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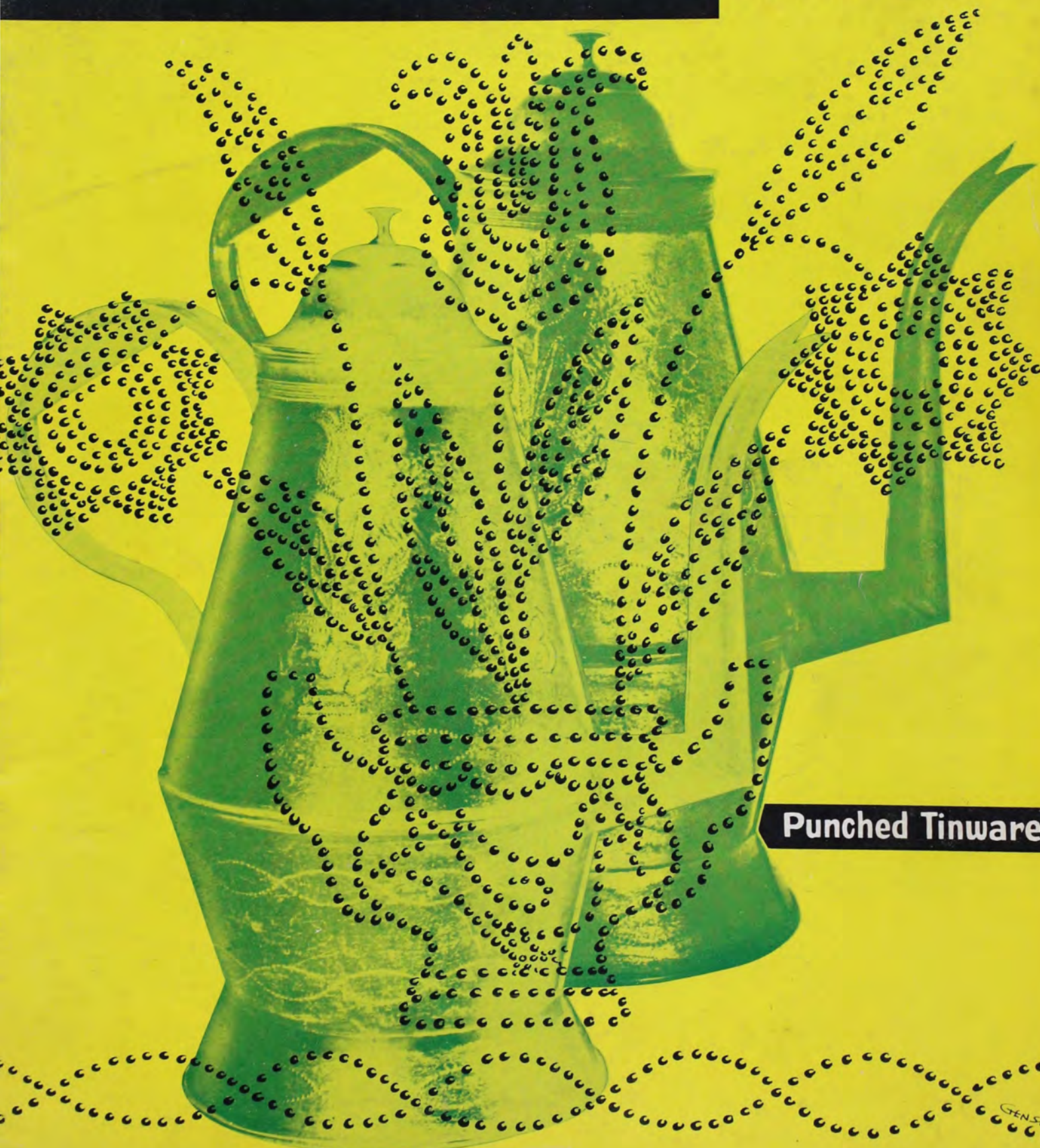
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Pennsylvania
FOLKLIFE



SPRING · 1961



Punched Tinware

GENSLER



Costumes of Ephrata Cloister

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**

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E. ESTYN EVANS

TIN — *With Holes In*

By EARL F. ROBACKER

"As Dutch as sauerkraut": The simile has come to be a commonplace in attributing unmistakable characteristics of "Dutchness" to people, places, speech, manners, or a way of life in Pennsylvania.

"As Pennsylvania Dutch as a pie cupboard" has an even more specific connotation for the student of antiques—especially if the student has heard of but not seen one. Like the parrot on spatterware or the mermaid on fraktur, the elusive pie cupboard seems always to have come under somebody else's observation rather than one's own. Perhaps pie cupboards were made and used in places beyond the Pennsylvania Dutchland. They were so eminently practical that they might have sprung into being anywhere pies were popular, given the combining factors of necessity and

inventiveness. New England and western New York were "pie country," and should have had them; Pennsylvania long ago acquired the title of the Pie Belt, and *did* have them.

No one who recalls the prowess of the old-time Pennsylvania Dutch housewife in baking need wonder why the pie merited a storage place of its own. Pies were a staple at breakfast, dinner, and supper, and were baked by the dozen,

*Except as noted,
all articles shown are from
the Robacker Collection.*



Found near Stroudsburg, Pa., this pie cupboard is interesting for the geometrical regularity of its design.

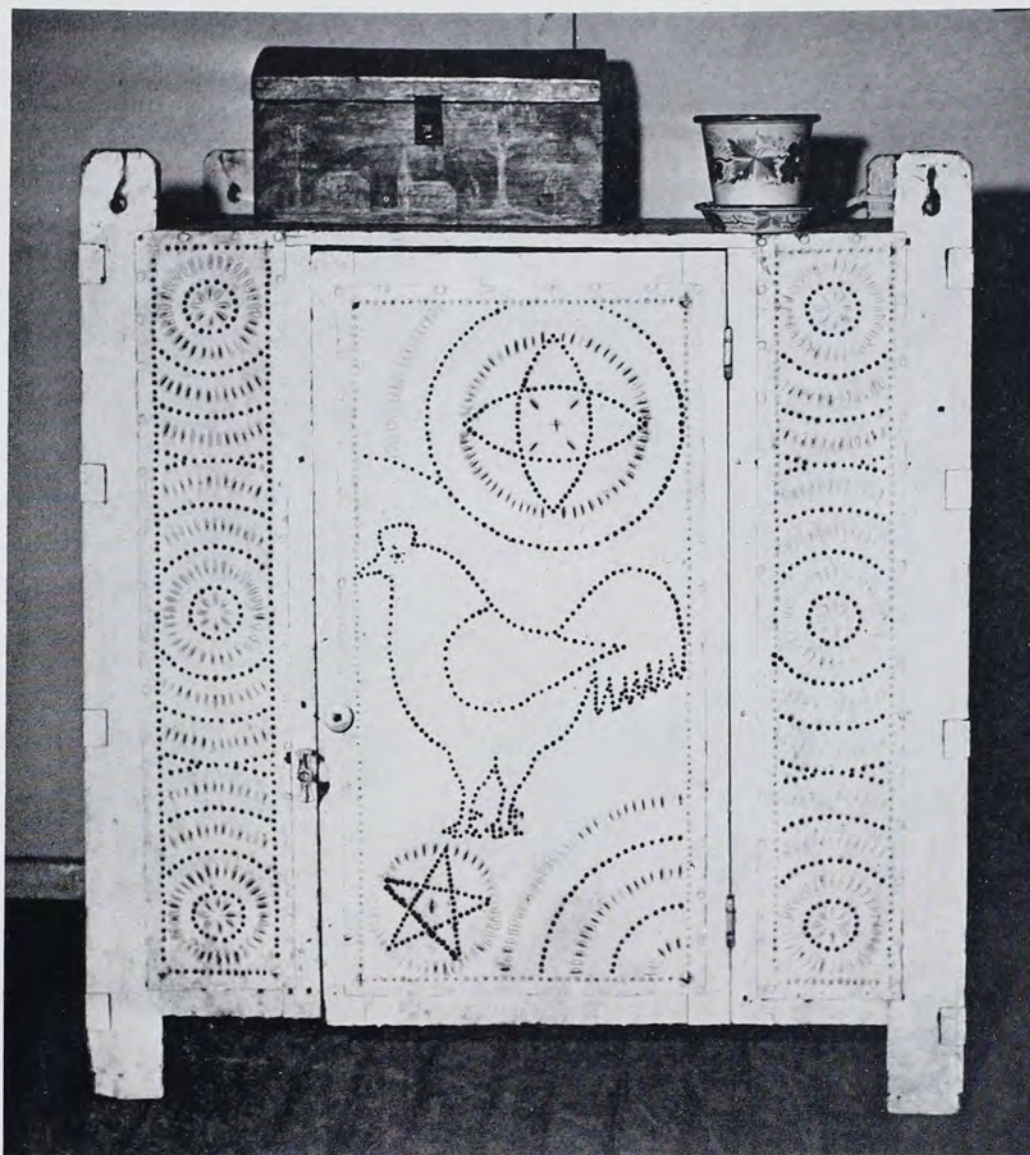


Front panel of out-size pie cupboard nearly four feet wide. Six-pointed "stars" were popular decorations, and were laid out by means of a compass. Five-pointed stars are also found.

anywhere from one to three times a week, according to the size of the family. Later generations might set a freshly baked pie or two on a window sill to cool, but the woman who had to cope with dozens, in pre-refrigerator days, needed more than window sills; in short, she needed a convenient cupboard or safe to cool the juicy confections, store them, and protect them from marauding insects or mice.

The Pennsylvania Dutch pierced tin safe seems to have met all these needs adequately. Its basic structure was simple: a pine framework with sheets of tin at sides and back, and on the door which ordinarily formed the front. The bottom was usually raised a few inches from the floor, and with the three or more interior shelves provided the necessary storage space.

For the collector, who undoubtedly prefers modern refrigeration and who is as likely to bring home a frozen pie from the supermarket as to bake one, the cupboard has a



Front of pie cupboard said to have been made in Reading, Pa. The white paint, not original, was probably applied 30 to 50 years ago.

charm entirely apart from anything its long ago creator intended—that of the designs on the tin sides and the front. (The back, except in rare cases, was pierced, but not in a thought-out pattern.) To provide circulation of air and at the same time discourage mice and flies, the tin sheets were pierced with a sharp instrument before they were nailed to the frame. Some of the perforations are very small, and were obviously made by hammer and nail; others are slits, made with hammer and chisel.

Whether pierced or punched, the designs follow a pattern first laid out on the sheets of tin. As in many collectibles, the more handwork there is, the more desirable the object becomes. If the pattern is extremely simple in design and keeps to the minimum of punchwork, the cupboard is less desirable (and, of course, lower in price) than one with an elaborate design and evidences of painstaking care.

Perhaps the most favored design is that in which the eagle is the principal motif of each tin panel. Probably most often found is the star, a geometric form offering no particular challenge to the tinsmith, especially if one large sheet of tin instead of a number of small panels has been used. Elaborate scrollwork with nailhole perforations close together make a particularly attractive cupboard. Most distinctive,

after the eagle, is probably the six-pointed geometric design which looks like the barn signs found in sections of the Dutch Country—but which probably antedates them. Sometimes when the central motif is large, similar smaller ones are used to fill in the area attractively.

Now and then the decorator, in an apparent desire to be different, departed from the usual and struck out on his own. Perhaps the most celebrated specimen in the category of unusual pieces is one which was made at the time of the great Philadelphia Centennial—the only dated one the writer has seen. In two-inch-high letters along one side, the following inscription appears:

CENTENNIAL

SAFE 1876 G. H. REED

The end panels, of heavy tin with a pewter-like texture, are lavishly decorated with pierced *and* punched stars, hearts, and birds; the front is a veritable maze of birds, animals, and human figures, obviously patterned after cookie-cutter designs, the whole further supplemented by pierced sunbursts. The date, incidentally, is late as pie cupboards go.

It is by no means unheard of, in the Dutch Country, to find pie safes still in use; in fact, in a home near Kutztown



Representative shapes in punched tin coffee pots. The miniature, probably a plaything, is dated 1860—about 20 years later than most dated pots.

which boasts a magnificent all-electric kitchen with at least *two* of every imaginable kind of appliance, the mistress still carries her pies to the cellar pie cupboard for safe keeping—as well she may, for the pies are as magnificent as the kitchen!

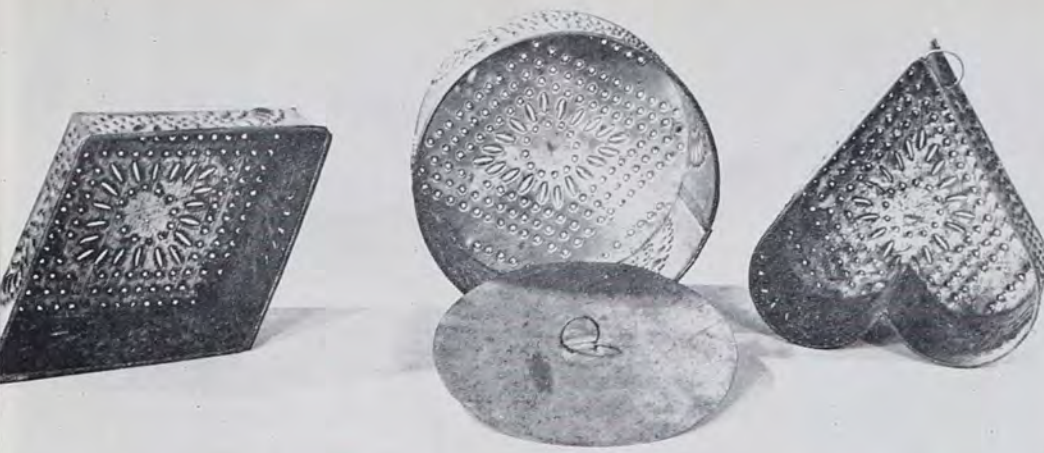
There are actually two basic types of pie cupboards: tall cabinets, intended to be stationary, sometimes with two doors at the front; and shorter ones with corner posts projecting two or three inches above the top. In the latter type the posts have been bored, and it is said that the cupboard was then strung with rope and lowered to or raised from the cellar kitchen by means of a pulley. The absence of trap doors and pulleys in old kitchens leads to the more likely supposition that the cupboards were suspended from the ceiling of the room in which the pies were baked—often the cellar kitchen.

The mortality among pie cupboards has been high because of their steady exposure to moisture, and those available today are likely to be in rather rusty condition. Sometimes the collector will find the shabby condition of the tin concealed under heavy incrustations of paint. Properly, the paint should be removed; otherwise, the perforations in the tin will not show to advantage. If the tin is in reasonably good condition, it should be cleaned and waxed, not repainted. If, however, the tin is in such condition that it would be objectionable to use or display, one solution is to apply aluminum paint slightly dulled with sub-standard turpentine, with subsequent waxing. The owner should realize, however, that he is tampering with the desirability of the piece as an antique, and that the resale

value has been reduced. Now and then a misguided "artist" attempts to gild the lily by repainting in a number of colors—picking out the major motifs in particular. The result may be interesting—always a safe conversational item—but the antiquarian value in such cases is reduced to zero.

The use of the nail and chisel, as might be expected, extends to objects other than pie cupboards and to media other than tin. Coffee pots often received elaborate treatment in punchwork—no actual piercing, of course, could be tolerated here. These pots, made by local whitesmiths using heavy shears, were cut out of sheet metal in separate sections, and the designs tapped lightly into what would become the inside of the pot by hammer and nail. After this stamping process the sections were soldered together and the handles and finials were added.

Finely detailed coffee pots were more decorative than utilitarian; like the finest specimens of slipware and sgraffito pottery, they served essentially to demonstrate the skill of the artisan, and were no more to be desecrated in use than is a fancy guest towel. Some of them bear the initials of the owner; some, the date; some, the name of the maker, stamped in the handle. Most sought after by collectors, of course, are those which have all three of these details. Almost legendary among makers of coffee pots are the names of Uebele, Ketterer, and Schade—about whom, regrettably, little seems to be known beyond the fact that they were accomplished whitesmiths. Favored designs are tulips, flat-lobed hearts, and pots of flowers—all familiar Pennsylvania forms. Dates are usually in the 1830's and '40's, the time when the use of tin seems to have been in its heyday. Tin,



Three well-known shapes in "schmierkase" (cottage cheese) molds. Shown on edge here, the molds rested on tiny feet when in use.

scarce until after the Revolution, was then both abundant and cheap, and obviously tempting to the would-be artist.

Highly intriguing to collectors is the cottage cheese mold. In this article the maker need not stay the force of the hammer for art's sake; he had to pierce the metal completely so that when the scalded curds were poured into the mold the whey would drain out on sides and bottom, leaving the curds to solidify into the shape of the mold—almost always a heart, but occasionally a diamond, a tulip, or a star. There is a considerable range in sizes, but those which would contain about a pint or a quart are most common. For whatever reason, the series of cheese molds has never closed; brand new and shining, these molds may still be bought in the Dutch Country—the circumstance being something of a headache to collectors. Genuinely old molds, however, are not of the flimsy tin used for today's product;

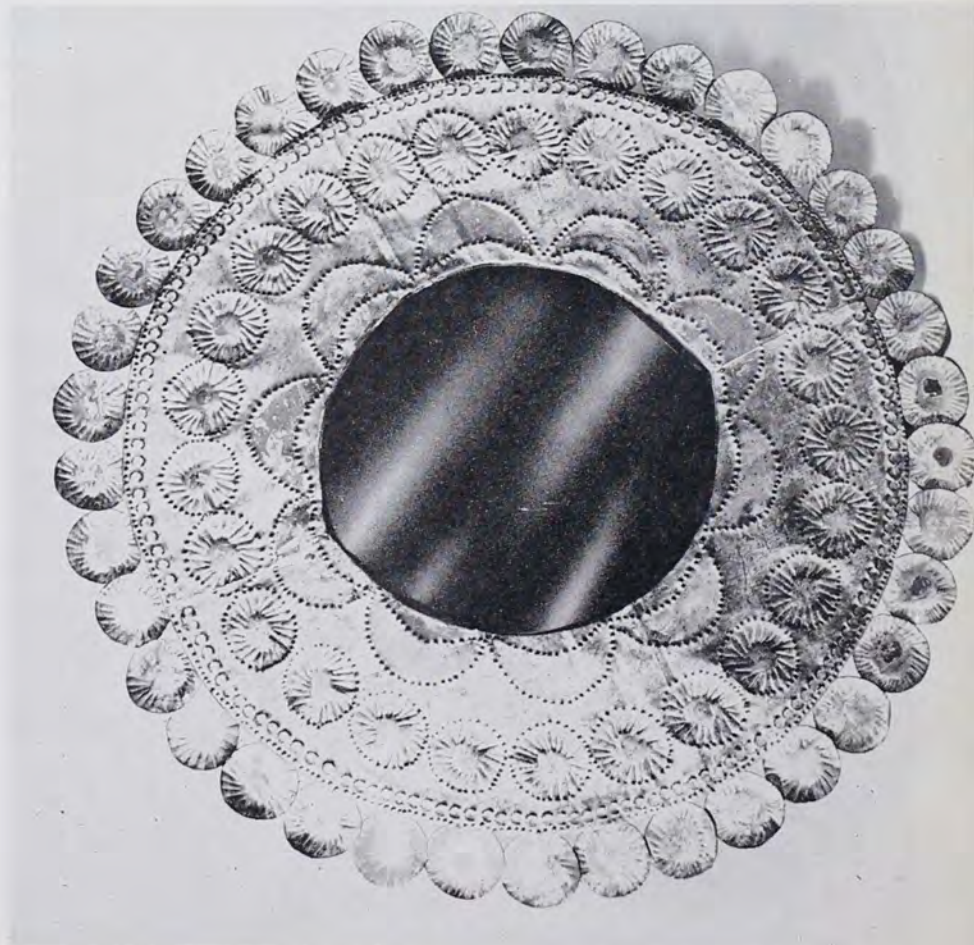
instead, they are of tinned sheet iron, are seldom if ever shiny, and have perforations set closely together. Until some present-day fabricator tumbles to the idea and modifies his design, molds with perforations made by square-cut nails are almost certainly deserving of the term "antique." A curious aspect of the continuing demand for cheese molds of the old kind in today's domestic economy may be put in the form of a question: Who uses them? Who makes molded cottage cheese nowadays?

An article to delight the heart of any collector is the punched-pierced tin mirror frame. Admittedly, not many were ever made, and those which were, were obviously made as novelties. Lacking specific information, one can only guess as to the age of such frames, but by structure and design they appear to belong in the coffee pot decades—the 1830's and the 1840's. There is a pitfall for the col-

Pierced and stamped tin mirror frame of unusually heavy metal. The circlets about the edge were cut and soldered separately. Lunettes bordering the mirror were once filled in alternately with red and green paint, traces of which still show.



A cottage cheese mold of extraordinary capacity—more than a gallon. Its unusual state of preservation may be owing to the fact that without side piercing it proved to be impractical in use.





Candle sconce with cluster of punched hearts.

lector here, too; lacking experience, he may unwittingly acquire one of the myriad pierced-tin objects made recently in the Southwest and in Mexico. Another red herring across the trail of the antique collector is the machine-made tin mirror-and-comb case, usually stamped rather than pierced, made in the 1880's and 1890's.

Perhaps familiar to everyone are two objects of pierced tin which are incorrectly designated as Pennsylvania Dutch: the Paul Revere lantern, so called, and the foot-warmer. True, both these objects may have been made, now and then, in the Dutch Country; it would have been an inept whitesmith indeed who could not have turned out good examples, and there are fine specimens which bear every



Footwarmer of a type usually found in New England.

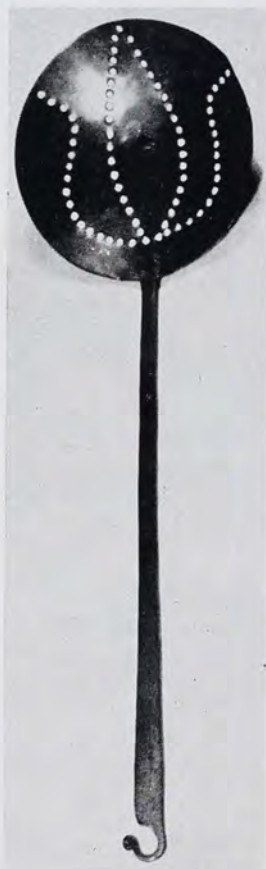


Footwarmer with unmistakable Dutch Country decoration.

Courtesy of Henry J. Kaufman

evidence of Dutch Country provenance. The tin lantern—oftenest with a conical top above the pierced cylinder in which the candle burned—appears to have come from New England, in all probability on the Yankee tinsmith's cart. The same thing appears to be true of the little boxes known as footwarmers. The heart design on the tin panels of footwarmers may possibly indicate Pennsylvania Dutch origin—or it may not. Wishful thinking would often have it so.

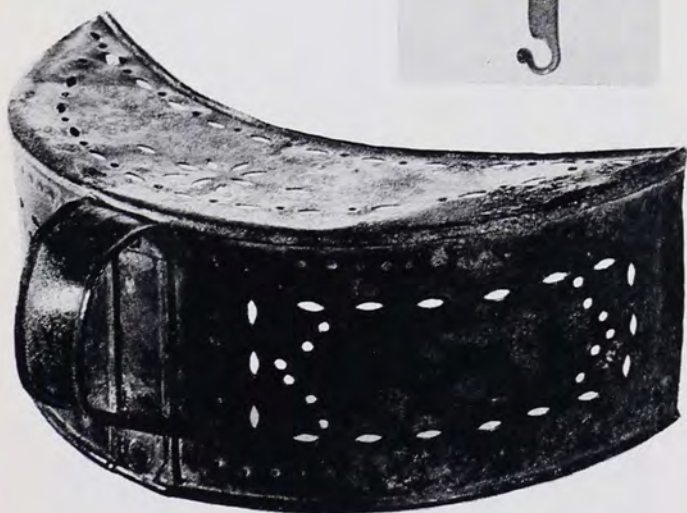
Many other small objects, sometimes one-of-a-kind, show the skill of the tinsmith. They are worth preserving to the extent that they display good craftsmanship or fit into the pattern of folk design. Among them might be included skimmers, colanders, graters—especially nutmeg graters—small bureau boxes, and candle sconces.



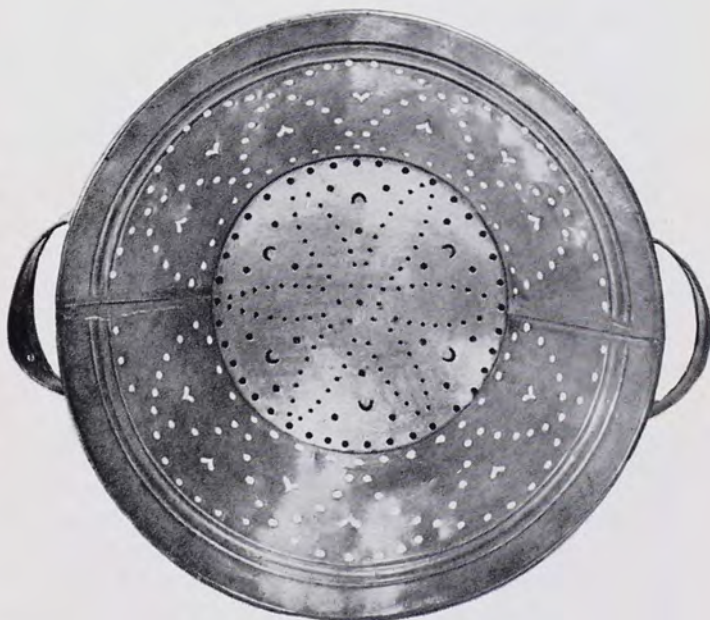
An extension of the popular punchwork decoration is found in the die-cut perforations forming the tulip in this heavy brass skimmer.



