Volga Germans in Kansas

In the course of the 1850s and the 1860s a large number of German-speaking colonists in Russia found themselves confronted by a succession of seemingly intractable problems. Threatened by a gradual erosion of the privileges granted to them a century earlier and faced by a growing land shortage which was further aggravated by falling grain prices and several bad harvests, many of them decided to leave Russia to seek opportunities in the New World. Enticed by the promises of inexpensive land, a considerable number opted for emigration to North America, while others sought their fortunes in South America, notably in Brazil and Argentina.

It has been estimated that some 12,000 German immigrants from Russia, among them Mennonites, Baptists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics settled in Kansas in the 1870s. While the Mennonites chose to establish themselves in the central part of the state, notably in McPherson, Marion, and Harvey Counties, other groups decided to settle in the western part of Kansas. Impressed by favorable reports of their own scouts, the Volga Germans decided to take advantage of the widely advertised offers from railroad companies to purchase relatively inexpensive land in several western counties. By the end of 1876, some 1,200 Roman Catholics from the Volga region had established themselves in Ellis and in Rush counties. In a setting which apparently reminded them of their former homeland, they built settlements named after their erstwhile homes along the Volga. The first among these were Liebethal in Rush County and five villages in Ellis County, namely Katharinenstadt, Herzog (later Victoria), Munjor, Pfeifer, and Schoenchen.<sup>1</sup>

It goes without saying that the settlers faced a variety of obstacles and setbacks during their early pioneering years. Upon their arrival the local press commented with some disdain on the strange and uncivilized demeanor of these "Rooshians"; however, the *Hays Sentinel* also expressed the hope that in spite of their unkempt appearance the newcomers' zest for hard work would surely benefit the economic development of the area.<sup>2</sup> But what sustained the immigrants throughout the difficult period ahead and helped them overcome economic difficulties and isolation was above all else their strong religious faith, the memory of shared experiences of their stay in Russia, and the bond of a common culture with its rich reservoir of communal traditions.

The purpose of this essay is to examine one aspect of these communal traditions

among the Volga German settlers in western Kansas, namely the various folk remedies, the healing practices, and the role of the so-called folk doctors. Looking at the totality of the health care practices of the Volga Germans in the context of the kind of medical care offered by regular physicians in the last quarter of the nineteenth century will suggest some reasons why these remedies and the folk doctors continued to play an important role even as scientifically trained physicians gradually became available. Indeed, folk doctors and traditional remedies retained a measure of some popularity well into the middle of the twentieth century.

During their century long stay in Russia, the Volga Germans had been forced to rely on their own resources for health care. For one, professionally trained physicians in the Russian colonies were few and far between. And, although inoculation against small pox was relatively widespread, there appears to have been considerable reluctance to accept the idea that diseases were spread by germs or to take appropriate measures to prevent the spread of communicable diseases. Under these conditions, which were in fact quite similar to what the immigrants would encounter on their arrival in western Kansas, health care was a matter for established home remedies and traditional healers. For the most part, these folk doctors, most of them women with particular abilities and talents in certain areas of health care, relied on specific skills which had often been passed on to them by family members.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the new settlers continued to rely on their folk doctors and on the store of home remedies may in some instances have been due to the scarcity of physicians as well as to the cost of professional medical care. But it also reflected the Volga Germans' sense of independence and self-reliance coupled with a traditional reluctance to deal with outsiders. Whether the folk healers acted as midwives or as bone setters or provided general medical advice, the folk doctors were available to anyone in the community who needed help; their services were either free or required only a token gesture of appreciation. Several practitioners also integrated into their healing practices specific prayers and religious formulas, similar to the kinds of prayers, charms, and incantations one finds in Johann Georg Hohman's volume *Der Lang Verborgene Freund, oder Getreuer und Christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann*. It appears that some of the Germans from Russia in Kansas were familiar with Hohman's booklet which has been characterized as "a source of more satisfaction and comfort . . . than possibly any other human book."<sup>4</sup>

The similarities between Hohman's cures and charms and those of the various groups of Germans from Russia point towards a common origin in that large body of medical knowledge, charms, practices, and remedies shared by rural people throughout the German lands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During their years in Russia, the German colonists and their folk doctors had kept alive many of these practices. After their migration to the New World and their settlement in relatively sparsely populated rural areas, necessity and tradition assured the continued popularity of these familiar health care practices. Although it is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty which of the many remedies were specific to the Volga Germans, it appears that most of them, albeit with minor variations, were also known to other groups of German immigrants from Russia and indeed to rural peoples throughout

