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Robert Markle Blackson

C. Lee Hopple

Mac E. Barrick

Gideon L. Fisher

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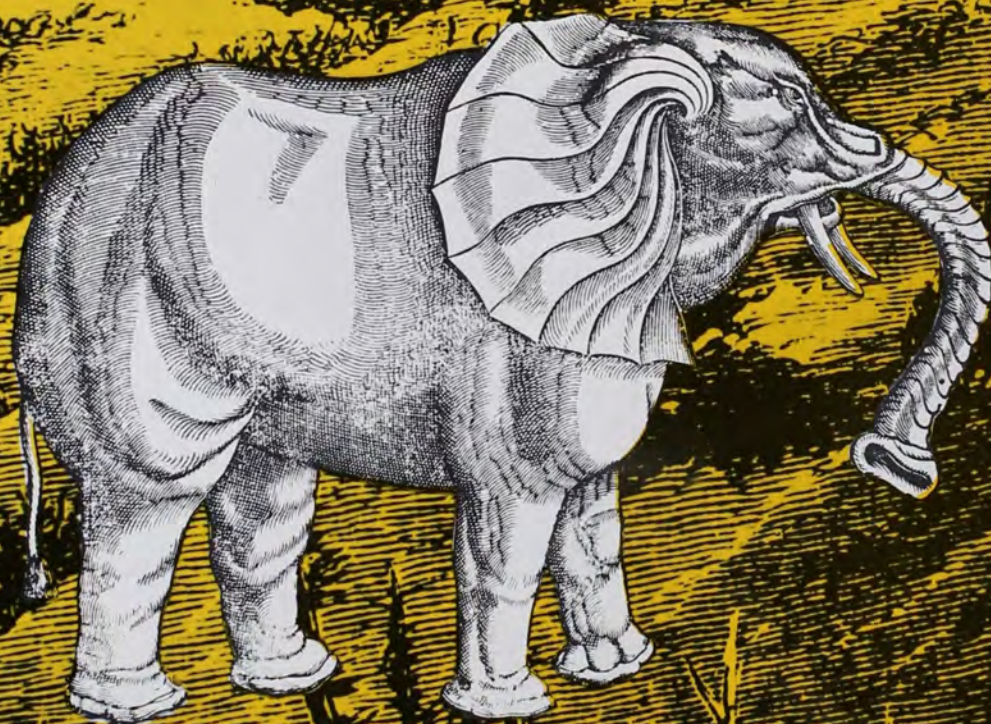
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Autumn 1979

Pennsylvania Dolllife



...“but god knows we had
not yet Saw the Elephant.”

Contributors



ROBERT MARKLE BLACKSON, Assistant Professor of History at The Pennsylvania State University, Altoona Campus, earned his B.A. at Ursinus College and his M.A. and Ph.D. at The Pennsylvania State University. His Ph.D. thesis was "The Panic of 1819 in Pennsylvania," and his primary research interest is Pennsylvania economic history. He has previously published in *Pennsylvania Heritage*. Professor Blackson is the great grandson of John L. Markle who is discussed in the following article.



DR. LEE C. HOPPLE, Professor of Geography and Vice President for Planning at Bloomsburg State College, has studied the interrelationship of theological change and geographical movement.

In this issue, he carries to Pennsylvania the groups whose European origins and spatial wanderings he considered for us in SUMMER 1979. The combination of historical causation and demographic trends in his studies put him in company with a half-dozen leaders in the field.



DR. MAC E. BARRICK, Professor of Spanish at Shippensburg State College, also teaches Regional Folk Culture there as well. He has established the Barrick Folk Cultural Collection and Index at Shippensburg; he has worked in many counties and localities of the Keystone State. His paper on *Deathlore* appeared in the previous volume of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE.



GIDEON L. FISHER, is an Amishman who has retired from active farming but not from work. He currently owns and operates a farm machinery repair shop, servicing the Amish community. When the large farm machinery manufacturers stopped producing horse drawn equipment, he was the first Amishman in Lancaster County to convert tractor drawn equipment to the type that can be used with horses. This current article is an early draft of the first chapter in his recently published book *Farm Life and Its Changes*. In this book, he reminisces about the changes he has seen in farming during this century, covering topics from old farming techniques to tourists in Lancaster County.

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(Inside front cover)

COVER:

At the Summit of the Sierras there was an interminable tangle of trees, rocks and brush. Overland travellers from Pennsylvania found it virtually impenetrable, thus worthy of their description of life's harshest test: Seeing the Elephant. But they soon found the descent of the far slopes was worse.

—Litho, Harpers Magazine

Layout: WILLIAM MUNRO



A Letter from
CALIFORNIA:
JOHN A. MARKLE
in the
GOLD RUSH
of
1849



By **ROBERT MARKLE BLACKSON**

Two events in December 1848 swept aside Easterners' skepticism which caused them to discount earlier reports that gold had been discovered in California. President James K. Polk's annual message to Congress referred to correspondence from government officials which confirmed the discovery of gold in large quantities. A tea caddy filled with California gold was delivered to Washington within days of Polk's message. Almost overnight Easterners accepted the accounts of James W. Marshall's discovery of gold on January 24, 1848, while supervising the construction of a sawmill for John A. Sutter. Newspaper editors did penance for their earlier doubts by printing enthusiastic accounts of gold strikes. Before the year ended, Argonauts took passage on ships bound for California while others who succumbed to gold fever prepared to travel overland in 1849.¹

John A. Markle of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, was among the thousands of Forty-niners who left their homes and families to seek a fortune in the gold fields. The only clues to Markle's identity are those contained in the following letter which he wrote

on January 26, 1850 to John L. Markle of Westmoreland County.² John A. Markle sent his "respects to uncle, and all the family," which suggests that he and John L. Markle, who was not married until 1853, were cousins.³ John L. Markle was the eldest son of Gasper Markle,⁴ and the latter had eighteen or twenty-one siblings, including General Joseph Markle, the Whig candidate in the 1844 Pennsylvania gubernatorial election.⁵ All of Gasper Markle's brothers who had sons named John either moved to other states or died before 1850.⁶ However, Jacob C. Markle, a brother of Gasper, had seven children of whom only four have been identified. Furthermore, Jacob's wife died in 1845, and in the letter John A. Markle sent a message to his father, but not to his mother. Jacob C. Markle died in 1864 and was buried with his wife and four children in South Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County.⁷ An educated guess is that John A. Markle was Jacob C. Markle's son. The birth dates of Jacob C. Markle's children and those of individuals mentioned in the letter suggest that the Forty-niner was in his middle or late twenties in 1849. What be-

came of John A. Markle after January 1850 remains a mystery.⁸

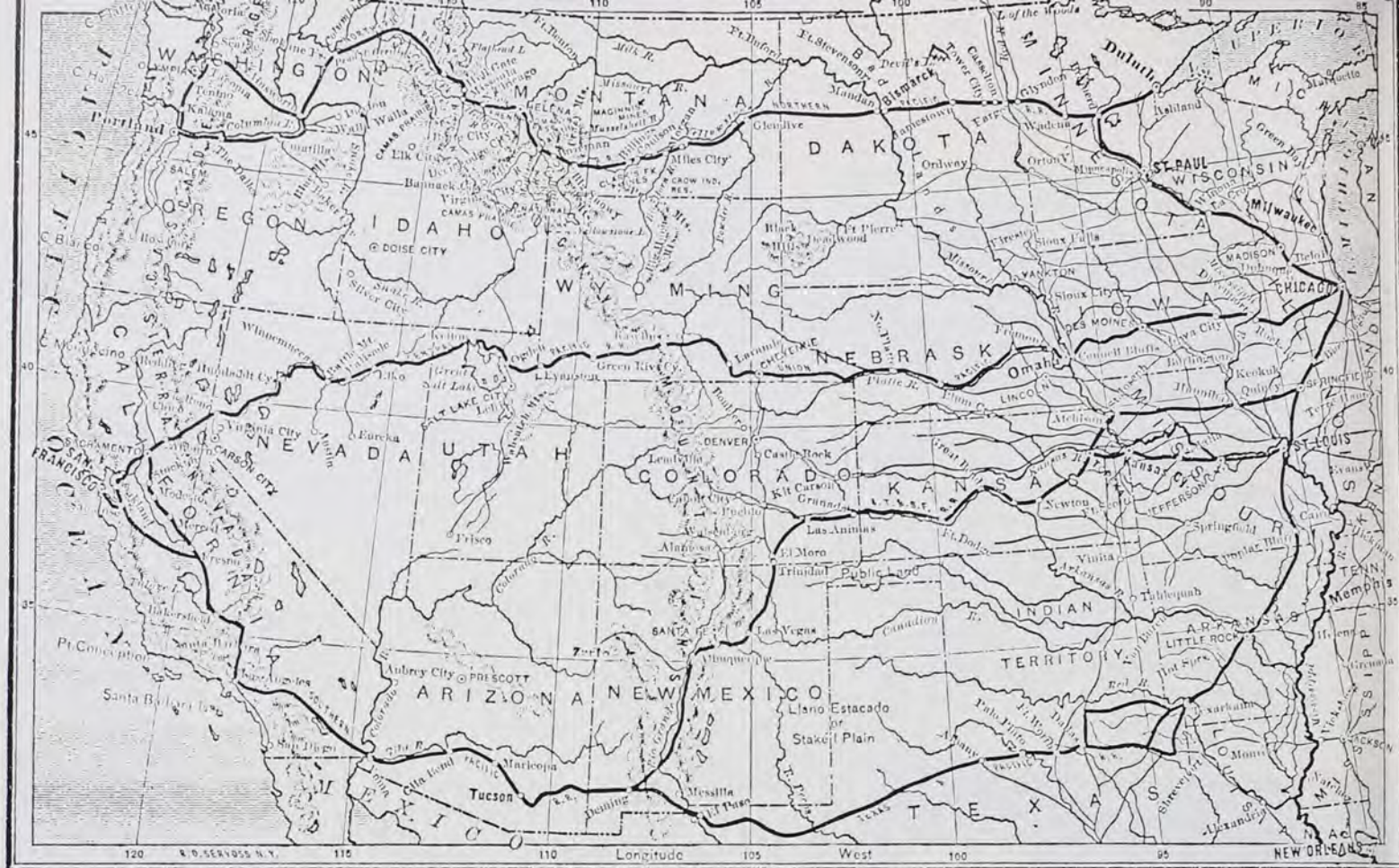
John L. Markle, the recipient of the letter, was a Westmoreland County farmer whose German ancestors emigrated to Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century.⁹ His grandfather, Gasper (Gaspard) Markle, moved from Berks County to Westmoreland County where he built a grist mill on Sewickley Creek in 1772 and served on the frontier in the War for Independence.¹⁰ John L. Markle was born on December 20, 1816, and he was commissioned as First Lieutenant in the Sewickley Artillery of the Pennsylvania Uniformed Militia in August 1849 for five years.¹¹ On November 2, 1853 he married Julia A. Lewis and cultivated the rolling hills of Sewickley Township where his father, Gasper, and his brother Shepherd owned neighboring farms.¹² The family suffered a personal tragedy with the death of John L. Markle's brother George in 1865. George R. Markle enlisted in the Union cause on August 22, 1862 and served with the 155th Regiment, Company F, of the Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War. At Five Forks, Virginia, on April 1, 1865, "he was badly wounded" and after "suffering considerably" died on April 13 at Fair Ground Hospital, Petersburg.¹³ John L. Markle later prepared a photograph album in memory of his slain brother.¹⁴ Between 1855 and 1866 John L. and Julia L. Markle had five children, and their farm apparently prospered with acre upon arce of grain and hay, horses, cattle, and hogs.¹⁵ The evidence suggested that John L. Markle died following an extended illness. On April 15, 1876, "while I have strength and capacity so to do," John L. Markle, "being weak in body but of sound mind, memory and understanding," prepared his will. Among the terms of the will, he provided for the education of his minor children and left his organ, apparently a prized possession, to his only daughter. In preparing for the end, John L. Markle became a communicant of the Sewickly United Presbyterian Church upon examination and was baptized in May 1876. He died on September 4, 1877 and was buried in the family cemetery, Mill Grove, on his late grandfather's farm in South Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County.¹⁶

Several aspects of John A. Markle's journey are obscured in the shadows of history, but other facets are illuminated by contemporary accounts. Although some Western Pennsylvanians sailed for California from Philadelphia and Baltimore, Markle chose the overland route.¹⁷ Before their departure emigrants often organized companies divided into messes with officers and constitutions or rules in order to provide security and order while crossing the continent. Two companies which solicited members offered transportation from Pittsburgh for \$260 and from St. Louis for \$170.¹⁸ Precisely when Markle departed Westmore-

land County is uncertain, but on April 13, 1849, he was camped at St. Joseph, Missouri, with the 280 men in Captain William J. Ankrim's Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company.¹⁹ Organized before January 22, this large company sent advance parties to Missouri to procure mules. The majority of Ankrim's party departed Pittsburgh on March 15 in two steamboats and arrived at St. Joseph on March 31.²⁰ Some members of the Pittsburgh company delayed their departure from Western Pennsylvania and planned to join the company in Missouri. Markle and his companions named in the letter apparently departed in mid-March and arrived at St. Joseph before April 13, 1849.²¹

The Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company left St. Joseph during the last week of April and encountered difficulties almost immediately. Captain Ankrim and part of the company moved north to old Fort Kearny and then traveled west to Fort Childs. A second contingent moved northwest from St. Joseph on a more direct route to Fort Childs. Both divisions experienced difficulties with excess baggage, and the first party became dissatisfied with Ankrim's leadership before arriving at Fort Childs. The second division, meanwhile, arrived at the fort three days before Ankrim's wagon train but did not wait for Ankrim as planned. Markle's route and chronology from St. Joseph indicated that he traveled with Ankrim to Fort Childs. However, Markle and others from Ankrim's division left the fort before Ankrim who remained at the post for a week.²² From Fort Childs Markle followed the Oregon Trail to its juncture with the California Trail below Fort Hall. He took the California Trail to Sacramento and then moved to the North Fork of the American River to search for gold.

In order to preserve the original style of Markle's account of his overland journey, a light editorial touch is maintained. Markle wrote the letter in one paragraph and with very few periods. The letter is divided into paragraphs at major departures in the narrative, and periods are added sparingly to avoid confusion in the text. Silent capital letters follow the inserted periods. In Markle's cursive style, large and intermediate sized C's, M's, and S's were often used, especially to begin words. These three letters are reduced to lower case, except where capital letters are appropriate. Markle also used lower case or small letters to begin some proper nouns, and his style is retained; the criterion for lower case was the form or style, rather than the size or height, of letters in the manuscript. Markle's spelling is maintained with the addition of obvious letters in brackets and/or standard notation for words misspelled in the manuscript. Some individuals mentioned in the letter remain unidentified despite extensive efforts to provide identification for all persons Markle mentioned or encountered.



The Western States and Territories of the United States

North Fork of the American river.²³ California Saturday evening January 26th AD 1850

Respected Friend

I saw Mr. Allen²⁴ today, and he told me that he was going to start for the States on Monday next and was going direct to Harpers Ferry in Virginia and he agreed to carry a letter through for one dollar and mail it at either Wheeling or Pittsburg, so I have concluded to scratch a few lines to you, not that I expect to convey to you any thing that is interesting; but merely through friendship and that I may hear from you and others but such as I have got you shall have.

In the first place I will inform you that I am in excellent health and have been ever since I left the haunts

of old Westmoreland;²⁵ But where shall I commence now; shall I commence at the place where we embarked on board the little row boat; and and [sic] talk of the lovely Youghiogheny;²⁶ no it would be as irksome to you as it would now be pleasant to me; shall I commence at the old Iron City, and tell of the majestic Ohio, the mud[d]y Mississippi and the snaggy Missouri, no it would be as dry to you as they were tedious to me; well where then shall I commence, I know no other than where we first left the States, and take you across those wide extended plains. It is a long journey, but not so long to one that reads it as to one that travels it, so you can soon pass over it, there were but few emigrants that did not curse the plains, but I was one among the few that could spend a life time on them. After traveling about 100 miles above St. Joseph on the east side of the river,²⁷ we crossed to the west side, 9 miles below old Fort Kearny,²⁸ we then traveled up to the fort, we then started across a beautiful rolling prairie which extended to the stormy Platte,²⁹ where we arrived on the 16th May its Bottoms were beautiful; extending Back from the river from 3 to 5 and 10 miles they were covered with grass, and the soil appeared fertile. On the 18th we passed Pawne[e] town³⁰ an Indian village on the Platte; owned by the Pawne[e]s but there were no Indians in it, the Sioux³¹ were at war with them and were rather victorious, so the



poor Pawne[e]s had to desert the place; I went through many of their huts, but it is useless for to describe them. On the next Sunday [May 20] morning there were 70 or 80 Sioux warriors came into our camp, they were friendly, manly, and noble looking men, there were a few squaws among them, and I tried to talk to them but all I could coax out of them was a grunt, we gave them some little to eat and they passed on. On the 23rd we arrived at New Fort Kearney formerly fort Chiles³² [sic], and a great fort it was. I would not want more than 10 men with shotguns to take, and blow it to thunder.³³ Here there was a general brake up of our company, some thought that we were travelling to[o] fast and some not fast enough so the immortal Star Company fell,³⁴ we threw away all unnecessary bag[g]age, and started alone.

The platte Bottoms now became more amusing than before, they were full of dog towns, an[d] the little buggers would bark and cut around as if they were of some consequence, but on a near approach they would retreat to their holes, the deer, antelope, and the elk would leap over the smooth surface with telegraphic speed then would come the mighty herds of huge Buffaloes, thundering over the Bluffs as if they were chased by a streak of lightning. The only objections I had to the traveling on the Platte were the frequent and mighty storms, which would often lift our tent from over us, and let the rain and hail upon us without mercy, and the scarcity of wood, I remember, and I do not know when I shall forget the first Buffalo meat we got, it was in a place where there was no wood so we had to cook with Buffalo chips,³⁵ as they term them through politeness, and the cook did not cook enough to satisfy all our capacious maws, so I thought I would have some of the clear stuff and went to work and roasted some; on the chips, But O heavens it was Buffalo to[o] pure. Scotts Bluffs³⁶ are the next that I shall notice, there is a large valley all surrounded by bluffs of all sizes and all shapes from 300 to 600 feet high mostly terminating to a point, and on the very top of the most of them there is a modest little cedar, waving in the breese, as we passed through I thought that if Scott³⁷ had to die there, he could say that he was dying in a paradise.

On the 12th June we arrived at Fort Larimie³⁸ [sic] where we were joined by another wagon, a mess that belonged to the Pittsburgh Company,³⁹ from armstrong Co, then crossed the Black hills⁴⁰ the travel across them was rather unpleasant as water and grass was very scarce and the route hilly. On the 19th we joined in with 3 other Pittsburg wagons, and built a raft to cross the North fork of P[l]atte river.⁴¹ By 12 Oclock the next day we were all over and ready to take up the line of march, 23rd we arrived at Independence Rock,⁴² during which time, we passed over a Barren country destitute of every thing but wild sage and lizzards, we lay by



Independence Rock

the next day Just below the devils gate,⁴³ which is an opening through a mountain; through which the river Sweet water⁴⁴ runs, it is very narrow, and rocks on each side rise to the height of 5 or 600 feet approximating at their top, I passed through by wading in water from 3 to 4 feet deep and I never got a hair seinged [sic]. On the 28th we arrived to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, the ascent was scarc[e]ly perceptible, a man would scarcely know he was climbing a mountain at all, though we got up pretty high some way or other, for there was plenty of snow and Ice at the pacific springs,⁴⁵ the first water that runs west.

The descent was still more mild, we then past over a Barren sand country to Green river,⁴⁶ where we arrived on the 2nd of July, we were there detained in crossin[g] until the morning of the fourth; on the 8 we got into the great Basin,⁴⁷ the part which we traveled through was lovely in the Bottoms there were a great many strawberries, and raspberrys which were ripe. At the same time the mountains around them were covered with snow, the valleys were covered with grass, and the little streams that flowed in from off the mountains, into Bear river⁴⁸ was cold and clear as cristal and filled with trout. The Soda Springs⁴⁹ are a notable curiosity I made some bread with the water and it made it very lite without any thing else, the water was also very pleasant to drink. Soon after passing them we passed several old extinct volcanic craters which appeared as if they had belched forth like etna or Vesuvius,⁵⁰ there were many other curiosities, but I cannot mention them. On the 14th we crossed out of the Basin to the source of the Columbia River,⁵¹ which was a large spring which bursted forth from the base of a mountain, and was as pretty water as I ever saw.

On the 15th we got to Fort Hall,⁵² which is situated in a low marshy country and that night O God the moschetoes [sic], it took 2 men to keep them off of one while he was eating. The route was very miry and I was frequently ploughted [sic] off of the lead mule head foremost into a mud-hole, on the 26th we again got Back into the great Basin, on the head waters of Marys river by Fremont⁵³ called Humbolt,⁵⁴ when we started down it our progress was good, and the water tolerably good, but after we traveled about 100 miles, the road

became so dusty, that at night we could scarcely know each other and the sun put it down from about 110. The water also became filthy and warm, from the crossing, and recrossing of mules and oxen, and it was the only water we could get to drink but! O heavens there are 200 miles more of it to travel yet, and there was no other remedy but to go ahead, before we got to the Sink the water became dead, warm, and stagnated, and a person could taste, mules, oxen, alkali and every thing else in it. On the morning of the 11th of august, we left a grass valley 18 miles above the Sink; to cross the desert to Salmon trout river,⁵⁵ which was 65 miles. In the evening we past the Sink of Marys river,⁵⁶ and a more filthy hole man never beheld.