Bureau box with punched design on lid.



Long a "puzzler," this object was finally identified by Mrs. Hattie Brunner, of Reinholds, Pa., as a hearth protector for a pot-bellied stove. Placed before the opening which supplied the necessary draft, it kept ashes from drifting over the hearth as they fell into the pit. Decade of the 1870's.



Unusual copper colander found in Lebanon, Pa. The tiny die-cut hearts and the hexagonal figure suggest the Pennsylvania Dutch craftsman.

Nineteenth Century SHOOTING MATCHES

By ALAN G. KEYSER

A shooting match is a contest in which sportsmen and sharpshooters compete for a much coveted prize which is awarded to the best marksman. We are not, however, concerned with the present day shoot which uses clay pigeons as the target. Our concern is with the match in which a still target was used.

These contests were most frequently held at a tavern and in some rare instances at a private home or at a grist mill. The most important reason for holding them at a tavern, one might suppose, was to sell alcoholic beverages, and he would be correct in this supposition. A tavern owner could not hope to pay for the prize with the small entrance fee he charged each entrant, so he, of course, hoped the unofficial festivities would begin at sundown and last well into the night.

Now these shooting matches had to be held in the farmers' off season so to speak. So the season began in the first week in September and lasted through the last week in March. The tavern in almost every village held one shooting match per season.

There were several things which each contestant had to bring to the match. The most important was a gun of any type. Next he needed gun powder and shot and last he needed a board to be used as a target. The board was marked with either a cross mark or a circle in chalk, and it was mentioned as well as the size shot in every Montgomery County shooting match advertisement.

As far as what took place at the match itself we give you the following from the

BUCKS COUNTY INTELLIGENCER,
DECEMBER 28, 1875

"Shooting match—that is what they all termed it—and for the sufficient reason that those in authority so called it, we, as accurate chroniclers of passing local incidents, have no alternative but to so designate it in the popular phraseology by which our rural residents are accustomed to designate such scenes of exciting sport. Therefore, thus is its title fixed forever. Then the time—that was Christmas—last Saturday—according to almanac—the twenty-fifth of this December. The place—Cross Keys is just where it was. The hour had struck two when we tramped through mire and mud and stood surveying the strange scene in the nearby old apple orchard. Have you ever been at a shooting match, one of the old-fashioned kind? If yes, then

you can imagine about this one; if no, we are hopeless that any pen-power of our own may make you see it. In age the native nimrods of our hills who had gathered there from Buckingham, Bedminster, Pine Run and Plumstead, among whom could be counted a score of our town sportsmen, with a slight sprinkling of gray-beards, might be reckoned as ranging from sixteen to twenty-five with the brilliant hue of youth upon their faces, with an immense boot power of conestogas upon their feet and all chock full of the fun which was coming—each one a Democrat in association—everybody a Radical practically. In brief as in truth, one single look would be proof sufficient that the boys were all out and that that old orchard was full of them. The preliminaries occasioned an animated and somewhat angry debate but through the interference of some of the older ones, were arranged to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. The distance, forty-five yards, was stepped off, three judges learned in the law of shooting were selected, ten aspiring marksmen forked over a quarter each to the treasurer, while from his home in the corn crib was brought forth that turkey which was to be the prize of the best shot then and there made. Here came in the laugh to the disinterested looker-on. You just ought to have had a look at their guns—all shapes, sizes and sorts with barrels ten inches long and barrels which only a ten-foot pole could measure. Stocks beech and home-made stocks inlaid with metal and imported. Some brand new and bright, some may have been borne in the rebellion and a few so antiquated as to seem like relics of '76. Each contestant was allowed

Verks gegen Montgomery!
Schützingmatsch.

Ein großes Scheibenschießen wird stattfinden auf
Dienstag, den 16ten Februar 1854,
an dem Wafshause von Samuel Landis, in Distrikt
Der Wip, Berks County, für ein

Nettes Schwein
von 800 Pfund Gewicht,
mit einer Me. 1, auf 60 Pferde.

Die Scharfschützen auf weit und
weit und eingeladen, weil an dem Schießen zu
nehmen.

Scharfschützen, nun gilt's, wir laden euch ein,
zu schießen für das schwere Schwein,
800 Pfund ist ein Gewicht,
Wie man nicht alle Tage sieht.
Montgomery hat wohl nette Schweine,
Doch kein so schweres auf den Beine;
Dumt sind't euch ein, Montgomery Schützen,
Vf's für das Wunderthier recht üben,
Ihr Schwammer, die ihr immer trefft,
Rein Aug' und Kinte euch nicht äßt,
Wacht euch fertig, kommt zur Hand,
Ihr komett All des Landis Stand;
De Pottstauer und Summstädtler,
Sind bekannt als gute Meddler
Bim schieße, wo es geht haarscharf,
Kommt an, bringt guten Schießbedarf.
Und wo gut Schützenrecht besteht,
An Alle unser Gruß ergeht,
Daf jeder sich möcht finden ein,
W' lassen Laß für's Mammuthschwein.


Viele Schützen.

Januar 24, 1854.

Newspapers advertised shooting-matches.

1859.

Aufpepäst, Scharfschützen!



Eine Schützingmatch soll gehalten werden, am Gasthause von **Jacob Buchert**, in Ober Salford Taunshw, am

Mittwoch, den 2ten nächsten Februar,
für ein fettes Schwein von zwischen
600 und 700 Pfund Gewicht
mit No. 2 Schrot, auf 50 Yards Entfernung. Jeder Schütze hat sein eignes Brett und Schrote zu bringen. Die ersten Schrote sollen die eine Hälfte des Schweins ziehen und die zweiten Schrote die andere Hälfte. Den nächsten Tag wird das Schwein an Buchers Gasthaus geschlachtet und eine Vor aufgemacht, um das Gewicht zu raten.

Sollte das Wetter am 2ten Februar ungünstig sein, so soll das Scheidenschießen am nächsten Tage, den 3ten statt finden.

Heraus nau, ihr Schützen,
Lafis frachen und blizen,
Es gilt um die Ehr der best Schütz zu sein,
Drum stellt euch sammt und sonders ein.
Ein doppelt Gewinn steht auf dem Spiel,
Die halbe Sau und die Vor ist's Ziel,
Schießt einer dernebe so hat ers verlappt
Und nicks vom fetten Schwein ertappt,
Und wer bei der Vor will richtig guesse
Muß den Uberschlag net vergesse,
Wer ihn dann am richtigste macht
Dem wird Vor und Geld zum Präsent gemacht.
Januar 11. 1859.

Calling all sharpshooters—1859.

to load just as he pleased and to let her boom whenever he deemed himself ready. In reference to position the largest liberty was allowed, the individual shooting permitting himself to stand, stoop, sidle, or squint as his inclination might prompt. Bang! A hurrying of the judges to the target then a succession of other bangs relieved by the hurrying to and fro until the entire eight guns were fired off and he who nearest came seized upon his bird as the reward of his skill, cheered by his comrades as the hero of the hour! The scenes which now followed in quick succession were alike—more rounds fired off, more turkeys disposed of; then more turkeys shot for, and all went merry as a marriage bell, until daylight dwindled into darkness and homeward we wended our way. It was their own frolic—they saw the fun in it, besides we may wish to go again and as a potential reason for keeping mum we have not the wish to cultivate a nearer acquaintance with the boots which they wear."

One of the interesting things about the shooting match was the distance from the target at different shoots. The distances ranged all the way from forty yards to the impossible distance of 150 yards. Another interesting thing was the variety of prizes awarded at the various matches. Out of the ninety some odd advertisements which were examined, the swine was found to be the most frequently awarded prize, the weights thereof ranging from 300 pounds to one half ton. The next two most popular prizes were the deer and the ox respectively. The largest ox awarded weighed 1500 pounds. Monetary rewards ranged from a ten dollar gold piece at one match to 200 Spanish dollars at another. At one shoot a 400 pound bear was awarded, at another "ein Bär und eine Bärin" and at still another a cow and a calf. The prizes at one match in Berks County

were two steers of 1000 pounds each! From this listing you can see why these events were well attended.

A few words about the newspaper advertisements would be in order since it was from these that most of the information for this article was gleaned. The early Reading ads were businesslike from beginning to end and were not of particular interest to us. By far the most interesting are the advertisements in the Montgomery County German newspapers which contain original poetry. The best example of these is from *Der Neutralist* of January 24, 1854.

*Nau ihr Schippacher kommet an,
Laszt seh'n wer's schwartze treffen kann,
Ihr Salforder bleibet net zurück,
Probirt gutes Schützingglück,
Von Sumnytaun, von Marlboro'
Sind a Viele Schützen do,
Ihr Lederachsviller sind't euch ein,
Machet die Gewehre rein,
Und ihr Treffer von Limerick,
Haltet desmol steif das G'nick,
Ihr Boyerstauer schultert's Gewehr,
Die Pottsgrover kommen auch mit her,
Ihr Trumbauersviller seid bekannt
Als gute Schützen in dem Land.
Ihr Tylersporter bleibt nicht aus,
Es gilt ein Schwein und keine Maus;
Kommt an, all von nah und fern,
Ihr seid willkomm, wir seh'n euch gern,
Beim Buchert in Salfort ist der Platz,
Wo man macht für's Schwein den Satz,
Am 3ten Febr., merkts euch wohl,
Die Schützingmatch stattfinden soll.*

JACOB BUCHERT.

January 17, 1854.

One advertisement which seems to have been a standard in which only names were changed to suit the occasion is taken from the *Bauern Freund* of December 28, 1863.

*Frisch, ihr Schützen allesammt,
Nehmt die Flinten von der Wand,
Sehet, ob durch Wetter und Wind
Sie nicht eigerostet sind.
Es gilt heut' einen schönen Preis,
Ein Schweinchen, fett, jung und neisz,
Das am oben bestimmten Tag,
Jeder sich gewinnen mag.
Von Montgomery, Berks und Lecha,
Von überall sind Schützen da,
Douglas wird auch sein Bestes probiren,
Um das Schweinchen wieder heimzuführen,
Drum kommt herbei von Nah und Fern,
Ihr Schützen mit frischen Muth,
Die fette Sau hätt Jeder gern,
D'rum zielt schaeef—und treffet gut.*

Viele Schützen

You now have some idea as to what a shooting match was, what went on there and a small amount of background material on them. You can be a great help in our search for information on the shooting match by sending to the Pennsylvania Folklife Society any lore or photographs you may have. Any new data will be appreciated no matter how small. In conclusion I should like to express a note of thanks to Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker who supplied much of the background information for this article.

DUNKARD LIFE *In Lebanon Valley* *Sixty Years Ago*

By GEORGE L. MOORE

[The following sketches depicting social change among the Dunkards (German Baptist Brethren, now Church of the Brethren) in the Hanoverdale area of Lebanon Valley, Pennsylvania, are from a larger manuscript work which might be entitled, "Memoirs of a Lebanon Valley Dunkard." This work is from the pen of George L. Moore, who was born in Lebanon County, July 22, 1894, son of George B. and Mary (Fackler) Moore. The Moore side of the house were evidently of British Isles stock, doctors and veterinarians, who moved into the Dutch Country in the 19th Century, and through intermarriage with the Basehores and other Dutch families, became thoroughly Pennsylvania Dutch, in language as well as way of life. George Moore is a farmer, largely self-taught, and his reflective study of the changes in his own denomination during his lifetime gives us one of the most valuable documents of Dutch Country life in the 20th Century. We include here his sections on meeting-house architecture and plain dress, and on the five types of services among Dunkards around 1900: a Sunday morning service, a Funeral, a Council Meeting (when ministers were chosen or converts were admitted to membership), a Revival Meeting, and the Love-feast.—EDITOR.]

Background of the Brethren Church

Not only was our home life Pennsylvania Dutch, but it was almost pious religious and we were brought up in the faith and doctrine of the German Baptist Brethren Church, now the Church of the Brethren. My parents' conviction that these doctrines alone were right was so strong that they felt concern for the souls of anyone that did not fully conform to them; and the wearing of the plain garb was so sacred to them that they could overlook misdeeds in members if they wore the plain clothing. So I am describing a religious Pennsylvania Dutch family life.

As this hereafter named Brethren or Dunkard Church had so much influence in our home life that it was the guiding principle of our early training, was the one and only church we attended as boys and was what I call a 100% Pennsylvania Dutch church, I cannot write my story without writing all about it, for it is Pennsylvania Dutch history in itself. As late as 1890 I do not think they had any non-Pennsylvania Dutch speaking members, for from the time I can remember while still with Mom or Pop the conversation before and after church was all in Pennsylvania Dutch. The sermons were in Dutch and not in German as in the

older churches, the Lutheran and Reformed. The scripture was read out of the Martin Luther translation German Bible and the hymns were likewise sung in German.

It is also the oldest of the Pennsylvania Dutch plain churches next to the Quakers who always were English, for the Pennsylvania Dutch churches of the River Brethren (Brethren in Christ), the Brinser Brethren (United Zion's Children), the Hoffmanites (United Christians), the Winebrenner (Church of God) and the United Brethren came on the scene later and are American-born churches while the Church of the Brethren was born in Europe in 1708 in Germany. As to the Mennonites I do not know if they can be called a Pennsylvania Dutch church. They were here in America before the Church of the Brethren but I have met Russian Mennonites, German Mennonites, English Mennonites, and Pennsylvania Dutch Mennonites.

As this Church of the Brethren of today is a far cry from the Brethren church my Mother and Father took me to as a boy, and as so many changes have taken place in it the last 60 years, I think a little history of the changes would be interesting now and more so in the future. Nearly all of the church buildings of that day have been remodeled beyond recognition. The plain garb has all but disappeared and things that this church of 60 years ago looked upon as sinful are now endorsed by it and some things that were condemned then are now practiced by its members. So I



Map of the Lebanon Valley.

shall try to describe the church I knew as a boy; and at times describe the historical changes that have occurred even then, as told by the old folks of that day, for I always had an open ear to anything historical; and the changes I have seen.

Meeting-house Architecture

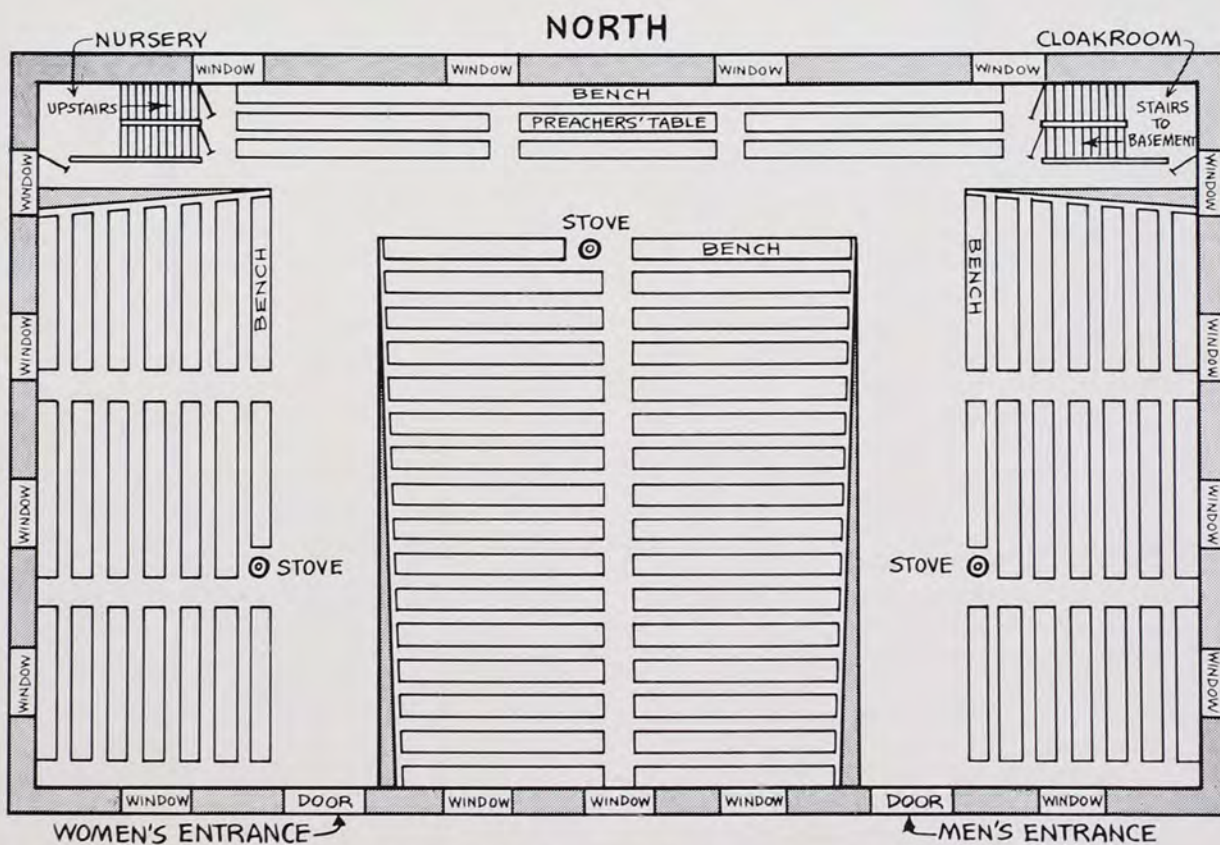
Well, I have to start somewhere, so I will first describe the Hanoverdale church and building, the church that I was carried into by my Mother, and went to until I was 15 years of age; for I think this church building and congregation typical of other churches and other congregations of this Church of the Brethren.

This Hanoverdale church stood at a crossroad with one to spare along the Union Deposit to Manada Hill road in a little village, of a country store and about 4 houses, and then a Post Office called Hanoverdale, hence its name; so the members and others came to and left this church by these 5 roads. In front of this church on the church ground were two driveways, and along them on either side, but far enough in so as not to block the driveway, were hitching posts, spaced close enough so that you could get in and out decent yet no space was wasted; and to them the horses were tied. Along one side of these driveways, and along or rather between it and one of these five roads, stood a long row of sheds that sheltered the horse and carriage in bad weather. They were privately owned and were sometimes used by others if thought safe that the owner would not be there; for if an owner found a team already in his shed he removed it, tying it to one of the hitching posts. At the far end of this upper driveway, a new shed was built about 1900, for I remember Father helping to build it; he was one of many volunteers, and as I remember it, about all the labor was done free by members; only a few paid carpenters

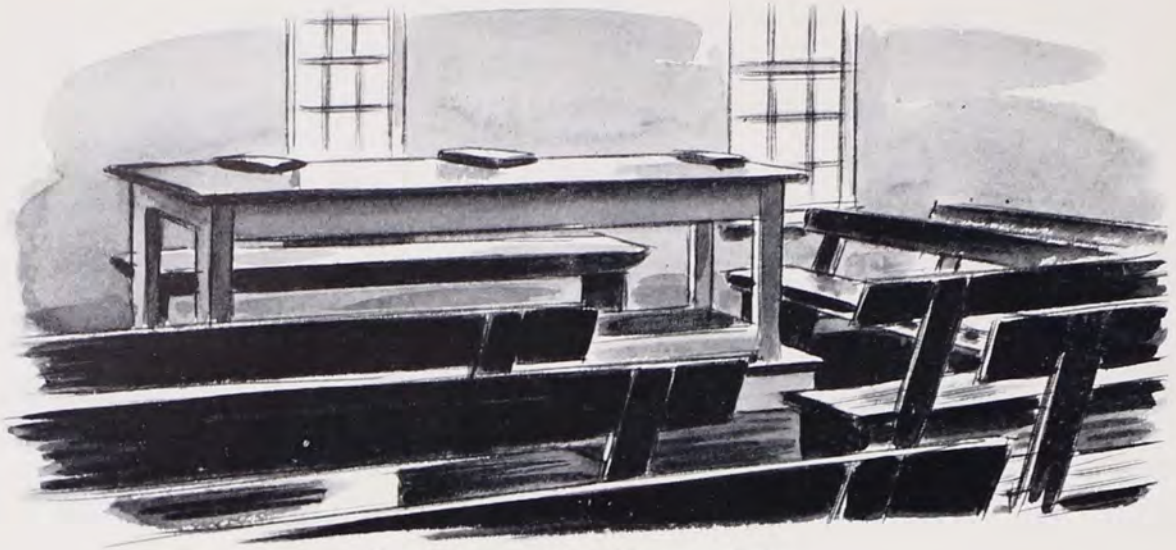
were there as overseers. The material was paid for out of a contribution church treasure. It was called *En Gameindshoft Shed*, and was free for all to use and accommodated I would say between 75 to 100 teams. A small portion of it was boarded shut where unhitched horses were housed and fed. This entire shed had a feeding trough where the horses were tied. These sheds were but long posts or poles dug in the ground, with an off-center, shingle-covered hip roof, the longest end covering the wagon; and boarded up on the one side and at both ends.

At the upper end between these two driveways along this union road, stood a canopy-covered wooden pump, in a plank covered, hand-dug well. Attached to it by a strong light chain was the common pint-size public drinking-cup; and facing the road was a hand-hewn wooden water-trough, where the horses could be watered at lovefeast or funerals. So if you wanted water for yourself or your horse you pumped it yourself.

A short distance back and on one side of this church was, and still is, the graveyard wherein are buried my Mother, all but one of my aunts and uncles, both my grandmothers, grandfather Fackler, step grandfather Levi Peffly, and my great grandparents Basehore, Sollenburger, and Fackler. The latter two graves were destroyed when an addition was built to this church in 1949. This graveyard and the church yard was surrounded by a pale board fence, which every spring was whitewashed by volunteer members. Both men and women and sometimes sons and daughters included, would get together to whitewash this fence and give the church and yard a general housecleaning. As everyone took care of their own kin-folks graves, they were weeded and filled in when sunken, for all graves were hilled in those days and were marked by a common head-stone and a small



Seating plan, Hanoverdale Meetinghouse.



Typical preacher's table and benches.

foot-stone, as was the order of obedient members of that day. New graves were marked by two paddle-shaped stakes, one at the head end and one at the foot end of the grave, by the undertaker, and remained there until a stone took their place or they rotted away. However, not all the graves were thus marked, for poverty caused some graves to remain unmarked. Some graves were marked by a decision of the church through free will contribution that bought and erected the grave-stone, but the procedure they followed I just could not find out. Yes, every spring these members had a pleasant sociable time together visiting, chatting while working—no need, nor time for get-together meetings for fun in those days. However before 1900 a lone monument had already taken its place among these gravestones, and as they began to sell plots to all who would buy, the non-monument clause was soon forgotten.

Right against the pale board fence in front of this graveyard in the church yard under those large maple trees were rudely constructed wooden benches whereon the early comers sat in summer time and chatted until time for the services to begin; for people were not so much concerned about time in those days, for the only transportation then was by team, horseback, or walking, so some got there early. Between these shade trees and the church stood two kerosene lamps or lantern posts, one near the corner of the women's side of the church, and one on the men's side of the church, but they were seldom lit and finally left the scene entirely and I never learned just what happened to them.

This Hanoverdale church or meeting-house was a frame structure oblong or wider than long as it appeared from the inside; it was painted white and was the first one so painted, for all the other church houses that belonged to this Big Swatara congregation were still painted red I was told; they were Paxton, Hornerstown, East Hanover, Fishing Creek Valley, and Moonshines. To this I should add that for some time they also had services every four weeks in a Union Chapel in Linglestown.

This Hanoverdale church house was a new building, for a former brick structure that I do not remember was partly destroyed by the hurricane of 1896, so they decided to take it down entirely and build this one, and painted it white. It was built with its back end in a little hill so you could enter it almost level, only a few flat limestone slabs lay at each entrance as steps. So beneath it was a large basement

that was used to prepare the lovefeast meal, and to feed people at lovefeast and funerals; and it has three ground-level doors, one in the center and one at each end.

The door to the left as you entered this church led to the women's side of the church, occupied by women only, and the door to the right to the men's side of the church, occupied by men only; and these two sides were separated by a small aisle running through the center of the church. These two main entrance aisles were broad, and to the outside of them were raised seats called "the raisings" by the Pennsylvania Dutch, so called because they were fastened to a raised floor so all could see up front, and were usually occupied by young people and older non-members; and by all non-members at love-feast time. These seats were all alike, a solid plank or board seat with an 8-inch board for a back rest that was fastened to solid ends with a center prop; four small aisles led through them one at each end and two in the middle. To the other side of this main aisle or in the middle, were the love-feast equipped benches, so only every third bench was alike; first one similar to the raised seats, then a solid-back bench, then again one with an 8-inch back but reversible, so at love-feast time these solid-backs became tables and the reversible back was changed so it would face this table. As the majority of people preferred these solid-back benches, the churches built later were equipped with all solid-back benches, for both economy and humility entered into the building of these early churches. These center seats were also raised to about 16 inches from the front to the back; and as the main aisles were level there was a step up or down from these benches that became higher and higher further back so at the back of the church it was dangerously high if you forgot it was there, and many a one experienced a fall or near fall by forgetting it was there. These broad main entrance aisles led up to a still broader aisle up front, running from the men's raising seats to the women's raising seats, thus connecting all three aisles; and in this aisle the coffin was placed at funerals for the viewing of the body. Beyond these aisles in each corner was an enclosure that contained two stairs apiece, one leading upstairs and one leading down into the basement; also a cloak-room on the men's side, and a nursery containing cradles, etc., for infant care on the women's side. Midway between these two enclosures up front stood a long table with a bench behind it and a bench

in front of it; on the bench behind this table sat all the preachers, and on the other bench facing the preachers sat the deacons, and it was called the preachers' table. On each side of this table between it and those enclosures were three short benches that were never used unless the house was crowded or at love-feast time. However, they were used in Sunday School for the primary classes, the boys on the men's side, and the girls on the women's side; and here I got my first (in church) religious instructions, and as I grew older went from one class to the other, further toward the rear of the church until I was way back in the young men's class when I stopped going.