Kansas.<sup>5</sup>

As a largely agricultural people, settlers in Kansas as elsewhere experienced their share of injuries to the skin like cuts, abrasions, burns, and the like. Cuts in the skin were often treated with axle grease which acted as a sealant. In the case of deep cuts, fresh chicken meat was applied to the wound. Meat from a freshly killed chicken or a cud of chewing tobacco was recommended for snake bites. Burns could be treated by applying grease or molasses to the affected area; minor burns, including sunburn, called for an application of sweet cream. To meet the ever-present danger of blood poisoning, some settlers used a poultice of flour, butter and egg while others recommended a poultice of hot milk and bread or the application of a mixture of turpentine and sugar. The theory behind the dozens of poultices in use everywhere was that they would draw the poison out of the blood. Poultices also came in handy in the treatment of boils and hemorrhoids. Here the practitioner prepared a mixture of alum and egg white and applied it to the affected area just before the patient retired for the evening. In the case of internal hemorrhoids, the mixture was administered as an enema with the procedure to be repeated for three evenings in a row. Another method called for the insertion of alum soaked cotton balls into the rectum.<sup>6</sup>

Disorders of the skin, notably rashes, warts, and discolorations, received a good deal of attention. A mixture of turpentine and pork lard—*Derbadien un Schweina Fett*—was used as an ointment in massages to prevent infection. One skin condition referred to locally as *Derflek*, presumably a case of ringworm or a skin discoloration allegedly caused by home made soap, could be alleviated by rubbing the affected area with the worn sole of a baby shoe. Along with skin rashes, warts seemed to be a common problem. To remove them one had to tie as many knots in a string as one had warts and then bury the string in a place where it would quickly decompose. As the string decomposed, the warts would also disappear. Another method for removing warts called for the application of raw potato peelings to the warts. The peelings then had to be removed and buried and the warts would disappear as the potato skins decomposed.<sup>7</sup>

To deal with the common cold, practitioners recommended teas, especially *Kamillentee*. Camomile tea, which was also used to alleviate “female disorders” together with variety of other ailments, enjoyed considerable popularity as did the ever popular turpentine-and-fat mixture. To relieve chest congestion, some practitioners called for the use of mustard plasters while others recommended the application of a mixture of boiled onions and vinegar or of goose fat to the chest area. To complement the treatment and to increase its effectiveness, the patient was encouraged to use laxatives. Other gastrointestinal problems called for the use of teas, preferably camomile tea or peppermint tea; a tea made from a spurge was used in the treatment of diarrhea as well as in cases of intestinal worms. One of the remedies for ear aches was to blow tobacco smoke from the homegrown *Russa Duvak*, i.e., homegrown tobacco, into the affected ear, a procedure that allegedly also relieved toothaches. Finally, even a cursory survey of frequently used remedies must mention the very popular *Forni's Alpenkräuter*, which in addition to alleviating the discomforts of a number of gastrointestinal problems,

served as a general tonic. Whether the claim of the Chicago-based manufacturer that the product had an "excellent effect upon the general state of health" was due to the mixture of "domestic and foreign medicinal herbs" or to the 14% alcohol content is difficult to say.<sup>8</sup>

Ailments which were allegedly caused by a temporary displacement of a body part make up an entirely different category. For example, an enlarged uvula, which could cause the patient some difficulties in swallowing, called for the skills of a *Halszapfe Zieher*. During the corrective procedure the practitioner, often a parent, would place a pinch of pepper on the subject's outstretched tongue and then, without any warning, grab the patient's hair near the top of the skull and give it "a good jerk." This, supposedly, caused the uvula to retract. However, should the subject be bald, a relaxing scalp massage was called for. Once the patient was sufficiently at ease, the practitioner would suddenly and vigorously grab and pull the unsuspecting patient's skin at the top of the head. Regardless of the merit of this popular practice, it still seems preferable to a surgical removal of the uvula.<sup>9</sup>