We then bid adieu to Marys river and passed on about 12 Oclock at night I became tired, as I had traveled about 30 miles since morning in the sand, so I lay down in the sand, and was soon asleep, the wagons passed on, and I was undiscovered. When I awoke the sun was put[t]ing it down tolerable hot, I felt as though I was a good distance behind, I trudged along, and soon got to the boiling springs⁵⁷ where they were encamped and O it was the most gloomy place I ever saw. There was nothing but rocks and sand, all around them and they were boiling up and the steam was rising off of them, which made it appear as if it was mighty hot below, the water was so hot that I cooked a piece of Bacon perfectly done in 20 minutes by the watch. This water we had to cool in the sun for our mules and ourselves to drink, But we could not get it as cold as ice water. The wagons lay there till evening as we had some grass for the mules, that we cut on Marys river, but about the middle of the afternoon, Graves⁵⁸ our guide and I started ahead, we got to Salmon trout or truckey [sic] river about 11 Oclock in the night, and glorious was the sight. There was a beautiful stream of cold clear water and its banks wer[e] strewn with trees of various sizes, a thing that we had not saw for the last 300 miles, Bryant⁵⁹ and Fremont speaks of them on Marys river but I never saw them, nor I dont believe they did,⁶⁰ so we drank our souls satisfaction and then pitched into the Bushes, and there reposed in the arms of Morpheas⁶¹ [sic] until morning. On the 20 we arrived at the valley where Don[n]er and his party were encamped when they were caught in the snow, Graves was along with him and his Father and Mother, and some of his Sisters and Brothers starved to death. We visited the cabins and they were gloomy looking places, there were the human, bones that had [been] picked clean by those that survived, there was also long female hair, which appeared as though it had fallen from there [sic] head and never been moved.⁶²

On the 21st we reached the summit of the Sier[r]a Nevada Mountains,⁶³ the ascent was rocky as there was any use in, until within about one mile of the top. then it was smooth, and thundration right straight

up. When we got to the summit we thought we were over the worst; but god knows we had not yet Saw the Elephant.⁶⁴ In de[s]cending from there to the Sacramento valley, there were many places that we had to let our wagons down for miles with ropes over Rocks and every thing else that was rough, there was places that the wagon wheels did not touch the ground for miles, it was just off of one rock on to another, and so on. On the evening of the 29th as I was passing over a mountain, I got a fair view of the long looked for Sacramento valley, the sun was just sinking behind the coast range, which made the view beautiful, the next day we got down into the valley, and on Sunday 2ond of September we arrived in Sacramento City.⁶⁵

I have now got you through, But I must take you back on the plains again, to speak of the conduct of the Indians, for which you must pardon me. Their conduct was quite different from what I expected. We passed through the Pawne[es], the Sioux the Crows⁶⁶ the Shoshones,⁶⁷ and many others which I cannot call to mind at present, and I shall not speak of all these, as the Sioux are the most worthy of note I shall notice them first. They are large portly looking men, and what squaws I saw were also handsome, they were honest and brave, I did not here [sic] of a Sioux Indian that had offered to molest an emigrant. I shall now pass on to the Snake or digger Indians,⁶⁸ who is just the



Digger Indian
— Harpers
Magazine, 1853

reverse of the Sioux, they are the most degraded beings that I ever saw, the majority of the men women and children, are tetotally naked, they will eat snakes, lizzards, Grasshoppers, and everything of the flesh kind, they killed a great many mules and oxen at night and when the train would pass on they would come and carry them away. There was a great many reports about them killing men or of men making a

narrow escape from them, and it was reported if a man left the road 2 or 3 miles alone he was sure to be killed, but such reports must have been got up by some ternal Bragedocious, and if there was any body killed I think it was their own fault, for I have been from 5 to 6 miles from the road alone in search of game, and have frequently come to where they were camped and also met them when they were hunting with there bough [sic] and arrow, and they were always friendly and reach out there hand to shake hands and mut[t]er a kind of grunting how do you do.

I will now commence at Sacramento City again. The day before we got there I got my hand poisoned so bad that I could not use it until the 27th during which time we sold our team, and the mess divided, the reasons why we divided are too numerous and therefore I will not give them but had we had been fixed so that we could have done it we would have divided long before we got here. After we were divided Schotts, Steiner and Ellsessor⁶⁹ Brought aa sein[e], and they wanted me to take one fourth of it and go in with them in the Fishing business, but I prefer[r]ed not. Taylor⁷⁰ started for the mines some place god knows

*sein, and they wanted me to take
and go in with them in the Fishing bu
refered not, Taylor started for the
place god knows where, for I have never
quired for him since, during this*

Taylor reference in Markle's letter. He obviously left a strong impression.

where, for I have never heard, nor enquired for him since, during this time Lorin Robbins⁷¹ and I agreed to go to the mines together, a thing which I have never yet regret[t]ed, for he is a noble fellow. So on the 27th Sept. we got some provisions, got then on board an ox team and started, for North fork, we staid

with the wagon until dark when we started ahead about 12 O'clock the team came up to a tent where we were waiting for it. We then made our be[d] under a tree and sprawled ourselves out to sleep, the next day we left the wagon and made a few meanders, from the road, and we got lost; night came on, and our ap[p]etites began to grow sharp, so we trudged along, now and then cheered by the howling of wolves or Koyotas as they call them here, some time in the night we saw a light and when we got to it, it was a boarding tent kept by and old Mormon woman, we got supper, and the infernal old bugger charged us 2 dollars a piece. The next day we got to our destined place, and we prospected around a few days and finally got to work, we Bought a couple of horses, and went to packing dirt about 1½ miles to water where we washed it, we could make from 8 to 16 dollars per day each, some days we could make more we have made as much as 30 doll[ar]s a piece, but these days are scarce. We worked in this way for a few weeks, we then went to work and built ourselves a cabin, and got our winters provisions, which we got very cheap we got flour for 50 dollars per bbl, and other things in proportion.

There are no persons in this part of the mines that either of us ever saw before, but since we have been here we have become acquainted with a great many noble fellows, as there are no other kind of men here.⁷² Since the wet season has commenced there is not much doing, as we cant work more than one third of the time, last Sunday night it began to snow and continued doing so until wednesday, when it began to rain and is still raining and god knows when it will quit, as for Gold news, I am almost affraid to say anything for there are many reports that are not true it was reported that there was 80 thousand dollars taken out of a small ravine about 200 yds long, we worked 30 feet of it, and I know that there was not more than 10 thousand dollars taken out of it, the largest lump was worth 224 dollars. There are men here that do not make any thing, but the least that I ever made when I worked a whole day, was 5 dollars. We have been here ever



since I came to the country but intend leaving, as soon as the wet season is over. There is little communication from here to Sacramento City so you cant expect much news from me as I cant get any.

I shall now give you a little about cabin affairs. I never enjoyed a more pleasant time in my life, we are lulled to sleep by the howling of the Koyotas, and in the morning awake[n]d by the same. We cook week about, and I tell you we do it up brown, but we sometimes make mistakes, one day I thought that I would bake a few gingercakes to take along for dinner when we went to work, and to work I went, but instead of getting the ginger I got a paper that contained mustard, and soused it into the dough, our cakes were sweet, but they did not taste much of ginger. On Christmas day we go some venison, and we envited [sic] Mr. Martin and Hall (two men from Cumberland Co. one a clerk and other an attorney at law) to come and dine with us. O what a glorious feast; we had venison Potpie Snity pie, and Brandy toddy. On New year day they did the same, and we had a good time, and were as happy as Christians.

Before I close I have a few requests to make in the first place I want you to write to me, and give me a general history of everything about the pleasant hills of old Sewickly⁷³ I also want to tell John Pool⁷⁴ I would like to Jaw him awhile, but as I cannot do that I want him to write me a letter, and I will then do the same, also do tell A C Hamilton⁷⁵ the same, it would do me good now to hear from home for I have never yet got the scratch of a pen or heard a word from home, since I left there. I sent to San Francisco for letters with Mr Heath and as he was returning he got drowned, and if there were any letters there for me, they are now in the Bottom of the American River so I want a new supply, direct you[r] letter to Sacramento City. Tell them two old maids, Harry and Molly that I have not forgot them yet, and that I hope they have got men, either large or small, and would also like to hear from them, Thomas from Newyork is in the cabin with us, and he can make more fun than will do 10 men he sends his sincere love to the people of the united States. Pleas[e] let Father and Leighttys⁷⁶ know that I am well, and hope that they are the same. I have writ[t]en many letters, to many different persons But have never yet received any so this is the last that I will write till I get one.

There will be a meeting held here to morrow for the purpose of getting men to go up the river farther to a little village, for to chastise the Indians for some depredations that they have committed, but i think it was serving the whites rite for they in the first place killed 4 or 5 of the Indians.

It is now about 3 Oclock in the morning, so I must close, give my best respects to uncle, and all the family, and to all the good people about there, now I want

you to write as soon as you receive this, and I hope you will get many more to write I dont care how many, they will all be exceptable, , Robbins wishes that if you see any of his folks that you will inform then [sic] that he is well, I will now retire to my virtuous couch as I am a little sleepy, no more at presen[t].

But remain yours

John A Markle

[illeg.]

Rec^d Tuesday morning Apr 23rd 1850 John L Markle

ENDNOTES

¹Ralph P. Bieber, "California Gold Mania," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 35 (June 1948): 16-22.

²The letter is from the author's private collection and has not been published previously except for brief passages quoted in William T. Parsons', *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), p. 202. The author's continuing search for additional information on John A. Markle has been unsuccessful to date.

³Della Reagan Fischer, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices from Weekly Newspapers 1818-1865: Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania" (1963), p. 227, Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as CGSP) Philadelphia, Pa.

⁴Will of Gasper Markle, probated September 29, 1880, 6 Will Book 465-467, Westmoreland County, Pa.

⁵Will of Casper Markle, probated October 4, 1819, 2 Will Book 7-8, Will of Mary Markle, probated August 28, 1832, 2 Will Book 270, Will of Joseph Markle, Sr., probated March 26, 1867, 5 Will Book 118-120, Westmoreland County, Pa.; Norton W. Merkel, comp., "The Merkel, Merkle, Markle, Markel Freundschaft" (1977), pp. 68-69, 95-106, Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pa.

⁶Merkel, comp., "Markle Freundschaft," pp. 96-98, 102, Historical Society of Berks County; telephone conversation between the author

and Wilbur R. Branthoover, Fair Port Harbor, OH., June 13, 1979.

⁷Will of Casper Markle, probated October 4, 1819, 2 Will Book 7-8, Westmoreland County, Pa.; Merkel, comp., "Markle Freundschaft," p. 103, Historical Society of Berks County; Della Reagan Fischer, comp., "Cemeteries, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania" (1970), pp. 87, 90, CGSP.

⁸John A. Markle mentioned that he intended to leave the place from which he wrote the letter, and the name was not located in Aubrey Haines Baldwin, comp., "Pennsylvanians in the West: A Listing from the 7th Population Census of the United States of those Natives of the Keystone State Residing in Lands West of the Mississippi River in 1850" (1970), CGSP.

⁹Merkel, comp., "Markle Freundschaft," pp. 41-42, Historical Society of Berks County; John N. Boucher, *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1906), 3: 561-564.

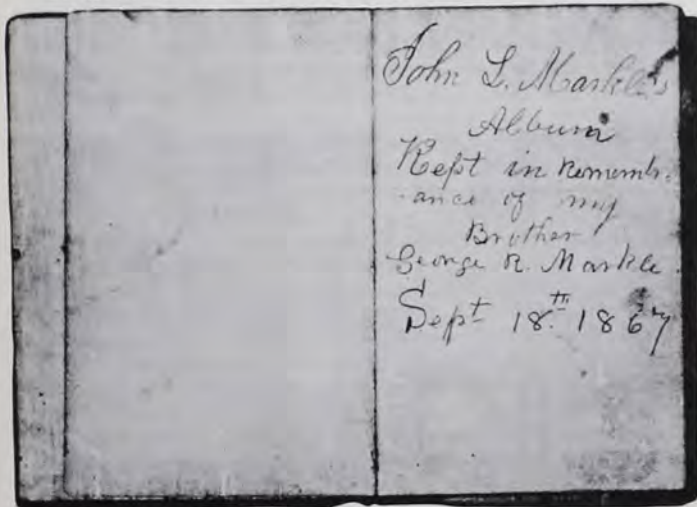
¹⁰George Dallas Albert, *History of the County of Westmoreland Pennsylvania: With Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Company, 1882), p. 703; *Greensburg Tribune-Review*, November 5, 1964.

¹¹Fischer, comp., "Cemeteries," p. 91, CGSP; Merkel, comp., "Markle Freundschaft," p. 105, Historical Society of Berks County, incorrectly lists John L. Markle as John R. Markle; John L. Markle's commission dated August 20, 1849 and marked "Rec- May 8, 1850," the author's private collection.

¹²Fischer, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices," p. 227, CGSP; Will of Gasper Markle, probated September 29, 1880, 6 Will Book 465-467, Westmoreland County, Pa.; U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States 1860: Pennsylvania* [Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, n.d.], Roll 262, Westmoreland County, Sewickley Township, p. 1016, family 623, p. 1017, families 625, 626.

¹³Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5*, 5 vols. (Harrisburg: State Printer, 1869-1871), 4: 819; H. E. Lathrop to Jasper Marcle [sic], April 13, 1865, the author's private collection.

¹⁴"John L. Markle's Album Kept in Remembrance of my Brother George R. Markle Sept 18th 1867," the author's private collection.



¹⁵Will of John L. Markle, probated September 19, 1877, 6 Will Book 215, Westmoreland County, Pa.; Final Account of the Estate of John L. Markle, 1879, 7 Accounts Docket 56, Westmoreland County, Pa.

¹⁶Will of John L. Markle, probated September 19, 1877, 6 Will Book 215, Westmoreland County, Pa.; Church Register, 3: 48-49, 82, Sewickley United Presbyterian Church, R. D. 1, West Newton, Pa.

¹⁷*Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, January 17, 1849.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, February 24, March 2, 1849.

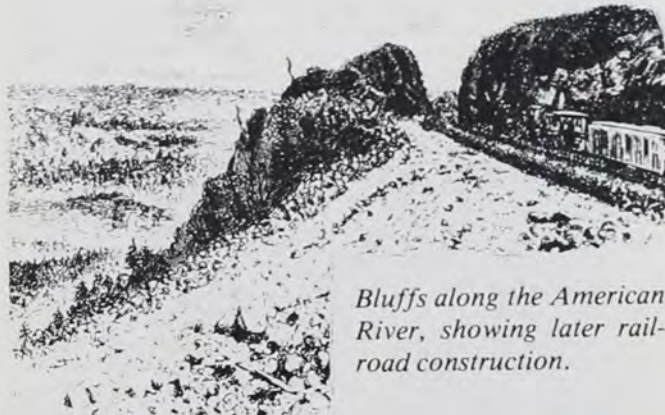
¹⁹*Ibid.*, April 30, 1849.

²⁰*Ibid.*, January 22, February 8, March 3, 13, 15, 1849; *Pittsburgh Daily Morning Post*, February 21, 1849; Sterling B. F. Clark, *How Many Miles from St. Jo? The Log of Sterling B. F. Clark, a Forty-niner*, with Comments by Ella Sterling Mighels (San Francisco: Privately Printed, 1929), p. 7.

²¹*Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, March 26, April 30, 1849; *Greensburg Pennsylvania Argus*, March 16, 1849.

²²*Pittsburgh Daily Morning Post*, July 17, 1849; *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, November 15, 1849.

²³The American River is a tributary of the Sacramento River and follows a course of approximately thirty miles from Folsom Lake to Sacramento, California. The North Fork of the American River is approximately fifty miles long and, with the South Fork, flows into Folsom Lake. The American River was near the center of the gold fields which extended from the Feather River to the Merced River.



Bluffs along the American River, showing later railroad construction.

²⁴Mr. Allen remains unidentified.

²⁵Because a cholera epidemic swept into the United States at New Orleans and spread along the overland trails, Markle's statement of good health was significant. Estimates of the number of cholera deaths among overland emigrants in 1849 range from 400 to 5,000. George W. Groh, *Gold Fever: Being a True Account, both Horrifying and Hilarious, of the Art of Healing (so-called) During the California Gold Rush* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966), pp. 89-111, 298-299, 307, note 4; Ray Allen Billington, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860* (New York: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1962), p. 228.

²⁶The Youghiogheny River rises in Maryland and flows along the common boundary of Sewickley and Rostraver townships, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, to its juncture with the Monongahela River at McKeesport, Allegheny County. The Monongahela River joins the Allegheny River to form the Ohio River at Pittsburgh, "the old Iron City."

²⁷The river to which Markle referred was the Missouri River.

²⁸Old Fort Kearny was located approximately ninety miles above St. Joseph, Missouri, on the western side of the Missouri River at the present location of Nebraska City, Nebraska. Stephen W. Kearny proposed the location for the fort which was garrisoned in 1846 and abandoned in 1848.

²⁹The Platte River originates at the juncture of the North Platte and South Platte rivers and flows across the present state of Nebraska to empty into the Missouri River below Council Bluffs, Iowa. From Fort Kearney the Oregon Trail followed the broad, meandering course of the sandy-bottomed Platte, which in some places has no permanent channel, and the North Platte River into the present state of Wyoming.

³⁰The Pawnee Indians belonged to the Caddoan linguistic group and inhabited the area currently included in Nebraska and Northern Kansas. Edwin Bryant reported "a large, but deserted Indian encampment," which his party assumed to be Pawnee, near the confluence of the Big Blue and Little Blue rivers. Although the Pawnee Indians remained on friendly terms with the United States, they were often at war with neighboring tribes. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California: Being the Journal of a Tour . . . in the Years 1846, 1847, 5th ed.*, with an Introduction by Richard H. Dillon (1849; reprint ed., Palo Alto, Ca.: Lewis Osborne, 1967), p. 62.

³¹Sioux was the more common name applied to the Dakota Indians. The Dakotas of Siouan linguistic stock displayed a typical Plains

culture and occupied the territory along the middle course of the Missouri River and between the North Platte and Yellowstone rivers.

³²Fort Kearney was located near the present site of Kearney, Nebraska, and was built in 1848 on the south bank of the Platte River. Initially the fort was named for Brig. Gen. Thomas Childs, a hero of the Mexican War, but by 1849 the post was named Fort Kearney for Gen. Stephen W. Kearny. Several routes including the Mormon Trail from Council Bluffs, Iowa, and the Oregon Trail from Independence, Missouri, converged at Fort Kearney.

³³Peter Decker arrived at Fort Kearney on May 14, 1849, nine days before Markle, and described the post in his diary. "Fort consists of 6 or 8 buildings . . . built of sod, one story high . . . Roof of ground or sod others of brush & grass. . . This fort or mud town is now a miserable looking place externally." On May 15 James B. Mitchell was at the fort and wrote, "Fort Kearney is as yet only a fort in embryo built of sods, &c. However, they have 5 pieces of Howitzers, 12 pounders and 80 riflemen of regular army; . . . They have now in operation a saw mill, blacksmith shop, . . . sutler's shop, &c., . . . preparing materials for building a Fort on a permanent scale." Helen S. Griffen, ed., *The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851* (Georgetown, Ca.: Talisman Press, 1966), p. 74; *Pittsburgh Daily Morning Post*, July 18, 1849.

³⁴The company disbanded after traveling approximately 270 miles from St. Joseph. Markle's reference to the Star Company is puzzling because he was listed among the members of Captain William J. Ankrim's Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company on April 13, 1849, and his chronology and route indicated that he traveled with the first division of the Pittsburgh company to Fort Kearney. The Star Company might have been the name assigned either to Ankrim's first division or to a smaller unit within the extremely large Pittsburgh company. Both the dissolution of emigrant companies and the abandonment of excess baggage were common occurrences. Jessie Gould Hannon, *The Boston-Newton Company Venture: From Massachusetts to California in 1849* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), pp. 108-109; David Morris Potter, ed., *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly*, with an Introduction by David Morris Potter (New Haven: Yale University Press, Yale Western Americana Paperbound, 1962), pp. viii, 231-232.

³⁵Because of the scarcity of wood on the plains, the emigrants used buffalo dung for fuel.

³⁶Scott's Bluffs is a sandstone escarpment which displays "all the architectural shapes of arch, pillar, dome, spire, minaret, temple, gothic castle, and modern fortification." The site is along the North Platte River approximately twenty miles east of the common boundary of the present states of Nebraska and Wyoming. Bryant, *What I Saw*, p. 104.

³⁷The tale of Hiram Scott's death is based to a large degree on legend. In 1828 he was abandoned by a destitute party of trappers employed by Ashley, Sublette, and Smith after Scott was incapacitated by illness. Scott's remains were found in the following year and buried at the bluffs. Edwin Bryant's guidebook, *What I Saw*, which Markle used, contained a brief account of Scott's death. Griffen, ed., *Diaries of Peter Decker*, p. 273, note 69; Bryant, *What I Saw*, p. 104.

³⁸Fort Laramie was located at the confluence of the Laramie and North Platte rivers in the present state of Wyoming, approximately 320 miles from Fort Kearney. The United States purchased the fort, "a rough and primitive-looking place, but no doubt when well held, an effective stronghold against Indians," from the American Fur Company in 1849. On June 16, 1849, four days after Markle's arrival, "one company of dragoons under Major Saunders" arrived to garrison the post. Isaac Jones Wistar, *Autobiography of Isaac Jones Wistar, 1827-1905: Half a Century in War and Peace* (New York: Harper & Brothers, n.d.), pp. 84, 85.

³⁹Other emigrants referred both to Captain Ankrim's Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company and to Markle's party, after the dissolution of the Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company, as the Pittsburgh Company. Peter Decker recorded on April 24, before leaving St. Joseph, that the "Pittsburgh Co divided after a quarrel 300 men too many." He did not indicate the number of messes that left the main company. Samuel Jaynes later reported that two divisions of the company planned to meet at Fort Kearney, but the rendezvous was aborted when one contingent failed to wait for the

other wagon train; Jaynes suggested that the division occurred at Fort Kearney, rather than St. Joseph. On August 5 Wakeman Bryarly reported encountering "part of the Pittsburgh Company," and on August 21 he met Markle's party and referred to it as the Pittsburgh Company. The Iron City Rangers, another company from Pittsburgh, traveled this section of the overland trail at approximately the same time as Markle. No one from Armstrong County was listed among the members of Ankrim's company on April 13. Griffen, ed., *Diaries of Peter Decker*, p. 58; *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, April 30, July 18, November 15, 1849; Potter, *Trail to California*, pp. 179, 202-203.

⁴⁰The Black Hills span the common boundary of the present states of Wyoming and South Dakota.

⁴¹Markle's party crossed to the west bank of the North Platte River near the present site of Casper, Wyoming. From this crossing the Oregon Trail began a southwesterly course toward Fort Bridger.

⁴²Independence Rock is located on the Sweetwater River approximately ten miles above its confluence with the North Platte River and fifty miles from the area where Markle's party crossed the North Platte River. This granite landmark which was almost 200 feet high and 1,800 feet long served as a register for explorers, trappers, and emigrants who marked their names on its flat surfaces. Archer Butler Hulbert, *Forty-niners: The Chronicle of the California Trail*, with an Introduction by Joseph Henry Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1949), pp. 143-144.

⁴³Devil's Gate is on the Sweetwater River approximately five miles from Independence Rock.

⁴⁴The entire course of the Sweetwater River is located within the present state of Wyoming, and it is a tributary of the North Platte River.

⁴⁵On July 12, 1847 Edwin Bryant reported, "The wagon trail, after we reach the summit passes two or three miles over a level surface, between low sloping elevations composed of sand and clay, and covered with a vegetation now brown and dead, when it descends by a gentle declivity to a spring known to emigrants as the 'Pacific Spring,' the water from which flows into the Colorado River of the West, and is emptied into the Gulf of California." The Pacific Spring was located "Two miles west of the South pass." Bryant, *What I Saw*, p. 133.

⁴⁶The Green River rises near the Continental Divide and flows south through the southwestern quadrant of the present state of Wyoming. Because Markle did not mention Fort Bridger, which was the major post between the Green and Bear rivers on the Oregon Trail, it appears likely that his party took the Sublette or Greenwood's Cutoff. This temporary diversion from the Oregon Trail would "shorten the distance on the Fort Hall route to Oregon and California some fifty or sixty miles." Bryant, *What I Saw*, p. 135.

⁴⁷John C. Frémont is credited with coining the term Great Basin to designate the region between the Wasatch Range of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada Mountains which had earlier been referred to as the Great American Desert. Frémont described the area as "a basin of some five hundred miles diameter every way, between four and five thousand feet above the level of the sea, shut in all around by mountains, with its own system of lakes and rivers, and having no connection whatever with the sea. Partly arid and sparsely inhabited, the general character of the Great Basin is that of desert, but with great exceptions, there being many parts of it very fit for the residence of civilized people," John Charles Frémont, *Geographical Memoir: Upon Upper California in Illustration of His Map of Oregon and California in Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1956), p. 514.