This church was heated in winter by three pot-bellied stoves as they were called, that stood one on each side at the foot of the raisings and almost in the middle, and one a little off-center up front at the edge of that center aisle. However, this one was soon taken out and I never remember seeing it, for it was never used again, so a shorter bench and a stove-pipe hole were the only reminds it ever was there.

This church was lighted at night by about twelve kerosene hanging lamps of a large size, that made a nice bright light for those days. The windows were large but the glass panes were small, and no blinds at them; but tight shutters were on the outside that were closed after church was over. However, about 1908, blinds were put on the west windows and a clock took its place on the wall. While humility was a guiding factor in the early churches, thrift was also a large factor, for at that time it was a poor church and the going was hard for even the church.

The upstairs had a partition through its center that divided it into a men's side and a women's side. There were doors leading through it that were locked at love-feast time when it was used for sleeping quarters; but were used when this upstairs was used as a temporary council meeting room. It was largely used to counsel the applicants for baptism. The beds and bedding were the property of the church donated by members many years ago, as were the cradles in the nursery, so I was told.

The basement must have had a well dug in it for there was a pump in it. It also had a fireplace where the love-feast meat was cooked; and later for funerals also. This meat was formerly cooked in a donated copper kettle until one night thieves broke into this basement and carried it off, while robbing the Hanoverdale store and a few sur-

rounding homes. It was then replaced by a more suitable large iron kettle. It also contained long tables with benches on both sides of them; a pantry with rows and rows of shelves where the snitz pies were stored at love-feast time, and a kitchen where the home-baked round loaves of bread were sliced, and the final preparation was made to the food served in the basement or upstairs at love-feast time; and where the dishes were washed and stored.

Into this church I was first carried by my mother, and no doubt sat on her lap for some time, but the first I can remember was sitting besides Mom (*de Mam*) swinging my legs that lacked about a foot from touching the floor, for otherwise I had to sit as quiet as a mouse, at least so I thought, was not even allowed to play a little with a child if it happened to sit next to me. I was finally allowed to sit with *dar Pap* (Pop), but this was not a change to the better along this line, for he was even more strict than Mom for if I swung my legs a little too fast he stopped me; so all I could do was to sit on those benches and try to look pious until those long sermons, as they seemed to me, were over. When I was about twelve years old I was allowed to sit with my boy-friends or Sunday School chums; so I sat several benches back of Father where I could at least swing my legs and talk a little once in a while; but did I keep a watchful eye on the back of Father's head, and if it but turned to look my way, my conversation snapped off like a tripped sprung mousetrap, followed by that pious look.

Father had a special place where he always sat while I went to church; it was about three spaces in, on the second bench, of the first row, of the side raised seats from the front, and here I sat beside him for what to me seemed a long time as a good boy.

There were always about six preachers seated behind the preachers' table, and about that many deacons in front of it; for as some died away others were called. As to the preachers, they served without pay and transportation was slow so they were needed to fill the pulpits of all the churches belonging to this congregation. However when there were services at Hanoverdale there were no other services, so all the preachers could be there and oftentimes were, and oftentimes all of them preached at least a little, for there always was one who preached the long sermon. Sometimes the deacons were called on to speak after the preachers were done, but this practice was dying out about this time. Occasionally I heard a deacon read the scripture lesson, usually in German. These Hanoverdale services were held every four weeks; then the other three Sundays there were services at two of the other churches belonging to this congregation, for the six other places of worship—Paxton, Hornerstown, East Hanover, Fishing Creek Valley, Moonshines, and Linglestown—were serviced every four weeks, two each Sunday. When I was old enough to know the preachers and deacons, there were six preachers seated behind this preachers' table; first sat Bishop John H. Witmer, now called the Elder in charge; second sat Adam J. Shope, then John A. Landis, David Etter, Jr., Thomas Patrick, and Amos M. Kuhns; while in front of this table as deacons sat Benjamin Basehore, Abraham Fackler, Samuel Balsbaugh, John Aungst, Emanuel Kline, and Isaac Baker. As a preacher stood up to preach, the women were to his right and the men to his left in this church.

There were no collection bags, baskets, or plates passed in any church service when I was a boy; all projects that the church desired to do or build, such as the before-mentioned



Royer meetinghouse between Myerstown and Richland.

Gameindshaft Shed, had to be passed at a council meeting, then a treasurer was appointed who received all contributions and paid all bills. If it was but a small matter such as a brother in dire or urgent need of help, a free-will offering was taken by two appointed brethren standing at each door and receiving this contribution right into their hats as the audience left the church; this was called *Dar hoot haiva* (holding the hat). The church maintenance money, such as for coal, kerosene, janitor salary, etc., was collected by the deacons on their yearly visit during January, February, and March, to all the members; they also collected the love-feast money at this time in a separate fund, to buy the meat, rice, bread, etc., used at love-feast.

The Plain Dress

As the plain garb was such an important part of this church's religion at the turn of the century, I shall now describe *De Oddling* (plain clothing) or what the brothers and sisters wore as Sunday, or dress clothing when I first remember seeing them; then a little of its past history, and the history of its disappearance. I will first describe the women's or sisters' clothing, then the men's. The sisters wore dark-colored one-piece dresses, gathered at the waistline and just about floor length, pleated at the waistline and flared at the bottom so a full step could be taken; over the waist a cape was worn. It covered the shoulders and came to a point at the waistline in the front and back center and was of the same material as the dress. An apron of the same material was also worn over the dress, tied at the waistline with the two apron strings. The hair was natural length, parted in the middle, combed straight back and gathered at the back in a knot cluster fastened with combs or hair-pins, or both. Over the hair a white cap called a *prayer covering* was worn at all times; it was made out of a thin white material called cap goods, having two white strings or ribbons of the same material for tying it, but they were not used for they were not tied. Over this a bonnet made of dark material, usually black, was worn with a long stiff hood, and a long frill at the back that hung down over the back for about 10 inches. This bonnet was usually taken off in church; however, not always, for my Mother never took her bonnet off in church that I can remember. As an outer garment for protection against cold or rain, they wore a shawl or shawls, for in extreme cold weather my mother wore three shawls, one known as a blanket shawl, a very heavy shawl. In extreme cold weather the face was covered with a veil as were the faces of the children. So this is what the sisters wore that were really plain: "*shai blain*."

The men wore dark-colored or dark grey suits, the coat, vest, and trousers of the same material. The coat was long, with an all around coat-tail, called *en fligel ruck*, and the collar of the coat was made to stand up at the neck. The shirt was of white, or white print material, with a laydown collar attached of the same material as the shirt. Shoes were now worn but they were not supposed to be stylish or polished. They all had long untrimmed beards with the upper lip shaven for sanitation; the hair was parted in the middle or combed straight back and cut off at the back, straight across from ear to ear. The hat was a broad-brimmed medium high crown Quaker-type, so was never creased. In cold weather ear muffs were worn, or permitted, or a scarf was tied over the ears; for regardless of how cold the weather, this hat was worn. A standard style overcoat was worn, usually a stormer type, one with a heavy high collar, in cold weather or rain, for raincoats were unknown.

So this is how the members of the Church of the Brethren dressed when I was a little boy; but by the time I was fourteen years old lots of changes had already taken place in this plain garb, and at present nearly all of it is gone; so it is of interest that at this early date a lot had changed from the original plain garb or "humble clothing" as the older members told it. The cardboard collapsible hood of the bonnet had given away to the solid hood. Even this went by degrees, for the pasteboard strips became wider and wider until it was in one piece or a stiff-hooded bonnet was accepted, that was already getting shorter, exposing more of the face. The white cap of prayer covering changed from muslin to a special thinner material called cap goods; the cap strings were no longer tied, that was strictly enforced in the early church, so when a sister gets in an accident she will not lose her cap when hurt and wants to pray. The flowing neckcloth (*holsdooch*) that covered the sisters from the neck to the waist line had given way to the tight-fitting diamond-shaped cape. The two-piece *Ruck* and *Yock*, or waist and skirt, had already given way to the all-in-one dress, for formerly the skirt was put on first, then the waist or *Yock*, that reached from around the neck down over the hips and was gathered at the waist-line by the apron strings; this *Ruck un Yock* was oftentimes of different colored material. The gingham apron had changed to an apron of the same material as the dress.

In the mens' or brothers' dress the inverness or cape of the overcoat had given way to a standard-style overcoat, the coat of one material and the trousers of another material or color to a one-colored suit; the coat-tail only in the back to an all around frock coat. The dark-colored shirt gave way to one of white print or pure white, the leather boots to dress shoes.

So much for what happened before my time now to what happened in my 60 years of existence. The great difficulty here is I am not sure if I can possibly get this down in the proper order of their disappearance; so I will take one thing at a time for sometimes they were a long time getting less and less until they disappeared or nearly so. I will take the men or brothers first, for with them the plain garb has vanished completely but for a few old men that still consider this plain garb sacred.

The beard was the first thing to begin to disappear, for the young converts refused to grow beards; then the older men began to trim them shorter and shorter until they were gone entirely, or it could hardly be called a beard as they lay in the coffin, with no one to replace them. The hair was cut shorter and shorter in the back until it became a normal haircut; then the parting of the hair on the side of the head finished the hair *trocht*. The shirts soon began to show little white celluloid collars, called stand-up collars, above the coat collars that became higher and higher until they were in line with standard style. The coat-tail or frock coat became shorter and shorter until it was gone, but in some instances *Dar ruck fleegal* (the long coat-tail) outlasted the lay-down collar of the coat, but after the stand-up collar of the coat had given way to the lay-down collar with coat lapels, the necktie made its appearance amid storms of protests at council meetings from the pulpit and older members, but it survived it all so is here to stay. So the last remnant of the plain suit had vanished; for the shoes had already given way to polish and style. The hat brim became narrower year by year until it was normal size, then with a few creases put in its crown and it was gone and the last remnant of the men's plain garb was gone.



Heidelberg meetinghouse near Reistville.

Now for the women or sisters. About the first thing to disappear was the apron strings. They were replaced by a belt, buttoned, hook and eyed, or just pinned on then later the apron disappeared entirely from the Sunday dress. The dresses became more varied and of brighter colors as time passed on; the cape soon gave way to pleats sown in the dresses to represent it, then disappeared also. By now the dresses were getting shorter and shorter with the young sisters until they were in line with style followed by full style. The shawls gave way to the young converts refusing to wear them, kept on wearing coats that were always in style until the shawl disappeared from the scene. With the bonnet the frill was the first to change, it became shorter and shorter until it was gone, in the meantime the hood became shorter, the corners rounded until there was nothing left but the bottom, and it was soon replaced by a plain hat, then a stylish one, and the plain headgear was gone. The white cap or prayer covering suffered almost the same fate, for the first change came when I was a boy when the white cap-strings gave way to black ones to save washing for they allowed that they became soiled first. These were usually pinned fast and a few times forgetting them and the cap strings were gone. The cap goods became thinner and thinner until at present it is almost transparent, the corners became rounded, the hood part shorter until it was gone, then the bottom became smaller and smaller and was moved up until it occupies but a small portion of the back of the head, so can be seen only from the rear and close up at that, and is the last remnant of the former described plain garb to be seen on the young or members of today.

I have tried in vain to find out where this plain garb came from but failed; some of it seems to have been borrowed from the Quakers, but I think the first motive back of it all was humility; go to church with good clothing and avoid anything stylish; it was in all probability a peasant Sunday dress or clothing with a little humility added as the gingham apron and the blue or colored work shirt, but it became a sort of uniform that could not be kept in line as there was procedure to enforce it not by scripture nor within the church doctrine. My belief that this may have been a former Palatinate German costume or peasant dress was substantiated the time I attended services in the old German

Lutheran Church in Bridgewater, South Dakota, in 1920, where the services were still all German including the Sunday School where its members were made up of German immigrants and their children out of the Palatinate in Germany, where this church, the Church of the Brethren was born. Here both men and women wore good clean clothing to church; lots of the older men had beards, wore dark colored shirts and oftentimes the coat and trousers were of different material.

Simplicity of Dunkard Life

This nonconformity and humility was not only practiced in the wearing of the plain clothing but was used in the way you entered the church; in deprivation of worldly pleasure; on the highways; and in the home. As you entered the church, I remember when just a boy or a little tot the older Brethren entering the church in winter go up front to their seat, take off their scarf and overcoat hanging it over the back of the bench then sit down, and then took off their hat and laid it in his lap; for to do otherwise would have been "*Sich de velt gleich qshdellt.*" or too stylish. The men's cloak-room mentioned before was used by the preachers and deacons for their overcoats, scarfs, and hats; for the preachers' bench was built against the wall and so could not be used to hang an overcoat over its back, so they had to use the cloak room entering the church in similar manner. In summer it was not unusual for a preacher to lay his broad-brimmed hat on the shelf above the preachers' bench, put there for hymn books, Testaments, and Bibles.

In deprivation of worldly pleasure it seemed anything that was not religious was worldly or wrong. No Brother or Sister was allowed to attend any place of amusement. On top of this list was dancing. That was considered so wicked that anyone dancing will go to Hell after death, so to just watch it was a grave sin, and no member was allowed near a dance. Nor were they allowed to attend World Fairs, nor local Fairs of any kind, no Centennial or Old Home Week, no Picnics, not even a church or Sunday School picnic, no Circus, theater, or any kind of a show, not even a school-house entertainment; nor to take part in any form or way in a Serenading, or Bull Banding as it was called. Any member who was found guilty of having attended any of these was brought before the church council. Members found guilty of fornication or adultery were disowned but could be reinstated later on. Divorced members who remarried others were expelled from the church; and no divorced man or woman having married again could become a member of this church even if they never had been a member before.

On the highway a Dunkard was not supposed to drive any wagon with bright red painted wheels or running gear; for black, dark green or real dark red was the color allowed; it was not to have mud-guards, mounted lights, nor fringes at the top. Store-bought buggy-whips were tabued and preached about as sinful; to be allowed to be used by their non-member children; if you needed a whip for a horse or horses, a common tree switch was to be used. The horse was not supposed to be too spry and no match horses were allowed. The harness was to be black rubber mounted; so no sparkling nickel or polished brass ornaments, rings, hooks, buckles, or bridle rosettes adorned the harness of a faithful brother. In winter no brightly painted or stylish sleigh was allowed, although no specific type was endorsed, so they usually bought and drove in older used sleighs; but posi-

tively no bells of any kind were allowed. Many a young member was chastened at council meeting for using sleigh bells; their defence was their horse could not be controlled when he hears bells approaching or following him, but they were told to change horses by the older members. Even as late as 1908 this theory was kept alive but the coming of the auto, which took the horse and sleigh and buggy off the highway, put an end to all this. It was also preached and practiced that if a person following you wishes to drive faster than you, you were to pull to the side of the road and let him pass, for the roads were narrow and ill-kept in those days.

The furniture in a Brethren home was not to be too stylish, but plain, simple and useful. No musical instrument of any kind was allowed in the early Brethren homes. The walls of the homes were to be whitewashed and not papered. Even the outside of the houses were whitewashed until red paint was permitted to be used, but this change is history and I shall write more about it later.

I am going to describe five different services of this church at that time; a Sunday morning service, for there were no evening services then; a Funeral; a Council meeting; a series of Revival meetings and a Love-feast; to bring out those things that are usually overlooked when writing about them.

A Sunday Morning Service

The procedure of a Sunday morning service then was not too much different from today. As soon as there were enough people there, a hymn was announced and the one announcing it oftentimes led the singing. As about all the services were Dutch or German, the one announcing the hymn would read a few lines of a German hymn, then the congregation would join in and help sing it, then he would read another few lines and they would sing it and so on, until the entire hymn was finished. All German hymns were sung this way. It was a handed-down custom from the time when lots of the members could not read or write; for before public schools were instituted education was woefully neglected among the Brethren, especially among the women or Sisters. At the proper time a preacher would stand up and announce the opening hymn by saying *Meer vella now a paar farsht singa foon leed noomar nein-oon-dreisich* or any number of verses or hymn he desired to select. He would then line it or read it as stated before and oftentimes lead in singing it.

It was followed by the opening prayer, when he would call on the audience to kneel. As there were no prayer stools, the audience turned around to kneel resting the arms on the bench whereon they sat. The preacher made a long prayer, part German, part Pennsylvania Dutch, followed by another preacher praying the Lord's Prayer in German; then all would get up and be seated again. After another hymn a preacher stood up and read his text, or had one of the deacons read it for him; he then preached the long sermon in Pennsylvania Dutch, followed by all the other preachers present doing a similar short sermon; then a call to kneel in a closing prayer, where again one made a long prayer and another one followed with the Lord's Prayer. After the congregation was seated, another hymn was sung that everyone was supposed to know, so was not lined, but was led by the Bishop; who then stood up and made the announcement for the services for this congregation for the next four weeks. He closed by saying *Dar Harr wiling oon meer laiva* and *Deer sind now frei*, and the services were over.

The non-members would now usually rush outside, while the members would have a sociable time, Brother greeting Brother; Sister greeting Sister, with a handshake and the salutation of the kiss of charity, then chat for a spell, ask about those who are sick and how the aged are getting along and those not present, properly relating some accident that happened to someone both minor or serious; and that familiar invitation to go along home to dinner, "*Gaint deer mit.*" Yes, there was real fellowship at these meetings; to the early arrivals before and after the services, and to the late arrivals after services only. The Bible used for all Pennsylvania Dutch services was the Martin Luther translation German Bible.

Dunkard Funerals Sixty Years Ago

To describe a Brethren funeral I shall make the time between the years of 1895 to 1905, when transportation was slow, before the days of rural telephones and when rural folks oftentimes received their mail but once a week. I shall not only describe the services but everything pertaining to a funeral from the time of the death of a member of the Brethren Church until the last helper has left and the undertaker has removed the last part of his equipment; for here in the church of 60 years ago this idea of humility and nonconformity was carried into the grave; and that Pennsylvania Dutch neighborliness and desire to be of service in time of need was fully brought out.

The first person called for is *Dar Ouslaiger*, who prepares the body for burial before rigor-mortis sets in. He tied up the jaw, rag-washed the body, laid pennies on the eyes and laid the body in the position it is to be in the coffin. Here is where the expression comes from concerning a mean thief, "He would steal pennies from a dead person's eyes." These pennies were preserved to be used to remove skin growth from a common wart to a cancerous growth and oftentimes this wash-rag was used likewise; the growth was rubbed with it in the dark of the moon or in the wane of the moon. The news that so and so had died was spread to neighbors and friends, and those relatives living close by and soon there is a room full of people there *Far de leicht ousmocha*. Then who is to be the undertaker is first decided, for not all undertakers know how to handle a Brethren funeral; so one is chosen with this know-how; and someone is immediately sent to him, so he leaves, goes home, harnesses his horse, hitches it and drives to the undertaker's place, who comes as soon as he can get his team hitched and his equipment loaded. The rest then set the day for the funeral; choose the preachers, usually selecting two in the congregation where they worship. Then the pallbearers are chosen, usually members of the church about the same age as the deceased, always men, four in number, and never any relatives for that would be *tsoo veltlich* (too worldly). But sometimes neighbors were chosen later on. These pallbearers would get together and choose the day to dig the grave; then they would get together on that appointed day and dig the grave. However, the job of digging the grave soon became the job of the janitor who was paid for his work.

Usually everyone of the *De Leicht Ousmacher* volunteered their services; one man chose to round up about eight or ten young men to serve as hostlers on the day of the funeral. Another one would go and fetch the groceries needed for the meal. Another would order the bread, if the women do not decide to bake it. Two men are usually chosen as waiters at the tables, and a dozen or less women usually volunteered to prepare the meal. Everyone present



Millbach meetinghouse.

will let some relative know the time and place of the funeral—called "*vott shicka*" (sending word); even the undertaker will stop on his way home to let some relative know and thus the friends and relatives get to know or *De freind greeya oll vott gshickt*. When the undertaker arrives he usually puts the body in the ice coffin where it remains until the day of the funeral, and in hot weather he applies new ice daily. The day before the funeral, the women who have chosen to prepare the meal will get together and bake the pies and cakes, usually raisin and snitz pies and crumb cakes for the funeral meal; boil the hams for meat and the prunes, redbeets, pickles, and sometimes though seldom red-beet eggs are made. In fact anything that needs special preparation is taken care of on this day.

The funeral services were always in the forenoon with services at the house about 9:00–9:30, or 10 o'clock. Early the day of the funeral the undertaker puts the corpse in a plain dull-painted six-cornered coffin; by six-cornered is meant that they are wider at the person's shoulders and narrower at the head and feet. No handles were permitted for some time, but finally dark handles of gunmetal color were allowed. The body, be it man or woman, was always dressed in a white shroud; if a sister, she wore a white neckcloth or cape over the shroud, and a prayer covering or white cap on her head, preferably one of her own make or design. The undertaker's wife usually made these shrouds for I do not think they could be had in the open market. The coffin was set on little wooden trestles and left open all morning in the home for viewing. As the giving of flowers was considered worldly or stylish, the church doctrine did not permit any, and as this doctrine was as well known as the plain clothing they wore, there never were any flowers at a Brethren funeral.

Early on the day of the funeral, the men who served and the women who prepared the meal are on hand to serve lunch to all who wish to eat before the funeral starts; they have brought knives and forks and spoons along, and at times dishes; and extra tables are borrowed from neighbors. They will prepare the noonday meal, set the tables, and feed the hostlers until the others get back from the funeral. The hostlers are also on hand; an older man is their overseer, one who knows the relation pretty well, so gets the teams lined up in the proper order.

At the appointed time the pallbearers will take their place standing at the coffin, while one of the preachers announces

and lines a German hymn for the occasion, which is sung very reverently. Then a piece of scripture is read, followed by saying a few words and a prayer, and the coffin is closed by the undertaker. The lid that stood in a corner is placed on the coffin and screwed fast with a screw-driver or thumb-screws. The pallbearers now carry the coffin out to the waiting hearse, the undertaker bringing the trestles. This hearse is black draped and not too fancy, the driver sitting in front almost on top of it, like the driver of a stage coach. The hostlers line up the teams, the teams carrying the nearest of kin or relation first or next to the hearse, and so on until all are in line. The hostlers lead the teams up to the yard gate where they are driven away by the owner; when all are lined up and in the wagons, the undertaker mounts the hearse and the funeral procession is on its way to the church and cemetery. In the church-yard the coffin is opened again and the body is viewed for the last time; then closed and carried to the grave followed by the relation two by two, the nearest of kin next to the coffin. The other relation followed in the following order of kinship: husband or wife or parents, children, grandchildren, nephews, nieces, cousins, first, second and third cousins in their order. At the grave the coffin is lowered into the grave by the pallbearers with wide web straps; followed by the rough-box lid. This rough-box is also made by the undertaker and put in the grave at the time the grave is dug by the pallbearers. After the short ritual at the grave, the singing of one verse of a hymn suited for the occasion and the "Earth to Earth, Ashes to Ashes, and Dust to Dust" closing remarks, they all file into the church for the services; all but the pallbearers, who fill in the grave, starting to fill in at the foot end of the grave, for if ground is thrown on the head end of the coffin first, another one of the relation will soon follow in death. The age old custom for three pallbearers to throw three shovelfuls of ground on the foot end of the coffin while the words *Erda tsoo Erda; osha tsoo osha; oond shtoub tsoo shtoub* were spoken was never practiced by the Brethren; for when they tore away from the mother church, Lutheran and Reformed, it seemed they dropped every form or ritual of the mother church.

The funeral services followed the same procedure as a Sunday morning service. However, only hymns appropriate for the occasion were sung, and with more reverence. The preaching was done by the two selected ministers with equal time to each, and usually a few words of praise were spoken for the departed if he or she was a godly person; however the theme of the Brethren preachers was to preach for the living and not about the dead.

By the time the services were over and the people came back from the funeral, the noonday meal was ready to serve. The tables were set; so the guests were seated at the table, first the preachers, then the relation in the order of the nearest of kinship first, then on down the line until all who cared to eat were served. Ofttimes there was a second and a third or even more tables served, depending on the size of the crowd and the room available. The meal usually consisted of mashed potatoes, cold sliced boiled ham (*gakucht shoonka flaish*), redbeets, pickles, prunes, spiced-fruit, and once in a great while red-beet eggs, if the eggs were cheap and plentiful, also bread, butter, apple-butter, snitz and raisin pies, crumb cakes, and coffee with milk and sugar as preferred.

The hostlers take care of the teams as they come in, for all are unhitched and the horses fed. One of the hostlers

has a piece of crayon and numbers each team as they come in; starting at 1, putting the same number on the wagon as the one put on the harness of the horse, usually on the blind of the bridle, so that after the horses are fed they are hitched to the right wagon; while others do the unhitching, feeding and hitching again after they are done eating.