Another instance where a displaced body part appears as the main culprit has to do with a temporary dislocation of the navel. Although there is general agreement that no navel is actually dislocated or "thrown out" there is no shortage of individuals willing to testify to the efficacy of several corrective procedures. The symptoms appear most often in children after strenuous physical activity: headaches, abdominal pains, pains in the side, nausea, and in some cases even vomiting. In the case of adults symptoms frequently appear after heavy physical labor, especially lifting. To correct the problem, one of two methods was used. The first called for the subject to lie, face down, on a flat surface with the practitioner standing above the subject and manipulating the skin in and around the lower back in a rolling and pulling fashion until two or three cracks could be heard. The cracks indicated that the navel was back in place—not that it ever was out of place—and the problem had been corrected. Likewise, Germans from Russia who migrated to Argentina used an identical skin manipulation to relieve the discomforts of an upset stomach.

The second method to correct a displaced navel, essentially a form of cupping, called for the subject to lie on the back on a flat surface. A burning candle, affixed to a piece of cardboard, a large coin or embedded in a piece of bread, was placed on the navel while a small drinking glass was put over the burning candle. As the glass shut off the air supply and as the flame died out a vacuum was created which slightly lifted the skin around the navel. Removal of the glass then caused the navel to move back into its proper position. The original diagnosis of a thrown out navel was thus confirmed by a successful treatment.<sup>10</sup>

The dislocated navel phenomenon represents one example of a traditional practice which survived the coming of modern medicine. A 1986 study of this phenomenon among a group of Volga Germans in Colorado by a health care professional isolated a series of symptoms which were believed to be caused by the thrown out navel. In addition to the symptoms mentioned by the Volga Germans in Kansas some respondents in the Colorado study, albeit a minority, even listed sinus pains, headaches, anorexia, dizziness, and general listlessness as symptoms of a thrown out navel. While

the major forms of treatment were quite similar to those practiced by the Volga Germans in Western Kansas, significant variations should be noted. Thus, in addition to skin manipulation and cupping, the Colorado group also favored a method known as "shaking"; here the practitioner would stand behind the subject lifting him off his feet and while holding him administer a "quick upward lift." Preventive measures included using a navel band with half a walnut shell sown into the lining and strategically placed to prevent a newborn's navel from being displaced during the first six to eight weeks after birth. The presence of colic, constipation, or gas pains in children was also attributed to a displaced navel and could be alleviated by certain stretching exercise accompanied by applying pressure to the lower abdomen.<sup>11</sup>

Of all the functions of the folk doctors, that of serving as a bone setter or as a midwife was the most important. The *Knocha Doktor*, both men and women, operated well into the 1950s, apparently enjoying an excellent reputation. Their considerable tactile skills were generally passed on within the family from one generation to the next. Every village appears to have had a bone setter: one of the first in Herzog was the Russian born Anna Maria Riedel, generally known as *die Riedel's Goot*, while in the city of Ellis Jacob Lang and his sons John and Ted enjoyed the confidence of their patients. The principal function of the *Knocha Doktor* was to take care of fractures, dislocated joints, and sprained wrists or ankles. In some cases bone doctors were even called upon to correct skeletal imperfections in infants. Needless to say that all procedures had to be performed without any painkillers although, in some cases, "a little *Schnaps*" was considered helpful in relaxing the patient. In addition to setting broken bones and providing splints often made of heavy cardboard, the bone setters also provided massages frequently using the familiar mixture of pork lard and turpentine to prevent infection. One of the most frequently cited examples of the bonesetters' skills relates to an incident at a hospital in Hays, Kansas. Lawrence Weigel, a highly respected folklorist from Hays, recalls a case where physicians recommended amputating a man's badly mangled leg. One *Knocha Doktor*, Dorthea Beilman, an immigrant from Katharinenstadt, Russia, happened to be a patient in the hospital and, upon the injured man's request, was called in for consultation. She managed to rearrange the patient's shattered bones thus preventing the dreaded amputation recommended by the attending physician. In addition to serving as a bone-setter, Beilman also enjoyed a reputation as a herbalist. She dug up roots and collected herbs along the banks of the Saline River and used them to prepare various types of salves and herbal medications.<sup>12</sup>