⁴⁸The channel of the Bear River takes the shape of an inverted U. It flows along the western boundary of the present state of Wyoming and into the present state of Idaho where it turns south and empties into the Great Salt Lake. The Sublette Cutoff returned to the Oregon Trail on the Bear River above Fort Bridger and near the point at which the southern boundary of Idaho meets the western boundary of Wyoming. The Oregon Trail followed the Bear River to the Soda Springs at the top of the inverted U.

⁴⁹The Soda Springs were located at the top of the inverted U of the Bear River but are now submerged by the Soda Point Reservoir. Wakeman Bryarly and John C. Frémont also referred to the Soda Springs as the Beer Springs. Griffen, ed., *Diaries of Peter Decker*, p. 277, note 106; Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, p. 144; J[ohn] C[harles] Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky*

Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-'44 (Washington, D.C.: Blair and Rives, 1845), pp. 135-137.

³⁰In his description of the "fissures and chasms" and "crater" in this area, Frémont referred to the "scoriaceous lavas of Mount Aetna, Vesuvius, and other volcanoes." Etna is a volcano on Sicily, and Vesuvius is a volcano in Italy near the Bay of Naples. Frémont, *Exploring Expedition*, pp. 139-140.

³¹The spring was apparently the source of one of the smaller rivers, such as the Portneuf, which flowed into the Snake River, a tributary of the Columbia River. Other Forty-niners referred to the Snake River as the Columbia River. Giffen, ed., *Diaries of Peter Decker*, p. 109; Hulbert, *Forty-niners*, p. 175; Wistar, *Autobiography*, p. 99.

³²On June 29, 1849, Peter Decker described Fort Hall as "a trading post belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, built similar to Fort Laramie but smaller & in better repair. Walls of unburnt brick, it stands at confluence of Port Neuf & Lewis Forks of the Columbia River." Markle's party arrived at Fort Hall before the opening of the Hudspeth's Cutoff. Giffen, ed., *Diaries of Peter Decker*, p. 109; Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, p. 159, note 5.

³³John C. Frémont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-'44* was very popular among the Forty-niners. Although the book was several years old, Frémont's detailed, thorough, and lively account served as a useful guidebook. Markle's use of the name Humboldt River indicates that he also carried a copy of Frémont's *Geographical memoir: Upon Upper California in Illustration of His Map of Oregon and California* in which Frémont used the name Humboldt for the Marys River. It is possible that both titles were bound together in a guidebook edition. Frémont was more accurate than other guidebooks which were written by opportunists. For a partial list of other emigrants' accounts which referred to Frémont, see Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, p. 20, note 49; for the proliferation of guidebooks, see Ray A[llen] Billington, "Books that Won the West: The Guidebooks of the Forty-niners & Fifty-niners," *American West* 4 (August 1967): 25-32, 72-75.

³⁴The Humboldt River flows across the northern portion of the present state of Nevada, and the California Trail followed the Humboldt for its entire course. Before 1845 the Humboldt was known by Frémont and others as the Marys River, but in the notes from his third expedition (1845) and in his *Geographical Memoir* Frémont named the Marys River the Humboldt River. Frémont, *Exploring Expedition*, p. 218; idem, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green, & Company, 1956), p. 449; idem, *Geographical Memoir*, pp. 510, 516-517.

³⁵The Salmon Trout River is presently known as the Truckee River, and it flows from the Sierra Nevada Mountains, across the common boundary of the present states of California and Nevada, and into the northwestern quadrant of the latter state.

³⁶The Sink of the Humboldt or Marys River is located in the northwestern quadrant of the present state of Nevada. Isaac Wistar, who passed the same area in August 1849, wrote, "We cleared the Sink before dark, and got rid of its nasty, fetid exhalations, having traced the Humboldt . . . through 300 miles of desert only made passable by its stream, to its ignominious end, where the desert finally overcomes and destroys it. The Sink is a pond several hundred yards in diameter with stagnant surface looking as if it had received several coats of lead-colored paint, and with indefinite, shallow, marshy borders, where the water eternally contends for existence with the enveloping sand." Wistar, *Autobiography*, p. 106.

³⁷The Boiling Springs provided the only water between the Sink of the Humboldt and the Truckee River. Bryant described them as "a hundred or more holes or small basins, varying from two to ten feet in diameter, of boiling water." Bryant, *What I Saw*, p. 216.

³⁸A later passage in the letter indicates that the guide was either Jonathan or William Graves; they were the only two males by the name of Graves who survived the Donner tragedy of 1846. J. Groves, but no one named Graves, was listed with the Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company before it departed Missouri. A man named Graves who had been a member of the Donner party was identified later in a newspaper item as a guide with the Pittsburgh Company. Wakeman Bryarly reported conversations with a man among the Pittsburgh Company named Graves who had survived the Donner tragedy. Comparisons of Bryarly and Markle's dates of arrival at various landmarks indicate that the Pittsburgh Company to which

Bryarly referred was Markle's party. Edwin Bryant discussed the Donner tragedy and listed the survivors. Pittsburgh Daily Gazette, April 30, December 17, 1849; Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, pp. 202-203; Bryant, *What I Saw*, pp. 249-265.

³⁹Because of poor health, Edwin Bryant, a journalist, decided to move from Kentucky to California in 1846, and he planned to publish an account of his overland journey. The preparation of his book was delayed by his campaigns against the Mexicans, a short term as Alcalde of San Francisco, and a trek back to Kentucky in 1847. Bryant's *What I Saw in California: Being the Journal of a Tour . . . in the Years 1846, 1847* was a day-by-day account of his journey and a popular guidebook among the Forty-niners. Bryant, *What I Saw*, pp. v-vi, ix-xiii.

⁴⁰Markle was not alone in his skepticism; other Forty-niners criticized Bryant and Frémont's descriptions of vegetation along the Humboldt River which disappointed emigrants referred to as the Humbug. Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, p. 190, note 6.

⁴¹Morpheus was the god of dreams in Greek and Roman mythology.



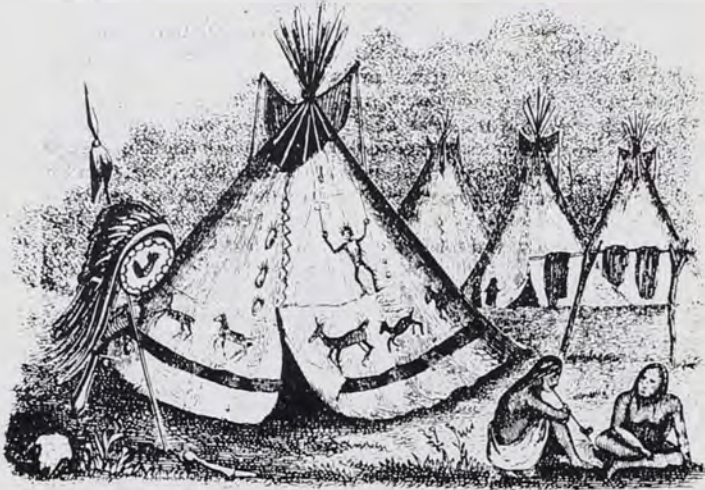
⁴²In the winter of 1846-1847, a party of emigrants organized by Jacob and George Donner became snowbound in an early winter storm at Donner Pass, approximately fifteen miles northwest of Lake Tahoe in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Fifteen members of the Donner party started for help on December 16, but the first rescue party did not arrive until February 19, 1847. In the meantime, the stranded survivors resorted to cooking and eating the flesh of the weaker members who died from exposure and starvation. Only forty-five of the eighty-nine members of the Donner party who left Fort Bridger in 1846 survived; Mr. and Mrs. Graves and Franklin Graves perished. Edwin Bryant reported that the human remains were buried and the cabins burned in June 1847, but Wakeman Bryarly and Isaac Wistar as well as Markle recorded seeing human skeletal remains and cabins in August 1849. Billington, *Far Western Frontier*, pp. 110-114; Bryant, *What I Saw*, pp. 261, 263; Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, p. 202; Wistar, *Autobiography*, p. 111.

⁴³The Sierra Nevada Mountains are located in the central portion and along the eastern boundary of the present state of California. The slopes of these mountains were the final natural obstacle to be conquered by the Forty-niners on the California Trail.

⁴⁴In 1849 "seeing the elephant" meant that one had overcome handicaps to arrive in the gold fields. However, the term had been employed as early as 1835 and meant "to face a particularly severe ordeal, to gain experience by undergoing hardship or to learn the realities of a situation at first hand, . . ." Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, p. 187, note 1.

⁶⁵Sacramento was laid out in 1848 on John A. Sutter's farm at the confluence of the Sacramento and American rivers, and Sacramento grew rapidly as a supply center for miners. For a view of Sacramento in the early 1850's, see Lee Foster, "Old Sacramento," *American West* 13 (May-June 1976): 20-27.

⁶⁶The Crow tribe inhabited the area between the North Platte and Yellowstone rivers within the present boundaries of Wyoming and Montana. The Crow Indians were members of the Siouan linguistic group.



⁶⁷The Northern Shoshoni who belonged to the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family inhabited the northwestern quadrant of the present state of Utah and the western section of the present state of Wyoming.

⁶⁸Snake was the common name given to the Northern Paiute, a dialectic division of the Shoshonean group of Uto-Aztecan stock. Some emigrants referred to the Shoshoni as Snake Indians, and the Snake or Northern Paiute occupied the northern portion of the Great Basin. The Southern Paiute Indians were sometimes referred to as the Diggers or Snake Diggers, and were regarded as most dangerous and treacherous of all. They, too, were of Uto-Aztecan stock and maintained a prehorse culture in the southern portion of the Great Basin. The Diggers were despised by the Forty-niners for stealing cattle; in most arid areas of the Great Southwest, Digger Indians ate grubs and earthworms and sometimes even clay was ingested.



Paiute Indian of Utah and Nevada.

⁶⁹J. Shotts, G. Steiner, and J. Elcessor were listed among the individuals from Westmoreland County who were encamped with the Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company at St. Joseph on April 13, 1849. *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, April 30, 1849.

⁷⁰In the manuscript of Markle's letter, the name Taylor is surrounded by a field of dots. E. Taylor was listed among the individuals from Westmoreland County who were encamped with the Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company at St. Joseph on April 13, 1849. *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, April 30, 1849.

⁷¹Lorin Robbins was not listed among the individuals from Westmoreland County who were encamped with the Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company at St. Joseph on April 13, 1849, but a later passage in the letter indicates that he was from Westmoreland County. Robbins may have been the son of Moses Robbins, age fifty-five, whose family in 1850 included five children between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, April 30 1849; U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States 1850: Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1964), Roll 836, Westmoreland County, North Huntingdon Township, p. 373, family 374.

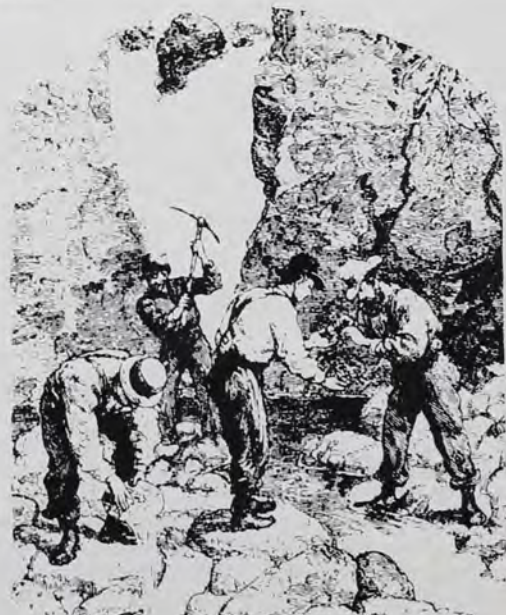
⁷²This statement was written, no doubt, with tongue in cheek. For examples of incidents involving gambling, lewd women, cheating, fights, and murder, see Giffen, ed., *Diaries of Peter Decker*, pp. 249-255. No doubt a real comradeship did exist, though.

⁷³Sewickley Township is located in the southwestern quadrant of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.

⁷⁴In 1850 John Pool, age twenty-five, and John Pool, age fifty-five, resided in East Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules Seventh Census 1850*, Roll 836, p. 154, families 122, 127.

⁷⁵In 1850 A. Cooper Hamilton, age twenty-nine, lived with his parents in Sewickley Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules Seventh Census 1850*, Roll 837, p. 304, family 105.

⁷⁶In 1850 the families of Jacob Leighty, age forty-two, Jacob Leighty, age forty-nine, Marks Leighty, age forty, and John Leighty, age fifty-one, lived in East Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules Seventh Census 1850*, Roll 836, p. 157, family 169, p. 158, family 177, p. 159, family 203, p. 163, family 253. Although it is obvious that both the writer of the letter and the addressee knew well the two young ladies so ungallantly adverted to as "Them two old maids," we are left to conjecture which of the local lasses named Harriet and Mary had "men large or small" wished off on them. Likewise we have absolutely no clue to the identity of "Thomas from New York."





SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA PLAIN DUTCH GROUP CULTURE REGION TO 1975

By LEE C. HOPPLE

Actually the elements of the American subculture which is today called Pennsylvania Dutch, and which together comprise the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community, developed as two distinctive culture patterns, the main cleavage having been along religious lines.¹ This religiously caused cultural division has been between the Plain Dutch² rural-folk and the Gay Dutch,³ rural-urban cultures. The Gay Dutch, i.e. the Lutheran⁴ and Calvinist Reformed⁵ sects, theologically representing the conservative and middle-of-the-road branches of the Protestant Reformation are those who live in what is religiously called the world. The Plain Dutch, i.e. the Anabaptist⁶ sects theologically representing the radical wings⁷ of the Protestant Reformation, are those who preferred to live apart from this world.⁸

The Gay Dutch have always been the majority and the Plain Dutch the minority. Thus, the Gay people set the primary pattern for what is called the Pennsylvania Dutch culture. But the Plain people created a culture of their own, which because of its distinctiveness to the non-Dutch observer is now the symbol of everything Dutch.⁹

DELIMITATION AND DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF THE SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH COMMUNITY

The Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community,¹⁰ encompasses a large portion of the southeastern quadrant of Pennsylvania (Figure 1) and includes all or parts of 12 counties: Berks, Bucks, Chester, Dauphin, Dela-

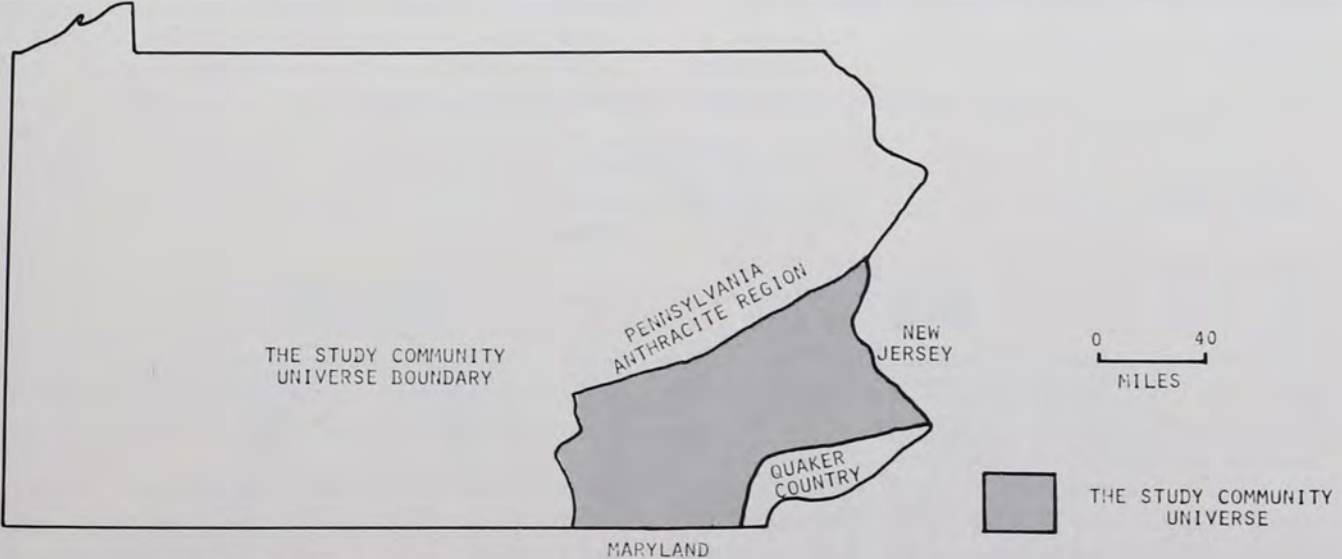


Figure 1. Location of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community Universe in Pennsylvania

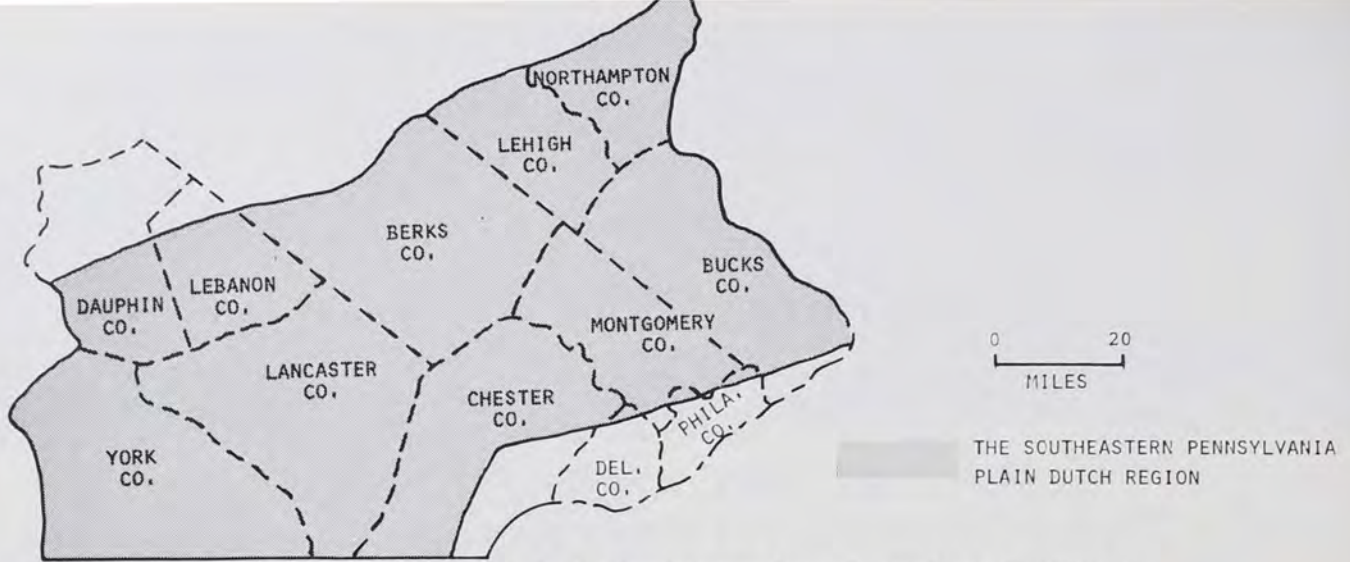


Figure 2. Counties included in the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Region

ware, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Montgomery, Northampton, Philadelphia, and York (Figure 2). The area of this community is approximately 5,800 square miles.

This predominantly Protestant Dutch Community is culturally distinct from much of its surrounding territory (Figure 1). To the northwest is found the prevailing Roman and Orthodox Catholic Anthracite Region; to the southeast is a Pennsylvania region still marked by numerous cultural remnants of its English Quaker heritage; and eastward, the less tolerant religious policy of colonial New Jersey early prevented extension of Pennsylvania Dutch settlement in that direction. Only to the south and west of the community are cultural contrasts less pronounced, for a scattering of Dutch people is found in sections of Maryland and south-central Pennsylvania adjacent to the Pennsylvania Dutch Community.

Within the area thus delimited are found representatives of all the major Protestant religious sects that are known collectively as the Pennsylvania Dutch. No other American region of comparable size contains such a large and concentrated number of these people.

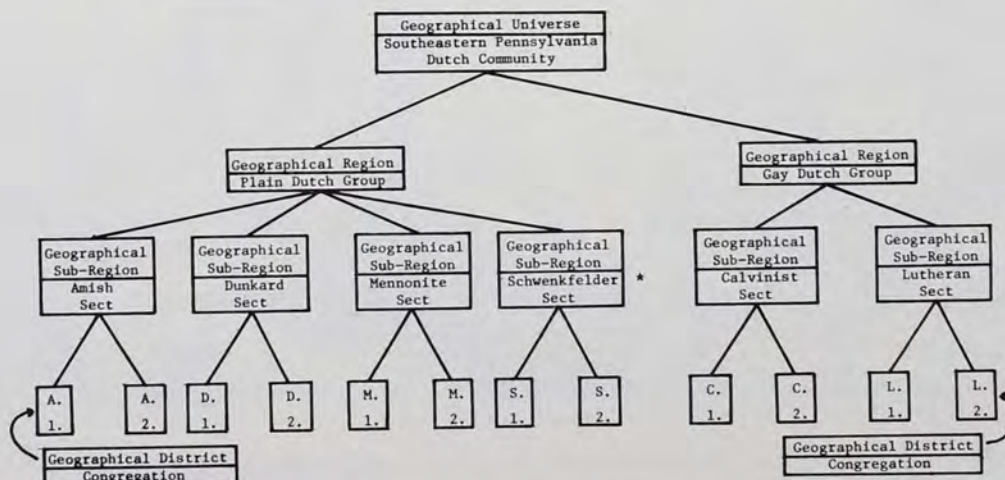
THE SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH COMMUNITY RELIGIOUS — SPATIAL HIERARCHY

A meaningful spatial analysis of the southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch necessitates the classification of this internally heterogeneous population into a religious sectarian hierarchy. Within such a hierarchy, four classificatory levels are recognized. The highest level encompasses the totality of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community (Table I). The components of the second classificatory level consist of the Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch groups, with the latter group comprising the subject matter for this study. Each of these groups includes, in turn, at least two religious sects which are united by theological affinities and cultural and economic characteristics. These sects comprise the third order in the hierarchy (Table I). Each third-order sect in the hierarchy consists of many fourth-order congregations (Table I).

Moreover, an understanding of the contents of this spatial analysis requires familiarity with a specialized geographical and non-geographical vocabulary, parts of

Table I

The Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community: Religious and Spatial Hierarchy



* The Schwenkfelders originated and developed as a Plain Dutch sect. During the nineteenth century, the sect abandoned its cohesiveness and traditionalism, and instituted a policy of assimilation into American society. Presently, the Schwenkfelders identify with the Gay Dutch. Since the Schwenkfelders continue to retain many of their original religious beliefs and a few of the Plain Dutch social attributes, for purposes of this study, they are included with the Plain Dutch.