The afternoon is spent in visiting, and in spite of the sad occasion, becomes rather pleasant, for friends and relatives get together and visit that have not seen each other for years. Those who came by railroad are taken to the station by some volunteer till their train time. The others leave as they see fit, the hostlers get their teams for them. The last to leave are the cooks and their helpers, after the dishes are all washed, sorted and at their place, the knives and forks are sorted and taken along home by the owner. All this service is done gratis; no one would think of getting paid, not even the preachers. The only one getting paid is the undertaker who usually comes the next day for the ice coffin, folding chairs and other equipment and usually brings his bill, which he gives by request.

I should probably state here that if the deceased was a child only two young men were chosen pallbearers, and they carried the coffin, one going in front and one in back, for there is where the handles of the coffin were.

At the turn of the century the procedure at funerals began to change rapidly and the custom of burying the dead before the services began to disappear first, for my Grandmother Fackler in 1903 was taken into the church and viewed after the services, against her wish and desire; and my Grandma Moore Peffly in 1905 was also viewed in the church; and by 1913, when Grandpa Fackler was buried the former custom had entirely disappeared. The next change came when the noonday meal was prepared and eaten in the basement of the church, using the dishes, knives and forks, spoons, etc. of the church, but still retained the free-of-charge service of the cooks and helpers, so by 1910 all funeral meals were served in the basement of the church.

Then English was taking the place of Pennsylvania Dutch and German, for the services of Grandma Fackler and Moore were all Pennsylvania Dutch or German, while for Grandpa Fackler the services were half Pennsylvania Dutch and half English. I will close by saying that the plain six-cornered coffins were usually made by the undertaker or his helpers.

Revival Meetings Among the Brethren

So much for how faithful members left the church or were buried; now to describe how members came into the church and as revival meetings were about the only source of getting new members, I shall next describe a series of revival meetings and how converts became members.

As the largest percentage of the members of this Hanoverdale church were rural folks or farmers, the revival meetings were always held in winter or late fall, after the farmers had their last crop, the corn fodder, in or stacked. I like to look back to those days; for the days were short, the evenings long, so the chores were done early on the farm, then the mules hitched to the bob-sled and with Pa and Ma on the seat up front, we boys sat on the blanket-covered straw in back in the box on our way to church. One of us would sit next to the brake lever and *sparred* or braked down the hills, for claw-like irons were fastened to the rear runners of the sled that dug into the ground when the brake lever was drawn. We would get to church in plenty of time and sit around that pot-bellied stove and listen to



Union meetinghouse above Mt. Zion.

the old-timers chat until enough people were there to start to sing, or the house was warm enough for people to go to their seats. One of the main speakers or talkers that I remember was old Wendel Fackler, a great uncle of mine who at that time was about 80 years old, white gray and blind, but still a good talker and a story he told one evening I never will forget for it brought out the fact that a white lie was not considered a sin even by the Brethren many long years ago. He told the story in Pennsylvania Dutch so I shall try and translate it as best I can.

When this Wendel Fackler was a young man either his father or his father-in-law stayed at his home in his old age, and as he related the story was blind, and his mind began to fail him at the time he was still able to walk around with a cane, so that he imagined some of the strangest things. He complained to Wendel one day that a certain man always comes to his house at meal-time, and not only he but his wife and children come along and they stuff themselves with food—“*Oon se fressa sich gons groass oon dick full do.*” After too much complaint, Wendel decided to do something about it to ease his mind by saying, tell me when they come again and I shall attend to the matter, so one day he said they are here again. “All right,” said Wendel, “give me your cane.” He took it, ran around in the kitchen hitting on cushions, on the rocking chairs and some other of the chairs, then handed his cane back to him and said, “I don’t think that they will ever bother you again, for the way I beat them up I do not think they will ever be back again.” And in the old man’s imagination they never did. He then got another idea. He told Wendel he just cannot keep his barn-floor clean, for two fellows are out there. One on the overlog scratches the dirt loose or down, and the other fellow scatters it all over the barn-floor. “All right,” said Wendel, “*Des vill ich eena shoon glei shduppa*” (I shall stop that). Give me your cane.” So he took it, went out in the yard, stood at the yard gate for a spell, then went back in to him, and gave him his cane and said, “The way I mauled them fellows, they will never be back in my opinion. They never will come back.” And in the old man’s imagination they never did. This story brought out the fact that he was telling the old man white lies and thought nothing of it, and brings out my own philosophy that even the Devil’s best tool, the lie, can be used for a good purpose occasionally. Yes, many such tales were told around that church stove in those days for people came early so they could chat awhile.

These revival meetings were scheduled to last two weeks, but lots of converts oftentimes changed it to four weeks or more, and too much snow, high winds, and drifts, sometimes reduced it to less than two weeks. I remember one occasion where too much rain and mud closed a revival meeting in less than two weeks; and it sure did rain those two weeks, and it seemed the most rain fell in the evening at the time people should be going to church. Two preachers from some other congregation, that had evangelistic ability, were called in to conduct these revival meetings, so one would preach one night and the other one the next evening and so on; but I never saw this—it was before my time, for only one strange preacher was called in from the time I can remember. Following the song services, opening prayer, the announcing and reading of his text, he usually preached a short convicting sermon, then pleaded for sinners to come to their Christ; an invitation hymn was announced and sung and then the converts would go up front and sit on the two front benches that were always left vacant for this purpose. This was called "making a start." The rest of the conversion was carried out at home and sometimes through life, for as one preacher put it, never turn back, keep going forward although your conversion may not seem as real as that of someone else. These evangelists were paid their railroad fare or stage-coach fare from their home to the nearest station where they were to preach; then after the series of meetings were over their fare back home, and while here they received board and lodging free from a member or members, who took them out to visit a lot and where they happened to be at meal time they ate, for there were no dinner dates then, for there always was enough food on hand in those days to prepare an unexpected meal among these Pennsylvania Dutch. Later on a secret offering was taken for the Evangelist, then given to him as a gift and this always amounted to more than his fare. This was later changed to an open free-will offering that again increased the amount he received and it can now be said Evangelistic work is a good paying enterprise as of today.

These converts were received into the church as members by baptism in early spring through the following procedure. After or during their conversion the Evangelist and a home minister visited them to give them any assistance they may need. Then a week before the appointed day for baptism they were visited again by the local ministers to see if they are ready for baptism, and willing to follow through with all of the church doctrines. Then, on the morning of the day set for baptism before the sermon starts, all members are invited upstairs at the church, minus the parents or guardians of the applicants. Here the applicants' names are read and if anyone there can give a reason why any of these applicants cannot become a member, they can speak up or forever remain silent. Next the parents are called up to give their consent, even if they are not members of the church. These are taken upstairs to give their consent, but sometimes they refused to go and sometimes refused to give their consent; they were then admitted regardless, for it was but a procedure and not compulsive to have their consent.

The applicants were taken up last and instructed in all the doctrines of the church, as not to go to war, or take part in any preparation for war, not to take the public oath, not to use alcoholic drinks, not to use tobacco in any form, not to attend any of the before-mentioned places of amusement, and were told to always remain at peace with their

fellow man, not to resist an aggressor but to turn the other cheek; and committed to wear the plain clothing. All of this became a promise by their final "Yes."

They all came down now into the church room. The applicants occupied the front row of seats during the services. The sermon usually was short, explaining why this form of baptism, why trine immersion is used, and why baptism is necessary in order to become a Christian; explaining scripture quotations that bear it out. In short it is as follows; the form of baptism is from different scriptures that speak of much water, and coming up out of the water, and burying the old sinful man through baptism, and raising up a new man a Christian. Trine immersion is required because at the baptism of Christ the Holy Trinity were in three persons, Christ as a man in the water, and Holy Spirit as a dove between heaven and earth, and God as a voice out of heaven; and though your sins are forgiven they must be washed away through a public demonstration that these requirements are fulfilled. After the services they had to make a public confession of faith by the church Bishop reading Matthew 18: 15, 16, 17, and their consent to fulfill this scripture by an everlasting "Yes!"

The next procedure was to follow the church doctrine to be immersed in a stream of running water; so after the applicants had changed into the clothing they had chosen to wear to be baptized in, they all assembled on the banks of the Manada Creek that was about a mile east of this Hanoverdale church and by the time they came there both banks of the stream were already lined with spectators. Some came in the spirit of worship, others out of curiosity, and but a few to mock. After a song and a prayer with the ministers and the applicants kneeling on a blanket, they were led into the stream or creek one at a time by the officiating minister, who then stood behind the kneeling applicant, and first asked three questions, another public confirmation of faith. The first one was if they believe in Christ and the saving Gospel; second if they are willing to renounce Satan; and the third if they are willing to be baptized for the remission of their sins. They were then immersed three times by the minister plunging or pushing their head forward three times, one time in the name of the Father, one time in the name of the Son, and one time in the name of the Holy Spirit. The minister next laid his hands on his head and prayed over them while he or she was still kneeling in the water. The minister now assisted them to arise and if a male, greeted him with the kiss of charity, and the baptismal ceremony was over for the individual, and he was now a member of the church. They then left the water together and another one was taken in, until all applicants were thus baptized. If there was a large number to be baptized several ministers officiated, one baptizing so many, then giving it over to the next minister.

As stated before revival meetings were the main source for getting new members. However, occasionally one would become a member that belonged to another church; but he had to be rebaptized even though the church he left had baptized him by trine immersion. A few were death-bed or sick-bed repentants. Such repentants, if they requested it, were sometimes immersed in winter through a hole in the ice. They were carried to a nearby stream wrapped in a blanket or quilt and two ministers, one assisting, immersed them three times. Strange as it may seem, they suffered no ill effect for many recovered to become faithful members. Doctors in those days permitted this sick-bed baptism, and some even recommended it.

The Council Meeting

I have described how this church buried its dead and how it acquired its new members, so I shall next describe how this church was governed; for here was democracy in reality. The executive, preachers and deacons, were voted into their office by all the members voting for whom they choose without any restrictions to a selected few. And all the church members were the legislative body who could introduce bills, and this body could debate them, pass them, or reject them. So I shall next describe a council meeting.

A council meeting or *Road Farsummling*, was for members only and were held every three months, one in March, one in June, one in September, and one in December. They were always opened and closed by song and prayer and a devotional scripture was read.

Prior to the March Council Meeting, the deacons (*Psooch-Breeder*) were sent out two by two to make an every-member visit. When they came to a home, they first had family worship; then had every member in the home reconfirm their faith by answering the three questions asked by one of these Visiting Brethren. They were allowed to give to these Visiting Brethren any query they wanted to have discussed at council meeting. These were usually unsigned, and the deacons were not allowed to mention the giver's name; they in turn put them into a query box.

A few days before Council Meeting there was an official board meeting that included all the preachers and deacons of this congregation; where all these queries were sorted, taking only those before the council meeting that were considered constructive or fit to be discussed. Another duty of this board meeting at that time was to choose the officials of the Sunday School for that year, and they were announced at the Council Meeting.

Then at *De Road Farsummling* or Council Meeting these queries were read, discussed, and passed or rejected as the council saw fit. Items of improvement or change of procedure were discussed and passed or rejected as a majority deemed proper. Members that had failed morally or had gotten in a scrap or fight with someone, had attended a forbidden place of amusement or began to wear or use something forbidden by the church, were counseled or admonished to make restitution and were sometimes expelled from the church in accordance with the seriousness of the offence.

Members whose membership had been dropped because of gross sin or failing to heed the discipline of the church, and wished to be received back into the church, made their desire known to the church at these council meetings. After making acknowledgement of their sin and expressing a desire to greater faithfulness, the church council then in their absence would discuss their confession and if satisfied would by motion decide to receive them back into the church. The individual under discussion was now sent for and brought before the church council where the Elder in charge would report the decision and usually would admonish them to greater faithfulness to God and to the discipline of the church. The members present would now line up in the aisles of the church and the person to be received back into the church would follow this line and be received by the right hand of fellowship and the salutation by those of their own sex of the kiss of charity. It was a common practice for the Elder in charge now to give an admonition to all present for a fuller dedication of life and loyalty to the doctrines of the church; and that they should now receive

the reinstated member back into the church as though the incident of their membership having been dropped had never occurred. Or in short, forgive and forget all about it.

The date for the love-feast was decided at these council meetings; also the date for revival meetings. A janitor was chosen and his salary fixed. Any new project such as those before-mentioned sheds, was discussed and if passed, a treasurer was appointed and a day set for volunteer helpers to be on hand. In fact, anything that needed repairs, replacing, or alteration had to be passed by this church council before any action could be taken.

As the need arose, Preachers and Deacons were chosen at these council meetings. For such an occasion ministers from another congregation were called in, and special scriptures were read. If a preacher was to be chosen, Titus 1: 5-9 and I Timothy 3: 1-7 were read; and if a deacon, I Timothy 3: 8-13 and Acts 6: 1-8 were read. As these ministers were called in to receive and count the votes, members felt more free to state their choice. They would first give a short talk to lay before the congregation the qualification of a minister or a deacon as the case may be. They then began to receive and count the votes. One would receive the verbal vote, then give it to the other minister who would write it down in a book or tally all votes. Two deacons would oversee the voting to make it orderly and reverent. They would order one benchful of members up at a time, who would file by these ministers, casting their vote, then another benchful was ordered up until all members present had cast their vote, the men preceding the women or sisters.

The one receiving the largest number of votes became a preacher or deacon for life; or as long as he conducted himself in accordance with his high calling; for even disobedient preachers could be expelled. Sometimes two preachers or deacons were chosen at the same time. Then every member voted for two and the one receiving the largest number of votes sat above the one receiving the second largest number of votes, behind or in front of the preachers' table as the case may be.

Mother told me that years ago the procedure was quite different in choosing preachers or deacons in these council meetings. For then all those that received votes were lined up around a table and a book was placed in front of each one and only one of these books contained the word preacher. Even the one distributing the book did not know which book contained the word preacher. They could pick up any book on the table but they had to choose according to the number of votes they received; the one with the largest number of votes picked up the first book, then the one with the second highest number of votes, and so on until all had chosen a book. They were then opened and the one holding the book containing the word preacher in it became a preacher for life although he may not have had the largest number of votes.

These Council Meetings were presided over by the Elder in charge or Bishop, as he was then called, and his decision was final in controversial matters. At this time there were three degrees to the ministry, and if you could call the office of Bishop a degree, four. They were elected by this church council to the first degree, then when the church saw fit they were advanced into the second degree by the church council, and as the need appeared for someone to assist an aging or infirm Bishop they were ordained Elders and upon the death of the Bishop became Elder in charge or Bishop for life. So for this reason young men were usually chosen to the ministry.

The Dunkard Love-feast

I have now come to the last of the five services I wish to describe—*Des Levas Moal* or *Love-feast*. The word *Love-feast* or *Levas Moal* originated out of the German words *Liebens Mahl* and in its translation into English the word *meal* was incorrectly translated *feast* instead of *meal*; for “*feast*” means to have all kinds of food in abundance and stuffing oneself with food while “*meal*” means to but eat to live, and the latter word should have been used for it is but a fellowship meal patterned after the last supper Christ ate with his disciples, or as near so as the scriptures describe it.

These Hanoverdale love-feasts were held twice a year, one in the Fall and one in the Spring. The Spring love-feast was usually held in May or early June and it is this Spring love-feast I am describing and on a fair day for rain changed things considerably, and the attendance was always smaller at an autumn love-feast due to the weather being cooler and the days shorter. Prior to 1860 when this Hanoverdale church was built to hold love-feasts in it, as previously described, love-feasts were held in barns once a year in summer, *far da hoyat oon arn*, or before hay-making and harvest started. This would put the time in late May or early June, for haymaking at that time did not start before the longest day or the 21st of June.

Lots of the details of these barn love-feasts are lost in antiquity. However, these few items I have gathered from memory having listened to old folks talk about it when I was a boy. Two barn floors were always used, one containing the women and the other the men. The tables were lighted with tallow candle lamps and a few tallow candle lanterns hung from the beams of the barn. The preachers and deacons did the ceremonial feet-washing of the men or brethren, and the preachers' and deacons' wives this ceremonial feet-washing of the women or sisters. One preacher or deacon or their wives washed an entire bench full before changing places with the next one. The single mode of feet-washing was instituted sometime after the love-feasts were held in the church. If the public or non-members were allowed to attend these barn love-feast services, I have been unable to find out, but it is presumed they were not. That they lasted more than one day is borne out by the fact that the hay lofts were used as sleeping quarters for overnight guests, the women always using the cow hay-loft and the men the horse hay-loft. And the tables and benches used at these barn love-feasts found their way into the basement of this new-type church as permanent equipment.

This Hanoverdale love-feast was not only a great social and spiritual event for the members of this Big Swatara Congregation but also for members of nearby congregations, who came to this love-feast usually by train to Swatara Station. This congregation saw to it that there always were enough teams there to bring them from this station to Hanoverdale, for a member had been appointed to solicit as many teams as needed, for it was all done by free will. A two-horse closed market wagon was usually used and could bring from 6 to 8 people on one trip.

Not only was this love-feast a great day for the members but to non-members as well who came from miles around to attend; for it was a community get-together affair, for it seemed everybody went to this Hanoverdale love-feast in the Spring. A goodly number came to eat some of those good snitz pies that the Dunkards or Brethren served at the free to all evening meal in the basement of the church.

Others came just to walk around outside greeting friends, visit for a spell, then wander off to find and greet other friends and chat with them. Sometimes a bunch grouped together, had fun visiting, joking, and teasing one another. A few went inside to watch the ceremonies. A large number of young men brought their girl friends here, others found girl friends here that later became a sweetheart and his wife, and girls oftentimes found their first beau here that later became her husband and one of these was my mother-in-law. Then there usually were a few drunks there to show off this evil part of life. However, they made very little disturbance, at least in my days.

As this large crowd came by team, every shed was full, every hitching post on the church ground had a horse tied to it, the entire tying rail at the Schaffner's store was full the full length of the store and adjoining warehouse and every available fence post on both sides of the five roads leading to this church had a horse tied to it, from the church out each way over a quarter mile, or on the Union Road from the church down to the first farm, and up the other way or north beyond the first intersecting road. Yes, there were horses and light wagons of every make and description. The solid rubber-tired buggy wheel was now making its appearance but they were few and far between. The top buggy and the two-seated surrey were always in the lead; and occasionally there was to be seen a team of match horses—almost a novelty.

Several days before this love-feast day, all the sisters of this congregation were busy baking snitz pies or half-moons. The latter was but half of a snitz pie, for a piece of pie dough was rolled out thin, put in a patty-pan or pie tin, then half of it was filled with snitz, then the other half of the pie dough was lapped over the snitz and hand sealed and baked; but the why or wherefore for baking this type of a pie when in about the same time they could have baked a real pie I have never learned or been able to figure out, although Grandma Moore baked her snitz pies this way. These pies and bread that they baked, they took along on love-feast morning together with probably a crock full of apple-butter, pickles, or red-beets, and a few pounds of butter, and stored them in the pantry of the church basement. This was a love-feast donation.

The Elder in charge had already written many letters inviting preachers from other congregations to come and take part in this love-feast and a goodly number of them accepted and were on hand love-feast morning, so there was so to speak a large number of strange preachers there. On love-feast morning, as soon as there were enough people there, the love-feast services were started at about 9:30 or 10 o'clock by the singing of a number of hymns and an opening prayer. Then some of the invited preachers preached till noon. Some of the sisters soon left the services to prepare the noonday meal in the basement of the church and set the tables, etc.

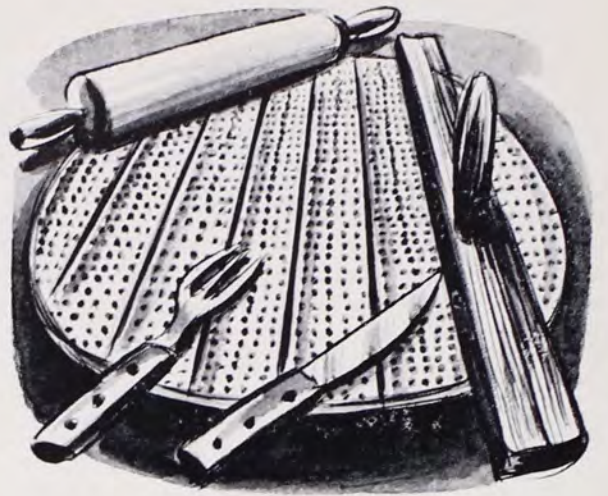
At noon all filed down into the basement for a noonday meal of bread, butter, apple-butter, cold beef, red-beets, pickles, and snitz pies. Occasionally a raisin pie showed up but they were rare indeed. After the tables were filled, with the men at one table, and the women at another table and grace had been said for the meal, a Brother came along carrying a huge, long-spouted coffee pot yelling *Koffay oond rawm! Koffay oond rawm!* (coffee and cream!), another one came along carrying a similar pot calling *Koffay mid rawm! Koffay mid rawm!* (coffee with cream!), and a third one came along calling *Vill epper vusser! Vill epper*

vosser! (does anyone want water?). The one desiring any of the three would raise his or her cup and it was filled and these three would make their rounds until the meal was ended for you could have as many cupfuls as you desired. However, the water man's ware did not have the preference of the other two for the Pennsylvania Dutch were great coffee drinkers. The seating capacity of these tables was over 200 people, so some waited for the second or third table.

After the noon recess following this meal, at about 2 p.m. the afternoon services started. These were similar to the morning services with preaching until about 3:30, when the congregation was requested to rise while they sung a hymn and those who had to leave to do their evening farm chores filed out during the singing of this hymn. The *Brief Bredich* or self examination sermon was begun by reading I Corinthians 11:28-30, and members were warned to get right with themselves and their fellowman before partaking of the Lord's Supper. These services lasted about an hour with probably about a two-hour recess.

During this recess when all is ready in the basement of the church the outer doors were opened for all non-members who will to come in and eat. Again the men sat at one table and women at another table, and to a meal of bread, butter, applebutter, red-beets, pickles, and snitz pies in unlimited quantities. Many a person attended this love-feast just to get to eat some of these good Dunkard snitz pies. At the same time the church upstairs was speedily changed for the evening love-feast meal. Every third bench became a table, and again every third bench had its back reversed to face this table, then these tables were covered with a long white table cloth. Down in the basement of the church the meat was cut into suitable pieces and put on plates, the rice soup dished up into tin dishes, and pieces of broken bread added, then covered with the meat plate to retain the heat. They were thus started on their way up to the table by a hand to hand brigade of men standing in a row from the fireplace up the steps to the tables where several deacons did the setting of the table and were spaced so one dish served six people, three on one side of the table and three on the other side. In the meantime another deacon brought the sliced bread up in a basket and stacked it on the table, about three pieces high, at intervals on both sides of the table. Beside each soup dish a large ladle-shaped spoon was laid to be used to ladle out the soup. Between the stacks of bread the butter plates were placed, while in front of every intended participator two little bowls were set, one to be filled with drinking water and the other one to be used to ladle some of the soup in to eat, also a knife, a fork, and a spoon.

By about 7 o'clock in the evening all the members were seated around these tables, the Brethren on their respective side of the church and the Sisters on their side. If the tables were not filled the Bishop would invite members of other congregations present to sit at the table until the tables were filled or all had been invited. The services were now started by singing and the opening prayer, and only the members sitting at these tables stood instead of kneeling and non-members remained seated. The 13th chapter of St. John was now read, followed by the ritual of feet-washing that was observed by the single mode. Each table had a foot tub and a towel. One member or Brother would arise, take off his coat, then tie on this towel and wash the feet of the one sitting on his left and when finished would greet him with the right hand of fellowship and the kiss



A "loaf" of communion bread and utensils.

of charity, then would put on his coat and sit down, while the brother whose feet he had washed did likewise—washed the feet of the one sitting to his left, until the circuit was finished. The same procedure was followed on the women's side of the church minus taking off the coat or other garment. This taking off the coat was to fulfill that part of the scripture, "He laid aside his garment."

Next after this, grace was said and the meal, the Lord's Supper, was eaten quietly and reverently. Soup is ladled into these individual bowls and eaten with the meat and bread and butter. After the meal a second prayer of thanks for the meal was said with those standing around the table. Next the scripture of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion of Jesus is read using either of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John. Now a doctrine or ordinance is observed that is not a part of the Last Supper but is a way of fulfilling Paul's command in I Thessalonians 5:26—to greet all the Brethren with a holy kiss. So the officiating minister greets the brother to his left with the right hand of fellowship and the kiss of charity. This is continued until the entire house is included in this circuit—only the men have one circuit and the women a circuit of their own.

Next I Corinthians chapter 11 is read, then a prayer for the communion bread is said followed by serving this communion bread. This communion bread is baked in strips about two inches wide and about 18 inches long and before baking is pierced with five fork-tine marks to denote the five wounds of Christ. A strip of this bread is given to a brother who breaks off a piece and gives it to his brother on his left who lays it on the table, then takes the piece and breaks a piece off and gives it to the brother on his left and so on until an entire circuit is completed. But here the number of circuits vary according to the size of the congregation. As this bread must be broken, when a strip becomes too small it is handed back to the officiating minister, who hands him a new piece, for two ministers supervise each circuit, one carrying the tray of the bread and the other one hands out the strips and retrieves the unbroken small pieces.

On the Sisters' side of the church one of the officiating ministers breaks the bread for them, because the sisters or women had no part in the communion or bread-breaking that Christ established the night of the last supper. As the bread is broken, he says to the brother to whom he gives it, "This bread is the body of Christ that was broken for you," as I can translate it into English. The preacher breaking

the bread for the women did likewise. After every member seated around these tables has received a piece of this bread, a short admonition is given concerning the meaning of this bread. They were now told to eat it. That is again broken and not bitten, usually in five pieces to commemorate the five wounds of Christ.