The importance of the *Knocha Doktor's* function notwithstanding, it was probably the midwives who played the most crucial role in the health care picture of the settlers. Childbirth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an extremely serious matter, considering that as late as the early twentieth century on average one mother died for every 154 living births.<sup>13</sup> It appears that up until about 1910 the Volga Germans relied on the services of a midwife although a physician's assistance was soon to become more common. In Herzog, a woman known as *die alt Marlis Wees* served as a midwife while *des Lambrecht Fraacha* provided her services to the people of Pfeifer. In addition to assisting with delivery, midwives often stayed at the home of the new mother, helped around the house, and prepared a proper diet for the new mother

which often included cream soup, toast, chicken broth and stewed prunes. One particular practice surrounding the birth of a child represents another example of the "displaced organ" notion mentioned above: new mothers were encouraged to stay in bed for nine days with the ninth day being the most crucial because on that day the Virgin Mary would see to it that "things would get back in the right place."<sup>14</sup>

Some folk doctors apparently also provided certain abdominal massages to increase the chances for a successful pregnancy and advised women during pregnancy to avoid heavy work or lifting. The purpose of such massages which had to be administered in two-week intervals was, in the words of one practitioner, once again to "make sure that things were in their right place." While there was no set fee for the services of a midwife, it appears that in the early 1900s a midwife was paid between three to ten dollars for the nine days of attendance. The customary fee for attendance at a delivery alone was one dollar. By comparison, regular physicians, according to some sources, charged between three to six dollars for a single house call.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most serious problem associated with childbirth was the danger of a massive loss of blood. Here, as well as in other life-threatening situations, a magical or pseudo-religious element came into play: if all else failed, the bleeding could be stopped by invoking the help of the Trinity and by reciting the following formula which allegedly could only be taught to one person at a time: *Es stehen drei Lilien vor Gott, die erste heisst weiss, die zweite heisst gut, die dritte stillt's Herzblut. Herzblut steh' still in Gottes Willen. Gott Vater, Gott Sohn, Gott heiliger Geist.* After reciting the prayer, the practitioner recommended a pause which was to be followed by two additional recitations of the same formula. In less serious cases, like a nosebleed, the bleeding could be stopped by letting a few drops of blood drip on two pieces of wood arranged in the form of a cross. At other times, the practitioners simply invoked the Trinity to stop the bleeding, a practice also recommended by Hohman.<sup>16</sup>

The belief that a disease could be cured, that evil could be warded off or that an unfortunate situation could be remedied by repeating certain phrases which often included an appeal to the Trinity appeared to be fairly widespread among German immigrants. In the case of the Germans from Russia, it was the figure of the *Braucher* or *Braucherin* whose functions appear to be similar to that of the traditional *Gesundbeter* in Germany or that of the *curandera* in the German Russian settlements in Argentina. While some sources argue that *Braucher* should be viewed as faith healers, others compare the *Braucher* to a "white witch" whose ministrations could counteract the malevolent influences of the kind of *Hexerei* practiced by "black witches." Although *Braucher* still appear to function in some German Russian settlements in the Dakotas, they have disappeared from the Volga German communities in western Kansas where they appear to have played a less prominent role.<sup>17</sup>

In view of the lack of appropriate evidence there is no point in attempting to assess the actual therapeutic value of each of the practices and remedies of the Volga Germans. In some cases their alleged effectiveness may well have been largely due to the patient's confidence and faith in the practitioners.<sup>18</sup> Whatever their shortcomings, there is little or no evidence that home remedies and treatments offered by folk doctors caused any harm. However, to appreciate the role of the folk doctors as well as the

longevity of their practices, a look at the level of medical care offered by "regular" physicians in the rural areas of Kansas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century provides a useful perspective.

When the Volga Germans arrived in Kansas in 1876, the practice of medicine, especially in the western part of the state, had barely been affected by the tenets of the new scientific medicine. Arthur E. Hertzler, one of the most prominent Kansas physicians and founder of the famous clinic in Halstead, Kansas, characterized the state of the medical arts in the rural areas in the 1880s by saying that aside from alleviating pain and suffering, he could not think of a single disease doctors actually cured, except "malaria and the itch." Some practices associated with the idea of "heroic medicine" as well as others characteristic of the pre-bacteriological age continued to linger on as witnessed by the ongoing debate between advocates and opponents of the germ theory of disease. Failure to accept the bacterial origins of disease prevented the implementation of measures to prevent their spread. For the same reason, hygienic conditions during surgery as well as during deliveries in the 1890s were lagging woefully behind, even though many doctors had begun to wash their hands, albeit often only *after* they had completed a procedure. Indeed, some people apparently resented the fact when the better trained physicians of the 1880s washed their hands, taking it as evidence of "personal 'persnickety' and an insult to the family's standards of cleanliness."<sup>19</sup>