<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>SPATIAL TERMINOLOGY</u>	<u>RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGY</u>	<u>DEFINITION OF BOTH TERMINOLOGIES</u>
First Order	Universe	Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community	The <u>community</u> is the aggregate of dispersed and nucleated Dutch populations in the entire study area, which is termed <u>Universe</u> .
Second Order	Region	Plain Dutch Group or Gay Dutch Group	Each <u>group</u> consists of the aggregate of dispersed and nucleated populations of those sects subscribing to the tenets of that group. Each <u>region</u> consists of the territory containing members of a group. A <u>group region</u> includes both the group population and the territory occupied by that group.
Third Order	Sub-Region	Plain Dutch Sects Amish Sect Dunkard Sect Mennonite Sect Schwenkfelder Sect Gay Dutch Sects Calvinist Sect Lutheran Sect	Each <u>sect</u> consists of the aggregate of dispersed and nucleated populations of those congregations belonging to that sect. Each <u>sub-region</u> consists of the territory containing members of a sect. A <u>sect sub-region</u> includes both the sect population and the territory occupied by that sect.
Fourth Order	District	Any one of a large number of congregations.	Each <u>congregation</u> consists of the aggregate of dispersed and nucleated populations who assemble together at a specific place to conduct religious worship services. Each <u>district</u> consists of the territory containing the members of a congregation. A <u>congregational district</u> includes both the congregational population and the territory occupied by that congregation.

which may be unfamiliar to the reader. Hence, for those not conversant with certain spatial terms, and with terminology relating to the Pennsylvania Dutch, clarification of such concepts and terms as — COMMUNITY, GROUP, SECT, CONGREGATION, UNIVERSE, REGION, SUB-REGION, and DISTRICT — is necessary.

The Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community is herein defined as the aggregate of all the dispersed and nucleated Dutch populations in the study area (Figures 1 and 2). Based on Protestant religious sectarianism, this first order community is subdivided into three categories of sub-communities which encompass progressively smaller numbers of religious adherents and occupy increasingly more limited segments of geographical space. Such an organization will facilitate the explanation and understanding of the spatial development and theological organization of the Plain Dutch, because by arranging the study area in four orders of geographical space, it is possible to arrange the Protestant religious hierarchy into four comparable orders of theological unity.

In descending magnitude, the spatial orders are identified and delineated as UNIVERSE, REGION, SUB-REGION and DISTRICT. Likewise, in terms of diminishing numbers of adherents, the components of the religious hierarchy are recognized and defined as COMMUNITY, GROUP, SECT, and CONGREGATION. The spatial orders and religious hierarchial orders enumerated in Table II correlate with the contents of Table I.

It should be emphasized that because of the inter-

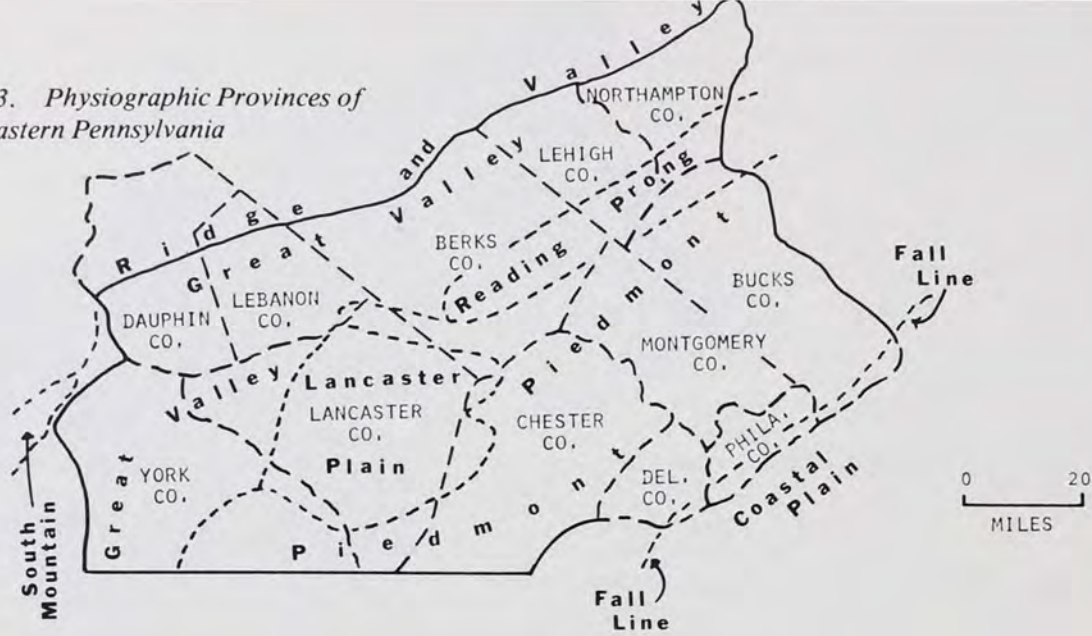
mixed spatial distribution of members of the various groups, sects, and congregations, there may be, and frequently are, spatial overlaps between the territories (regions) containing members of two groups, as well as equivalent overlaps between the territories (sub-regions) of the several sects, and the territories (districts) of the various congregations. In other words, the territories of the component religious elements within any order of magnitude described in the above listing and shown in Tables I and II are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Moreover, these sects obviously are interspersed with Gay Dutch and non-Dutch populations.

These patterns of spatial interspersion and overlapping of populations complicates the problem of delineating boundaries. Despite this and certain other handicaps, the spatial organization of the Plain Dutch group region and its several internal cultural zones is presented.¹¹

DELIMITATION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA PLAIN DUTCH GROUP REGION

Anabaptist forefathers of the Plain Dutch commenced their migrations to Pennsylvania shortly after the colony was founded in 1682. First the Mennonites¹² began to arrive in the 1680's, then the Amish¹³ and Dunkards¹⁴ in the 1720's, and finally the Schwenkfelders¹⁵ in the 1730's. By the end of the eighteenth century, between 20,000 and 25,000 German-speaking Anabaptists had migrated¹⁶ to southeastern Pennsylvania (Figures 1 and 2). The Schwenkfelders are included in this study because of the very close religious and other affinities with the other three sects.

Figure 3. Physiographic Provinces of Southeastern Pennsylvania



Migration of Germanic European Protestants to Pennsylvania occurred mainly during the first half of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Upon arriving in Philadelphia, the Anabaptists proceeded directly to nearby Germantown where they obtained information about the cultural and physical environments of the hinterlands of colonial Pennsylvania.

On the basis of such information, the land-seeking, agriculturally-oriented Anabaptists were attracted by the level terrain and rich limestone soils of the nearby Pennsylvania portion of the Great Valley (Figure 3). The hilly terrain and mediocre soils of the Piedmont country appealed less to the Plain Dutch, and they have never settled there in large numbers. The relative isolation, rugged terrain, and poor soils of much of the Ridge and Valley country to the north, and of South Mountain to the west, discouraged movement of the Plain Dutch in those directions (Figure 3). Because of their self-imposed cultural separatism, the Plain Dutch were ignorant of the religious policies of colonial Maryland and New Jersey, and thus were reluctant to migrate southward and eastward beyond the Pennsyl-

vania boundaries even though suitable environmental conditions might have been available in neighboring states.

Presently, the gross spatial characteristics of the four Plain Dutch sectarian sub-regions (see Tables I and II) seem to be a product of three controlling factors: (1) the order of sectarian immigrations from Europe, (2) the number of immigrants of each sect, and (3) the subsequent growth in sectarian populations.

The great majority of Anabaptist immigrants, and the earliest to arrive, were the Mennonites, their migrations spanning the period from the 1680's to the 1770's.¹⁸ They early obtained some of the best farm lands in the eastern part of the Dutch Community Universe (Tables I and II) in close proximity to the port of debarkation, Philadelphia (Figure 4). However, especially after 1725, to obtain land of comparable fertility, many Mennonite immigrants moved farther westward. The Mennonite sub-region now consists of these two large and physically favorably endowed territories, and nine small areas scattered across the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Region (Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 4. Approximate territorial extent of the Mennonite Sectarian Sub-region, 1975

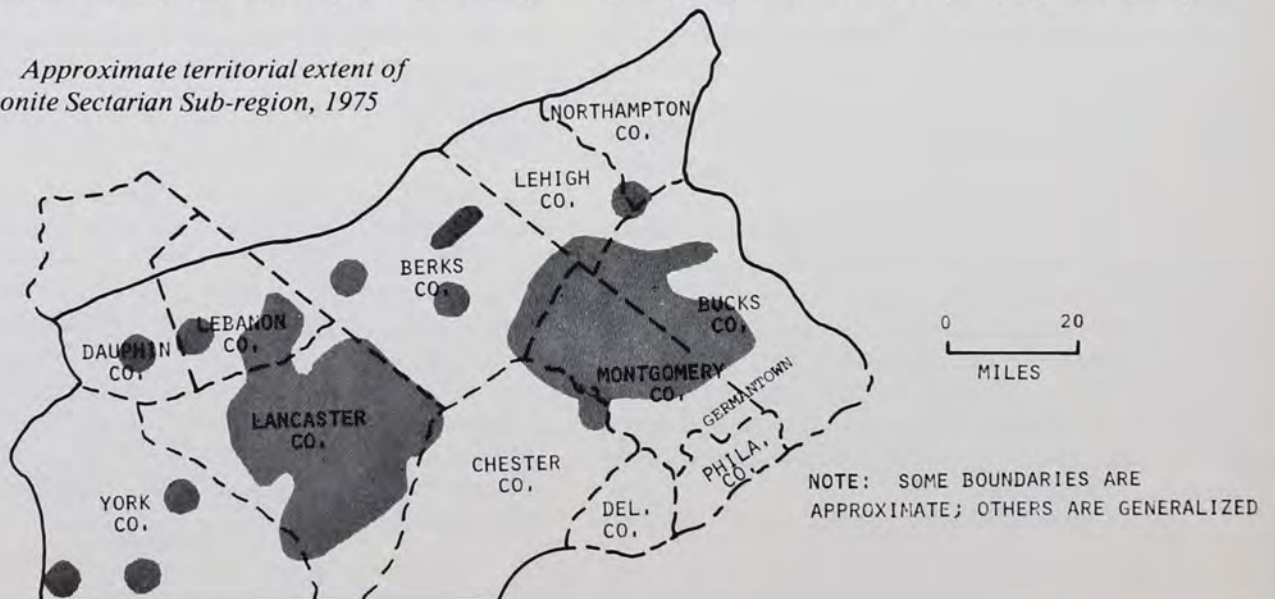




Figure 5. Approximate territorial extent of the Dunkard Sectarian Sub-region, 1975

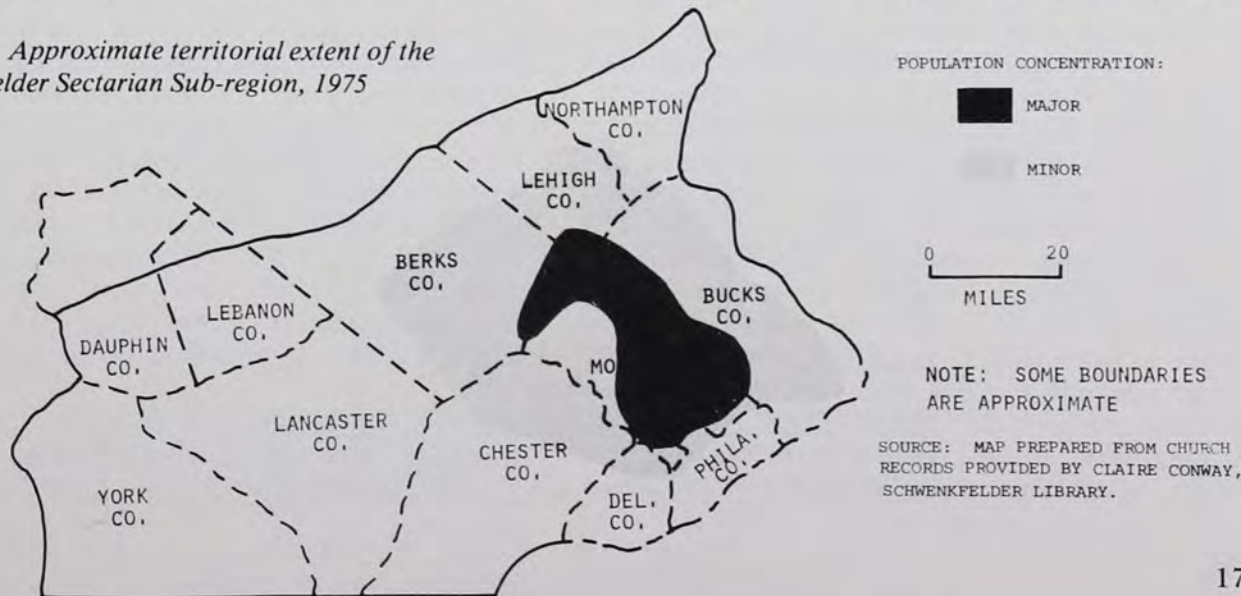
The Dunkards were the second Anabaptist sect to reach Pennsylvania arriving between 1719 and 1729, but unlike the Mennonites, they initially dispersed widely across southeastern Pennsylvania (Figure 5). Since the number of Dunkard immigrants was small, numbering only 228,¹⁹ population growth in, and territorial expansion of the subregion proceeded slowly. Indeed, major growth was delayed until the twentieth century when, because of the late date, it was confined to territorial peripheral lands to the west of the earlier-established Mennonite sub-region (Figures 4 and 5). The Dunkard sub-region presently includes one large contiguous area and ten small, widely-dispersed sites (Figure 5).

In all, 206 Schwenkfelder immigrants arrived in Pennsylvania in the 1730's²⁰ and thus were the third of the four Anabaptist sects to reach the state. Unlike the Dunkards, the Schwenkfelders apparently chose to remain in proximity to one another, for they initially settled in only a few closely-spaced sites. Probably because of the large Plain Dutch populations that had settled farther west, the Schwenkfelders remained, and

most still reside, in the eastern portion of the Plain Dutch Group Region (Tables I, II, and Figure 6), purchasing lands either unacceptable to (Figures 3 and 6) or overlooked by the earlier Mennonite and Dunkard immigrants. Spatial development of the Schwenkfelder sub-region has been especially pronounced in recent decades so that today, the boundaries of the community embrace much of the eastern half of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community Universe (Tables I, II, and Figure 6).

The last Anabaptist sect to arrive in Pennsylvania was the Amish,²¹ whose early members settled in the south-central part of the Dutch Community Universe (Tables I, II, and Figure 7) away from the earlier-established Mennonite, Dunkard, and Schwenkfelder territories (Figures 4, 5, and 6) for this was the last of remaining large contiguous tracts of fertile limestone soil in the Dutch Community Universe (Figures 3 and 7). Compared to those of their predecessors, the Amish sub-region has not experienced marked spatial expansion over the decades and is the smallest of the four sectarian sub-regions (Tables I and II), consisting of two areas

Figure 6. Approximate territorial extent of the Schwenkfelder Sectarian Sub-region, 1975



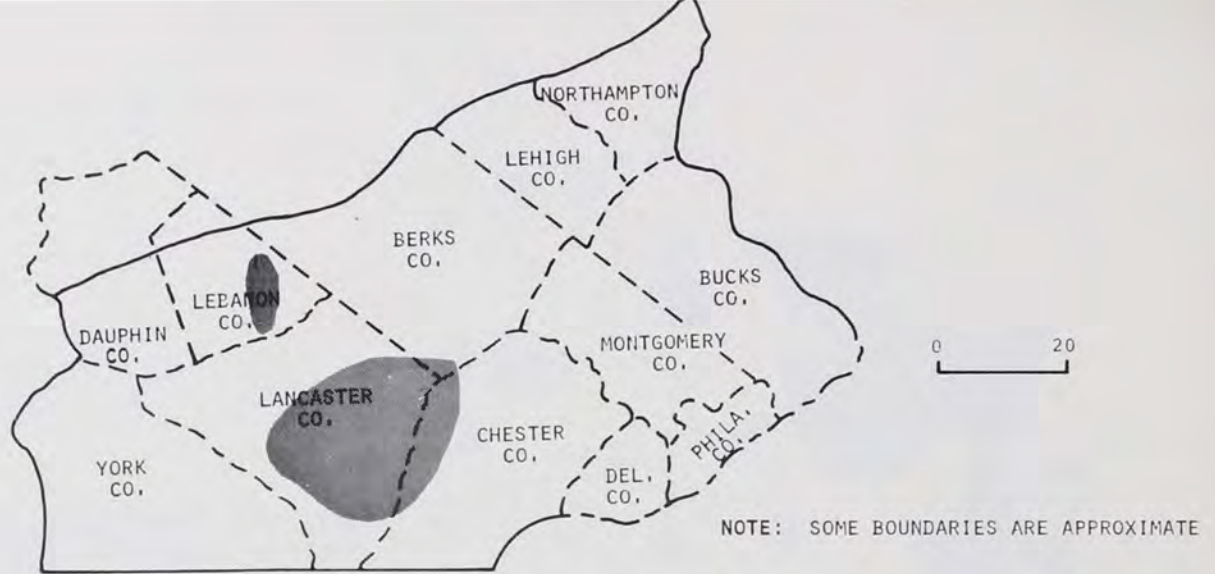


Figure 7. Approximate territorial extent of the Amish Sectarial Sub-region, 1975

of settlement (Figure 7).

Thus, by the end of 1975 after almost three centuries of territorial growth, the dimensions of the four Plain Dutch sectarian sub-regions of southeastern Pennsylvania are: Amish, nearly 600 square miles; Mennonite, approximately 1600 square miles; Dunkard, about 1700 square miles; and Schwenkfelder, some 2200 square miles (Table III). Because of the spatial inter-spersion of Plain Dutch sectarians, and the consequent overlapping of sub-regions, however, the composite area of the four Plain Dutch sub-regions is only about 4000 square miles (compare Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7).

Major concentrations of Plain Dutch peoples (Figures 8) are dispersed across the composite area of the four sub-regions. Present population estimates of the sub-regions are: Amish 11,000; Dunkard 27,000; Mennonite 38,000; and Schwenkfelder 4,000 (Table III). Estimated sub-regional population densities are: Amish 18; Dunkard 16; Mennonite 24; and Schwenkfelder 2 (Table III). The area of major concentration of Plain Dutch (Figure 8) correlates with the composite boundaries

of the four sub-regions (Figures 4 through 7). Population density ranges from as low as 2 per square mile to as many as 50 per square mile in sections where numbers of two or more sects are interspersed with one another because of overlapping sub-regions. However, the average Plain Dutch population density in the area of major concentration is about 13 per square mile (compare Figures 4 through 8 and Table III).

Minor concentrations of Plain Dutch sectarians are found across the remaining section of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community Universe (Figures 1, 2, and 8). The territories occupied by the major and minor concentrations of sectarians together comprise the Plain Dutch Group Region of Southeastern Pennsylvania.²²

Although there is close correlation with zones of population concentration, the several culture zones within the Plain Dutch region are identified by the degree to which the sects have retained the attributes of Plain Dutchness. An understanding of the concept of Plain Dutchness requires an examination of the internal organization of the sectarian sub-regions.

Table III

Approximate Area and Population of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Group Sub-Region (1975)

Sect	Approximate Area in Square Miles	Approximate Population	Approximate Population Density per Square Mile
Amish	600	11,000	18
Dunkard	1,700	27,000	16
Mennonite	1,600	38,000	24
Schwenkfelder	2,200	4,000	2
TOTAL (Approximate)	6,000	80,000	13

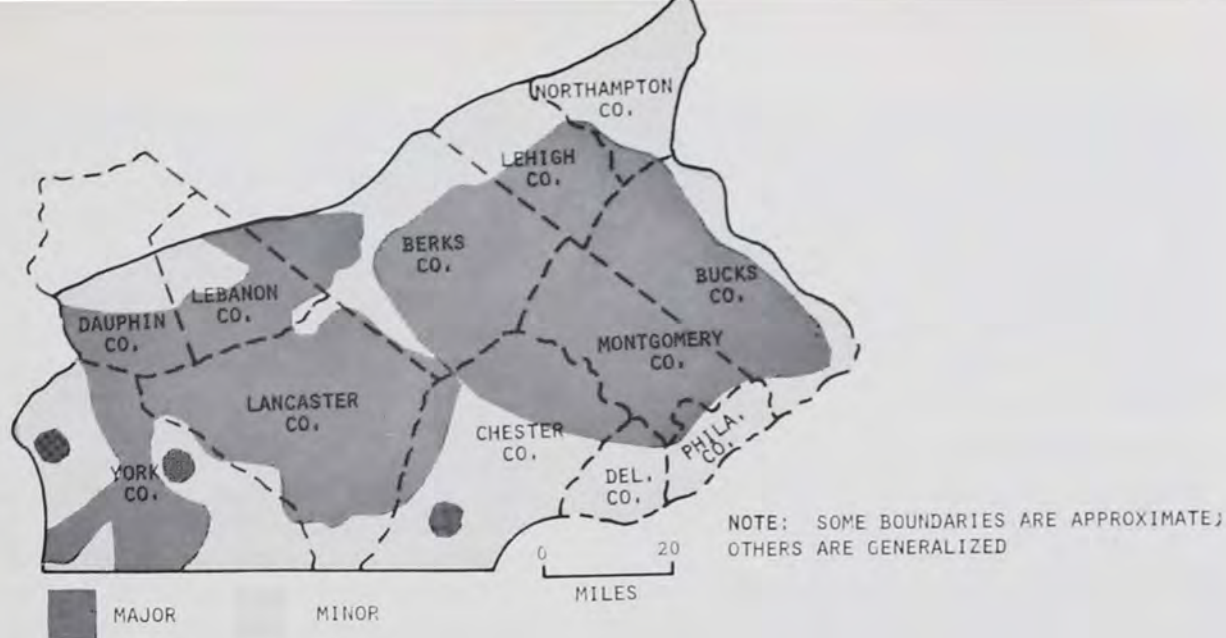


Figure 8. Areas of major and minor concentrations of Plain Dutch People, 1975

DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA PLAIN DUTCH GROUP REGION

To preserve their religious identity and to defend their traditional societies against extinction by persecution, the Anabaptists in Europe isolated themselves from the world culturally and socially. Spatio-economic isolation, however, was not and is not a tenet of Anabaptism, but emerged only when the movement was banished from the European towns and forced to survive in the hinterlands.²³ Since they were accustomed to residing in spatially and culturally isolated rural farm villages in the European hinterlands, the Anabaptist immigrants avoided the established towns and cities of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Settlement Organization

After arriving in Philadelphia, the Anabaptists dispersed into the rural territories of all the counties now comprising the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community (Figure 2) in search of fertile farm lands.²⁴ They preferred to live adjacent to one another if suitable agricultural lands were available. The alternative was to reside in as close proximity as possible. But even during the early eighteenth century, much of rural southeastern Pennsylvania was already sparsely populated and, in addition, many uninhabited tracts had been surveyed and purchased. Hence, in most places, the Plain Dutch settlers were unable to obtain lands adjacent to each other, and they could only live in as close proximity as the availability of farm land would permit.

Since the Plain Dutch were interspersed with non-Plain Dutch people spatially, they were unable to develop the small nucleated sectarian agricultural villages in

Pennsylvania that characterized the Anabaptist settlement pattern in Europe. Moreover, in other ways also, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Region never became a German cultural transplant, for despite Plain Dutch efforts to the contrary, the interspersing of Plain Dutch and non-Plain Dutch peoples caused cultural mixing to begin almost immediately.²⁵ But like their European counterparts, they emerged as distinctively religiously controlled spatial systems.

Nearly all the Schwenkfelders arrived at Philadelphia in one migration and the Dunkards in two migrations. The Amish and Mennonites arrived in smaller, more numerous migrations.²⁶ Unsuccessful in their endeavor to live adjacent to each other, the Plain Dutch immigrants were at least able to purchase land and develop farms in sufficiently close proximity so as to produce clusters of sectarian farm residences.²⁷ Immigrants either moved into an area adjacent to a cluster already developed by members of their sect, thus expanding it, or they organized a new sectarian rural farm cluster. This pattern of migration and settlement, adhered to by most Anabaptist sects, repeated itself until the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch Community landscape was dotted with these rural farm clusters.