After a prayer of thanks and the singing of a hymn the officiating minister gave a short talk on the true significance of the wine as the symbol of Christ's shed blood. The common communion cup was now passed from right to left in the manner as the bread, saying as he handed the cup to the brother next to him, "This cup is the blood of Christ that was shed for you," again as I translate it, for it was spoken in Pennsylvania Dutch or German at the time I sat at the communion table with Mom. This cup was large and high, holding about a pint and as it became nearly empty it was refilled by the officiating minister who carried it in a long spouted can. But one cup was used for the entire congregation so the Brethren were served first, followed by the Sisters. During all these rituals hymns were being sung but during the supper and the breaking of the communion bread; the latter being symbolic of Christ's broken body, was too grievous for song.

After a closing prayer, when everyone in the entire house was requested to rise or stand, the last scripture of the Lord's Supper was fulfilled by the singing of a hymn. Even the scripture "and it was night" was fulfilled for these love-feast services were always timed so that it was night by the time this last hymn was sung, although the spring love-feast was started before sundown. There was no restriction as to how much wine an individual took but a good sip was the common procedure.

After the singing of that last hymn the love-feast for the evening was over. The tables were now cleared by volunteer helpers, who took the dishes into the basement of the church, where they were washed, dried and put away by the Sisters. Then men took care of the table cloths, towels, foot tubs, etc. These table cloths and towels were taken along home by the sisters and washed.

Usually a large number of those attending this love-feast from other congregations were invited and stayed overnight at a friend's or relative's home; yet a large number slept in the beds upstairs in the church, the men on their side of this upstairs and the women on their side. Those staying overnight in the church were on hand in the morning for morning worship in the church; and were also on hand for

the concluding services of this love-feast that lasted till noon, with preaching services similar to the day before. At noon they had a similar noonday meal together in the basement and the event is over for this time or for another six months. The women folks once again wash and store the dishes; the teams took those members that came by train back to the Swatara Station; and last the sisters gathered their empty pie-plates, crocks, jars, etc., and with their husbands and family went home and back to their work on the farm.

So here to the best of my knowledge is a description of the Hanoverdale love-feast of sixty years ago. As far as I know only one change had taken place prior to this time besides those already described. That was that beef was served for the love-feast meat when in former years it was mutton. That was no doubt the meat served at Christ's last supper. Nevertheless in the last fifty years quite a few changes have taken place. The Sisters now break the communion bread the same as the men. Wine was replaced by unfermented grape juice. Individual communion cups have replaced the common communion cup. The chapter of the Crucifixion of Christ is no longer read by a minister, a responsive reading has taken its place. The individual spoken message at the breaking of the communion bread and the passing of the wine cup is now spoken in unison before the act. And they no longer have the salutation of the Holy Kiss as a separate part of this love-feast. As all of these changes are on a local basis or individual congregation there may still be some congregations that still observe the former way.

To those who have always known about and attended love-feasts of this Brethren Church this may seem an unusually long and thorough account, but to someone that has never seen or heard about them I have tried to point out some of those confusing accounts of these love-feasts. Take for instance the case that happened when I was a boy of about 12 years. A certain newspaper or magazine sent a reporter to get a full report of one of these love-feasts, so after he had eaten a noonday meal in the basement of the church he left and made the following report that I shall condense. This Dunkard love-feast is eaten in the basement of the church and is a free to all meal; they serve bread, butter, cold meat, red beets, pickles, and dried apple pies with coffee rich in cream. The poor fellow did not know that he had but helped to eat one of the five meals served at one of these love-feasts.

About the Authors

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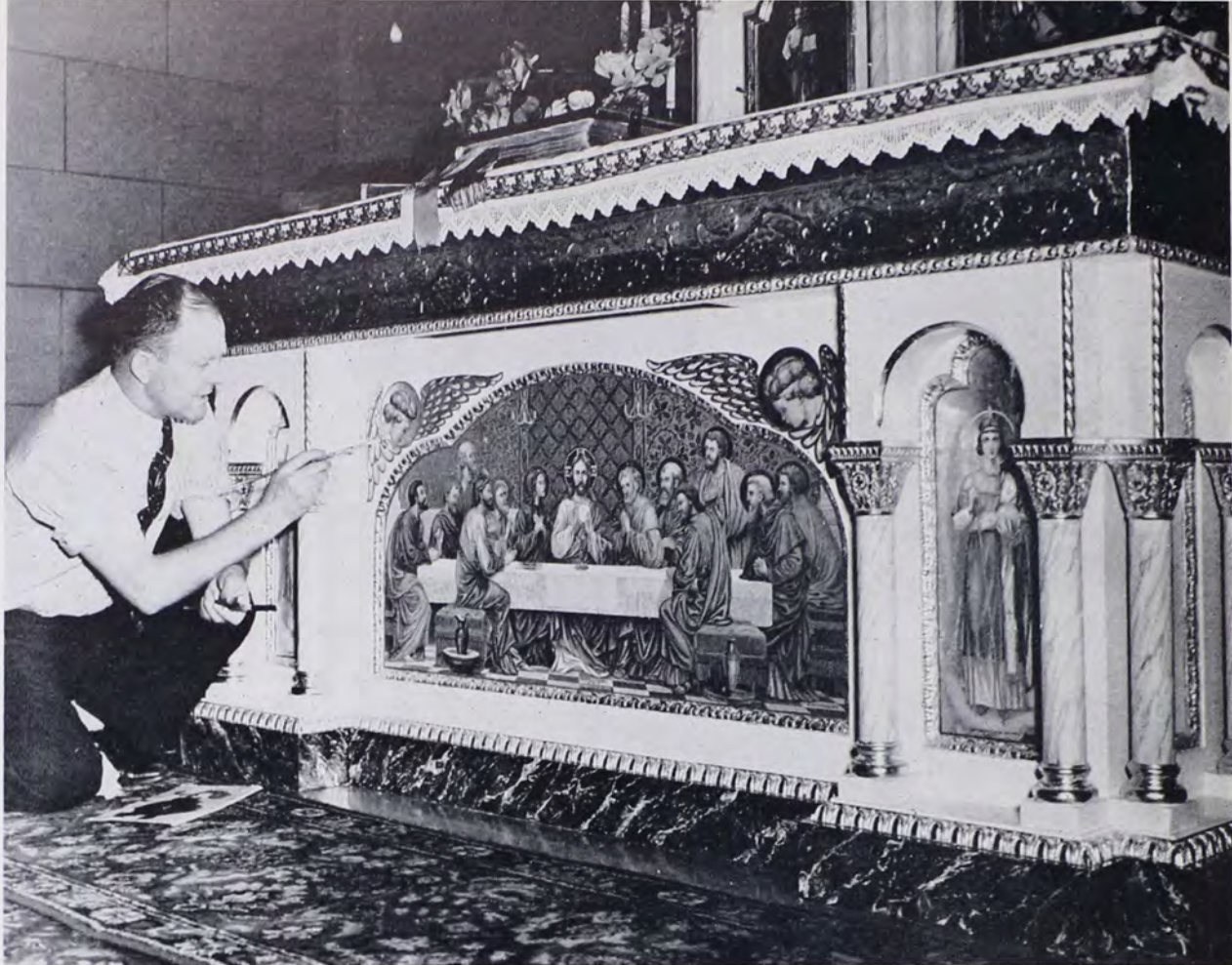
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Earl F. Robacker, White Plains, New York—antiques editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.



Liturgical art of Eastern Christendom in Pennsylvania's coal region. Nicholas Bervinchak and altar he designed for Minersville church.

Nicholas Bervinchak

By EDITH PATTERSON

Born in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, he came of Ukrainian stock and of a family skilled with its hands and in the mines. He has lived all his life in one mine patch or another and grew up among the rich rituals and art of the Eastern Churches.

At fifteen he left school to help the family. Like hundreds of miners' sons, he began picking slate, but between seventeen and eighteen went inside the mine.

At every opportunity he still drew and made sketches of all kinds of mine scenes, but as he says, "The work of a miner is rugged. Some of my tasks were timbering in a gangway, laying track, drilling holes for dynamite charges, scooping coal and driving mules." After sweating and toiling for over a year, he began to think seriously of art as a means for making a living.

George Luks, one of the famous Eight, sometimes called the Ash Can School, came back to paint in the coal region, where he had lived as a boy, and at the end of his summer's work gave an exhibit of the canvasses he had done, at the Pottsville Public Library. Nick had done an oil in the

only kind of paints he then knew, house paints, and brought it to show Luks, who encouraged him to continue.

Paul Daubner, European-educated artist, muralist and frescoer, came to Minersville to decorate the very ornate Polish Church there. Nick made his acquaintance and became his assistant in painting Byzantine and other churches throughout this and the Philadelphia localities. Mr. Daubner became his first teacher as well as his first employer as an artist.

Upon his own account Nick took up pen and ink drawings where his mastery of line and his meticulous care and facility of execution struck Mr. Daubner, who said, "Nick, you should do etching." "Etching?" said Nick, "What's that?"

Daubner explained the process, the tools, copper plate, the acid and the press, and (among others) it was not long until the young artist had produced an etching of his mother, milking her cow. Mr. Daubner told the Pottsville Library people, "That's pure Rembrandt, and I doubt if he even knows who Rembrandt was."

If he didn't, it was not for long, because young Bervinchak

NICHOLAS BERVINCHAK

Miner and interpreter of miners' life through etching and painting, church decorator in the Orthodox tradition, poet and hymnist—

For your sympathetic and perceptive portrayal of the life and spirit of the Pennsylvania anthracite miner, in etchings and paintings exhibited nationally and internationally;

For your continuation in Pennsylvania's coal region of the tradition of the rich liturgical art of Eastern Christendom—your heritage from the past;

And for your belief in yourself and your constant search for perfection in artistic expression—which has been an encouragement to others,

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society in connection with the 10th annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival—takes pleasure in awarding you this citation for distinguished service in the field of Pennsylvania Folklife.

Citation awarded to Nicholas Bervinchak at Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival, Kutztown, 1959.



The artist completing church mural.

at once bought a manual on etching and has been a student of art books ever since. He also found that it was quite an expensive form of art, but that did not daunt him. A press would have cost \$100.00, but the good right arm, which had helped him hoist heavy mine timbers in places over his head, and a big table spoon, were his first tools. He says, "This method required a lot of hand and elbow work and was very tiresome. A sheet of copper from the colliery served as a plate and a victrola needle inserted into a pencil holder served as an etching needle. A bit of asphalt mixed with beeswax was applied onto the plate and smoked black with a candle. I copied one of my favorite pen and ink drawings of miners on the plate with the victrola needle.

"In order to make a print I used my tablespoon and, by rubbing and pressing down at the same time over a waxed cardboard which covered a damped etching paper placed over my inked plate, finally succeeded. Everything was held in place with thumbtacks to prevent moving.

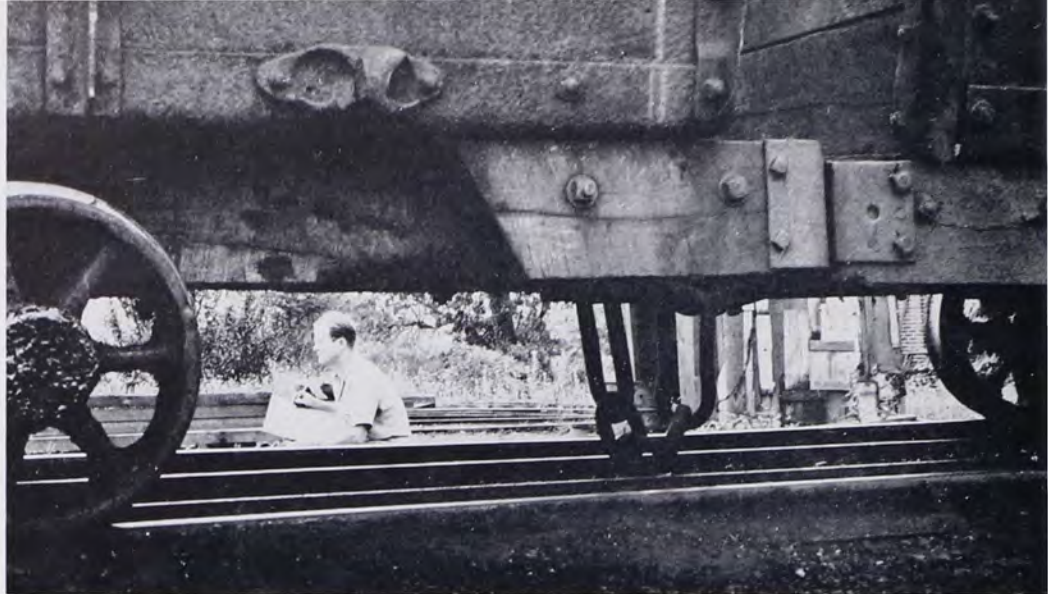
"My artist friends entered some of my etchings of the mine scenes," Bervinchak continued, "in the Washington Square Outdoor Exhibition in New York, but my work did not reach the friend acting for me until the seventh day of this eight-day show. That was because I was still working with that tablespoon! Nevertheless I was told that more of these mining etchings were sold in the remaining day and a half than any other exhibitor sold in the full eight day period. Later, it was the sixth plate I had made which won first prize."

One other thing came out of this Washington Square exhibit. He found he must have a press, and again went to the neighboring colliery where he picked up some odds and ends of which he constructed his own press—the one, by the way, which he still uses today. The etched plate, he explains, has to be inked individually for each print made on the press, and out comes the impression which is called a print. An edition of twenty-five to fifty prints can be made from one plate. At first he knew so little of the value of that first trial proof print from the plate, that he got a smudge from his thumb on the margin of his milking scene, and wouldn't sell it because he thought it was damaged goods. Later on a mine millionaire, who collected art, paid him twenty-five dollars for that special etching because of his thumb mark.

Since that time he has exhibited at the Whitney Museum of Modern Art, National Academy, and Grand Central Palace, all of New York City; also at Ogunquit, Maine; in Italy, at Milan; in Sweden, at Stockholm; and at the World's Fairs at Chicago and New York. Both the National Gallery and The Smithsonian Institution at Washington have purchased his etchings, and they have been on display at various places in Philadelphia, the Public Libraries of Kalamazoo, Michigan and Hazleton and Pottsville Libraries in Pennsylvania. He tells he has learned much from other etchers and their work at such print shows, for he says there are no short cuts to becoming an artist. It takes long hours of work and persistent effort.

He and his oldtime teacher, Paul Daubner, have recently formed a partnership doing church murals and decoration, both having made a considerable study in ecclesiastical art.

*The artist at
work sketching
coal mine scene.*



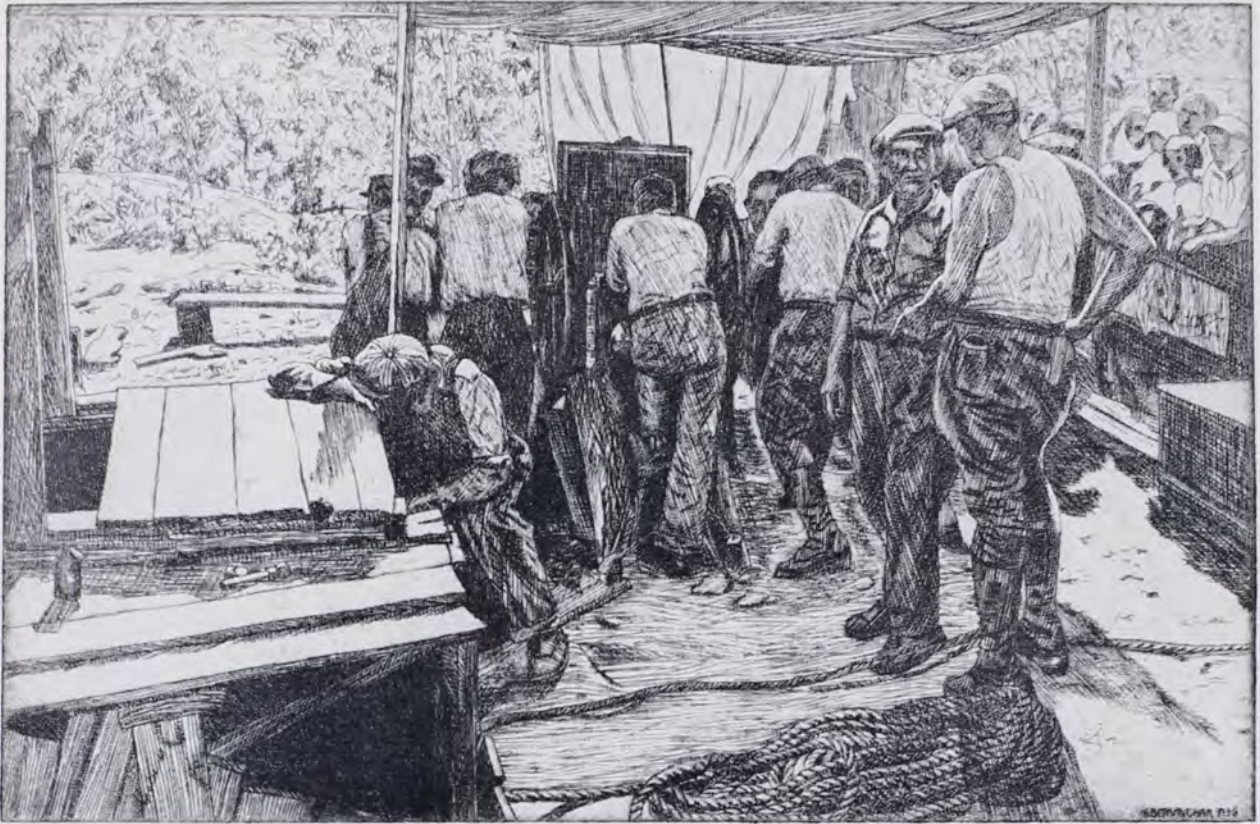
An Album of Etchings
of the Pennsylvania Coal Region
by **NICHOLAS BERVINCHAK**



Summer Morning



Bootleg Coal Miner



Bootleg Tragedy

Bervinchak's mother posed for these.



Churning



Milking Time

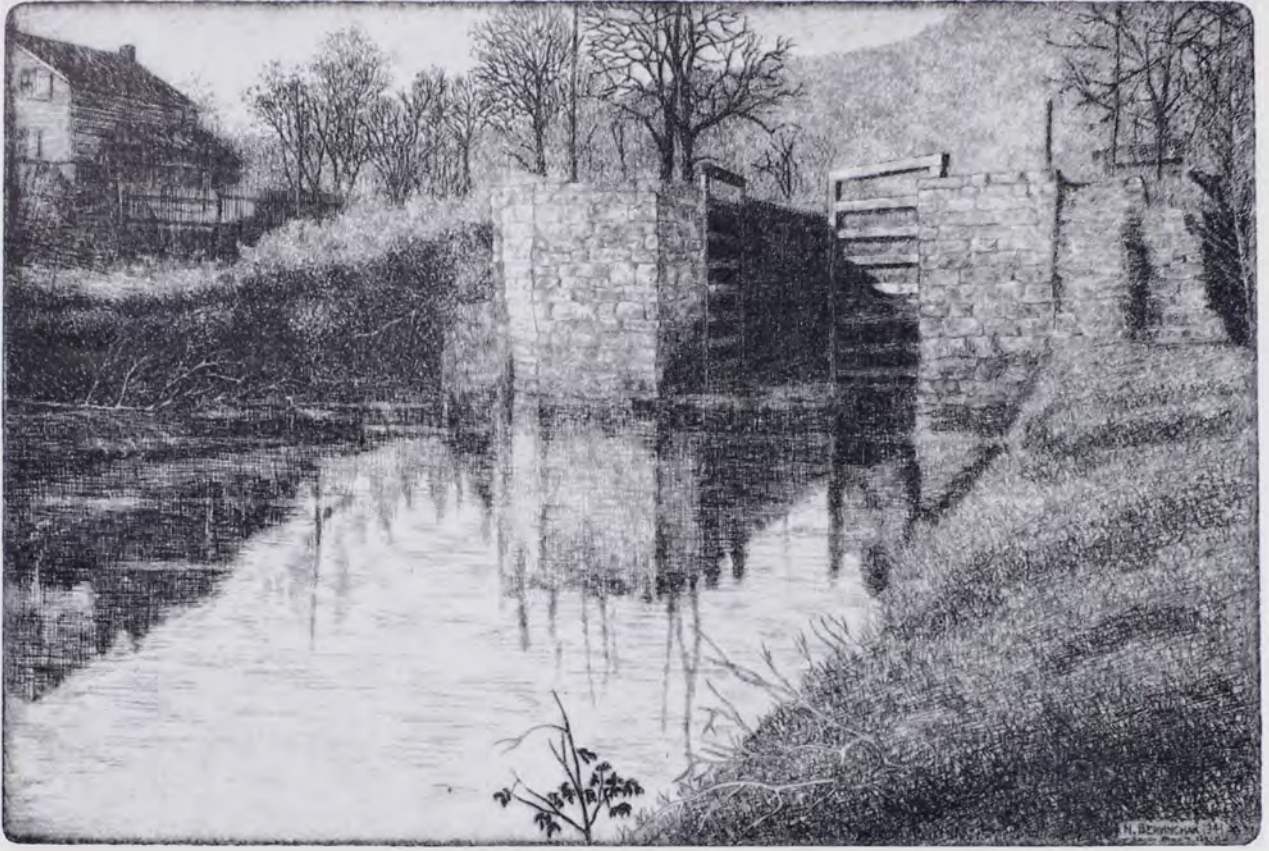


Homeward from Work

*The coal region overlaps the Dutch Country.
Notice hex signs on barns.*



Behind the Plow



Schuylkill Canal Locks



The Woman with the Hoe



Bootlegger's Wife and Son



Country Charm

With delicate shadings the quiet back country is beautifully depicted here.

It is impossible to reach the bottomless depths of knowledge; yet I pray to God for guidance into its deep darkness, from where it enables me to look up and enjoy His glorious light more brilliantly.

Nicholas Bervinchak



End of the Shift



Corn husking involved the whole family.

CORN CULTURE in Pennsylvania

By RUSSELL S. BAVER

Maize, or Indian corn, was one of the greatest surprises of the New World. The Spanish discoverers and the later settlers had never seen or heard of it when they set foot on the New World and found the Indians growing it and eating it all over America. Undoubtedly few inhabitants of Europe and the Orient realize that this widespread grain, like the turkey, the potato, the tomato, and the tobacco pipe, came from America.

The seeds of Indian corn, native to this soil, were here planted by those who had never seen it grow. The virgin soil was good and the giant stalks were astounding and they could really say, in earnest, that "the corn is as high as an elephant's eye." The roasted ears were relished during the latter part of their first summer and their expectations were fully realized.

Planting time

He that regardeth the wind will not sow, and he that regardeth the rain will not reap. This thought certainly applies to the planting of corn. If all the beliefs as to the correct time to plant corn were adhered to, a farmer would never get his corn planted. It is said that the Indians did not plant corn until the dogwood was blooming. Another time indicator was the white-oak tree. When the leaves of this tree were about the size of a bat's ears it was time to plant corn ("Von de vise-aicha-bame bletter hen vee shpeck-meis-oara, iss es tseit far velshkon blonsa."). These two indicators will usually agree. May 3rd was also considered as a corn-planting date. To insure a good crop some corn had to be planted on this day, even if it was only a few kernels in the garden.

Certain crops should be planted when the "horns" of the moon are pointing upward. Among these are beans, peas, and corn. These are harvested above the ground as compared to turnips, carrots, etc. Thus, here is another sign the farmer must watch for when planting corn.

However, corn must not be planted on a date ending with a zero, although another source says that the 10th of May was observed as corn-planting day. "Es velshkon darref mer net im shitz blonsa udder es sheest" (Corn may not be planted when the sign of the Zodiac is the hunter, Sagit-

tarius, or it will shoot, that is, it will be rich in foliage but will be poor in ears). If the corn was not planted by May 20th a good yield could not be expected.

Seed corn

Today seed corn is secured from a dealer while some years ago the farmer selected the best ears from his previous crop. The seed corn purchased from a dealer is, of course, shelled corn, that is, it has been removed or separated from the cob.

When the farmer used his own corn for seed corn it entailed the extra job of shelling the corn. Having selected the best ears for seed corn, the corn now had to be shelled. The kernels on an ear of corn are rather irregularly shaped at both ends of the ear. So these kernels were removed first from all the ears intended for seed corn and were fed to the chickens or to the swine. Now the corn remaining on the ears was removed. This was usually done by hand, instead of using a mechanical corn-sheller, so as not to break any kernels. To prevent the "wear and tear" on his hand while shelling, the farmer held a corn cob with his thumb and forefinger and pushed it against the kernels on the ear and thus dislodged them. This was usually done over a pail or a half-bushel measure, and when the container was full the corn was poured into a home-spun bag to await transportation to the field for planting.

When corn was to be shelled for other uses, other methods were employed. Farmers shelled much of their corn on a spade by placing the sharp end of a spade over a half-bushel measure or sawed-off barrel, then sitting astride the handle as they pulled the ear of corn over the sharp spade.

If much was to be shelled at a time, they would spread it on the barn floor and tramp it off with horses or thresh it off with a flail. Later a hand-powered mechanical sheller was used. What a job for the younger members of the family to turn the sheller! This was sometimes a whole day's job just before corn husking time when the corn crib had to be cleaned out for the new crop. The youngsters of the family did not need a ball game in the evening to get rid of their excess energy then. This corn-sheller might be a good preventive of juvenile delinquency today.



Refreshment time.