Rural physicians, most of them dedicated men but limited by the standards of medical training, had to struggle hard to make a living. In many instances, their methods were still guided by the notion of "heroic medicine" which, among other things, held that disease was the result of some unnatural excitation or imbalance of the body which could be cured by "shaking the system" through bloodletting, blistering, and the administration of powerful emetics and cathartics. All of these approaches, it was believed, would restore the body to its natural and healthy state. Although modern scientific medicine made its impact felt in Kansas, a number of physicians argued as late as 1896 that pneumonia could be most successfully treated by bleeding the patient. As to medications prescribed by regular doctors, a good number such as the various mercurials not only had little therapeutic value but were actually harmful. That many of these medications, including the numerous patent medicines, seemed to alleviate the patients' pain for a short time appears to have been due in large measure to the fact that they contained substantial doses of alcohol, morphine, and opium.<sup>20</sup>

Even though the practice of modern scientific medicine in Kansas slowly gained some ground, developments in the 1870s and 1880s did little to inspire confidence. During these years Kansas became the battle ground between competing schools of physicians: "regular" physicians, homeopaths, eclectics, and army of quacks like the magnopathic physicians or the vita-pathic doctors vied for the public's attention. Along with an assortment of peddlers of various patent medicines of dubious value, they did little more than further muddy the waters. Again in the 1920s, the practice of medicine in Kansas suffered another setback caused by political squabbles and the emergence of a new group of quacks, the most notorious of whom was undoubtedly John R. Brinkley and his goat gland transplants. Under these conditions and considering the often

substantial cost of medical treatments, it seems not surprising that doctors were often called upon only as a last resort. Of course, with the progress of time and improvement in the quality of medical care, a generation of much better trained professional physicians enjoyed a wider acceptance among the Volga Germans. In turn, many of the new physicians seem to have quietly tolerated the activities of the folk doctors.<sup>21</sup>

In comparison to many of the practices of professional physicians especially during the last quarter of the century, the methods of the folk doctors appear to have been relatively gentle and non-threatening. There is no question that the religious component in some of the healing practices reduced the patient's anxiety and in that manner may well have contributed to the healing process. Any attempt at explaining the persistence of folk medicine and folk doctors among the Volga Germans, however, must also take into account the fact that patient and healer shared a special relationship based on a common language and a shared cultural background. As the new world of medical science tended to become increasingly unintelligible and often intimidating to most ordinary people, the home remedies and the familiar routines of the folk doctors continued to occupy an important place in the overall health care picture of the Volga German community.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Norman E. Saul, "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Spring 1974): 43-52. For a discussion of the reasons for emigration from Russia and a description of their settlement in the United States, see Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans in Russia and the Americas from 1763 to the Present* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), 195-217. For a detailed account of the early settlement activities in the five villages, see Sister Marie Eloise Johannes, *A Study of the Russian-German Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology, vol. 14 (Washington, DC, 1946), 15-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Hays Sentinel*, 5 April 1876; 16 August 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Weigel, "Folk Medicine and Folk Doctors in the Catholic Volga German Colonies in Russia and in Ellis County, Kansas," *AHSGR Workpaper* 19 (December 1975): 53-54; Koch, *The Volga Germans in Russia*, 168-70; Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "The Daughters of Shiphrah: Folk Healers and Midwives of the Great Plains," *Great Plains Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1989): 7-10.

<sup>4</sup> Johann Georg Hohman, ed., *Der Lang Verborgene Freund, oder Getreuer und Christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann; enthaltend Wunderbare und probmässige Mittel und Künste, sowohl für die Menschen als das Vieh* (Harrisburg, PA: n.p., 1843); Carleton F. Brown, "The Long Hidden Friend," *The Journal of American Folklore* 17 (April-June 1904): 96-99; Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer, His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* (New York: H. Schuman, 1946), 318.