Each Plain Dutch sect's rural clusters were early organized into congregational districts (see Tables I and II). Considering church buildings worldly,²⁸ the Plain Dutch conducted religious services either in private homes or in meetinghouses. As private homes and meetinghouses could only accommodate a small number of persons, congregational populations were small, being comprised at most of only a few dozen families. The districts were territorially small, ranging in size from 2 to 30 miles. Their size was primarily determined by a combination of three factors: (1) the number of persons that could assemble in the smallest homes and meetinghouses, (2) the spatial distribution

of families that comprised a cluster, and (3) the distance a horse-drawn carriage could transport a person in approximately an hour. Depending upon the number and distributional pattern of families comprising a single settlement cluster, it might have been divided into several congregational districts.²⁹ The broad pattern of spatial development, and territorial organization of each congregational district practically duplicated all others because of the similarity of religious and cultural influences.

Economic Organization

The economic attributes of the congregational districts were quickly oriented toward achieving self-sufficiency.³⁰ As perceived by the Plain Dutchman, this goal was closely associated with, and almost entirely dependent upon, farming and ancillary occupations. Farming was not an original tenet of Anabaptism; it developed as a major value only after the movement was banished to the European hinterlands.³¹ Hence, to the Plain Dutchman in southeastern Pennsylvania, tilling the soil was looked upon as a Godly endeavor. Plain Dutch agriculture has evolved in three stages: (1) intensive subsistent farming evolved in the eighteenth century, (2) intensive subsistent combined with general commercial farming developed during the nineteenth century, and (3) intensive subsistent with specialized commercial farming emerged in the twentieth century.³² Despite the development of commercial agriculture, the home economy of many a Plain Dutchman remains essentially self-sufficient.³³

Socio-Culture Organization

The self-sufficiency concept of the Plain Dutchman encompassed more than the economic life, for his insistence upon retreating from the world was predicated upon a high degree of cultural independence. Hence, all spiritual, social, and cultural needs of the individual literally from the cradle to the grave were met and satisfied by the local community. Congregational districts, therefore, emerged as multibonded, symbolic, religiously controlled, self-governing communities. The membership of each congregational district was firmly bonded together symbolically by its own set of traditions, conventions, and ceremonial functions, which found expression through a formal set of church rules. Since the Plain Dutch tend to be pervasively religious,³⁴ the church³⁵ became the center of authority, and through the iron-clad leadership of its bishop,³⁶ the church controlled all aspects of Plain Dutch life.

As head of the church and leader of the congregation in his district, the bishop was entrusted with the enforcement of the *ORDNUNG*,³⁷ or rules of the church. Moreover, the bishop was empowered with the *MEIDUNG*,³⁸ which he placed upon all those who violated the rules.

Since in effect, each congregational district was religiously autonomous, *REGEL* and *ORDNUNG* were formulated independently by each congregation. However, the bishops of all the congregational districts, comprising a given sect assembled periodically in order to formulate specific church rules which were to be binding on all the member congregations. Since none of the Plain Dutch sects possessed a supreme clerical authority, absolute uniformity was not achieved by any sect. But, except for some minor variations among its congregational districts, each sect succeeded in developing some common church rules. These rules had subtle symbolic significance which permitted the knowledgeable observer to identify the adherents of each Plain Dutch sect. Rules characterizing eighteenth century society as a whole are reviewed below.³⁹

Except for illness, compulsory attendance at religious services was demanded. The Plain Dutch insisted that regular church attendance bonded the community together and cemented family solidarity. The congregational districts placed great stress on the wearing of plain clothes,⁴⁰ for such attire was considered to be religious garb worn to set the wearer apart from the world.⁴¹ Each sect adopted its own particular styles. Hence, the sectarian affiliation of the Plain Dutchman could be identified by the type of plain clothing worn.⁴² The Plain Dutch community became a trilingual speech community. High German was the language required for use in religious services. The Pennsylvania Dutch dialect was expected in everyday conversation and in printed material whose circulation was limited to the Plain Dutch world. English was only permitted when communicating, in conversation or in print, with non-Dutch people. Hence, required speech patterns tended to bond the community and isolate it socially. Cultivation of the soil was considered a moral directive, and farming and related occupations were encouraged by the church.⁴³ Education was rigidly controlled. Formal education beyond the elementary grades was forbidden on grounds that it was of little practical value for farmers.⁴⁴ Most congregational districts operated a parochial school which, in addition to teaching elementary subjects, was entrusted with instilling in the student a profound respect for the past and a deep suspicion of anything new. Contemporaneous eighteenth-century inventions and changes were rejected on the assumption that they were worldly things, and therefore sinful and un-Godly. The major ceremonial functions of life — baptism, courtship, marriage, burial — were closely supervised.⁴⁵

Conforming to such traditions as wearing plain clothing, conversing in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, tilling the soil, resisting cultural change, perpetuating the ceremonial community, and controlling education developed as conventional practices in the eighteenth century. These and other conventions became visible or perceptual

symbols which identified the Plain Dutch community, symbols which served as a constant reminder to the Plain Dutchman that sacred tradition was the best way of life. Thus, the eighteenth-century Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch sectarian congregational districts emerged as small, distinctive, cohesive, static, close-knit, self-sufficient, isolated, rural-folk communities.⁴⁶ The extent to which the various Plain Dutch sects have been able to preserve these folk culture attributes of Plain Dutchness through time is closely related to the degree of retention of their early Anabaptist religious beliefs and practices. These beliefs and practices influenced cultural perceptions and directed communication patterns.

Communication Patterns and Cultural Perceptions

Respect for tradition was one of the original major values of European Anabaptism,⁴⁷ and conformity to tradition caused conservatism and socio-cultural isolation. Thus, sects adhering to the purest forms of Anabaptism became much more traditionally oriented than sects adopting more modified types of Anabaptism. Tradition-directed peoples perpetuate their mores through attitudes of conservatism and social isolation. Isolation is predicated upon limited and controlled communication. The most conservative Plain Dutch sects have attempted to prevent cultural change by regulating the frequency and direction of their communication. Spatially, three eighteenth-century Plain Dutch communication links⁴⁸ can be recognized, namely: between congregations of the same sect, between different sects, and between a sect and the outside world.

Because of their common ORDNUNG and the subsequent similarity of religious beliefs, ways of thinking and behaving were similar for all members of a given sect (Amish, Dunkard, Mennonite, and Schwenkfelder). Hence, a strong cultural and psychological homogeneity developed among congregations belonging to the same sect,⁴⁹ and they communicated as frequently as possible. However, since the component congregational districts of a given sect were exemplified by a high degree of social as well as economic self-sufficiency, communications between congregational districts was generally limited to discussions of religious subjects.⁵⁰ Nearby congregational districts belonging to a sect communicated among themselves frequently and directly. Communications became less frequent as distances separating congregational districts increased. If congregational districts were quite remote from each other, communications were infrequent and indirect; instead, information was usually relayed by congregational districts situated at intermediate locations.

Bonds of cultural kinship resulting from a common Anabaptist heritage also existed among the several eighteenth-century Plain Dutch sects⁵¹ (Amish, Dunkard, Mennonite, and Schwenkfelder). Frequency of

communications among these sects varied inversely with differences in the degree of their sectarian religious conservatism, but the frequency of communication between each sect and the outside world varied directly with the degree of their religious liberalism. These Plain Dutch religious sect communications patterns were conditioned by a dualistic view of the world.⁵² The Plain Dutch concept of reality included an inside sectarian view of a virtuous Anabaptist culture and an outside world view of an impure and evil non-Anabaptist culture.⁵³ Moreover, each Anabaptist sect perceived its own inside culture as one of extreme purity and goodness, coexisting with, and in continual conflict with the less virtuous cultures of other Anabaptist sects.

The intensity with which each Plain Dutch sect valued its culture, perceived the contrasts between its mores and those of other sects, and feared socio-cultural contact and conflict with the outside world was directly related to the degree of conservatism in their Anabaptist beliefs. Sects practicing the most original and fundamental forms of Anabaptism believed their Plain Dutch cultures were pure and undiluted in comparison to sects practicing more modified types of Anabaptism. In the eyes of those adhering to original Anabaptism, as other sects modified their religious beliefs and cultures, they became increasingly worldly. As the more conservative sects attempted to prevent modification of their cultures, and thus remain static in relation to the changing world, contrasts between the sectarian and outside world cultures became greater through time.⁵⁴

The importance assigned by each Plain Dutch sect to its cultural contrasts with other sects, and to cultural conflicts with the surrounding world, diminished as sectarian religious conservatism decreased. Hence, the degree to which each sect valued social isolation as a means of preventing cultural change can be recognized and evaluated according to a scale of relative communications frequencies.⁵⁵ The Amish, practicing the purest form of Anabaptism, became an ultra conservative sect.⁵⁶ The Mennonites, adhering to a slightly less rigid type of Anabaptism, emerged as a conservative sect.⁵⁷ The Dunkards, professing to a diluted type of Anabaptism, developed as a moderately conservative sect.⁵⁸ And the Schwenkfelders, adhering to an Inner Light faith akin to, but separate from Anabaptism, became a liberal sect.⁵⁹

The flow of communication between a more conservative sect and a less conservative sect was nearly always initiated by the former. The frequency of this communication was contingent upon the more conservative sects' fear of cultural dilution by the less conservative sect. Cultural differences became more pronounced, and the frequency of communication decreased, as the degree of conservatism separating the sects increased. A counterflow of communication from the less conser-

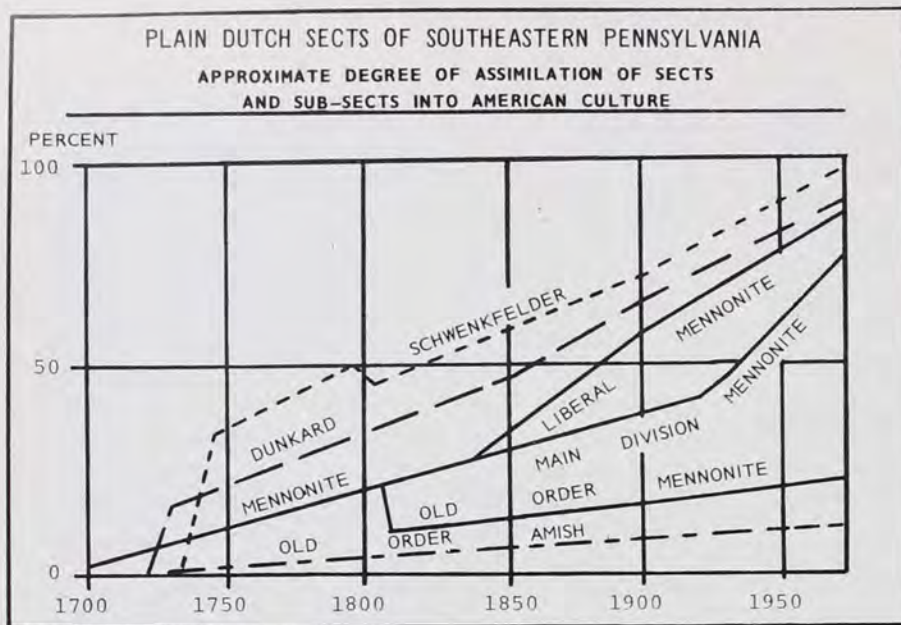


Figure 9. Plain Dutch Sects of Southeastern Pennsylvania: Approximate Degree of Assimilation of Sects and Sub-sects into American Culture

vative to the more conservative sect followed, and it was equal in frequency to the opposite flow because it depended on the more conservative sect's willingness to accept contact.

Culturally, the ultra-conservative Amish considered the mores of the conservative Mennonites to be most like theirs, those of the moderately conservative Dunkards as less so, and those of the liberal Schwenkfelders as least like their own. Thus, the Amish communicated moderately frequently with the Mennonites, infrequently with the Dunkards, and very infrequently with the Schwenkfelders. The Mennonites, in turn, communicated moderately frequently with the Dunkards, and infrequently with the Schwenkfelders. Both the Dunkards and Schwenkfelders disregarded cultural differences between them and they communicated frequently. The counterflow of communication from the Schwenkfelders and Dunkards to the Mennonites and Amish was controlled by the latter two sects; and between the Mennonites and Amish by the last named.

Communication between the various Plain Dutch religious sects and the outside world was predicated on factors similar to those controlling the communications among the several Plain Dutch sects themselves. The Amish, almost completely rejecting non-Plain Dutch cultures, communicated very infrequently with the outside world. The Mennonites, who were slightly less insistent upon retreating from non-Anabaptist mores, communicated infrequently with the surrounding world. Dunkard communication with the world society at large was moderately frequent since they were considerably more tolerant of other cultures. Holding to a much more liberal viewpoint, the Schwenkfelders communicated frequently with non-Plain Dutch society. Many spatial vestiges of the above-described eighteenth-century Plain Dutch religious group communications pattern can still be recognized.

The four sects comprising the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Group Region, therefore, have been

characterized by widely divergent trends in cultural characteristics since first reaching American soil in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These trends are easily recognized by observing the varying degree to which the several sects and sub-sects⁶⁰ have become over time assimilated into contemporaneous American culture (Figure 9).

Thus, the degree to which each sect has been able to preserve the attributes of Plain Dutchness which are exemplified by the visible and perceptual symbols of the tradition-directed rural-folk society is directly related to rates of sectarian cultural assimilation (Figure 9). Moreover, and as previously explained, assimilation is directly related to the degree of retention of fundamental Anabaptist beliefs and subsequent sectarian conservatism. Hence, the attributes of Plain Dutchness displayed by the sects and sub-sects can be measured on a scale of religious conservatism in which Plain Dutchness and conservatism co-vary.

THE SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA PLAIN DUTCH CULTURE REGION

The Plain Dutch Culture Region of Southeastern Pennsylvania consists of three clearly distinctive zones:⁶¹ an internal, comprised of one larger and two smaller sub-zones which together encompass about 600 square miles; an external, consisting of two large sub-zones which collectively embrace approximately 3400 square miles; and an outer transition zone covering some 1800 square miles (Figure 10). The combined area of the internal and external zones match, almost exactly, the composite territory of the four sectarian sub-regions and corresponds with the area of major concentrations of Plain Dutch. (Compare figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10.) The transition zone encompasses all the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Group Regional territory containing minor concentrations of these sectarians (Figures 8 and 10). But as previously noted, culture zones are based on the attributes of "Plain Dutchness."

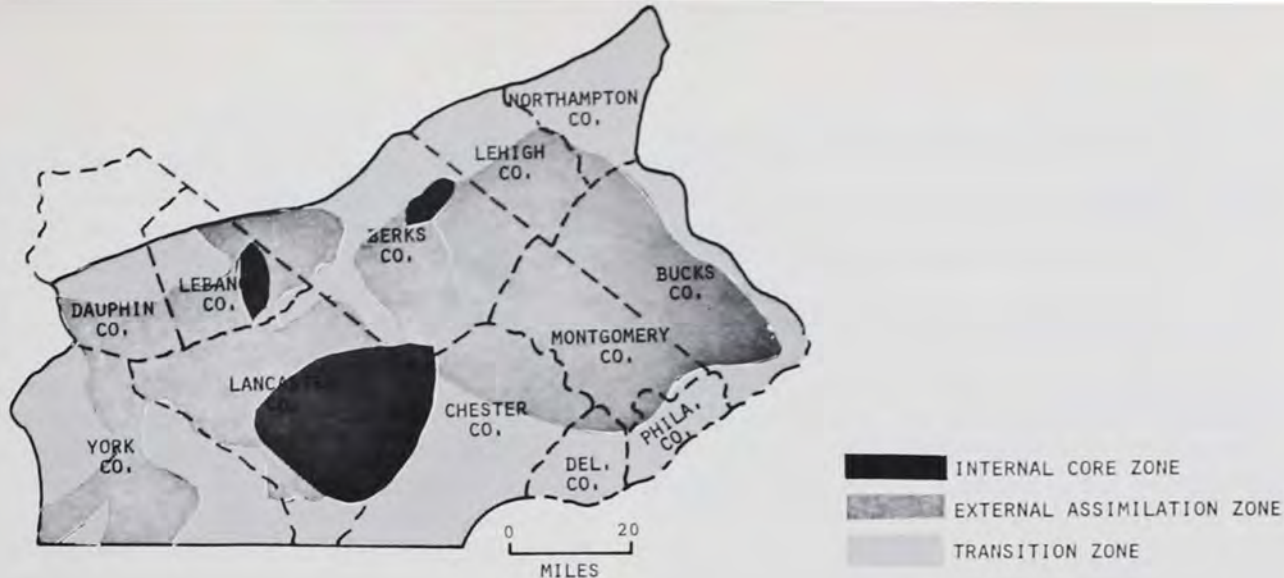


Figure 10. Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Culture Region

The Internal Culture Zone

This internal zone⁶² is the home of the conservative Old Order Mennonites and the ultra-conservative Old Order Amish, currently the least assimilated Plain Dutch sects (Figure 9). Presently, Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites are interspersed with one another in the Lancaster County sub-zone, the Lebanon County sub-zone is Old Order Amish territory, and the Berks County sub-zone is an Old Order Mennonite settlement (Figures 2 and 10).

The Old Order Plain Dutch have succeeded in perpetuating the fundamental precepts of Anabaptism. Literally, the entire life of the Old Order sectarians revolves around the sacred time-honored traditions of their ancestors. The internal zone (Figure 10) is the bastion of the close-knit, multi-bonded, socially isolated, Plain Dutch rural-folk society which finds expression in the congregational district (Tables I and II). The internal culture zone embraces the Old Order Plain Dutch congregational districts located in the culture region.

The tradition-directed Old Order sects persist in use of the horse-and-buggy; wearing the distinctive sectarian Plain garb; worshipping in barns, private homes, or small meetinghouses; perpetuating tri-lingual speech patterns; controlling communications; remaining socially isolated; operating parochial schools; resisting technology; and devoting their lives to farming. In these and many other ways, the Old Order Plain Dutch have been able to resist cultural change and thus preserve their closed traditional rural-folk congregational district societies.

By rigidly maintaining their eighteenth-century mores the Old Order sects have come to be a present-day spatio-cultural anachronism in twentieth-century southeastern Pennsylvania. An excursion across the lands of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites

leaves little doubt that these territories comprise the core, indeed the heartland of everything Plain Dutch. The visible symbols of Plain Dutchness are easily recognized by the most casual observer and the perceptual symbols are equally easily noticed by the serious student of these indomitable people.

The External Culture Zone

The external zone⁶³ (Figure 10) is the land of the moderately conservative to liberal Dunkards and various non-Old Order Mennonite sects and sub-sects and the ultra-liberal Schwenkfelders. Although relatively large numbers of these sects inhabit this zone, they are by no means uniformly distributed. Presently, the non-Old Order Mennonite population is about equally divided among the two sub-zones (Figures 4 and 10). Dunkards are also found in both sub-zones, but the majority reside in the western section (Figures 5 and 10). Nearly all the Schwenkfelders live in the eastern sub-zone (Figures 6 and 10).

These moderately conservative to ultra-liberal sects have not valued traditionalism nearly as deeply as have the Old Order sects. By gradually abandoning their eighteenth and nineteenth-century ways, their Anabaptist tenets have consequently become increasingly diluted. As Anabaptist practices become more impure, conservatism decreases and cultural assimilation accelerates.

Today the Dunkards and non-Old Order Mennonites utilize modern transportation, have adopted many twentieth-century styles of clothing, are no longer tri-lingual, conduct worship services in church buildings, communicate relatively freely with the outside world, have practically abandoned the practice of social isolation, attend modern public schools, accept technology, are de-emphasizing the importance of agriculture, and are obtaining employment in a wide

variety of occupations. Modernization accompanied by its consequent cultural assimilation (Figure 9) has already precipitated movement of substantial segments of the Dunkard and non-Old Order Mennonite populations from rural farm to rural non-farm and urban areas.

The ultra-liberal Schwenkfelders are the very antithesis of the Old Order Plain Dutch. Cultural dilution progressed at a more rapid pace than that of any other Plain Dutch sect (Figure 9). Almost completely assimilated into contemporary society, the Schwenkfelders are the most diversified, mobile, and urbanized of the sects. Indeed, the Schwenkfelders are no longer Plain Dutch.

Thus, the small distinctive, cohesive, static, close-knit, self-sufficient, isolated, Plain Dutch rural-folk congregational district community which still typifies the internal core zone has virtually disappeared from the external zone. The visual and perceptual symbols of Plain Dutchness are difficult to recognize, indeed, the former are fast disappearing. For example, the windmill, once used to pump water, has not been retained for even decorative purposes. Except for prayer caps, modified forms of Plain clothing are only worn by Dunkards and non-Old Order Mennonites to attend religious services and on ceremonial occasions. The Schwenkfelders, of course, are totally indistinguishable from the modern Americans among whom they now live, work, and socialize.

In summary, the Dunkards and non-Old Order Mennonites accept change, and are being rapidly swept into the mainstream of American life; and for the Schwenkfelders, the process of acculturation is complete (Figure 9). Hence, the external culture zone (Figure 10) is, in fact, an area of rapidly accelerating cultural assimilation which retains but vestiges of eighteenth- and nineteenth century Plain Dutch life.

The Transition Cultural Zone

The territory extending from the edge of the external zone of assimilation, and from boundaries of portions of two sub-zones of the internal cultural hearth is a zone of rapid cultural transition⁶⁴ (Figure 10) which extends to the boundaries of the Plain Dutch Group Region (Tables I, II and Figure 2). The few Dunkard and non-Old Order Mennonite families scattered across this zone become more widely separated from one another and become more thinly interspersed among non-Plain Dutch with increasing distance from the internal and external zones, therefore, mores become more diluted, communication and interaction with non-sectarians increases, and the Plain Dutch culture gradually disappears, merging with the surrounding world.

Despite the intensity of their efforts to the contrary, not even the most ultra-conservative Plain Dutch sect has been able to remain completely cohesive and static through time. Each sect has experienced different kinds and amounts of social, cultural, and economic change. These changes have occurred both internally and externally; some have been progressive and others regressive. The velocity and direction of territorial adjustments, and internal spatial readjustments caused by these changes has varied considerably among the sects. Some sects continue to survive the impact of the modern world relatively unshaken, whereas for other sects, this impact has proven to be a devastatingly traumatic experience. The trend toward increasing assimilation of all Plain Dutch sects into the general American culture of any given time will probably continue into the future, and perhaps at increasing rates. Eventually, the entire Plain Dutch culture may be absorbed into American society.

ENDNOTES

¹Don Yoder, "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two Worlds in the Dutch Country," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, VIII, No. 4 (Summer, 1956), pp. 35-37.

²Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950); see also Yoder, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

³See footnote 2.

⁴Lutheranism is that branch of Protestantism founded by Martin Luther. See F.E. Mayer, *The Religious Bodies of America* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Concordia Publishing House, 1961); see also George H. Fisher, *History of the Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893); and Thomas A. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation* (2nd ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).

⁵Calvinism (Reformed) is that branch of Protestantism founded by John Calvin. See footnote 4.

⁶Anabaptism is that branch of Protestantism organized by theologians who opposed the baptism of infants, supporting only adult faith baptism. All the ethnic German Protestant sects adhering to Anabaptism theology comprised, originally, the Plain Dutch people. Franklin Hamlin Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (2d ed.; Boston: Star King Press, 1958); and George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962).