The sheller had two teathed-plates revolving in opposite directions and at different speeds. As the handle was turned the plates revolved and the more rapidly revolving plate pulled the ear through while the other plate helped to remove the kernels. The momentum of a large fly-wheel kept up the speed when an ear of corn was dropped into the sheller. The need for the fly-wheel was demonstrated many times at the last Folk Festival. People who had never used a corn-sheller, dropped an ear of corn into it and then tried to turn the sheller, which they discovered was not possible. They then turned it in reverse and wondered why the ear did not go through the sheller.

Having shelled his seed corn, there were certain other preparations the farmer had to make before he was actually ready to plant the corn. Some of the following things had to be done, according to the farmer's individual beliefs:

1. Every kernel of corn had to be passed through a beef bone. This would prevent the birds from damaging it. The corn was sometimes passed through a knot-hole instead.

2. Turpentine was poured into the corn-planter or corn was soaked in water in a bucket to which tar had been added.

3. He soaked the seed in kerosene and sometimes poured kerosene between the rows.

4. The corn was soaked in a preparation made from the plant known as "*nees votset*" (sneeze root) or white hellebore. This was said to have even killed the birds. It appears much like skunk cabbage and grows in the same environment. Skunk cabbage was often substituted for it.

5. When ready to plant corn, he took his hoe and dug three holes in a fence corner and dropped three kernels in one hole for the birds, three in the second one for the worms, and three in the third one for the bugs. He then covered the holes and was convinced that the others he planted would not be touched.

6. Put five cut-worms in a bottle, close it, and as the worms died all the other worms in the field died also.

7. Grease a wooden shingle with fat, rub or dust gunpowder over it, and hang it at stakes in the field. The odor will keep the crows away.

8. "*Von es velshkon ousgamocht vott vons doonkel is, don kooma de feggel net draw*" (If the corn is shelled when it is dark the birds will not get at it).

Planting corn

The earliest method of planting corn was undoubtedly adopted from the Indians and consisted of striking a hoe into the ground to make a hole and depositing a few kernels of corn. Anyone lucky enough to possess a spade might

insert it into the ground, push it back and forth to loosen the soil, and when in extreme position to the front, drop the kernels, remove the spade, and the kernels were covered. It was not until about the middle of the 19th Century that the hand planters were used.

Another of the early ways was to plow the whole field in ridges, four furrows to a ridge, and plant the corn in rows on the ridges.

Still another method was to plow the ground, harrow it, then plow two furrows to a ridge four feet apart; then mark the other way with furrows four feet apart and plant at the intersection of the ridges. Ridging was abandoned about 1860. To plant a field of eight or ten acres with corn in a day, they would have the ground all ready and marked one way, then two men with plows, one horse to a plow, would mark the rows the other way. One man marked the rows eight feet apart running to poles—one pole at each end and one in the middle of the row with white or red rags on each pole to make them conspicuous. The other marked the rows without the aid of poles.

Three youths were needed to drop the corn, and three larger boys or men to drop the compost, consisting of short, dry manure prepared for the particular job, dropping a small handful on each hill. Then three men would cover it with hoes.

About 1875, sleds were drawn by horses, the man riding, marking two rows at a time. They also used coverers drawn by horses at about this time. By about 1890 corn-planters were used and by 1910 practically all the corn was planted with planters.

A rhyme associated with planting corn by hand goes thus:

*Feer konna toom shtuck,
Aini far dar fuggel,
Aini far dar vorrem,
Oond tsvai far voxa.*

The English version, not a direct translation, goes as follows:

*One for the blackbird,
One for the crow,
One for the cut worm,
And two to grow.*

Another rhyme to help the youngsters remember how many kernels to drop was: "Three or four, but no more."

The earlier types of mechanical planters were drawn by one horse. Two boxes were mounted on the planter, one for the seed corn and one for the fertilizer. This was supported on a broad wheel which packed the ground directly above the place where the kernel was deposited. A lever was used to operate a clutch to prevent the dropping of kernels at the ends of the fields.

Later a two-horse double-row corn-planter was used, however, built on the same principle, except that the farmer rode along. It also had a container for the seed corn and one for the fertilizer. The iron shoe, which produced the cavity to drop the seed in, could be raised on this type of planter.

But the fundamental principle of both the single and the double planter is the revolving ring, which you see illustrated. The kernels are dropped through the holes in the rings. The holes on the set in the left of the figure are very close together and are used to sow corn. The term "sow" rather than "plant" is used here, as it is more illustrative of the way other grains, for example, wheat or

oats, are sown. Corn planted in this manner was commonly used for fodder when about three feet high. The next set of rings is used to plant regular field corn. The holes are larger so as to drop larger kernels. The third set is used for smaller and rounder kernels and drops two at a time. The last set drops still smaller kernels and also two at a time. The planter is powered by a cog-wheel attached to the axle which in turn is connected by means of a chain to a smaller cog-wheel at the back of the boxes containing fertilizer and seed corn. This smaller cog-wheel is actually one of a set of six cog-wheels, the smaller one having seven cogs and the larger one twelve cogs. Each extra cog in the cog-wheels adds a distance of four inches between the dropping of the kernels. Thus, the distance can be varied from twelve inches to thirty-two inches.

The corn was planted in rich soil, usually last year's grass field, prepared for the purpose, as suggested in the following rhyme:

*Plow deep while sluggards sleep,
And you will have corn to sell and to keep.*

Another step in preparing for planting was marking the rows or "*ous-farrichta*." Here two horses drew a device with two blades. The distance between the two blades could be varied by means of wedges. Having driven the length of the field once, the farmer returned with the one blade in the previously marked furrow and the other blade marking a new furrow. Thus the furrows were evenly spaced.

The sweet corn, which was used mainly for human consumption, was not planted adjacent to the field corn. If it was, the yield of sweet corn was very small. Many of the sweet corn plants yielded field corn, because the pollen of the field corn was more vigorous. The sweet corn patch was about 200 feet from the field corn patch and then not in the direction of the prevailing wind. The prevailing wind is from the northwest, therefore, the sweet corn patch was not southeast of the field corn patch.

Broom corn

Most farmers in the Berks and Lehigh County areas also planted a few rows of broom corn. This was raised, as the term implies, for making brooms. This plant does not bear an ear of corn, but instead the seed will be found on a panicle, and the panicle spikes are used in constructing the broom.

When the broom corn was nearly mature the farmer walked along the row of broom corn and bent the top or "neck" of the stalk so that the panicle hung downward and the spikes would remain in a neat cluster ("*Er hut es baisem velshkon gadnickt so oss es net so shtroovelich vair*").

When the broom corn was harvested it was hung in bundles in the barn or a shed until wintertime. Then the seeds were removed with a curry-comb and the broom corn, along with the broom-sticks from worn-out brooms, was taken to the broom-maker in a nearby village. The seeds were saved for next year's planting. A tea brewed from the seeds was considered a good treatment for dropsy.

The farmers in this area usually raised only enough broom corn for their own needs. The urban population had to depend on the factory for their brooms. Our nearby town of Hamburg, Pennsylvania, had such an industry. The October 7, 1909, issue of the *Hamburg Item* states: "W. E. Schmick, Hamburg Broom Works proprietor, returned from Illinois where he purchased and supervised the loading of about 40 cars with broom corn."

Cultivating

Under favorable weather conditions the corn sprouts would be peeping through the soil in from seven to nine days. Then the farmer's job of cultivating was just about due.

After the young plants were about three inches high, the farmer went over the field with a weeder. This weeder consisted of three rows of fine teeth, the rows being long enough to cover the three spaces between four rows of corn. It was drawn by one horse hitched into shafts. This loosened the soil and destroyed the fine grass which if left unmolested would soon be an obnoxious weed. Following an application or two of the weeder, the next device used was the one-horse cultivator or "*shoufel-aiga*." This consisted of a wooden frame with about seven iron hoes or "*shoufla*" attached at the bottom and also pulled by one horse, but not hitched into shafts. This could be adjusted both for width and depth. Raising or lowering the one wheel on it would control the depth.

If a farmer had mules, they were preferred for this work. His feet were not as large and would therefore destroy less corn plants by trampling on them. Also the mule followed the path between the rows much better.

Following a refreshing rain the farmer would say, "*Es velshkon vort oss es grocht*" (The corn grows that it grunts).

Along with cultivating the corn with the "*shoufel-aiga*" went a tiresome job for the children known as "*oof-richta*." The "*shoufel-aiga*" often turned stones and clods of soil on the small corn plants, and sometimes the loosened soil covered the plants entirely. It was the children's job to uncover the tiny plants and "set them up" again, which is the meaning of the dialect term "*oof-richta*." If a plant was missing, probably because the seed had not sprouted or the crow had pulled the baby plant, a hole was dug with a hoe and a few kernels were planted again. This was known as "*noch blonsa*" or "planting after." "Planted after" stalks were seldom as fruitful as those of first planting. This latter was also a part of the job of the "*oof-richta*." This job of "*oof-richta*" does not get done anymore. "*Vos mit vill moos dar kup oof-holda*" (What wishes to go along must hold up its head).

An amusing saying that grew out of this custom of "after-planting" tells us that "*Velshkon noch-blonsa oon tsoom tsvetta moal heiera iss nix vott*" (Planting corn "after" and getting married a second time are no good).

The cultivator succeeded the "*shoufel-aiga*." Here two horses were used and were hitched to a "*deixel*" (tongue). This device loosened the soil on both halves of the row of plants instead of the entire space between two rows as the "*shoufel-aiga*" did. The handles were set at an angle so that the farmer walked in the space between the rows instead of straddling the row. This was followed by a riding cultivator, and finally the cultivator was attached to a tractor.

The last step in cultivating the corn was plowing the corn or "*velshkon blooga*." Here the "*ous-forrichter*" was used also but another set of blades was attached to it so that it produced a ridge along the row of plants. This was done when it was still barely possible to drive through the corn field.

When plowing the corn the farmer sometimes hung a small bag with a tiny hole in it to the hame of the horse. This bag contained turnip seeds, and the time for plowing corn coincided with the time for planting turnips. Pump-

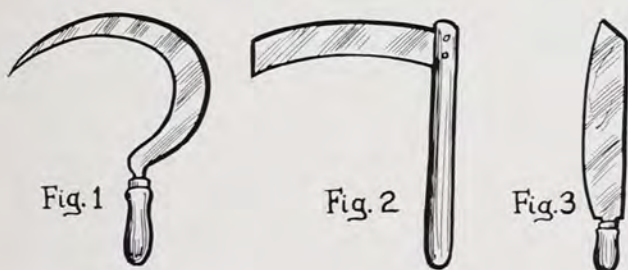
kins, squashes, beans, and watermelons were also planted in the corn field. Many a farmer took pride in the large watermelons he raised and walked to the cornfield every few days to note the progress in growth. But many a time he returned to the cornfield to find that the watermelon had been stolen, as this was not difficult to "get away with" in a tall corn field.

Corn-Chopping

Now for a few weeks the corn needs no attention, but by the latter part of September "the corn is turning brown" and corn chopping ("*velshkon ob-hocka*") time is here.

In doing this job the people usually worked in teams of three cutting six rows at a time. The person cutting the middle two rows had the extra job of starting the shock. To do this he walked ahead about half the length of the row needed to make a shock and twisted the tops of three or four cornstalks together to form the nucleus of the shock, and the other stalks were set against these. These were then bound with another corn stalk. When the corn was rather dry and the tops would break when twisted together, a three-legged frame or buck was used to start the shock. The distance from one shock to the next was about the same distance as the width of the six rows. Thus the shocks were in alignment, both lengthwise and crosswise, over the entire field. What a scene!

Different styles of choppers were used, according to the likes or dislikes of the individual. Some of them were (Figure 1) shaped like a sickle, others (Figure 2) had a straight handle about eighteen inches in length and a blade attached to it. Here the persons used a pulling motion to cut the stalk. In Figure 3 is illustrated a third type with a long blade and a wooden handle.



At this time some watermelons were still remaining in the cornfield. When a party happened to come upon one of these watermelons, a new use was found for the corn chopper. This frequently took the place of the "*nein oor shtick*" (nine o'clock lunch).

Husking

After the shocks had stood a few weeks and the corn had dried to some extent, the corn was ready for husking. The first step in this job was to lay over or tear over ("*oom-reisa*") the corn shock. I say "lay over" or "tear over" the shock, depending on which of the two processes described above was used in chopping the stalks and building the shocks. If the nucleus of the shock was formed by twisting the tops of three or four stalks, these stalks had to be chopped at this time.

This was a job for two men. One man pulled at the top of the shock while the second man cut these remaining stalks. On the other hand if a buck was used in erecting the shock, one man could easily "lay over" the shock. When a buck was used and stormy weather ensued, many of the shocks were already blown over. This was one of the

reasons why some people did not use a buck.

Another method described to me was to hitch a horse to a heavy rope ("*hoi shtrick*"), one man leading or riding the horse and the other man following at the other end of the rope, throwing the rope over the shock and then holding on to the rope tightly as the shock was pulled over. In "felling" the shocks, four shocks were placed so as to form an "X" and two people, one male and one female, husked at one shock and threw the ears of corn in the center of the "X" marked with a circle in the diagram.



When starting to husk at a shock they bent over until a few stalks were husked and then knelt on these stalks to husk the remainder of the shock. Thus one corn shock gave two fodder shocks or "*lawb gorreva*."

To facilitate the husking, each person had a husking pin or iron ("*bosht eisa*") which was inserted at the front or silk end of the ear to loosen the husk. These were made of wood ("*bosht heltsel*"), bone, iron, and later steel. The older ones had two holes in them through which a string of rawhide was looped to insert the middle finger, whereas the steel ones were made to fit very snugly over the hand. Thus, eight people composed a full team. This gave them plenty of opportunity for fun, laughter, and gossip. Among the sports of corn-husking was the result of "finding the red ear." The person lucky enough to find a red ear was permitted to give his partner a kiss.

Among the beliefs were:

1. If a single woman found three red ears while husking, she would soon become engaged.
2. If a woman husked three red ears in succession, she would become pregnant.

Sometimes the husking was done in the evening on the threshing-floor of the barn. The Reverend William A. Helffrich, who lived in the Weisenberg Township area of Lehigh County, in his autobiography, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand*, describes the threshing-floor husking parties thus: "The farmers bring their corn in the husk onto the threshing-floor; when everything is in its place, the neighbors, especially the young folks, are invited to the husking. Over the threshing-floor hang lanterns; the boys sit down beside their girlfriends and the floor was often full. The husks are stripped from the ears and the ears fly merrily in arcs away over their heads to a place where heaps of them are quickly built up. And so it goes amid merry chatter until 10 or 11 o'clock, when they play '*bloomsock*' for a few more hours, or now and then dance."

Helffrich further states: "Now, this Fall, incited through some who still had the frolic-devil sitting in their hearts, these applebutter-boiling and husking-matches were worked up into genuine frolics, at which things went just as roughly and wildly as at the tavern-keepers' drinking-frolics." The above quote shows how Helffrich abhorred these husking parties or "matches."

It was while husking corn that the farmer usually selected his seed corn. When he came across a nice large ear, the

husk was not removed from it and thus it was labeled for seed-corn. The husk on these ears was stripped back but not torn off. Tying the husks into a knot, the ears were hung on a thin pole or wire on the second floor of the shed. This way it was difficult for the rats and mice to get at it, besides being an excellent way of drying it.

When a husker did not remove all the husks from the ear, the farmer might chide him by saying he had enough seed-corn for next year. If the husking was done in the evening and an ear was missed, the party discovering it would say, "*Vos vitt mit sellem? Vitt en lootser draw henka?*" (What do you want with that one? Do you want to hang a lantern on it?). The hair or corn-silk had to be removed well so that no mice would build nests in the corn crib. Whenever the husk was found to be close and tight on the ear it predicted a severe winter.

Toward evening the farmer hitched his team to the body-wagon and went to the field to haul the corn to the cornerib. The farmer did his best to get all the husked corn into the cornerib that same day. When the children came home from school at this time of the year they knew what was in store for them. Father took one or two bushel-baskets along to the field. The children picked the corn into the baskets, while father was kept busy emptying the baskets into the wagon. If two wagons were available, the older son might be shoveling the corn into the crib while the second wagon was being filled. If a large party was husking this job of hauling in the corn started early in the day.

It was a news item worthy of publication when all the farmers in an area had finished husking corn. The *Hamburger Schnellpost* of October 24, 1893, reports the following under Windsor Castle news: "*Beinahe alle Bauern hier sind nun fertig mit Welschkornaushülsen*" (Nearly all the farmers in this area have now finished cornhusking).



Brinser's Corn Meal—Sold Currently in Pennsylvania Groceries.

The Uses of Corn

The uses of corn are no numerous and varied that I have listed them below instead of describing them in detail.

1. For human consumption—corn is served in different ways such as: roasting, boiling, dried corn, canned corn, and recently frozen corn. Sweet corn rather than field corn is used here. As recently as June 6, 1960, President Eisenhower was captured by Inez Robb in her column when he stopped in a country store at Biglerville, Pennsylvania, to buy dried corn. The corn is boiled, then cut off the cob with a paring knife, and dried. Years ago it was dried in the sun, in the outdoor bake-oven after the pies were baked, or in the drying-house. Today it is usually dried in the oven of the kitchen range or on a metal dryer filled with water and placed on top of the stove.

Corn is served in many delectable ways, such as, corn soup, corn pie, corn fritters, corn relish, etc.

2. For farm animals—The common way of feeding it to cattle is by grinding it into chop (*velsh-kon shroad*). To horses it is often fed on the ear. Cattle, having no front teeth in the upper jaw, would find it difficult to eat it in this manner. The corn, when still green, is also put into a silo.

3. For chickens—Here shelled corn or cracked corn is usually used. At times it is fed to the chickens on the ear. When this is done the ear is cut into five or six lengths with a hatchet. The farmer, feeding it this way, claims it is good exercise for the chickens to pull the kernels off the cob.

4. Corn meal—Corn meal is ground on the big millstones, and then sifted several times. However, before this is done, the corn is roasted. The corn is shelled and placed in pans in the oven. In North Heidelberg Township, Berks County, between Bernville and Womelsdorf, two brothers still use the old outdoor bake-oven to roast the corn. After the oven is sufficiently hot, the glowing embers are scraped out. The ears of corn are then placed in the hot oven for about ten minutes. After it has cooled, it is shelled and then ground. Some uses of corn meal are:

a. The main use of corn meal is to cook mush. Corn meal is slowly added to boiling water in an old-fashioned iron kettle to make a thick consistency. Salt is added to suit the taste. This is boiled very slowly for about one hour, then poured into a pudding dish to cool. To prepare for eating, the jelled mush is sliced and fried in lard. Usually molasses is spread on the fried mush when eating it. Sometimes the cooked mush is eaten with milk over it while still warm, like a hot cereal, but at supper time. In Lancaster and Cumberland Counties it is served in a style known as "mush and puddin's." Here the jelled mush and liver pudding are fried in the same pan. The mush is stirred up or broken into fine bits and mixed with the liver pudding. At the 1960 Folk Festival another party reported that creamed drief beef is served over the mush.

b. Corn meal is used instead of bread crumbs for breading.

c. A small bag of corn meal was also warmed and placed over the ear for an earache.

d. A mixture of cornmeal and boneset tea was used to make a substitute for yeast.

e. An onion and corn meal poultice was heated and placed on a person's chest for congestion.

f. Corn meal is an ingredient in scrapple.

When flour is made from other grains it is called:

wheat flour (*vaitsa mail*)

buckwheat flour (*buck vaitsa mail*)

rye flour (*kon mail*)
corn meal (*velshkon mail*)

It seems odd that "corn flour" is not used for "*velshkon mail*."

5. Corn bags—a. A bag filled with corn kernels was laid in the oven after supper and taken along to bed to be used as a foot-warmer. b. Two small rectangular bags were filled with corn and heated in the oven to apply heat to a sore throat. c. Father also made the youngsters kneel on a corn bag for punishment.

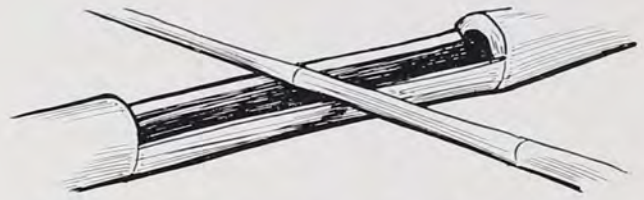
6. Corn-cobs—a. Two different Pennsylvanians, both from Snyder County, reported at the 1960 Folk Festival that their mothers used to make corn-cob molasses. The one stated that his mother used to soak the corn cobs in a crock for about 48 hours and then add sugar. The resulting reddish-brown syrup was their molasses. After it had "stood too long" (*tsoo long g'shtonna*) it became sugary. It was then heated again and water was added to correct it. The second person stated that brown sugar was dissolved in water and the corn-cobs were boiled in this. b. Children used to criss-cross them and build a little structure called a "*sei-ben*" (pig-pen). c. Corn-cobs were used to kindle a fire. Even some of the wooden chests had two compartments, one for the wood and the other for the corn-cobs. Corn-cobs also serve as the main fuel for heating the wash-water for those people who still do their washing in the small out-building known as the wash-house. Gathering a big basket full of corn cobs in the chicken-house or pig-pen frequently falls among the children's chores. The writer remembers that if he brought some cobs into the wash-house that still contained a few kernels of corn she made him take it out to the barn again. It would have been considered both wasteful and sinful to burn cobs with kernels on them. d. In North Branch, New Jersey, is a man who carves animals out of corn-cobs. e. Smoke-pipes are still made from cobs. f. At the 1960 Folk Festival it was said that they make good windshield cleaners. g. Sometimes some were put into a small bag in the outside toilet and used appropriately. Some were left lying between the pig-sty and the corn-crib. This was a secluded spot and was often used in an emergency when it was too far to go to the little house beyond the big house.

7. Corn husks—Our thrifty Pennsylvania Dutch folks even found a good use for these. a. No cocoa mats or rubber mats were found outside the doors of our people. A mat made of corn husks, which they could make themselves, served the purpose well. The husks were soaked in water to make them pliable and braided into a strand about 10 feet long, depending on the size of the mat desired. The ends of the husks were not braided in tightly, but instead formed a coarse surface which did a good job in cleaning the shoes or boots. The strand was then coiled and sewed together. In the Hereford Township area of eastern Berks County there was a tramp known as "Shoe-Bootzer Fritz" who made these in exchange for a meal or lodging. b. Similarly to the method just described, but braiding the ends of the husks tightly, and shaping it differently when coiling the strand, a corn-husk basket was made. These did not have much utility but were made "chust for nice." c. A corn-husk doll was made from a corn-cob which still had the husks attached. The cob served as the body of the doll and the husks as the clothes.

8. Corn silk—a. The dried corn-silk was smoked in a corn-cob pipe or even rolled in paper and smoked as

cigarettes. b. The smaller children would use the silk and make wigs and mustaches from it.

9. Corn stalks—a. A section of corn-stalk was used by a child to make a corn fiddle. You cut this section so that there is a joint of the stalk at each end. With a pen knife you cut two slits from joint to joint on the hollow side and insert a wedge made of a small piece of corn-stalk at each



end as shown in the illustration. Thus, the fiddle has two strings so to speak. Another piece of corn-stalk is used for a fiddle bow. When the bow is rubbed over the fiddle it actually produces a screeching sound. b. The greatest use of the corn stalks was for fodder. The stalks were shredded and fed to the cattle. In case of the horses, this shredded fodder or "*hexel*" was put into a wooden trough in the feeding entrance or "*fooder gong*" and chop scattered over it. Just before feeding time the farmer splashed water over it, stirred it with a stick, and gave each horse one or two shovelfuls, depending on the amount of work the horse had done. c. Previous to our present era of potato cellars, the potatoes were stored in the basement of the house or in the barn at the opposite end from the horses. To protect them from freezing, fodder shocks were set upright along the outside wall of the barn. They were used for the same purpose at the cellar entrance (*keller shlog*) of the house.

The number of rows of kernels averages 20 to 22, but it is always an even number. A hired man wished to marry the farmer's daughter, and the farmer consented provided the hired man would bring him an ear of corn with an uneven number of rows. So the following summer the hired man "operated" on a growing ear and the following fall he brought the farmer an ear with an odd number of rows of kernels and got the prize he was after.

The late M. N. Kunkel, proprietor of Kunkel's Mill in Albany Township, Berks County, had a contest to guess the number of kernels on an ear of corn. What's your guess? The number on this ear happened to be 834.

In the following humorous prayer, the farmer is asking for a good crop of corn like his neighbor had at the last harvest:

*Leever Hargutt, ich bait dich aw,
Geb meer velshkon vee meim nuchboar aw.
Shteck vee aicha-baim,
Kulva draw vee vogga-deixel
Oon ken so gnotsiches vee farmyoar.*

"Dear God, I beseech Thee, give me corn like my neighbor's—stalks like oak trees, ears on them like wagon-tongues, and none of it so scrubby as last year's!"

For those who cannot read the above prayer I shall give the opening stanza to Whittier's poem, "The Corn Song." This reiterates what I have said as to how valuable corn is to us:

*Heap high the farmer's wintry hoard,
Heap high the golden corn,
No richer gift has autumn poured
From out her lavish horn.*

RYE BREAD

Lehigh County Style

By EDNA EBY HELLER

At the very edge of Slatedale, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, in the big white house with the fancy cornice, lives Mrs. Elmira Layton, a lady of ambition. Recently widowed, at the age of seventy-four she learned to drive a car. As for hard work, that she learned at a very young age. However, cooking and baking have become a part of Mrs. Layton's pleasure. When friends ask, "Why are you making so many cookies?" she reminds them that she can always give them away. Few people enjoy sharing their hobby more than Mrs. Layton does. One of the specialties that she frequently shares is her homemade rye bread.