<sup>5</sup> The single most important local source for the history and culture of the Germans from Russia in Ellis and Rush Counties is the folklorist Lawrence Weigel. He is a frequent contributor to the publications of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR) and has been honored with the Distinguished Service Award of the AHSGR. In a series of short articles entitled "Volga German Traditions" published in *The Ellis County Star* (hereafter cited as *ECS*) and in publications by the AHSGR, Weigel offers detailed information on the folk medicine and the folk doctors in Ellis County. A part of the information in this essay is derived from Weigel's articles, from conversations with Volga Germans. Interviews with selected members of the Volga German community during the last two weeks of October 1980 were arranged by Prof. Leona Pfeifer of Fort Hays State University. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject



matter of the interviews, the informants are not identified. See also Amy Brungardt Toepfer and Agnes Dreiling, *Conquering the Wind*, rev. ed., (Lincoln: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1982), 71-72. For a discussion of home remedies in other parts of western Kansas, see Amy Lathrop, *Pioneer Remedies from Western Kansas* (Concordia, KS: n.p., 1962).

<sup>6</sup>Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 53; Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 50, n.117; interview with a practitioner.

<sup>7</sup>Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November - 5 December 1974.

<sup>8</sup>Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 47-48; On *Forni's Alpenkräuter*, see *AHSGR Workpaper* 19 (December 1975): 58. According to a practitioner, home made remedies (1 cup of whiskey, 4 tbs. of hot water and 4 tbs. of sugar) were also very effective in the treatment of colds.

<sup>9</sup>Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 54; Weigel, *ECS*, 5 December 1974.

<sup>10</sup>Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Iris Barbara Graefe, *Zur Volkskunde der Russlanddeutschen in Argentinien* (Wien: A. Schendl, 1971), 126; Toepfer and Dreiling, *Conquering the Wind*, 71-72.

<sup>11</sup>Mary Ruth Harris Lorenson, "'Thrown Out Navel': A Volga German Folk Belief with Implications for Health Care" (Ed.D. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1986), 44-57; for an extensive list of health care practices and beliefs, see Lorenson, 123-37.

<sup>12</sup>Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 54; Weigel, *ECS*, 8 April - 22 April 1976; 28 November 1974; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 50.

<sup>13</sup>Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed. Childbearing in America, 1750-1950*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25.

<sup>14</sup>Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 49; Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 53-54. Interview with a practitioner. See also Kloberdanz, "Daughters of Shiphrah," 4.

<sup>15</sup>Interview with a practitioner; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 49, n. 110; Howard Ruede, *Sod House Days. Letters from a Kansas Homesteader, 1877-78*, ed. John Ise (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1983), 65; Writer's Program, Kansas, *Lamps on the Prairie: A History of Nursing in Kansas* (Emporia, KS: Emporia Gazette Press), 45; Kloberdanz, "Daughters of Shiphrah," 9-10.

<sup>16</sup>Interview with a practitioner; Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Hohman, *Der Lang Verborgene Freund*, 10-11.

<sup>17</sup>Graefe, *Zur Volkskunde*, 126; Charles L. Gebhardt, "Hexerei, Braucherei, und Allerlei." *AHSGR Workpaper* 21 (Fall 1976): 26-29; Shirley Fischer Arends, *The Central Dakota Germans: Their History, Language and Culture* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 162; Kloberdanz, "Daughters of Shiphrah," 10-11; Weigel, *ECS*, 5 December 1974. Interview with Leona Pfeifer, 12 June 2001.

<sup>18</sup>On folk treatment and a possible placebo effect, see Lorenson, 120.

<sup>19</sup>Arthur E. Hertzler, M.D., *The Horse and Buggy Doctor* (Garden City, NY: Blue Ribbon Books, 1941), 9; Thomas Neville Bonner, *The Kansas Doctor: A Century of Pioneering* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press), 56-62; Writer's Program, *Lamps on the Prairie*, 56-57.

<sup>20</sup>Larry Jochims, "Medicine in Kansas, 1850- 1900." *The Emporia State Research Studies*, vol. 28, no.2 (Emporia, KS: The School of Graduate and Professional Studies, 1979), 7 15; idem, "Medicine in Kansas, 1850-1900." *The Emporia State Research Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Emporia, KS: The School of Graduate and Professional Studies, 1981), 51-56.

<sup>21</sup>Bonner, *The Kansas Doctor*, 71-80; 207-21.