⁷Theological conservatism of the main division of the Protestant Reformation (Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anabaptism) is determined by their degree of departure from fundamental Roman Catholic Church doctrine. Thus, with increasing departure from Catholicism, the movements are classified by theologians as: conservative Lutheranism, liberal Calvinism, and radical Anabaptism. Sociocultural conservatism, on the other hand, varies inversely with religious conservatism. Hence, with increasing departure from Catholicism, the movements are classified socioculturally from ultraliberal Lutheranism to ultraconservative Anabaptism.

⁸See footnotes 1 and 2.

⁹Yoder, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁰The author is aware of the conflicting opinions regarding the meanings of the words community and settlement. Suffice it to say that any definition is appropriate, provided its meaning is clearly understood and it fulfills the objectives of a particular study. For cultural, social, and economic, as well as for spatial reasons explained in the main text, the southeastern Pennsylvania Dutch area is recognized as a community.

¹¹The data upon which the regional, subregional, culture zone and other boundaries are delineated is derived from extensive personal interviewing, detailed field investigation and reconnaissance mapping, examination of census tracts, the study of tax assess-

ment maps in the county court houses of the counties included in this study and, where possible, church records. Most of the other pertinent data sources are included in the footnotes.

¹²C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941); C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonites of America* (Goshen, Indiana: published by the author, 1909); and John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1937).

¹³John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963); Calvin G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County*, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. 60 (Lancaster: Franklin and Marshall College, 1961); and H. M. J. Klein, *History and Culture of the Amish People* (York, Pennsylvania: Marple Press Co., 1946).

¹⁴Floyd E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing Co., 1957); Virginia S. Fisher, *The Story of the Brethren* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1957); and Frederick Denton Dove, *Cultural Changes in the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1932).

¹⁵Samuel K. Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families, 1731-1737* (New York: Rand-McNally, 1923); Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania: A Historical Sketch*, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. 13 (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1904); and Selina Gerhard Schultz, *Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, A Course of Study* (Pensburg, Pennsylvania: The Board of Education of the Schwenkfelder Church, 1964).

¹⁶Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, op. cit., p. 548.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 544-548.

¹⁸*Ibid.*; see also James Thomas Lemon, "A Rural Geography of Southeastern Pennsylvania During the Eighteenth Century" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Michigan, 1964).

¹⁹Mallott, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

²⁰Brecht, op. cit., pp. 34-40.

²¹Bachman, op. cit., pp. 51-56.

²²See Tables I, II, and footnote 11.

²³Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁵Yoder, op. cit., p. 4.

²⁶Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, op. cit., pp. 544-545; and Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

²⁷For a detailed description of the internal settlement organization, see Lee C. Hopple, "Spatial Development of the Southeastern Plain Dutch Community in Pennsylvania to 1970, Part I," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1971-72); Lee C. Hopple, "Plain Dutch Settlement in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Geographer*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1971), pp. 1-5; and Hostetler, op. cit.

²⁸Hopple, "Spatial Development...to 1970, Part I," op. cit., pp. 18-22.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 18-22.

³⁰Klees, op. cit., pp. 192-198. See also footnote 23.

³¹Hostetler, op. cit., p. 18.

³²Klees, op. cit., pp. 192-197.

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 58-62.

³⁴Don Yoder, "The Horse and Buggy Dutch," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Summer, 1963), p. 11.

³⁵Although the Plain Dutch did not believe in the use of church buildings, they did believe in the spiritual church. The word church, when used in this study, refers only to the concept of a body of adherents to a religious faith.

³⁶Yoder, "The Horse and Buggy Dutch," op. cit., p. 11.

³⁷Ordnung rendered in English means Rules of the Church. See Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

³⁸For an excellent description of the enforcement of the Meidung or Bann, see William A. Schreiber, *Our Amish Neighbors*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962); see also Hostetler, op. cit., p. 57.

³⁹During the eighteenth century, the Ordnung covered the whole range of human experience. Through time, it has been one of the most important factors influencing the spatial development of the Plain Dutch community. See also Hostetler, op. cit., p. 57.

⁴⁰Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 134-138.

⁴¹Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania's Plain Garb," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. 13 (Spring, 1962), p. 2.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴³Elmer L. Smith, *Amish People* (New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1958), pp. 126-127.

⁴⁴Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 143-145.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, chapters 6, 7 and 8.

⁴⁶C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, op. cit., pp. 535-637; Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 3-22; Kriebel, op. cit., pp. 35-102; and Yoder, "The Horse and Buggy Dutch," op. cit., pp. 11-17.

⁴⁷Hostetler, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴⁸Unless specifically stated otherwise, the term communication, as used in this study, refers exclusively to face-to-face verbal communication. For a detailed examination of Plain Dutch communication patterns, see Hopple, "Spatial Development of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community in Pennsylvania to 1970, Part I," op. cit., pp. 22-23.

⁴⁹Hostetler, op. cit., p. 18.

⁵⁰Occasionally there was courtship and, subsequently, marriage between persons of different congregational districts.

⁵¹Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 18, 70.

⁵²Don Yoder, "Religious Patterns of the Dutch Country," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. II (Folk Festival Issue, 1960), pp. 26-68.

⁵³Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

⁵⁴Yoder, "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two Worlds in the Dutch Country," op. cit., pp. 2-6; and Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 47-51.

⁵⁵Hopple, "Spatial Development of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community in Pennsylvania to 1970, Part I," op. cit., pp. 23-24.

⁵⁶Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 3-22.

⁵⁷C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, op. cit., pp. 614-624.

⁵⁸Klees, op. cit., pp. 61-66.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 68; see also Kriebel, op. cit., pp. 80-102.

⁶⁰Hopple, "Spatial Development of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community in Pennsylvania to 1970, Part I," op. cit., pp. 23-24.

⁶¹The author. (See footnote 11.)

⁶²See above.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

MAP SOURCES*

Extensive field investigation and reconnaissance dating from 1967 (Figures 1, 2, and 4 through 10).

Extensive interviews with many adherents of all four sects (Figures 1, 2, and 4 through 10).

Available congregational district and/or church records (Figures 1, 2, and 4 through 10).

Church records provided by Claire Conway, Schwenkfelder Library, Pensburg, Pennsylvania (Figures 6, 9, and 10).

Property maps in tax assessment offices in the county court house of each county included in the study region (Figures 4 through 10).

Brethren Yearbooks. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House. (Figures 5, 9 and 10).

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*Many of the sources referred to in this study also have been helpful in the preparation of some of the maps.

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FOLK TOYS

By MAC E. BARRICK



Wagon model from Plymouth, near Wilkes-Barre; painted glossy black.

The consideration of folk toys has heretofore generally been relegated to a few lines in studies of games,¹ a reference or two to quaint or primitive "rustic" toys,² or to an occasional craft book explaining how to make such objects.³ Only with some difficulty can one even arrive at a definition of *folk toy*, since most books on folklore and anthropology omit the subject entirely. One might think that toys are considered too insignificant to be worth serious consideration, were it not that folklorists have collected and studied almost everything else from rope-woods to latrinalia.

Part of this sin of omission may be the result of a tendency on the part of collectors and museum-keepers to classify any handmade artifact as folk art or a misuse of the antique dealers' term "primitive" for anything old, made of wood. It is somewhat unfortunate that twentieth-century Americans, with a reawakened interest in antiquarianism, have raised to the level of art many simple creations that left the hands of their manufacturers as mere toys whose sole purpose was the amusement of children or perhaps to amuse the maker himself. Too often the folk concept of art is determined by the price the object commands. The man in Plainfield, Pennsylvania, who laments having as a child chopped to pieces a fine Schimmel rooster is not concerned with the loss of an art work;⁴ he is upset for having lost the monetary value attached to such objects in today's antique market, in the same way that he would be disturbed at having discarded a copy of the first Superman comic book. It is well, therefore, to establish exactly what a folk toy is.

The word *toy*, if one discards all the figurative meanings that crowd the dictionary definitions, can be considered simply as *an object used in play*. Its etymological meaning, from the Dutch *tuig* "tools, utensils, implements,"⁵ suggests in fact that toys are the tools of play. If one accepts the definitions of *play* formulated by Johan Huizinga and Roger Caillois,⁶ this

suggested defining of *toy* is broad enough, since it would include instruments used in playing music, objects used in performing theatrical plays or in playing at cards and other gambling activities, and equipment needed in playing baseball, football and other sports. In this regard the epigram, "The older the boys, the more expensive their toys," becomes doubly significant in the present age of snowmobiles, racing cars, million dollar pitchers and quarterbacks, and B-1 bombers.

If a toy is "an object used in play," a folk toy is *an object made by the folk for use in play*. This avoids any confusion with terms like *primitive* and *folk art* by ignoring such matters as the material of which they are made or their ultimate utilization. The material of their construction is completely impertinent since folk toys are most often produced from whatever is readily available. Suffice it to say that a wind toy made of aluminum and plastic scraps, or a coin bank welded together of heavy sheet metal, is still a folk toy, though it may not fit our preconceived notion of the genre.

One possible objection to this definition of *folk toy* is that it implies that an object's function is inherent in its construction. This implication is fully intended. What better way to find out what something is than to ask the man who made it? It is true that an object's function is never permanent in the mind of a child,⁷ nor is function always a permanent characteristic even among adults, as anyone is aware who has smiled at the sight of a cooper's bung-starter twisted into the ground as a cattle-tie or cringed at the thought of an eighteenth-century twilbill being used as a common garden pick. Children will adapt anything to a play function, as suggested by the grotesque sick joke of the 1950's: "—Can Johnny come out and play? —But Johnny is a quadruple paraplegic. —We know. We want to use him for second base."⁸ Still, it is essential to remember that even if a child imagines matchsticks as witches and children or a broom as a horse,



Rocking woman wind toy, acquired near Newville, Pa.



Kicking donkey wind toy made of aluminum and plastic scraps, from Franklin County, Pa.

the matchsticks do not change in form or function and the broom remains a broom. Consideration should be given to such utilization change in play but the matter lies beyond the confines of this paper.

The play function of a folk toy is made evident in the artifact's production. The manufacture of the artifact may itself be in fact a play function.⁹ The folk craftsman, even one whose work evidences considerable artistic quality, rarely verbalizes his aesthetic.¹⁰ If something is not immediately practical, its maker is regarded as just playing around.

A many-talented craftsman living near Newville, Pennsylvania, occasionally makes wooden puzzles—an arrow implausibly passing through a hole too small to accommodate it, a belt hook that seemingly defies the law of gravity, a working pair of pliers carved from a single piece, or the solitaire pegboard described below—whose primary function is the amusement he derives from making them, or the possible pleasure produced by perceiving the puzzlement in the persons to whom they are presented. He invariably says on introducing each new production, "Ain't it funny the things you can make with a piece of wood." suggesting that the effort has no serious purpose.

In other cases the play function is hidden under an apparent utility. A gaily painted wooden rooster may serve as a thread holder. A toy bird made of cloth may be used to conceal a brick doorstep, but the unadorned brick would have functioned much more practically, being less attractive to dirt and completely impervious to wear and tear. We are faced here with an "almost instinctive, spontaneous need to decorate things," identified by Huizinga as a play function. How else can one identify the reason for changing a simple, practical shoe-shine kit into the form of a skunk or the motivation for attaching a figure of Popeye to a wooden wedge that by itself would have served perfectly well as a doorstep?

In some artifacts the play function is less obvious. Can one really say that a comic figure placed on a lawn as decoration is truly functional? Again the question

of what constitutes folk art is raised, and again it must be insisted that no maker of these figures, much less anyone placing them on the lawn, considers them as art. Their creation was in most cases (a few are made and sold in a sort of private cottage industry) a form of recreation for the maker who felt obliged to hide his amusement in their manufacture under a guise of practicality.

It is only a brief step from lawn ornaments to whirligigs, windmills, and other wind toys,¹¹ which have a more obvious practicality—they indicate whether or not the wind is blowing. But the whimsicality of most of these suggests that their true function is a form of passive play. The wind toy is often a reproduction of another folk toy,¹² with the wind providing the motion ordinarily imparted by the hand of the player.

Ironically, one artifact generally identified as a folk toy, hand-made in a traditional toy form by a folk artisan, is not really a toy at all in the strict sense of our definition, but is instead a souvenir produced for the tourist industry. Such items as the Russian Mamuska doll with a series of constantly smaller dolls nesting inside or the Dalecarian horse of Sweden¹³ are created as instant collector's items and it is highly unlikely that they are ever used in play. Dozens of similar "folk toys" of tin, clay and papier-mâché are made in Mexico solely for the export trade. One such souvenir toy commonly produced in the United States is the Whamdiddle,¹⁴ which is now sold primarily in gift shops and at folk festivals or similar gatherings.

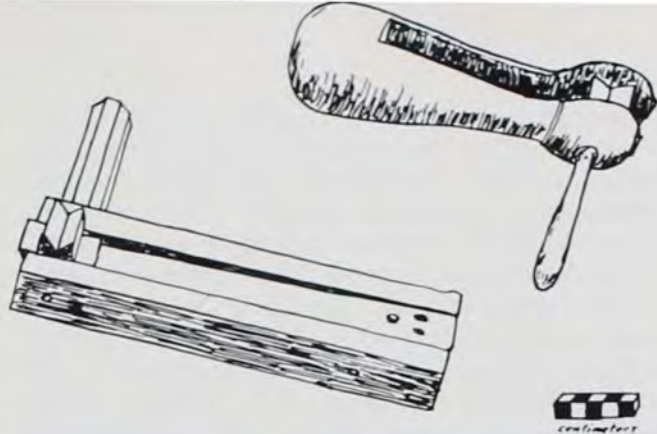
This leads to an interesting problem, that of the relationship between folk toys, popular toys, and the playthings of the elite. Rather than consider these groups in the traditional manner relative to levels of society,¹⁵ one underlying the other with the folk always on the bottom — a visual image that belies the importance of the folk — we might think of them as the intertwining components of a rope or cable with the folk thus directly contiguous to the elite and the popular. Such a metaphor more adequately describes the relationship between these groups, since the place to find folk toys is

not among the plastic ephemera of today's childhood sold at Korvette's, Woolco or Murphy's, but at stores like F.A.O. Schwartz, whose clientele do not generally fit the notion of folk.

The study of any folk genre necessarily begins with collecting. Once an exhaustive or at least a representative grouping has been made, the next step is to organize and classify the materials collected so they can be examined and compared with similar or differing items. In studying artifacts generally, E. McClung Fleming has identified five basic properties essential to their analysis, their history, material, construction, design and function.¹⁶ Four operations to be performed in terms of these properties provide solutions to most of the problems arising from their study, the operations being "identification (including classification, authentication, and description), ...evaluation, ...cultural analysis, ...and interpretation" (*loc. cit.*).

Heretofore toys have been classified and arranged in varying manners, including chronological listings of playthings from primitive times to the age of electronics¹⁷ and an arbitrary listing according to the material of which they are made.¹⁸ Classification by material of construction is of little value for comparative studies.¹⁹ More useful is a system based on function, but even this is not always satisfactory since an object may have a dual function synchronically or diachronically. For example, a slingshot or bow and arrow may be both a toy and a weapon in different times or cultures²⁰ or even at the same time in the same culture. The yo-yo provides an interesting case of an artifact with such dual function, serving in the Philippines as a deadly weapon for centuries before being introduced into American culture as a toy in 1926. Similarly a noisemaker or a mask may at one time have fulfilled a religious function but is now, at least in most civilizations, primarily a plaything. The device that served the colonial watchman as a billyclub and an alarm is now only a rattletrap²¹ used on New Year's Eve or occasionally at a callithumpian serenade. Another callithumpian apparatus, the devil-clapper, has an obvious relationship with the rattletrap, being essentially the same object with the ratchet wheel being revolved against the pawl rather than the opposite, which is the case with the smaller noisemaker. One such noisemaker, the turkey-call, is not at present a toy but it may become one for future generations.

Though the functional identity of a folk toy can usually be established from knowledge of the facts surrounding its creation, the result of that creation survives independently as an artifact. This leads to complications, particularly in light of the existence of similar artifacts whose origin is not known. Each such object is of course an ontogenetic unit bearing an inseparable association with the dual phylogenetic systems of toys as playthings and of cultural artifacts in



Two types of Pennsylvania rattletraps. The style at the top was used by colonial watchmen as a club and warning rattle combined. The lower model, from the Allentown area, is simply a noisemaker for use at festive occasions.

general. An adequate classification scheme should facilitate the recognition of relationships between the artifact being studied and similar objects in both these systems. This can most readily be accomplished through identification of the object's basic form. Only by consideration of form obviously could the aforementioned association between the rattletrap and the devil-clapper be recognized, since their origin, material and function all differ.



The Devil-Clapper. A variation of the rattletrap standing fifty inches high, this device is placed against the door of a newly wed couple during a callithumpian serenade and the handle is turned to produce a raucous rumpus.

Using the concept of classification by form, Leslie Daiken identified five archetypal toys of prehistoric design, globular, bird-shape, four-legged animal, mounted rider, and human figure.²² These categories could logically be expanded to include modern toys, but the expansion would prove to be excessively complex.

The simplest sort of classification system is one based on contrastive features. Such a system, arrived at intuitively after long minutes of ponderance, might divide folk toys into those which represent natural objects and those which do not. To call these two types representational and non-representational is somewhat inexact, since so-called representational toys—dolls, trucks, and what-not—are produced in varying degrees of realism, from the highly detailed model of a sailing ship with trim and rigging intact to the suggestively shaped blocks of wood on wheels now sold as educational playthings. Then too, non-representational toys often have symbolic meanings known to the maker or the user.²³

Perhaps the two groups might be termed imitative and abstract, with appropriate subdivisions:

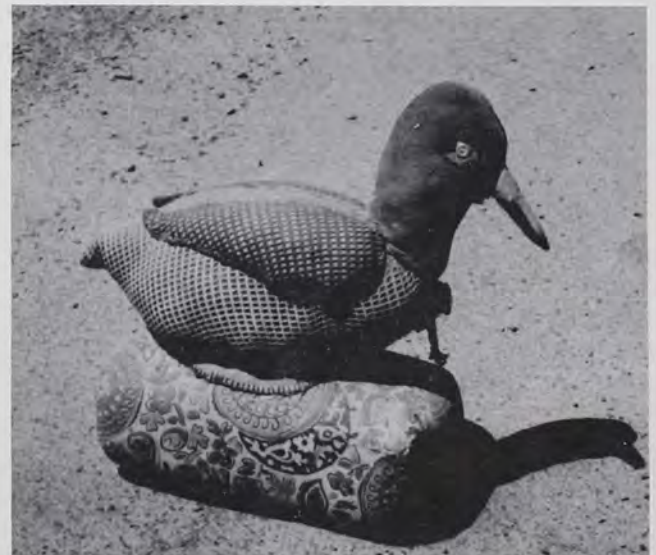
- 1.0 Imitative
 - 1.1 Biomorphic
 - 1.1.1 Anthropomorphic
 - 1.1.2 Zoomorphic
 - 1.1.3 Botanomorphic
 - 1.2 Mecanomorphic
 - 1.2.1 Mobile
 - 1.2.2 Immobile
- 2.0 Abstract
 - 2.1 Adimensional
 - 2.2 Monodimensional
 - 2.3 Bidimensional
 - 2.3.1 Indiscriminate forms
 - 2.3.2 Circular
 - 2.3.2.1 Oval
 - 2.3.2.2 Semicircular
 - 2.3.2.2.1 Crescent
 - 2.3.3 Square
 - 2.3.3.1 Rectangular
 - 2.3.3.2 Triangular
 - 2.4 Tridimensional
 - 2.4.1 Indiscriminate forms
 - 2.4.2 Spherical
 - 2.4.2.1 Ovoid
 - 2.4.2.2 Conical
 - 2.4.2.3 Cylindrical
 - 2.4.3 Cubical
 - 2.4.3.1 Parallelepipedic
 - 2.4.3.2 Pyramidal

Anthropomorphic toys would include dolls of all sizes, shapes and degrees of representational detail from the simplest corn-husk or penny wooden to Archie Bunker's Grandson. Whether the dolls had a magical,



Wooden horses made by O'Brien Williams (1882-1969), a Black stone mason from Newville, Pa.

ritual²⁴ or play function is immaterial to their initial classification and much valuable comparative data is lost when such artifacts are considered only from the aspect of their utilization. Zoomorphic toys could be subdivided according to biological species for all-encompassing comparisons, or, for the purposes of toy study, into domesticated and wild (or zoo) animals, though there is some overlapping in the area of Noah's Ark, a common folk toy.²⁵ Botanomorphic toys are rare among the folk,²⁶ though a few examples of toy trees exist, usually as adjuncts to model villages or farms.



The playful whimsy of this doorstop from Newville, Pa., almost hides its practical function.

Mobile toys cover a wide range of vehicles from wagons to model cars, trains and planes. Immobile toys include various structures from doll houses with elaborate rooms to models used in Christmas scenes.²⁷ The study of toy furniture, a subdivision of immobile toys, is complicated by the fact that not all such furniture was intended for play; it might have been



Highly detailed toy stake wagon from Cumberland County; painted red with white stripes.



Wooden truck with crank operated dump bed, from Cumberland County, Pa.

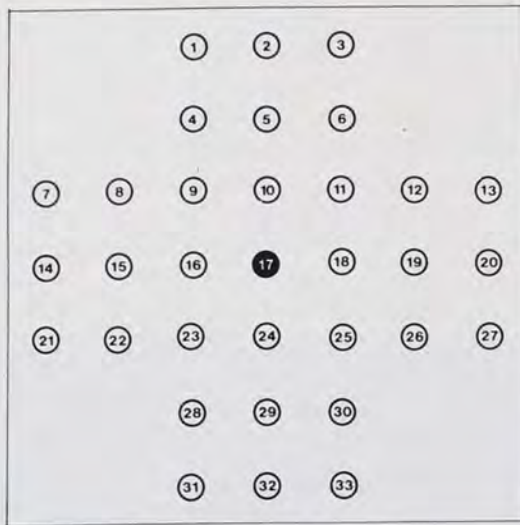
intended for any of four functions: doll house furniture, apprentice pieces, salesmen's samples, or children's furniture,²⁸ functions recognizable only by the size or detail of workmanship.

As for abstract toys, adimensional objects are only theoretically possible, for example in games where Base is a point. Monodimensional toys include starting lines but most playing surfaces (ball fields, game boards, etc.) are Bidimensional. Most recognizable toys (balls, blocks, rods) are Tridimensional, though consideration must be given under Indiscriminate forms to such disparate counters as marbles, checkers, buttons, stones or jacks, any of which might be substituted for another in a given game, depending on availability.

Such a classification system would facilitate the study of such toys as the Solitaire Pegboard, which has a long and complicated development. The Solitaire Pegboard is a puzzle consisting of thirty-two markers placed in a symmetrically arranged pattern of thirty-three spaces, the center space being vacant; the puzzle is solved by removing all the markers but one by a process of jumping-elimination, the one remaining to be left in the space initially empty at the center. A similar game with an identical playing surface involves two players in competition and is called in the southern Appalachians "Fox and Geese."²⁹ The jumping movements for both Fox and Geese and Solitaire Peg-

board resemble checkers but the playing surface is not that of a checkerboard, rather that of overlapping or intersecting rectangles (to consider it a cross would tend to limit our thinking to western civilization of the last 1950 years and the game is probably older than that). The markers vary according to the playing surface, in the manner of all forms,³⁰ since they are alternately distributed according to contextual requirements. Stones and buttons serve as markers on diagrams drawn on the ground or on paper, glass or steel marbles are offered with plastic and wood playing boards featured in recent gift and mail-order catalogs, and nails or wooden pegs figure in most current folk versions of the game, fitting into holes drilled for that purpose in a plain or varnished board.