In this age Mrs. Layton's bread-baking is unique because she uses starter yeast just as her grandmother taught her. At the age of twelve she left Germansville to spend the summer months in Slatedale taking care of her grandmother who was ill. She will always remember scrubbing the wash on the washboard. Baking bread in the outside bake-oven



Elmira lifts finished loaf from oven.

was much more fun. On Saturday morning she baked the week's supply of bread, six or seven loaves of rye. To insure freshness Grandma insisted that each day a dampened cloth be wrapped around a loaf which would be used the following day.

The name "starter yeast" is interesting but the tangible stuff in its dried form is intriguing. When I first saw Mrs. Layton's jar of dry "starter yeast" a long series of questions rapidly came to my mind. Noticing my surprise, Mrs. Layton explained that "starter yeast" might very well be the scrapings of the dough tray but she reserves a handful of the raised dough before she shapes the loaves. This was her "starter" which she rolled out to a sheet, one-eighth inch thick, let it dry thoroughly, broke it into small pieces, and then stored in an airtight container. How long? Until next bread making. However, Mrs. Layton kept a bit for six months and it still "worked" but had to be soaked longer than usual. Yes, soaking in lukewarm water is the act which brings the yeast to its foamy stage, ready for use. That is the story of the "starter yeast" which has been replaced in almost all Pennsylvania Dutch kitchens by the store-bought yeast-cake.

Hops were a basic ingredient of bread in our grandmother's time but today even the hop plant is hard to find. The picture on this page was taken in September when the hops were still green. Normally they are plucked from the stems later in the fall when the flowers are dry. When thoroughly dry they are stored in an airtight container. On baking day, boiling water is poured over four or five flowers to steep the hop tea. If one doesn't have hops you can make a tea from peach leaves for a fair substitute. (I wonder which resourceful housewife discovered that?) If you have neither, buttermilk will do. Even buttermilk whey is rich enough. But these are not the only liquids used in



Elmira Layton gathers hops in her Slatedale garden.



Home-made Rye bread plus butter and jelly equals "Jelly-Bread," a favorite Dutchland snack.



the making of rye bread. Using potato water and mashed potatoes adds flavor and keeps the bread moist much longer.

For the reader who might be hoping to duplicate grandmother's outdoor oven in your own back yard, there is a word of warning from Mrs. Layton. She says that she will always remember the day she was to bake bread for a certain demonstration. The outdoor oven, being newly built, had so much moisture in the mortar that the bread just wouldn't bake. Actually, no matter how much wood was thrown into the oven, it just would not get hot enough for bread baking.

There are interesting ways of testing when the oven is hot enough for the bread. "At Grandma's we used fuzzy chicken feathers to test the heat," Mrs. Layton will tell you. "These will curl when the oven is hot enough. Today, however, I just put flour on the *broat sheever* (paddle). When it browns soon, the oven is hot enough." In an outdoor oven and in a coal range the bread can be placed right on the hearth. In an electric or gas oven, the loaf must be placed on a cookie sheet. I have watched Mrs. Layton bring her big twelve-inch loaf of bread out of the oven of

her kitchen range and the odor was most tantalizing. But it wasn't quite the same as the nostalgic odor that comes from the hearth at the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival when she takes half a dozen loaves from the hearth.

One look at the shelves of canned goods in Mrs. Layton's house will persuade you that she is an ambitious woman. She never bothers to count how many quarts she cans but surely there are hundreds. The fruits grow on her acre: cherries, grapes, apricots, peaches, quinces, and five kinds of apples. Among the sweets and sourd that she cans, mustard beans and lima bean relish are favorites. As she does her canning she recalls how different this preserving is from the way fruits and vegetables used to be dried.

When twelve-year-old Elmira took the bread out of grandma's oven the baking wasn't finished. The bread was replaced by five or six pies. When they were baked an assortment tray was put into the oven to dry. On it were rows of fruits which sometimes included elderberry, snitz, crabapple, and pear slices. Today when the bread is baked she frequently bakes raised cakes and cinnamon buns and then tucks them into her freezer. A.P. Cakes, Shoo-fly Cakes, and Lemon Custards are to be included in her list of baked desserts.

Learning to bake rye bread with "starter yeast" has been fun, but eating the warm, freshly baked bread was better—it was "wonderful good" eating. Elmira adds: "To butter a thick slice of rye bread and cover with plenty of 'Grade A' soft white sugar is such good eating." I agree, Elmira. Thanks so much for showing me how the *Pennsylvania Folklife* readers can enjoy homemade rye bread.

RYE BREAD

Boil 2 medium sized potatoes in salted water until soft.

Drain and save liquid. Mash potatoes.

Pour 1 cup boiling water over hops (about 7 flowers). Cover and steep 15 minutes.*

When potato water has cooled to lukewarm, sprinkle ½ cake of yeast into 1 cup potato water and let stand a few minutes. (Note: When using softened "starter yeast" use only ½ cup of potato water.)

To dissolved yeast add 1 tablespoon sugar, 1 tablespoon salt and 2 tablespoons of lard (softened at room temperature).

Gradually beat this liquid into the mashed potatoes. Add lukewarm hop tea.

Stir in 5 cups of sifted white flour.

Work in 2 cups of dark rye flour. Cover and let rise several hours until doubled.

Knead on floured board ten minutes.

Place dough in bread basket that has been lined with a cloth that has been generously floured with corn-meal and white flour, or in 2 greased bread pans that have been lightly sprinkled with corn-meal.

Cover and set in warm place free from draft.

Let rise until doubled in size. Remove large loaf from basket and bake right on the hearth or on cookie sheet (in electric and gas ovens).

Bake large loaf 45 minutes in 350 degree oven, smaller loaves 25 minutes in 350 degree oven.

Remove from oven and immediately wrap in dampened cloth.

*Substitute for hop tea: dilute ¾ cup buttermilk with ¼ cup water.

“DUTCHIFIED ENGLISH”— Some Lebanon Valley Examples

By MARY C. KREIDER*

Today when we meet the children of German immigrants, we frequently cannot distinguish their English from that of their fellows. Born and reared in this country, these children have absorbed completely the English of the community, and their German parentage has left no noticeable mark upon their accent, inflection, or vocabulary. This is true even where the children may live in communities composed rather largely of people of European extraction. For example, the Germans of Wisconsin, it is said, shift in a generation from excellent German to excellent English, with apparently no transfer into their English speech habits of the peculiarities of German.¹

But the “United Christians” of Lebanon County, whose ancestors have lived in America for six, eight, or ten generations, need only speak a few words and already we know unmistakably that they are Pennsylvania Dutch! Their English shows the influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect—phonologically, morphologically, lexicographically, and otherwise—or, as the layman frequently describes it, “They talk Dutchified.”²

The reasons for this anomaly are not far to seek and seem to lie largely in the fact that the Pennsylvania Dutch, including the group we are here interested in, isolated themselves for a number of generations from the language and culture of their English-speaking neighbors, while they clung tenaciously to the language and culture they had brought with them from the old country.

¹ Cf. George G. Struble, “The English of the Pennsylvania Germans,” *American Speech*, X (1935), 166–167.

² The word “Dutchified” was used in the sense of “Influence of Pennsylvania Dutch Accent” in Ernst Brauns’ *Mitteilungen aus Nordamerika, die hohern Lehranstalten und die Englirung der dortigen Deutschen betreffend* (Braunschweig, 1829). Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Church spoke in 1807 of a “Dutchified Cupola” on the Moravian Church at Nazareth. (*Journals*, 1852 edition, III, 260).

* Mary C. Kreider’s M.A. dissertation, “Languages and Folklore of the ‘Hoffmansleit’ (United Christians),” done under Prof. Albert F. Buffington, in the Graduate School, Department of German, The Pennsylvania State University, June 1957, deals with the three languages (Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, Pennsylvania High German used in the preaching services and hymn-singing, and “Pennsylvania Dutch English”) of the revivalist sect of Lebanon Valley known as the Hoffmanites or United Christians. Miss Kreider’s home, Campbelltown, and the source of most of her information, was the place where the United Christians were formally organized, in 1878, as a schism from the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. The material in this article is Chapter II, C, “The ‘Pennsylvania Dutch English’ of the ‘UC’s,’” pp. 106–122 of the dissertation. Note that for the sake of uniformity we have spelled all dialect examples with the English-based orthography used in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, rather than the German-based orthography of the Buffington-Barba system which is used in the dissertation. We have also uniformized the terms “Pennsylvania Dutch” and “Pennsylvania German” (the author uses both) by using the former except in the case of the quotations from the Struble article. Please note finally that while the dissertation limits itself to data recorded from United Christian sources, their linguistic patterns are in most cases common to the dialect-speaking and dialect-influenced areas of the Lebanon Valley. —EDITOR

Intonation of Pennsylvania Dutch English

One notices first of all that there is a quality about the English of some of the United Christians—a certain intonation, stress, or monotone—by which one may identify the speaker as Pennsylvania Dutch without reference to his vocabulary or grammatical usage. People react variously to this quality; I have heard people wax enthusiastic in praise of it, while others despise it. One time when it is likely to be hailed with enthusiasm is when the United Christian is far from his native surroundings and meets someone who has formerly lived in Pennsylvania Dutch areas. Then the unmistakable intonation and speech patterns will in an instant bring back a floodtide of memories of the good life of some tranquil but thrifty Pennsylvania Dutch area! One would recognize it anywhere in the world.

Frederic Klees describes it as the “least lovely of American accents” and says further:

The rising inflection and singsong quality characteristic of the English speech of many of the country people adds even more to its comic effect than the choice of words or the word order. . . . This is most noticeable in questions for there the voice is raised in the middle of a sentence and lowered at the end. By this means any simple question is converted into a melody. Yet it is a friendly, homely speech with a rich folk flavor, completely natural and unaffected. . . .³

Although we may not agree completely with Mr. Klees’ description of Pennsylvania Dutch English, we do concur with the last statement in the above quotation. “Dutchified” English is entirely incompatible with unfriendliness, ill humor, or artificiality!

The intonation of Pennsylvania Dutch English has not yet been investigated very thoroughly. This particular aspect of Pennsylvania Dutch English is, of course, far more noticeable to outsiders than to those of us who speak in this manner constantly. However, we do notice it in the case of some of the more exaggerated types. Giving an account of the first day of school, one of the speakers on our tape recordings, said, “What is *your* name?” instead of evenly intoning the syllables with a slight rise on the last syllable. Another, being offered a choice of refreshments, held out his plate and said, “Ach, *put* it on.” George G. Struble, who was of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry but who had never lived among the Pennsylvania Dutch until he came to Lebanon Valley College in 1931, wrote four years later:

Instead of the more or less level intonation with the voice raised at the end, as in more American speech, the Pennsylvania German raises his voice—and it’s a matter of pitch rather than of emphasis—on the next to the last accented syllable, as in, “Is your *mother* home?” “Where are you *going* today?” “Haven’t you *found* it yet?” Whether this intonation is traceable to the Deutsch, or whether it is a trick learned from English-speaking neighbors in colonial times, I do not know. To me the intonation seems closer to British English than it does to general American. *Such*

³ Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, 1950), p. 285.

used as a direct modifier receives a much stronger accent here than it would in the same sentence uttered elsewhere: 'I never saw *such* weather,' rather than 'I never *saw* such weather.'⁴

When speaking the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, the "UC's" frequently use interjections with a very effective variation in pitch: "Ei, ei, ei!"; "Nay"; "Himmel!", spoken by our informant, Clarence Wagner, conveys a wide range of meaning.⁵ These same interjections are sometimes used to embellish their English speech. Perhaps the useful and ubiquitous "ah!" is heard most often—with varying stress and pitch.

The Pennsylvania Dutch influence on the English spoken by these people is frequently over-exaggerated. The grosser errors in morphology, syntax, and vocabulary arising out of the dialect influence are rapidly being weeded out among those United Christians with minds open to educational influences in the school and community. I had a good opportunity to observe the "better" English of the United

interchangeably: *chapter, church, enjoy, rejoice, jump*. The consonant in *age* was pronounced like the consonant in English *itch*; and so also the first consonant in *educate*.

5. A few of the speakers made no distinction between the sounds represented in English by the letters *w, v,* and *wh*, pronouncing all three as bilabial fricatives. Thus, *wine, vine,* and *whine* would be pronounced alike by these speakers. The labiodental *v* as in English *vine* does not occur in the dialect and has never been learned by some of the United Christians. I well remember how some of my teachers struggled to get some children to make a clear sounding labiodental *v*, by having the children pronounce *f* (as in English *fair*) in order to get the proper position for pronouncing the labiodental *v*.

Oddly enough, it is often true that the same speaker will inconsistently interchange at times the bilabial *w* and the labiodental *v*. Observers have often noted this in speakers who are able to make both sounds clearly. When the speaker is weary, excited, or confused, mistakes are likely to occur among speakers in the group we are studying. Mistakes of this nature occurred in words like *work, women, way, one* (*vun*), *once* (*yunce*), *what, voice, over, verse, virgin*, etc.

6. A few instances of confusion between the voiced and voiceless fricatives *v* and *f* showed up in the pronunciation of English *of*, "shovers" (i.e., people who shove).

7. Since *s* is never voiced in Pennsylvania Dutch, some speakers never voiced it in words like *present, desire, moves, prison, zealous, usual*. Very odd-sounding with an unvoiced *s* was *zoos* (plural of *zoo*, short for zoological gardens). In a few cases, a speaker over-reached himself in paying attention to the pronunciation of *s* and voiced an *s* which should be unvoiced in English, as in *send*.

(1-b.) Phonology: Vowels and Diphthongs.

Deviations in vowel quality and quantity were more elusive than those in the consonantal area, but the following peculiarities were observed:

1. There was less of a diphthongal glide than one usually hears in more cultivated English: Thus, *power, powerless,* and *lower* were pronounced like English *par, "parluss,"* and *lore*.

2. The diphthong [ei] in the words *fire, desire, inspired, fight, quite* seemed to be drawn out beyond usual length.

3. *Other* was pronounced with the substitution of a vowel sound as in English *hot*. Mr. Struble suggests that a similar substitution in the word *nothing* might almost "be taken as the shibboleth for the identification of Pennsylvania Germans abroad."⁶

4. The *u* in *endure* was pronounced like *oo* in English *poor*.

5. The short *i* in *given, women, Timothy, bit, in, filled, listen* was lengthened.

6. *Morning* became *mahning*, i.e., the vowel was lowered and the *r* disappeared as in the dialect. The *r* in *here* and in *charge* was not heard at all in the case of a few speakers.

8. *Hallelujah* was often pronounced *Hallelujar*.

2. Morphology and Syntax.

The following peculiarities were noted:

1. The use of the double preposition *for to* with the infinitive of purpose, due to the use of *tsoo* (*zu*) with the infinitive of purpose in the dialect, resulted in errors like this: He has a desire *for to* hear the Gospel (*Es looshdart een, far es Effongailoom tsoo haira*). It is in his power *for to* take us . . . (*Es iss in seinra mocht, far uns tsoo hemma . . .*). It will take years, *for to* try to tear down, etc.



Area involved in dissertation.

Christians through listening to tape recordings of some of their services held at their Cleona Camp Meeting. It is a time-honored custom on the occasion of the opening session (Monday afternoon) of their annual camp-meeting to have each of the UC ministers present greet the people and give a short message. Through the courtesy of Mr. Kenneth Dissinger, their official recorder, I was given the tapes of this particular session for the years 1955 and 1956.

Dialect Influence on "Platform" English

The following phonological, morphological, and syntactical peculiarities were noted in the English used from the platform by some of these United Christian speakers:

(1-a.) Phonology: Consonants.

1. There was a confusion in the case of some speakers between the *voiced* and *voiceless* stop consonants, i.e., between *b* and *p, d* and *t, g* and *k*. Especially was this true in the case of final consonants, as, for example, in these words: *related, word, God, egg*. One speaker said *bleasant* for *pleasant* (Cf. PD *blesseer*, pleasure).

2. The voiceless stop consonant *t* was slighted in the words *witness, interested* (first *t*), *testament* (second *t*).

3. A speaker or two had not mastered the pronunciation of the interdental spirant, and *believeth* was pronounced with the substitution of an unvoiced *s* (*believess*); *the* was pronounced *de*.

4. The voiced and voiceless dental affricates, represented by the letters *ch* and *j* in the following words, were used

⁴ Struble, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

2. "Them there were the last words." PD uses the adverb *dott* (there) in a sentence like this, without a translatable meaning.

3. The literal translation of the PD idiom is sometimes a snare: I can *feel* with (i.e., sympathize) him (PD *Ich kann mit eem leida*); He brought the statement out (PD *Ar hut es awshlog rousgabrucht*); I could see it at them (PD *Ich hop es on eena saina kenna*); They did the best that they know *how* (PD *See hen es besht gadoo, oss see gvisst hen*).

4. The influence of cognates may lead to errors: "It must stick [i.e., pierce] down deep into our hearts" (PD *Es moos deef noonar shdecka in oonsera hotza*); *hun'ert* or *hundert* for *hundred* (PD *hoonart*).

5. PD uses certain adverbs and particles—*schoon*, *duch*, *denn*, etc.—more frequently than we do in English. If their equivalents are used in English we have redundancies such as: I found *already*; for many years *already*; you have noticed *already*; I was wondering *already*; I've been confronted *already*; I say *still*; then this coming week *now*; I find people in the church *sometimes*; it's no good *sometimes*.

Dialect Influence on "Everyday" English

From the account of these peculiarities found in the English spoken from the platform at the camp-meetings, let us now turn to a discussion of the English spoken by the United Christians on other occasions. The following incident told to me by a "UC" illustrates that speakers in PD areas are sometimes unaware as to how much their English differs from that spoken elsewhere. One of Mrs. Z's neighbors is an Englishwoman who has lived for some time in Palmyra and has somewhat adjusted her speech—consciously or unconsciously—to the brand of English spoken there. She was visited by a friend quite directly out from England. She introduced her English visitor to a Pennsylvania Dutch neighbor. After some conversation, Mrs. Z was astounded to hear the Dutch neighbor say to the English visitor, "You speak much more broken English than your friend!"

In our investigation of peculiarities in the English conversation of the United Christians, we find all the phonological, morphological, and syntactical phenomena which we have noted in the pulpit language, only multiplied. We shall not duplicate what we have already noted, but we shall mention some further cases and types.

(1) Phonological Peculiarities.

1. The use of the voiceless stop consonants rather than the voiced stops, e.g., *Back of Lepnon* is common for *on the other side of Lebanon*. Other examples noted were: *leek* for *leg*, *bucky* for *buggy*, *tap* for *tab*. A "dumb waiter" in one home became a "dump waiter."

2. The *s* and *z* is not voiced in words like *freezer*, *husband*, *wisdom*.

3. The *g* in *damage* and in *pigeon*, the *j* in *jump*, *John*, etc., is generally pronounced as a *voiceless* dental affricate rather than as a *voiced* dental affricate. There is, of course, considerable variation among "UC" speakers, and, also, the same speaker will himself use variant forms at different times.

4. Dental *th* in words like *Ethan*, *with*, *faith*, is pronounced as an unvoiced *s* by a few—mostly elderly—speakers.

5. The sounds represented by the letters *v* and *w* cause a great deal of trouble. I once heard a minister in Lebanon County (not a "UC" minister) repeat a number of times

in his sermon: "If a man wov a wow, and fail to keep that wow, it were better for him not to have wowed a wow."

A member of an out-of-state athletic team visiting Hershey was seized with sudden illness and treated by the physician appointed for such services—a brother-in-law to one of the United Christian ministers. When the patient returned from the office of the physician and was asked by his comrades about the diagnosis of his illness, he replied with all seriousness, that the doctor said he had the "virus," though, said the player, he did not really know what kind of a disease it was. He had told a number of his teammates that he had the "virus" before some "smart one" caught on to the fact the man in question had a "virus" condition. Having the "virus" became quite a joke among the players.

(2) Peculiarities in Syntax and Vocabulary

1. Errors arising out of too literal translation from PD to English:

It makes me no difference (or *no difference out*) (PD *Es mocht meer nix ous*).

I was from home (PD *Ich voar foon haim*).

It looks for a nice day tomorrow (PD *Es gookt far en shainar dog morriya*).

She got herself married to this Tschon [John] (PD *See hut sich farhei-art tsoo demm Chon*).

It's all spritzt up (PD *'S alles farshbritzt*).

The bees jaggged us (PD *De eema hen oons gshducka*).

I don't give anything for it (i.e., I have no confidence in it, I don't care for it) (PD *Ich gep nix dafor*).

Miss L. tells of an incident which happened years ago in Campbelltown, in a meeting of teachers and patrons. In discussing the matter of the teacher's salary, Harry Felty, a teacher, distinguished himself by saying, in the course of his talk, "For longer back a man worked for fifty cents a day and found himself in the cornfield." (PD *Far lengar tsoorick hut mar far foofstich sent dar dog gshofft im welshkonnfeld, un hut sich finna missa*, i.e., had to supply his own board and lodging.)

The dog wants in (i.e., would like to come inside)—(PD *Dar hoond will reikooma*).

The paper wants rain (i.e., says it will rain)—(PD *De tseiding vill raiya*).

It flew in my back (i.e., I had a sudden pain in my back)—(PD *'S iss in mei boekel gfloaga*).

We shall leave today a week (i.e., a week from today)—(PD *far ocht dogga*).

The tea kettle is boiling (i.e., the water is boiling)—(PD *Dar tai-kessel kucht*).

You ought to shame yourself (i.e., you ought to be ashamed)—(PD *Doo setsht dich shemma*).

He was not with (i.e., not along with the group)—(PD *Ar vor net mit*).

What for meat do you have (i.e., what kind of meat?)—(PD *Vos far flaish husht doo?*).

The sugar is all (i.e., the supply is finished)—(PD *Es tsookar iss oll*).

They are nice to your face but *back around* (PD *hinna room*) they can stab you in the back.

He gets it out a little funny sometimes (i.e., he speaks a little strangely sometimes)—(PD *Ar grickt's rous en ven-nich gshbossich olsamoal*).

We should live this out what we heard (PD *Meer sedda ous-laiva vos kairt hen*).

I hired a carriage to drive out this afternoon; but if

you'll stay and visit with me, we'll *say off* (i.e., call it off)—(PD *obsogga*).

The Pennsylvania Dutch themselves will sometimes purposely make ludicrous distortions, as, for example, Miss L.'s brother who used to say when he had to change his clothes: "I must put myself other ways on (PD *Ich moos mich onnerschder awdoo*).

2. Errors arising from a misunderstanding of the exact meaning of cognates:

She learnt me that (PD *See hut mich dos glonnt*).

I don't mind if I was reading or sewing when it happened (i.e., I don't remember if, etc.)—(PD *Ich meind net, eb ich, etc.*). I wouldn't mind doing it (i.e., I would agree to do it)—(PD *Ich dait net meinda*).

The bees jagged us (i.e., stung us)—(PD *De eema hen oons gshducha*).

3. Errors arising through the translation of the reflexive Pennsylvania Dutch form:

You ought to shame yourself (i.e., be ashamed)—(PD *Doo suttshdt dich shemma*).

I thanked myself (for *I thank you*)—(PD *Ich bedonk mich*).

4. Errors arising out of translation of impersonal expressions of Pennsylvania Dutch:

It wonders me (i.e., I wonder)—(PD *Es voonart mich*).

It greissels me (i.e., it is repellent to me)—(PD *Es greiselt mich*).

5. The word *so* has a variety of uses: He does everything *just so* (i.e., very exactly); I'll make the potatoes *just so* tonight (i.e., I'll prepare the potatoes plain—without adding anything); They were *so* good (i.e., very good); "How was the program this evening," "Oh, just *so-so*" (i.e., not very good). All these meanings besides the five major ones listed by Webster!

6. Miscellaneous expressions:

Sit alongside me (i.e., sit beside me)—(PD *Sits naivich meer*).

She wears plain (i.e., she dresses like the "plain people")—(PD *See drawgt sich blain*).

We'll see *once* (PD *Meer saina moal*). *Once* is overworked by the "UC's" and carries no meaning in many sentences.

I better go (i.e., I had better go)—(PD *Ich dait bessar gai*).

I don't know for sure (i.e., I am not certain)—(PD *Ich vaiss net far shoor*).

7. Pennsylvania Dutch allows the use of a double negative and this construction is sometimes carried over into English, e.g., I don't hardly know where to go.

8. Questions are frequently formed in the dialect by making a statement and affixing *not*, as e.g., *Doo gaisht mit, net?* This form of question is therefore used by "UC" speakers of English, e.g., You are going, not? Or, you are afraid, not?

9. *Make* is a "general utility" verb: I want to make potatoes for supper. We want to make along with the world and still be Christians.

(3) Vocabulary

In the vocabulary of the English spoken by the United Christians we find three types of words peculiar to the United Christians, as well as to many other Pennsylvania Dutch in the area: (a) words borrowed from the dialect, (b) English words which were used by the early settlers in Pennsylvania, but which have now gone out of use else-

where in the United States, and (c) words which are neither of English or German extraction, but of French, American Indian, etc., origin, which were used by the early settlers and still exist in Pennsylvania Dutch language islands.

a. Words borrowed from the dialect:

1. Names of certain foods: *smearcase*, cottage cheese (PD *shmeercais*); *sauerkraut*; *ponhaws* or scrapple (PD *pawn-haws*); *tsitterli* or souse, pig's feet jelly, etc.