Considering the basic form of its playing surface, the Solitaire Pegboard might be seen as a possible variant of tic-tac-toe or of Parcheesi³¹ (and a similar ancient Aztec game called patolli³²). The possible implications of its cultural development are many, especially in terms of the numerology involved; what appear to be five overlapping squares, each composed of three-times-three or nine spaces, include a total, not of forty-five, but of thirty-three spaces. The moves, which seem to be determinable only by blind chance with the odds of success approaching one to infinity, are easily performed once one knows the secret.



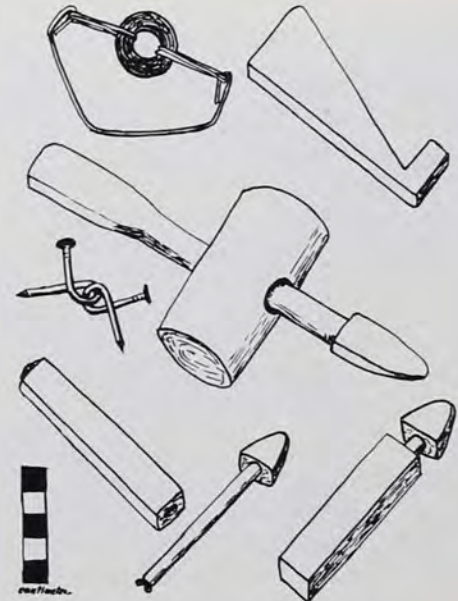
Starting with the marker in position 5, each time removing the jumped marker, the moves are 5 to the vacant space at 17, then 8 to 10, 1 to 9, 3 to 1, 16 to 4, 1 to 9, 28 to 16, 21 to 23, 7 to 21, 24 to 22, 21 to 23, 26 to 24, 33 to 25, 31 to 33, 18 to 30, 33 to 25, 6 to 18, 13 to 11, 27 to 13, 10 to 12, 13 to 11, 24 to 22 to 8 to 10 to 12 to 26 and back to 24, 17 to 19, 29 to 17, 16 to 18, and 19 to finish in the center space at 17. Unfortunately the many other problems associated with the study of folk toys are less easily solved.

Such questions as *why* folk toys are made can only tentatively be answered. One obvious reason is an economic one; some folk toys are made for resale.³³ The economic factor was considerably important to an earlier generation when, due to the scarcity of money (either as purchasing power or as ready cash), parents fabricated the toys their children requested rather than buy them for what were even then reasonable prices. Even earlier, children were forced to rely on their own resources for entertainment by making the toys they required for themselves with varying degrees of skill,³⁴ thus proving the truth of the observation made by Inez and Marshall McClintock: "Toys and games were indeed accurate mirrors of the adult world. When grownups worked hard and enjoyed few amusements, children played little and owned few toys. Real wars always brought a deluge of war toys. When adults passed through a period of wild fads, their children had silly toys. When grownups were primarily concerned with acquiring more and more material possessions, children asked for and received more and more toys" (*Toys in America*, p. 5).

Erotic toys have usually been the exclusive domain of the folk craftsman, who has responded with jointed human figures representing the act of coition or carefully contrived male figures whose masculinity is effected by hidden springs or rubber bands in imitation of what Boccaccio called "the resurrection of the flesh."³⁵ Plastic reproductions of such toys are now commonly sold in "adult book stores," and recent imports from Hong

Kong include adult toys named Black Power and Pistol Packing Momma! (the latter subtitled "The Rise of Womens [!] Lib") featuring ithyphallic dolls. Once again popular culture has drawn inspiration from a folk model and may again in turn inspire a subsequent folk production if current antipornography movements succeed in forcing erotica from public view.³⁶

Most currently-produced toys that can truly be termed folk, at least along the eastern mountains of the United States, are in the nature of puzzles,³⁷ what might be called visual riddles. As with verbal conundrums, the answer might be guessed by one who is clever but success usually depends on knowing the solution beforehand. Presumably the bent-nail puzzle could be solved by a process of trial and error, but knowing the trick — holding each nail by the point and gently maneuvering the heads past each other — results in the nails literally falling separately. Similarly the Whamiddle mentioned earlier is often advanced as proof that the person who is capable of causing the propeller on the end to revolve by rubbing the notched shaft with a stick has supernatural powers, especially if he can make the propeller spin first in one and then in the other direction. Trial and error may lead to success but again there is a trick to it, here one of finger placement.



Contemporary Pennsylvania puzzle toys. Top, the "running gears" of the Rattlesnake Eggs trick and the belt hook; when a belt is placed in the L-shaped notch at the right and suspended under the edge of a table, the hook will balance at a point near the upper left corner. Center, the bent nails puzzle and the piercing arrow illusion. Bottom, two examples of the Snapper.

A second type of contemporary folk puzzle involves

a visual illusion, creating the impression that the impossible is occurring, as with the belt hook and the arrow toy already mentioned. The "snapper" (Schnacke calls it "Fishhook," pp. 56-57) consists of a knotted stick with a piece of rubberband at the end inserted into a hole in a block of wood. The illusion is that the rubber can be made to catch in the hole and cause the stick to snap back when pulled partway out. The secret here is that the proper finger pressure on the knob causes the stick to jump into the hole. The do-nothing machine (see Schnacke, pp. 24-25), a technological advancement over the favorite Pennsylvania Dutch pastime of thumb-twiddling, is sometimes advanced as a puzzle toy, the victim being told that it is possible to get the moving parts to meet in the middle. Like many of these items, the do-nothing machine is now sold commonly in gift and souvenir shops, and brightly colored plastic imitations are readily available.

A final type of puzzle toy takes the form of a catch, often with cruel intent, like the children's catch-riddle, "Adam and Eve and Pinch-Me went out in a boat; if Adam and Eve fell out, who is left?" The snake-in-the-box is such a toy; once commonly produced by whittlers and craftsmen,³⁸ it featured a hidden snake which sprang out to sink a sharp nail or pin into the finger opening the box. "Rattlesnake eggs" are a good example of a catch toy. A metal washer is fastened to a bent wire with rubber bands which are then tightly wound. The whole is concealed in a labeled envelope and handed to the victim with the admonition, "Be careful, they may have hatched." When the envelope is opened, the washer whirring against the paper invariably produces a frightened reaction. The victim is then informed to his chagrin that (a) rattlesnakes don't lay eggs, and (b) even if they did, they certainly wouldn't be flat. The same device was also used on occasion in the days of the one-room school; placed carefully and unobtrusively on the teacher's chair, it would at an unexpected moment deliver a sound similar to that of the more sophisticated whoopee-cushion.

These puzzle/riddle toys, like nearly all of the folk toys currently being produced, are made by adults for the use of other adults, a fact that is sociologically and psychologically significant. Today's child has little desire for or interest in such things. Early on he is faced with institutionalized play and his toys must be similarly institutionalized. Rarely if at all is he allowed the freedom (he certainly lacks the necessity) to make his own toys as his grandfather did; he might hurt himself in the process. It is true that sometimes a hand-made toy may develop³⁹ as a temporary solution to an immediate need, but the toy manufacturers are quick to popularize any such item for a profit.

It is apparent that there is a relationship between the progression from simple abstractions to detailed

representational forms in toys and the development of an aesthetic sense and artistic ability, not only in the individual, but in the total culture as well. The very young child accepts a simple stick figure as a human being; he is content with abstract symbols which may be fraught with significance, just as the geometric art forms of so-called primitive peoples often demonstrate highly complex and varied symbolic content.⁴⁰ Older children demand more realism, in the same way that supposedly more mature civilizations find pleasure in artistic realism. Yet there comes a time when this apparent diachronic development is reversed. Abstract forms are used more frequently in competitive situations than are mimetic forms. Since children's play is more often concerned with imitation than with competition (cf. García Morente, *art. cit.*, p. 70), non-imitative forms are more likely to be used in adult play. As the child approaches adulthood, he returns to the abstract forms of an earlier time although the latent symbolism of such objects as baseballs and bats or basketballs and hoops with their plieous nets is lost on him, at least at the conscious level.

Much study remains to be done in the area of folk toys. Many problems of historical development and spatial distribution must still be considered. The appeal that individual toy forms have in differing cultural contexts must be examined. The question of the interaction between popular and folk traditions as it relates to the creation of toys is an important one. Solutions to these and similar matters will be of value to students in many fields.

ENDNOTES:

*An early version of this paper was presented at the meeting of the American Folklore Society in Philadelphia, November 11, 1976.

¹The recent anthology of the proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Association for the Anthropological Study of Play, *The Anthropological Study of Play: Problems and Prospects*, ed. David F. Lancy and B. Allan Tindall (Cornwall, N.Y.: Leisure Press, 1976), scarcely mentions the subject.

²"In the past, more so than today, children let their imagination animate simple things, and used them for their play. From twigs and fir-cones, from chestnuts and acorns, children made figures of little men and animals. The most wonderful things were made of leaves, plants, bones, feathers and snail-shells" (Karl E. Fritzsche and Manfred Bachmann, *An Illustrated History of Toys*, tr. Ruth Michaelis-Jena [London: Abbey Library, 1966], p. 18). Cf. also W. W. Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York: Harper, 1883), and Rosalie B. S. Daniels, "Folk Toys and Amusements of Rural Mississippi Children," *Mississippi Folklore Register*, 4 (1970), 68-75.

³E.g., Peter Stevenson, *The Art of Making Wooden Toys* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1971); Joan Joseph, *Folk Toys Around the World and How to Make Them* (New York: Parents' Magazine Press, 1972); Jean and Cle Kinney, *21 Kinds of American Folk Art and How to Make Each One* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), esp. pp. 34-39, 70-78; and Dick Schnacke, *American Folk Toys: How to Make Them* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973).

⁴Such destruction of objects subsequently recognized as valuable is a frequent theme of local legend and memorates.

⁵Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, 1963), s.v. *toy*. However, as James Murray, editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, noted, the etymology is problematic.

⁸John Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1955), p. 28; Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games*, tr. Meyer Barash (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 3-10.

⁹"La nota fundamental del juego consiste, pues, en que para el niño las cosas no tienen un ser permanente, fijo y perdurable, sino que son simplemente sustentáculos, unidades, para toda clase de posibles significaciones, puros ingredientes de cuantas realidades quiera atribuirles el niño" (Manuel García Morente, "El mundo del niño," *Cuadernos de Adán*, I (Madrid, 1944), p. 74).

¹⁰Oral circulation, Philadelphia, 1959; also listed in Brian Sutton-Smith, "The Cruel Joke Series," *Midwest Folklore*, 10 (1960), 18, no. 75, and Max Rezwin, *The Best of Sick Jokes* (New York: Pocket Books, 1962), p. 19.

¹¹The debate over the role of the play function in art has a long history; see, e.g., M. C. Nahm, "Some Aspects of the Play-Theory of Art," *Journal of Philosophy*, 39 (1942), 148-160.

¹²See Michael Owen Jones, *The Hand Made Object and Its Maker* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 218 ff.; cf. Henry Glassie, "Artifacts: Folk, Popular, Imaginary and Real," in *Icons of Popular Culture*, ed. Marshall Fishwick and Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1970), p. 112.

¹³See Ken Fitzgerald, *Weathervanes & Whirligigs* (New York: Potter, 1967), pp. 153-180; cf. Robert Bishop, "Whirligig Collection Unusual Among Unique," *Antique Monthly*, February 1975, pp. 19C-20C.

¹⁴Traditional wind toy motifs are the Woodchopper, Cow Milker, Wood Sawyer, Washer Woman, Rocking Woman, Kicking Donkey and Dancing Man (see Fitzgerald, pp. 166-174). Bishop (*art. cit.*) pictures a similar dancing toy among many early examples, and Leslie Daiken illustrates a steam-driven example of the Dancing Man (*Children's Toys Throughout the Ages* [New York: Praeger, 1953], p. 41, fig. 18). Cf. Elinor Horwitz, *Mountain People, Mountain Crafts* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1974), pp. 46-48.

¹⁵See Ina-Marie Greverus, "Nothing But a Little Wooden Dala-Horse," *Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson*, ed. Linda Dégh, et. al. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1976), pp. 181-192.

¹⁶Called Whimmydiddle, hoey stick and gee-haw in Schnacke's *American Folk Toys* (pp. 16-17), this toy, from a source in West Virginia, was even offered as a Bicentennial breakfast cereal premium by the Quaker Oats Company.

¹⁷See, e.g., Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 3.

¹⁸Fleming, "Artifact Study. A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio* 9, ed. Ian Quimby (Charlottesville, Va., 1974), 156.

¹⁹E.g., Jac Remise and Jean Fondin, *The Golden Age of Toys*, tr. D. B. Tubbs (Lausanne, 1967), or Robert Culf, *The World of Toys* (London: Hamlyn, 1969).

²⁰This is a typical anthropological procedure. Cf. the studies of Russian clay toys by A. Bakushinsky (1929) and G. A. Dinces (1936) and a study of wooden toys by A. Chushkin (1927).

²¹Cf. Henry Glassie, "The Pennsylvania Barn in the South," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 15, no. 2 (Winter 1965-66), 10.

²²Cf. G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1969), p. 28.

²³Fritsch and Bachmann illustrate an example from Nuremberg ca. 1830 (*op. cit.*, p. 43). See also Schnacke, pp. 142-143. Regarding its use by police and watchmen, cf. Philip A. Wright, *Old Farm Implements* (London: David & Charles, 1974), pp. 86, 89; M. Luther Heisey, "Christmas at Penn Square," *Lancaster County [Pa.] Historical Papers*, 48 (1944), 139; Baughman, motif X1321.4.4.1. John Vince notes its use as a bird-scarer in England (*Old Farm Tools*, Shire Album 4, 1974, p. 21); cf. Robert W. Miller, *American Primitives* (Des Moines: Wallace-Homestead, 1972), p. 49.

²⁴Daiken, *Toys Throughout the Ages*, pp. 182-185.

²⁵Cf. Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover, 1955), pp. 109-122.

²⁶For example, the marriage toys of the Kutiya Kondhs of India; see Leonhard Adam, *Primitive Art* (London, 1963), p. 129.

²⁷Cf. Carolyn Miller, "Sunday Toys," *Americana*, 1, no. 5 (November 1973), pp. 25-29; Inez and Marshall McClintock, *Toys in America* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961), pp. 50, 60-61; Fritsch and Bachmann, pp. 56 ff.; William Rodger, "Toys for Your

Delight," *Early American Life*, 6, no. 6 (December 1975), 94.

²⁸Farm sets where toy plants would be expected derive from Noah's Arks, which had no plants. Then too live plants are generally available for play. See however Schnacke, p. 146.

²⁹The Pennsylvania German *putz* was the inspiration for many model villages and train layouts. Regarding the *putz*, see George E. Nitzsche, "The Christmas Putz of the Pennsylvania Germans," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, 6 (1941), 3-28; Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania* (Kutztown, Pa., 1959), pp. 110-111; John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Folk Art* (Allentown, Pa., 1966), pp. 302-303; and Richard E. Myers, *Lehigh Valley, the Unsuspected* (Easton, Pa., 1972), pp. 119-121.

³⁰Frances Thompson, "Miniature Furniture," *Relics*, 10, no. 2 (August 1976), 10-12, 31.

³¹Rabelais describes a congener of this game (*Gargantua*, I, xxii) as well as a variant called *Merelles*, "played with tokens on a square board divided by a straight cross and a St. Andrew's cross." In Pennsylvania "Fox and Geese" is an outdoor game played on a circular field drawn in the snow (see Barrick, "Games from the Little Red School House," *Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey* ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein and Robert H. Byington [Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1966], p. 102), the pattern of which is very much like the folk game *figmill* or *fickmiel* (J. William Frey, "Let's Play Fickmiel!" *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 1, no. 15 [August 11, 1949], 2, more recently called Nine Men's Mill (Robert W. Murphy, "Wooden Toys, Games and Puzzles," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 27, Supp. (1978), 18, and the ancient Greek board game *Triodi* (see Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 295-297).

³²See James Deetz, *Invitation to Archaeology* (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1967), pp. 83-91.

³³First marketed by E. G. Selchow and John H. Righter in 1867, based on an oriental game, the Parcheesi board has been a best-seller ever since.

³⁴Alfonso Caso, "Un antiguo juego mexicano: El Patolli," *El México Antiguo*, 2, no. 9 (March 1925), 203-211; Ralph Beals and Pedro Carrasco, "Games of the Mountain Tarascans," *American Anthropologist*, 46 (1944), 516-522. See also H. R. Hayes, *From Ape to Angel* (New York: Knopf, 1965), pp. 269-270.

³⁵E.g., the handcrafted wooden toys made by Bill Muller of Telford, Pennsylvania, which are marketed nationally.

³⁶See the reminiscences of Harry E. Smith, "The End of the Horse and Buggy Era," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 18, no. 3 (Spring 1969), 8-9; cf. Michael Owen Jones, *The Hand Made Object*, p. 110.

³⁷See Gershon Legman, *The Horn Book* (New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1964), pp. 248-249, and his *Rationale of the Dirty Joke*, Second Series (New York: Breaking Point, 1975), p. 101. A service station owner in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, once displayed a snuff box in which a pipe cleaner figure of a man appeared to masturbate when a hidden spring was pulled.

³⁸Regarding such interchange between popular and folk traditions, see Henry Glassie, "Artifacts," pp. 103-119.

³⁹Cf. Iorwerth C. Peate, *Tradition and Folk Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 108: "The rural wood-turners and joiners also produced 'puzzles,' often in boxwood, of a most intricate nature, which served to divert the local youth during many long winter hours." Schnacke illustrates a number of these puzzles (pp. 80-93).

⁴⁰Examples are described or illustrated in Cornelius Weygandt, *The Dutch Country* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1939), p. 116; Norman A. Smith, "A Toy Maker," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 4, no. 13 (February 15, 1953), 15-16; Earl F. Robacker, "Antiques for Fancy and for Fun," *The Dutchman*, 7, no. 1 (Summer 1955), 2-6; Ro-becker, "Look Back, Once!" *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 15, no. 4 (Summer 1966), 11; McClintock, *Toys in America*, p. 63; cf. Daiken, p. 47. Charles M. Skinner (*Myths and Legends of Our Own Land* [Philadelphia, 1896], I, 24-25) records a legend, "The Revenge of Shandaken," in which such an instrument with a venomous snake fang deals a death blow (Baughman, motif B765.19(d)).

⁴¹For example, the coat-hanger slingshots made by boys in West Philadelphia; see Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 218-219.

⁴²Boas, *Primitive Art*, pp. 109-112. Cf. the tendency among American quilt-makers to apply concrete names (Wedding Ring, Drunkard's Path, Baby Blocks, Log Cabin, etc.) to abstract geometric designs.



Farming in the Depression Years

By GIDEON L. FISHER

During World War I when most of the European countries were in conflict with Germany, it made the greatest uproar in practically all the nations of the northern hemisphere that history could recall. The empire of Germany was ruled by Kaiser Wilhelm II, who with a strong military force soon had control over the small countries of Europe. Many thousands of men, women, and children experienced horrible deaths when German troops invaded their countries. The Germans won one victory after another, and it was predicted that after they had control over Europe the United States would be next to suffer the consequences. The Germans sank a few of the United States ships, and threatened far more damage if the U. S. ships would not stay clear of German controlled waters.

When the European food supply dwindled away faster than it could be produced, the U.S.A. was obliged to send hundreds of tons of food to the Allied armies. Food from the U.S.A. was a great factor in winning the war.

This foreign trade cut deeply into the reserve food supply of our country, sending prices to a new high level. Especially grain: wheat rose to three and four dollars a bushel. Other prices advanced accordingly. By the time the war ended, United States grain bins were low, which encouraged the farmers to strengthen the supply and take advantage of high prices. In those years probably 60% of the nation's population were farmers. In a period of ten years the food supply in the United States, as well as in foreign countries, was at the point where it was back to normal, and there was

some grain in the surplus bins.

In the ten year period following World War I, the people in general enjoyed good average prices for both manufactured and agricultural products. Wages and labor were fairly well equalized. Everybody who was physically able to work could get a job. The world of machinery had just begun, patent rights for new inventions were on the increase all over the nation. Manufacturing of automobiles was the leading one, followed by trucks, tractors, farm machinery, railroad cars, earth moving equipment, (for building better roads) airplanes, and larger and better ships for the purpose of exporting and importing products from other countries.

At that time most of the manufacturing companies used coal for steam power as well as for smelting iron ore. Coal mining along the Allegheny mountains in Pennsylvania, as well as in New York and Virginia was from 1920 to 1928 one of the strongest industries of our nation. Thousands of men depended on mining for their income. Even then, their wages were not really high, for mining was more or less a secondary job. Their living costs and taxes were well in line with their income. Coal and iron ore mining were the main industries following World War I, because of the great demand for equipment, with many new inventions coming up.

People who became rich during the war years, bought stocks and bonds in any thriving business. Large manufacturing companies started up with the wealthy stock holders' money. To many people these prosperous times were here to stay. They were not afraid to make

large investments, though they were not aware of what the future might bring.

Farm land prices made a new high from 1925 to 1928. Farm products followed in the economy of our nation. Farmers who became rich during the war invested money in land and bought farms on credit, expecting to take advantage of the high produce prices. Farmers in the west bought equipment to go into business in a bigger way because with the increase in population more food products were needed.

By 1929 the prosperity picture had changed somewhat, and manufacturing companies had their stock orders well filled with some of their products on hand, and, hoping a greater demand would follow, they kept on filling the surplus shelves, and renting storage space. This overproduction was costing the stockholder enormous amounts of money. Many factories kept on producing and manufacturing their items until they were forced to close down. Therefore steel companies were shut down on orders. Next in line were the coal and iron ore mines. Huge amounts of coal and iron ore were mined with no outlet for it. This kept on until many well established companies went into bankruptcy.

By 1930 farm produce prices hit a new low margin. Business operators became alarmed about the future. Foreign trade was cut off because most countries who were afflicted in World War I had also become well established in food supplies. At the same time the bottom fell out of the New York stock market. Many people who became rich during the war years, had invested their money in stocks and bonds. They lost everything they had, in some instances even their homes. A large percentage of the people who were formerly of the well-to-do class were now financially poor.

The steel mills followed the trend and were almost at a stand-still with an abundance of unwanted steel. Many a signed contract for manufactured products was canceled because of insufficient outlet for their product.

Mining, manufacturing of steel products, and agriculture, were the three industries that had control over a large portion of our nation's commodities. By 1930 thousands of able-bodied men were laid off of active duty. Most of the working class of people were not in a financial position to stand the pressure of having little or no income. The greater percent of the working class of people had not saved a large portion of their weekly pay checks before our nation went into a depression. Even though food prices and living expenses had dropped to a new low, many a family was in need of help of some kind. People who were fortunate enough to have money to buy, were very careful about spending, and would not purchase more than was needed for the time being, as the price was still on the downward trend. A shrewd purchaser held off from buying as long as he possibly could.

People who had investments in real estate, stocks and bonds, or other commodities were in fear of losing their securities. Where possible they withdrew their investments even though they suffered a loss by doing so. This brought a still greater burden upon the commonwealth. Very few people were interested in making investments more than was absolutely necessary.