2. *rootsh*, squirm; don't rootsh so (PD *Rootsh net so*).

3. *shinnerhones*—one who makes a practice of collecting the dead bodies of animals for converting into commercial fertilizer.

4. *It greissels me*, It is repellent to me. Adjective: *greisslich*.

5. Her hair is *shdroobly*, disheveled. (PD *shdroovelich*).

6. She is *farhoodled*, mentally confused (PD *See iss farhoodelt*).

7. She is *shooslich*, hasty and excitable to the point of being awkward (PD *See iss shooslich*).

8. *Shooper* yourself along, get a move on! (PD *Shooper dich!*).

9. He is *voonarfitsich*, curious.

10. *Speck*, fat.

11. *Spook*, a ghost (PD *Gshpook*).

12. *sneaky*, persnickety (PD *shneekich*).

13. *butter bread*, *jelly bread*, etc., bread spread with butter, jelly, etc. (PD *booderbroad, chellybroad*).

14. *cluck*, mother hen (PD *glook*).

15. Names for the young of a number of animals: *vootsi*, little pig (PD *vootsli*); *hummy*, calf (PD *hompli*); *hootshli*, colt (PD *hootshli*); *peep*, baby chick (PD *beep*).

16. *off-wash* bucket or *wash-off* bucket or cloth, a cloth used for washing up the floor (PD *oofvesh-kivvel*).

17. *gritlich*, irritable (PD *gritlich*).

18. *gnoadsha*, to fondle (PD *gnoadsha*).

b. English words—relic words of early English settlers in Pennsylvania:

1. *sloppy*, careless, untidy; *slop bucket*, a pail or a swill bucket for "sloppy" garbage; *slop rag*, a cloth or rag for wiping up spilt water or other liquid; *slop* the pigs, give the pigs liquid food.

2. *crabby*, cross, churlish, ill-tempered.

3. *redd up*, tidy up; *redd off* the table, clear off the dinner things from the table.

4. *douse*, to immerse in water.

5. *wrench*, to rinse in water.

6. *toot*, a paper sack.

7. *fitch*, bacon.

8. *jenny lind*, a four-wheeled covered carriage with two seats.

9. *run-about*, a buggy without a top.

10. *clout* or *fascinator*, a three-cornered knit bandanna for the head.

11. *breakfast shawl*, a square shawl of medium size, folded triangularly.

12. *poke along*, be slow; a slow poke, one who pokes.

13. *pap*, a kind of flour pudding.

c. Words of foreign origin, i.e., not of English or German origin.

French: *chemise*, an undervest; also *shimmie*, a derivative with the same meaning. *Didoes*, pranks, tricks. *Delaine*, made of wool.

American Indian (Algonquin): *powwow*, to utter incantations for relief of the sick, etc.

The Pennsylvania Dutch FOLK FESTIVAL

A EUROPEAN REPORT

By E. ESTYN EVANS

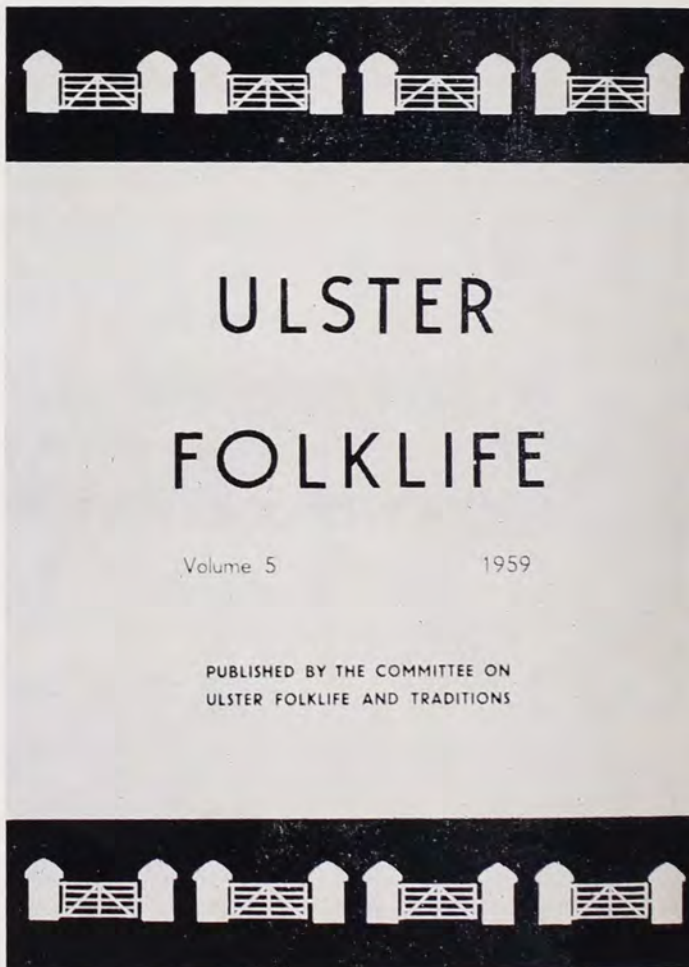
For the past ten years the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, with headquarters at Kutztown in Berks County, has organised an annual Pennsylvania Dutch* Folk Festival. In 1959 I received an invitation to attend the Festival as the first international guest of the Society, and in giving my impressions of a full and interesting week (27th June to 4th July) I shall refer to the historic links between Ulster and Pennsylvania and to the prospects of co-operation in the common task of studying and preserving our heritage of folk-ways.

The Director of the Festival is Dr. Alfred Shoemaker, formerly of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., author of *The Pennsylvania Barn*, *Christmas in Pennsylvania* and other books, and editor of the periodical *Pennsylvania Folklife*, which the Committee receives in exchange for *Ulster Folklife*. To him and his associate, Dr. Don Yoder of the University of Pennsylvania, I wish to express my warmest thanks for the invitation and for many kindnesses shown me during my stay in Kutztown. The eight days of the Festival were blessed by fine weather, with temperatures often well over 90°, broken only by a fierce thunderstorm which was exciting, damaging and, to me, welcome. I marvelled at the unabated energy and endless appetites of the many thousands of visitors who attended daily and, at night, danced in the midway, as frolicsome as "the lightning bugs" darting around the electric lights overhead. The total attendance was estimated at over 80,000.

The Festival, for all its gaiety, has a serious purpose. Not only does it include many exhibits and demonstrations and a full programme of lectures, documentary films and seminars, but the proceeds go to further the collection and study of folk cultural material. Dr. Shoemaker is a scholar possessed of abounding energy, enthusiasm and vision, and it is his aim to establish in time a permanent Folk Museum on the site of 35 acres which houses the Festival. The permanent buildings and exhibits are being added to year by year. Dr. Shoemaker is envious of the state-aided Folk Museum project on which Ulster has embarked, but he realizes that years of research and much spadework lie behind the Government assistance which we now enjoy.

In selecting a representative of Ulster as the first international guest, the Director of the Festival had this spadework in mind, and he expressed admiration for our conception of folklife as against the narrower approach of the folklorist. It was in this spirit that the title of his Society

and Journal was changed recently from *Pennsylvania Dutchman* to *Pennsylvania Folklife*. But he is also keenly aware, despite the overwhelmingly "Dutch" character of the Festival, of the contributions made to colonial Pennsylvania by minority groups such as the Ulster Scot Presbyterians and the English and Welsh Quakers. And he insists that for full understanding of the culture of Penn's Commonwealth, which did so much to shape the character of the emergent United States, the folklife of the European homelands is a matter of deep concern.



*Dr. Evans' article originally appeared in
Ulster Folklife, V (1959).*

* Note that Dutch in this context is not "Holland Dutch" but German (Deutsch).



*A Berks Countian "Flailing" Grain
at the Folk Festival.*



*Kutztown: Midway between Reading
and Allentown.*

At first sight and sound the German colouring of the Dutch country far outweighs the imprint of the immigrant groups. The German dialect (Pennsylvania Dutch) was brought from the Rhine valley from about 1683 onwards, and though it is now spoken only by a minority, the Dutch-English accent and turn of phrase are very noticeable, particularly in the countryside. The great painted barns are as conspicuous for their bulk and capacity as are the

farmers and their wives. On the other hand, the farmhouses—the finest of them erected in the prosperous years of the early nineteenth century—were built after the English Georgian fashion. It is the proud claim of the Dutch Country that the process of Americanization began here with the blending of several cultures, German, English, Welsh, Scotch-Irish and Indian—for it must not be forgotten that many of the basic crops were taken over from the native Indians.

The Scotch-Irish were early arrivals, but for various reasons they moved on into the further hills and valleys of the Appalachian system. The Quakers, interested primarily in business and trade, tended to cling to tidewater. The German settlers, recognizing good agricultural land with lime-rich soils, and bound together by a strong sense of community and by the bond of the German tongue, made their homes in the wide valleys of the Philadelphia hinterland, between the lower courses of Susquehanna and the Delaware. Flowing alternately across the grain and parallel to the folds of the Appalachian system—here much reduced

—these great rivers mark out a block of country some forty miles square, centred on Reading, through which the Schuylkill River flows south-east to Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Turnpike which here bisects the Dutch country is the successor of the famous wagon trails which carried innovations from the Pennsylvania cradle into the interior—notably the Conestoga freight-wagon and all its lore, the “Dutch,” “Swiss” or “Bank” barn, and the long-barrelled rifle which came to be known as the Kentucky rifle. It has recently been shown, too, that the ancestral “covered bridge” of the type well-known in New England, Ohio and elsewhere as well as in Pennsylvania, was erected over the Schuylkill river in 1802.

That the Germans were not the first arrivals is shown by the names of the Dutch counties, e.g., Berks, Lebanon, Lehigh, Lancaster, Bucks, Montgomery; and the pioneering of the Ulster Scots is abundantly clear in the number of townships which they founded, e.g., Tyrone, Strabane, Donegal, Derry, Rapho, Hamilton, Letterkenny, Antrim, Rostrevor, Lurgan and Belfast. Dutch families bearing typical English, Welsh or Scots surnames point to some measure of intermarriage and absorption—and there are a few dialect words, such as *mooleykoo*, which were presumably borrowed—but there is no mistaking the German origins of the Dutch people. The churches are mostly Lutheran and Reformed, with minority groups of Plain People (Amish, Mennonite, Dunkard and Brethren) among whom the Amish are the most interesting. They form strong farming communities—there are, for example some 8,000 Amish in Lancaster County—who maintain their cohesion by refusing to accept state education beyond the legal minimum and by powerful religious sanctions. They use horses for farmwork and transport, wear plain clothes, do not utilize electricity and have tried, in short, to fossilize their culture at the palaeotechnic level of their forefathers. The contrast with the “conspicuous waste” of the urbanized American is striking, and it is not surprising that the Plain People are successful farmers.

As I have said, there is a keen awareness among Pennsylvania scholars of the underlying, if hitherto little studied, folk culture strata derived from the British Isles. At

the Festival, therefore, I was called on to lecture on the Ulster scene and to take part in seminars on such topics as Folklife studies abroad, with special emphasis on Ulster; Folk beliefs: their collection and study in Pennsylvania and Ulster; Pennsylvania’s three colonial folk-cultures: Quaker, Scotch-Irish and Dutch; and Training the Folklorist in America and Europe. Other topics discussed and demonstrated were water witching or dowsing (in which I successfully participated), ballads, broadsides, superstitious beliefs and powwowing (witchcraft or sympathetic healing). In addition to Dr. Shoemaker and Dr. Yoder, members of the staffs of several of Pennsylvania’s famous colleges and Universities took part in the seminars. Outstanding among



“Ollie the Basket-Maker” Entertains with a Folk-Tune.



18th Century Cider Press Demonstrated at Festival—Ground Apples Are Placed on Bed of Straw in Preparation for Pressing.



Lehigh Valley Pageant Group directed by Paul R. Wieand teaches traditional children's games of the Dutch Country.

collectors of Dutch lore is the Reverend Thomas R. Brendle, who contributed to several programmes.

The seminars were held in an open-sided tent provided with a stage, loudspeakers, and 500 chairs. A similar tent staged a practical demonstration of traditional farming ways: wood-fence building (one of the simpler varieties was described as an Irish fence), the use and lore of hook and scythe, flailing, horse-harnessing, grain-shocking (stooking), animal calls and so on. A minor exhibit, an antique, was a length of barbed wire, described as the precursor of the electric fence. Rural recreations and the songs, games and dances of the barn were demonstrated, to the delight of the watching crowds. "I got my eddication," sang the farmer's son, "in behind the barn." Of the barn a Dutch saying runs, in translation, "A husband and a dog belong at the barn, the husband to work and the dog to bark; a wife and a cat belong in the house, the wife to keep house and the cat to catch mice."

A third tent, provided with 1,000 seats, was used for lectures, films, and demonstrations of kitchen and household lore, of crafts, costumes, furnishings and domestic pottery, and for singing and dancing and reciting folktales. I was introduced several times on this stage, and spoke on the work of the Ulster Committee and on the Folk Museums and related institutions in the British Isles. At a special ceremony on 4th July, I was given the opportunity of speaking of Ulster's historic contributions to the life of colonial Pennsylvania.

The permanent buildings on the site housed a bewildering variety of exhibits and demonstrations. A large hall was occupied by stands displaying Pennsylvania "antiques" such as redware pottery and illuminated manuscripts (fractur). Another hall housed craftsmen demonstrating their skills in making e.g., straw-mobiles, "cookie-cutters"

of soldered tin, hand thrown pottery, baskets, quilts, and decorated Easter eggs (using pigments, resist-dyeing and rush-pith wrapping—this a recent import from the Ukraine). Young members of the Plain minorities—Amish, Mennonite and Dunkard—displayed their costumes and their characteristic products such as Swiss cheeses.

A large building housed thousands of old farm tools and items of household equipment which had been collected by the Granges, the equivalent of our Young Farmers' Clubs. At the other end of the fairground three craft buildings held (and sold) craft work of the kind sponsored in this country by the Women's Institutes, including home-made rugs (braided and woven), needlework, pottery and metal-work. Traditional folk art-motifs are thus kept alive: the heart, the tulip, the star, and the stylised bird known as a distlefink (thistle- or gold-finch). There also was the butchery exhibit, where the entire process of converting a live pig into a variety of meats, puddings, broths and sausages was demonstrated. Other displays included the preparation of home-made soap, candle-dips, blacksmithing, coopering, the making of maple syrup candy and sugar, of apple butter and soft cheese (smearcase), and the baking of bread in an outside bake-oven. Perhaps the most popular side-show was the cider-press, for the flail-threshed rye straw which was used to wrap up the pomace—prepared in a horse-turned apple mill—enabled the onlookers to enjoy "sucking cider through a straw." The cider-press was an eighteenth century example, provided with a heavy thatched roof which supplied the weight and which was moved up and down by hand-turned wooden screws. During the course of the week the press consumed some 200 bushels of apples.

A variety of farmyard animals was on show in other tents, including a prize-winning team of Holstein plough-oxen

weighing 6,700 lbs., and standing six feet high—proudly labelled “the biggest ox-team in the world.” Teams of horses carried children around the fairground in a covered (Conestoga) wagon and four-wheeled buggies. One of the most interesting and picturesque of the permanent exhibits was a Dutch post-barn or hay barrack (*schut-scheier*) with a thatched roof sliding up and down on its four corner posts. Once widely used in Dutch Pennsylvania, this is still the common hay-barn of Holland and was presumably brought over from the Rhinelands.

Another large tent housed an exhibition of farm tools and horse-drawn implements, axes, hoes, flails, ploughs, harrows, drills, rollers, winnowing machines and corn-huskers. The ploughs included a simple light wooden swing plough (which with the accompanying wooden drag or plough-slope could well have been introduced from Ulster) as well as elaborate wheeled ploughs. One of these—the Le Roy hillside plough—had an ingenious reversible mouldboard for ploughing in both directions along a hillslope. I was given to understand that the Amish farmers use a right-sided (left-turning) plough and that it goes with a specialized method of harnessing the plough team. This involves the training of a lead-horse which takes its place on the left of the plough-team and is controlled by a jerk-line, on which the ploughman’s pulls and jerks are accompanied by his Gees and Haws. A jockey-pole from hames to bridle connects each horse to its neighbour on the right. The distribution and significance of the right-sided plough are matters of great interest to students of agricultural history. Mr. Robert Aitken believes—and I have expressed a similar view—that this plough is somehow related to right-footed spades such as the *caschrom*.

To complete the picture it should be added that ample provision was made for the physical comfort and entertainment of visitors. Like the mediaeval fair, the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival combined business with pleasure. A dozen eating tents, in some of which one could begin with breakfast at 8 o’clock, were supplied with food and batteries of refrigerators. Some of them specialized in Dutch food which was made on the spot. I formed the impression that one of the unrecognized American Belts—the Pie Belt—begins in Pennsylvania, but one probably must be reared on Shoofly pie (made with molasses) and accustomed to the habit of dunking, to appreciate some of them. I could more easily understand the enormous consumption of beer, in relation both to the German heritage and to the Pennsylvanian climate.

I was fortunate in finding time to see something of the country around Kutztown in Berks County and in the neighbouring counties, in particular Lancaster County. I also spent a night on a typical Dutch farm and shared in the family meals, including breakfast of meat, fried potatoes and Shoofly pie. Dairying, poultry of many kinds, maize and tobacco, are the farmer’s chief concerns. The best land sells at 1,000 dollars an acre. I was able to explore several gigantic barns, with their characteristic “forebays” and their gaily-painted “hex-signs.” The myth that these are intended to keep away witches apparently began as a newspaper story. In fact, the painted stars and hearts are merely special versions of the familiar motifs enlarged to relieve the wide expanse of the wooden barn walls. They are indicative of the pride taken in these great erections, and were painted or applied as a grace-mark, or in the dialect phrase, “chust for nice.” None the less, it is probable that in their remote origins in the European homelands these symbols served magic purposes.

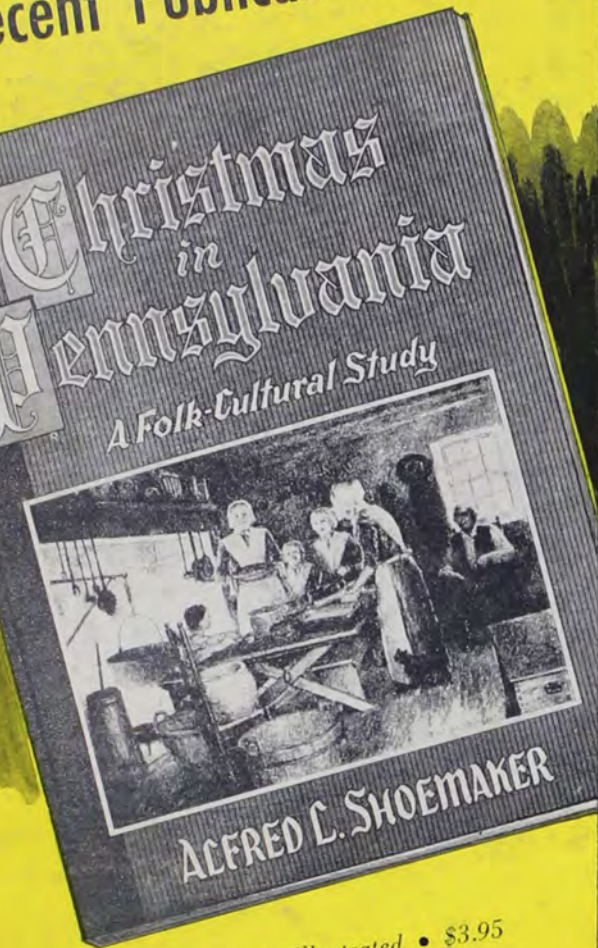
It is interesting to find that in several instances the eighteenth century log house had been preserved alongside the framed Georgian farmhouse. The examples I saw were built of squared timber resting on a foundation made of field stones and calked with stones set in clay. The steep roof was shingled and the massive chimney was set in the centre with fireplaces to warm both ends of the house. A step-ladder gave access to the bedrooms in the roof. The downstairs rooms, kitchen and bedroom, were lined with whitewashed mud-plaster secured to wooden studs driven into the timbers. The front and kitchen end of the house were protected by a pent-roof, and the door was in two halves, a Dutch “double-door” not an Irish half-door. In form and possibly in some details of lay-out and furniture, these log houses may betray some Ulster-Scot influence. I also saw several stone houses of similar plan but clearly of continental origin. The Georgian houses which replaced these in the early nineteenth century are characterized by a wealth of elaborate wooden mouldings both inside and out. The fireplaces are placed centrally in the rooms but the flues are carried out to the gables to give the roof-line symmetry.

It must be admitted that despite the strength of the Ulster-Scot immigration in the eighteenth century, little trace of its influence can be seen in the traditional patterns of material culture in south-eastern Pennsylvania. Their equipment was too poor and on too small a scale to cope with the wide plains and great forests of the New World, where wagons and heavy ploughs were of more use than wheel-cars and spades, and they must have speedily adopted new ways in a new environment. In the hill country where Daniel Boone pioneered it is much more likely that traces of the material heritage of Ulster survive, but in general the contribution of the Ulster Scot to American colonial life lay in non-material things, in calendar customs, songs and fiddle-tunes, reels and jigs, in their resistance to authority and, above all, in their zest for education—primarily to supply educated religious leaders in the Scottish way—which made them the founders of many famous colleges and Universities. One cannot doubt that even in the Dutch Country an Ulster strain, as well as English and Welsh elements, have helped to quicken the solid Germanic way of life and have played a part in nourishing the hybrid vigour which was so manifest at Kutztown.

Summing up, I think what impressed me most at the Folk Festival was the immense vitality and enthusiasm displayed. Dr. Shoemaker and his helpers are gaining many supporters in their efforts to investigate and record the characteristic features of the folk culture of south-eastern Pennsylvania, and they are assisted by the strong current of regionalism which is welling up in America as in Europe. The greatest difficulty is the lack of trained workers, and it is to the Universities that one should be able to turn. Folk-life studies are no part of the curriculum of the American Universities any more than they are in Britain. In general only Scandinavia is well provided with such courses, though we may expect something to flow from the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh. But in many of our Universities it is possible to recruit research students in folk-life, even if they must register as geographers, architects, anthropologists, sociologists or linguists. Hope lies in the fact that many of our folk museums are being organised in close association with the Universities. By our example in this way as in others we may be able to give a lead to our American colleagues who look to us for assistance and encouragement. We in turn must be impressed by the magnitude of their efforts—and of their task.



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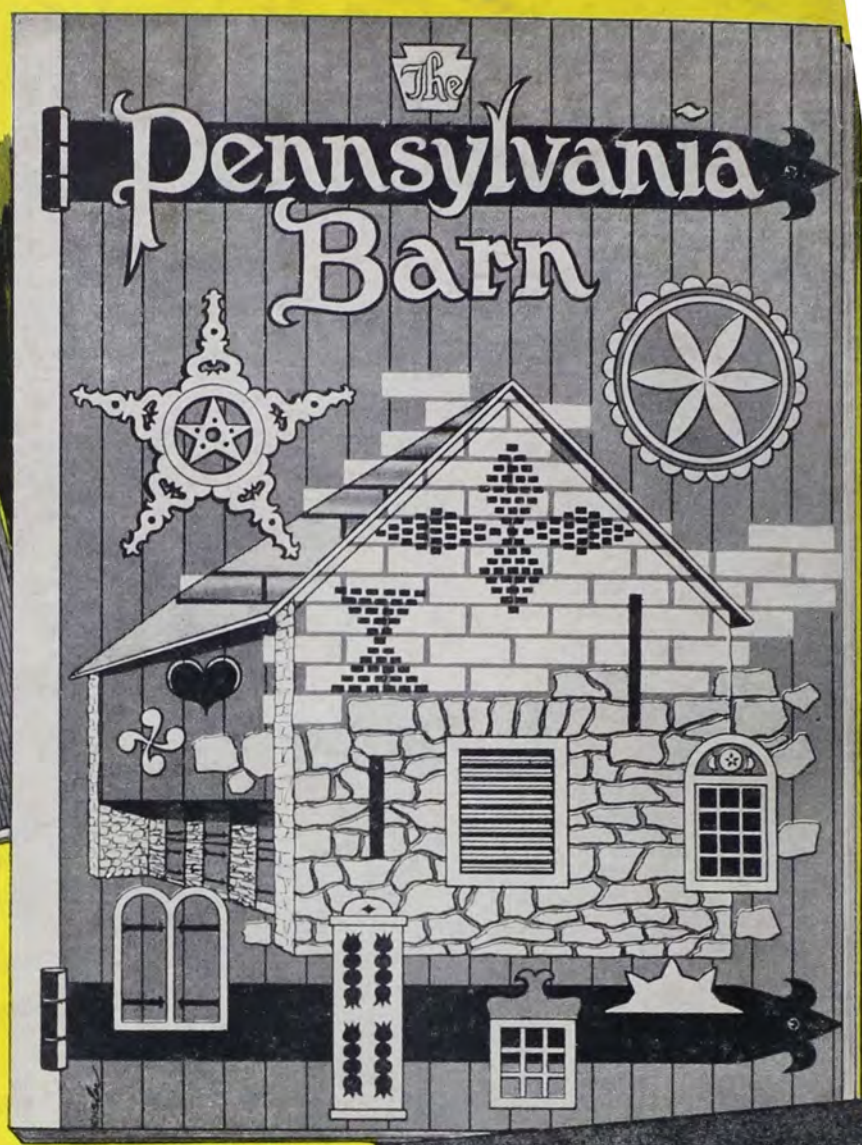
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