From 1928 to 1935 the farm land dropped in price to a new low, in some instances to less than half of its previous value. Many a farmer who was in good standing, now found himself operating at a loss or forced to sell out to satisfy his creditors, especially if he had owned more than one farm.

During these price declining years, farm land was the last to show the effects. People who had some financial credit, or had saved some money with the intention of investing it in farm land, with good intention bought a farm for some member of the family, hoping the price squeeze would change for the better. Farm land sold higher in 1932 than it did in 1938. Its lowest point was probably about 1934. In other words farm land did not hit its lowest point until farm products had again some what increased in prices. Farm land showed very little advance until after 1940.

In 1931 a well known bank in the city of Lancaster, who had patronized many of our Amish folk in the county for years, was forced to close their doors, with many people losing their hard earned money. When the news spread to other areas, the people feared they would also be trapped with their money in the bank, so they demanded it. The stock holders did not wish to further extend their stocks and bonds in many of our local banks. We can well imagine that if the local banks were not of good standing the people became very uncertain of their dealings at the banks.

No one could predict just what was going to happen, as many feared that the worst was yet to come. Very often the peoples' conversation was of the times that our nation would yet face if it should go into bankruptcy.

This went on until three of the major banks in the city of Lancaster took bankruptcy law. It affected many local business establishments who were thought to be of good standing. Many were forced to close their doors.

Farmers and business men alike who had mortgaged their investments found it very difficult to meet the high interest rates, let alone to pay the principal. Interest rates had increased considerably due to the risk or fear of losing their hard earned money, and it was almost impossible to receive loans. In some instances a good natured person endorsed a friend's mortgage, and both parties were forced to sell out. This made some ill feeling among good intentioned neighbors and friends. These conditions give us some idea as to why people lost confidence in the banks, local business establishments and government securities.

In the winter of 1931 the writer witnessed a farm sale at which the tenant farmer was forced to let the sheriff manage the sale. Upon arrival at the sale there were no preparations made whatsoever for the sale. So the sheriff appointed a few of the by-standers to bring the farm machinery out of the barn, where it had been stored for the winter. Everything was sold as it was, and no one seemed to know if it was in working condition or not. Each one had to use their own judgment.

When the sale was well under way the tenant farmer came out from the house and witnessed the sale like a total stranger. The owner of the machinery was now among the group of spectators and still the tenant farmer wouldn't give any information on the condition of the equipment, so the items of the sale sold rather cheaply.

When the time came to sell horses and mules, no one had anything to say regarding their age or working ability. It appeared that the live stock had received very little attention all winter. It also appeared that the sheriff was not too well acquainted with live stock and the purchase price was very low. Mules sold for 25 to 50 dollars each. The harnesses and bridles that were stored in the horse stable were taken off the hooks, and brought out to the auctioneer to sell. They brought from three to five dollars per set.

The last item being offered was the manure pile, which looked to be a years' supply. The sheriff read the conditions of the sale, that the manure which was on the property should be sold in order to meet the debts. After the condition of the sale was read, the auctioneer asked for bids. Upon this the landlord raised his voice and made it known that the manure which was on the farm was not the property of the tenant farmer, but belonged to the farm itself. But the auctioneer didn't pay too much attention to what was being said, and kept on asking for bids. The landlord raised his voice again, and made it known that if anyone attempted to remove any manure off the farm, he himself intended to be there with a shot-gun. So the auctioneer called it off at \$10 for all the manure on the farm.

There is no doubt that this poor tenant farmer had good intentions when he started farming. He had probably wished to enjoy life on the farm, and hoped to make a good living and save some money for future use. Instead he lost all that he made in the years he was farming, and perhaps what he had saved before he went into farming.

This is just an example of how the conditions were in the days of depression. Many a good-intentioned farmer found himself operating at a loss.

The golden dream, or the prosperous years following World War I, had by 1929 turned into a nightmare. The average farm income in 1931 in Lancaster County was about \$800, and many a local farmer had to give up farming, while city folks were not as well off as the

farmer. It was quoted: "The farmer eats off the first table, while the city man gets what is left."

Many a city family where the husband had no work, left their residence in the city and sought a home in the country, hoping to make a living off the soil. A few city people got the idea that anyone could run a farm, rented cheap land and tried their luck at farming, not realizing that to be successful, it would take capital to finance the operation, and because they were inexperienced, most of them lost what they had saved. Food supply was no problem, but the money to buy it was the problem.

After the worst of the depression was over in about 1935 and 1936, and the factory wheels again began to turn, many a short term farmer left what little he had acquired and was well satisfied with city life. From that time on the trend of farm folk was to leave the farm and choose the factory to make their living, because of higher wages for factory workers, along with more modern methods.

While the years of 1928 to 1934 were considered depression years, there were included in the conditions two of the severest droughts that the old timers could recall. In Lancaster County the 1931 crops received very little rainfall from the time they were planted until they were harvested. The first cutting hay crop was a fair amount good quality hay, but that was all that the farmers had for the entire year to feed their live stock, as there wasn't any second or third cutting, and the pastures had about dried up.

The potato crop was very light and of poor quality due to the small amount of rainfall. The greater amount of the potatoes were of second grade. In 1931 on the farm where the writer lived, of the 22 acres of corn that were usually raised, nineteen acres were required to fill two silos, size 10' by 40' and 12' by 40', respectively, so three acres remained to be husked for cribbing. The quality was so poor, it was all hauled to the barn on one two horse wagon, that being the supply of ear corn for an 86 acre farm.

While tobacco is a crop that is usually planted in late spring, it had very little chance to grow due to the extremely dry season. From the time that it was planted until it was topped it is doubtful if it received an inch of rainfall. Then in early September there was a week or ten days of rainy weather with very little sunshine. The tobacco which had made very little growth after it was planted, was now in some low spots, standing in water and drowned. Also most of the remaining tobacco over the county was ruined by a fungus disease which is caused by wet weather, called Rust.

A large percentage of the tobacco crop wasn't even harvested, with the farmers' expenses and labor being a total loss. After the ground had again dried off many a farmer went into his tobacco field with a disc harrow. In that way he got an early start with his fall seeding.

Some took a chance and cut, cured and stripped their tobacco. Next summer the tobacco companies came out and bought it for one to one and a half cents per pound.

Can we imagine working for a year with the tobacco, getting the seed bed ready, having the expense of fertilizer, plants, and all the labor which is required in raising it, then receiving only a cent to a cent and a half per pound and it did not have much weight at the best. It probably amounted to \$12 to \$20 an acre. At that time there were a number of the town laborers who worked for the farmers and raised a few acres of tobacco by the halves.

In those depression days it was impossible to lay aside a great amount of money for future use, as the farmers as well as the factory workers or the day laboring men were fortunate if they made financial ends meet.

Not as much machinery was used on the farm in those days, therefore more hand labor was required. At certain times a farmer would need extra help, especially in harvesting the crops, in hay making, wheat harvest, filling silo, and corn cutting and husking. In busy seasons a number of farmers would help together in exchange labor policy.

Wheat harvest was like a special occasion for the town folks. They felt that in times when a farmer needed extra help it was their duty to help him, as they felt the farmer came first. A painter would hang up his brush; a carpenter would store away his tools; the road worker would ask his boss for a weeks vacation. Then they would help the farmer in the wheat field hauling wheat to the barn, helping to thresh, filling silo, cut corn on shock, husk corn, or even haul manure to the field and spread it. They would consider it important to help the farmer in time of need. Both the town laboring man and the farmer seemed to enjoy working together as it brought a real companionship.

Most of the town folks depended on their own garden or truck patch for their year's supply of vegetables. They often referred to a quarter acre lot as a truck patch. To have the land plowed and cultivated in order to plant they would depend on the neighboring farmers to do the job. In the early spring when the weather was warm and the ground dried off, the town folks would come to the farmer to see how soon they could come to plow their lot and get the seed bed ready. Even though he was busy getting his own land ready for planting, he felt it his duty to do the town neighbors when they wished to have it done, knowing that at the time of harvest they would return his kindness and help on the farm.

Bright and early on a brisk cool morning the farmer with a team of horses, a plow, harrow, and drag, would go to town for probably a week to till the soil into a fine seed bed. After working for a few hours the house wife would come to inspect the job and bring a cool refreshing drink of water, showing her appreciation that the farmers would take time off to help them with their

lot. This was done out of good will for both the farmer and the town folk and would sometimes require a week or ten days to do eight or ten lots, according to weather conditions.

In July of 1935, it so happened one day when a group of us farmers were hauling wheat on one of the farms where we helped together in exchange labor policy: at the noon hour a group of five boys ranging in age from twelve to fifteen years, came walking in the farm lane in good cheer. They anxiously asked if we could use some extra help in hauling the wheat to the barn, stating that they would be willing to help, as they wished to have some spending money for the coming Saturday evening festival in a near by town.

After we discussed the matter among ourselves, we decided that we could use two of the five boys to help us haul wheat. Then the commotion started. One would say that he had more experience in the wheat field than the others, because he once helped his uncle. Another would say that he is stronger than the other boys, another would say he is a fast and willing worker. And so on until each one had told us how much good he would be in the harvest field. It was not easy to decide which two of the five such ambitious boys we needed.



After we decided which of the five boys we preferred to help us, the other three were not at all pleased as they hung their heads and walked slowly out the lane. Now this was in times of depression, and money was scarce. We don't believe that their parents could afford to hand them a five dollar bill to satisfy their desire, but they were told to go out and find work and earn money for themselves, so as to have spending money for the Saturday night festival. This would be a very unusual experience for boys of that age today, to live in town and go out to the farm to seek a job to earn some spending money.

During the depression many farmers didn't have the money or credit to buy the needed fertilizer which was required to raise good crops. The same also held true in feed, or live stock ration, very often poor quality feed was fed to livestock, and the results in both instances were poor.

An account of a few of the farm produce prices in the years from 1929 to 1934 with about 1932 as the lowest:

Corn	.35 per bu.
Wheat	.50 per bu.
Potatoes	.24 per bu.
Apples	.25 per bu.
Milk	.75 to .90 per 100 lb.
Steers	.04 to .06 per lb.
Hogs	.03 to .05 per lb.
Butter	.25 per lb.
Lard	.04 per lb.
Large Eggs	.08 per doz.

The 1931 tobacco being of poor quality sold for .01 per lb.

The 1935 tobacco went for a new high price of .10 per lb.

Feed price was \$20 to \$30 per ton with very little supplement or high protein feed used.

Wages: an experienced carpenter, got about .25 to .30 per hr., while a non-experienced one couldn't even expect to get a job as a carpenter. Day laborers \$1.00 a day, with board \$1.50 a day, on special jobs \$2.00.

The valuation of money is rather hard to determine, but to give an example: In 1919 a farmer could purchase a new grain binder with 50 bushels of wheat; in 1933 it took 500 bushels to buy the same machine. The purchasing power of \$1 in 1915 being rated at \$1 for what a farmer had to sell would again be worth \$1 for what a person could buy. But in 1933 what a farmer had to sell in farm products was rated at about .67¢ for every \$1 purchase. In other words the buying power in 1915 was rated at \$1, and in 1933 it dropped to .67¢.

If a farmer bought a farm in 1915 for \$15,000 when the times were considered normal, and the mortgage was held at the same base until 1932 it would be rated at about \$21,000, and the interest rose to 6% in 1932. In other words if the mortgage was still \$15,000, in 1933 it took as much effort to make up \$15,000 as it would have in 1915 to make \$21,000, let alone the increase in interest rates. This estimate was stated in *Agriculture and Country Life 1840-1940*.

Another example, in 1932 a good quality pair of shoes could be bought for one day's wages, from \$1.00 to \$2.00 a pair. At the same rate a pair of shoes in 1972 would cost from \$30 to \$50 for good work shoes.

In 1935 a new top carriage would cost approximately \$180, figuring about half for material and half for labor. At thirty cents an hour for labor it would have taken thirty working days to make a carriage. In 1970 the price was around \$1100, and half for materials would leave \$550 for labor. At \$2.50 an hour it would require twenty-two days to build a carriage. The difference of eight days in labor gives us an idea of labor conditions during the depression years.

During those years interest rates were high at the banks as well as among our local people. There were no loan

companies to finance a mortgage for business, or for people who wished to buy farms. Most people wanted to hold on to what ever money they had, as they didn't know what to expect for the future. Everybody feared the worst was yet to come.

No one had heard of a long extended credit loan. Even a short term loan was hard to get from our local banks. They wanted an exceptionally good reason before a loan was issued. Farmers often bought a number of steers to feed over the winter months, for which a small loan was needed. Very often a neighbor or a friend of good standing was needed as an endorsement before a note was issued from our local bank. Then with high interest rates it discouraged many a farmer from buying steers, or to make any investments.

Interest rates were no less than five percent and quite often six percent at the bank. The money was not available in any great amount, most business establishments as well as farmers had a struggle to break even, let alone to make up high interest rates. If a person was out of debt and had his home or farm paid for, he was thought to be fortunate. However, if he had money to help out some one who was in financial need, he was thought to be rather selfish if he would not help. There were some ill feelings among brothers for that cause. It was often a hard decision as to whom to give a loan, and to whom to come first to issue the loan. Transactions of this sort are hard for our present generation to understand.

Sometimes a well-to-do person helped out one who was in debt, or not in the best of financial standing, and lost the greater part of the loan. Quite often in such cases trustees were appointed to help settle the affairs in a peaceful manner. The generation of 1975 who have no experience of how the people in general were tied down financially during the depression years, can't imagine the difficulties they had in keeping their debts paid with a low income, and how they sacrificed in food, clothing, and house hold necessities to make a living.

There were no self-service stores or super markets where a person could choose from many different varieties of food. But the old country store could furnish all the food, clothing, dress material, and hardware needed in an average home in the country. But they did not wish to do business other than on a cash basis. Even though food prices were low, every one was price conscious, and would not buy much at a time in order to stretch the dollar. A ten dollar bill would buy as much in 1932 as \$40 would buy in 1960, or \$60 in 1975. But that \$10 bill was more difficult to earn in 1932 than the \$60 was in 1970.

A feed dealer would sometimes extend credit to the farmers on next year's wheat crop, only to find that the price had dropped another 10¢ per bushel from the previous market price. The same may be said for an

implement dealer in selling a piece of farm machinery. Many a farmer, in need of a certain piece of machinery, did not have the money to buy it. He would credit his next year's tobacco crop on farm equipment. By the time the tobacco crop was stripped and sold, probably a feed dealer, steer dealer, implement dealer, and store keeper were waiting for their money, and hoping there would be a strong tobacco market, only to find that the tobacco crop was of poor quality and prices dropped to a new low. This also held true in buying fertilizer.



A thrifty housewife learned to make many of their home supplies of jellies, noodles, bread, crackers, cookies, etc., along with canning and drying fruits and vegetables. A hundred pounds of wheat was taken to the grist mill in exchange for flour. Corn was gathered in the early fall, roasted in the kitchen stove, and shelled by hand by all members of the family, then taken to the mill to have it ground into meal. A bushel of corn would go a long way in making delicious corn meal mush. Mush and pudding was an old time breakfast food in practically all farm homesteads. Then with ground whole wheat flour they could make their own breakfast cereal: cooked graham or grape-nuts.

Those living on a farm could get by with a low income. The most important items bought from the old country store were sugar, salt, spices, syrup, seasoning, and others.

There were some feed companies who sold their feed in one hundred pound cotton bags. These bags were saved by the farmer for his wife to be used for clothing. After they were washed in a strong solution to remove the brand print, then dyed to a desired solid color, they had many uses in a large family. They could be used for mens' shirts, clothing for children, table cloths, dresses, etc. About 1950 feed companies specialized in selling feed in printed bags of desirable colors to suit the housewife. There was a strong demand for these nice colored feed bags, and they were of good quality material. After 1960 when the feed dealers invented the system of bulk bins, the transporting of feed in cotton or burlap bags was discontinued.

In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt was nominated for president of the United States on the democratic ticket. He won by a large margin over Herbert

Hoover in the November election. This brought a nation wide disturbance. It brought up the question if it would be for the better or for the worse in those depression years. It was estimated that five thousand banks over the nation closed their doors from November 1932 to March 1933. Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4th. On March 6 he ordered all banks in the United States closed for one week to examine the financial standing of each before doing further business. When the banks re-opened they were guaranteed to be in good standing, as they were then under bond of the United States government.

Roosevelt took the United States treasury off the gold standard, and started to print paper money without being backed by gold or silver. He asked Congress to appropriate 500,000,000 dollars for relief.

Closing the banks for examination was the first step back to normal times, but it took a much longer period to bring the financial condition back to what it was before, than it did to break it down. To this day we have not reached the point where the security rating is as good as it was before the depression, because of the heavy taxes.

This new administration had many good features in revival of our national securities: it helped the farmer, the business operations such as mining, factories, practically all industries were again looking forward to better times. Many bills were passed through Congress for the sake of the economy at the expense of the tax payer. But to this day many of these bills are still abused by the people themselves.

For example, the "National Recovery Act", or in short N.R.A., was approved by the Legislature for the benefit of workers and farmers. The latter were asked to keep a portion of their land out of production or to plow down a certain percent of wheat. Then the government would pay the farmer for the land which was not in production, and they set a guaranteed price per bushel of wheat. This was done to keep the large amount of surplus food from increasing.

The bill "Works Progress Administration", or W.P.A., was introduced by Congress to give the laboring man employment. Large crews of men were hired at the expense of the government to build roads, bridges, or perhaps some other government jobs. In this particular set-up the men were supposed to build roads mostly by hand labor, the road bed was graded and worked out with pick and shovel, and the rough stones were pounded down with sledge hammers.

Then for every so many working men in the crew, a water boy was needed to furnish drinking water to the men, also a time keeper and one or two supervisors were needed. In real warm weather the water boys were kept busy, but in cooler days they were often seen under a shade tree taking a nap, and still being paid for their time.

In the early years of Roosevelt's administration the government bought millions of bushels of corn, wheat and soybeans, at an average price, then built enormous storage space to store the surplus grain. This was done all over the nation to ensure the farmer a better price for his product. The farmer then kept on raising more products at the guaranteed price, as he felt he had nothing to lose, although he was obliged to sign an agreement with the government to meet certain requirements. It was reported that a few ship loads of wheat were dumped directly into the ocean at the government expense, because of insufficient storage space.

The farmers were asked by a government allotment to cut back on wheat acreage before they could receive their share of the subsidies. A man hired by the government would visit the farms measuring wheat fields. It was then worked out on percentage as to each farmer's basic allotment. If the farmer had more wheat acreage than his allotment he was obliged to plow it under, or pasture it, or in some way destroy the surplus acreage, before he could receive a wheat marketing card to sell any wheat, otherwise he was obliged to pay a heavy government fine.

The farmer who would sign all contracts on wheat acreage allotments, would receive a subsidy on his wheat at the time of marketing, and payments for decreasing his acreage, and was also qualified to obtain lime and fertilizer if it was used on the crops to keep the farm in production.

The state of Maine is considered one of the nation's top potato growing states. Due to advanced methods in spraying, better seed, and more modern equipment, Maine potato growers had increased their production to the point where the supply was greater than the demand. The price dropped to the point where many of the farmers could not profit, and they asked the government for aid.

The government officials worked out a method for the potato growers similar to that of the corn and wheat farmers. If they would cut back on acreage, they were guaranteed a certain market price for their potatoes, and also were paid for the acres taken out of production.

As a result, the majority of farmers planted the same amount of seed on less acres, used the same amount of fertilizer, and gave their potato crop better attention than formerly. Results were higher production than before, and they received subsidies from the government over market price for the potatoes, and were paid to leave a certain percent of the land out of production.

Potatoes are a perishable food, and can not be stored more than a year and still keep their food value. Therefore storing them was not recommended. The government men were then obliged to work out other methods for a satisfactory deal with the potato farmers.

After the farmers had the expense of digging and harvesting the potatoes, it was estimated what percent

of them could be marketed according to their quota. The balance were then hauled out in the field on large heaps by bulldozers. These heaps were as high and wide as good sized buildings, and of the best quality potatoes. Then they were saturated with kerosene so that they could not be used for human consumption, and left to rot on the heaps.

Another bill was introduced by Congress, for the benefit of the western farmers. In the midwestern states is where most of the farm products are produced. The hog raising farmers were supported by the "New Deal" as it was referred to. They were offered subsidies on their market weight hogs if they would kill off a certain percent of the younger hogs. This was done to stabilize the overproduction of hogs on the market, as the price was at such a low figure that it was impossible for the hog raising farmer to make a profit. With such a deal they accepted the plan. Government men were sent out to organize the plan, large trenches were dug by caterpillar tractors and thousands of hogs were killed and saturated with kerosene, dumped in these trenches and covered with dirt. Meanwhile the farmers were being paid a fair price for their hogs by the government. Because of the subsidies many a hog farmer wished to get more of the easy money, and went into the hog raising business in a bigger way.

The government method of paying subsidies on farm products, then paying the farmer to use more lime and fertilizer made the old rule of supply and demand off balance. Therefore the government stored millions of bushels of wheat, corn and soy beans, along with tons of cotton, and still kept on giving the farmer better prices for his products.

By 1956 the government offered whole farms on the soil bank policy. A farmer was asked to estimate his yearly income from the farm. Then an agreement was made to have the farm in soil bank. The farm land very often brought in more income from the government than when it was farmed. Many a farm with swamps or inferior land was put in the soil bank basis. It raised the price on poor run down farms, as some shrewd business men then bought inadequate farm land and immediately turned it into the soil bank. It would bring in a nice income, and he could still hold his job in business.

Having the farm land in soil bank and paying the farmer for idle farm land was cheaper for the government than having the farmer grow crops which then required more storage space or renting storage. Interest and rent to store these farm products cost our government millions of dollars a year, and often the grain was sold for less than the cost when put in storage.

Unionized labor came into effect under Roosevelt's first term as president in 1932-1936, as a privilege for the working class of people that had never been equalled in the history of our nation. It started among the coal

miners, or where second class labor was required, under the union leadership of John L. Lewis.

In the early years following World War I when labor conditions were well stabilized and industries were booming, thousands of Polish and Irish working men migrated to the United States to get a portion of the good wages that were being offered to the coal miners. When the crisis of the depression came and the miners were relieved from their jobs, they would do almost anything to get it back again. Therefore unionized labor appealed to them 100%. Anyone who would sign a contract to work under the laws of this new organization were guaranteed fair wages, more benefits, and more privileges than had ever been offered to second class labor. This soon included factory workers, office holders, trucking company men, railroad employees, and others.

They were paid for over time, paid vacation, sick leave, hospitalization, etc. As time went on and unions became more powerful, many more advantages were added to the contract. Naturally a support of this kind looked rather rosy to the laboring men.

Company business men and factory operators had no choice but to raise the price of their products. All steel manufacturing companies raised their prices to new high levels, followed by building materials. Agricultural products were the last to follow.

From the working man's pay check dues were deducted to support the organization. At the start the deductions were small, but as the companies grew and the working class increased, millions of dollars were collected from what started as the "Fair Labor Laws".

If unionized labor decided to strike against their employer for higher wages the union supported their members with small wages for not working, sometimes for a long period of time until a new contract was agreed upon by the company and the union. Since 1936, at no time did the contracts call for less wages, but always higher. As wages went up so did the price of finished products, as well as living conditions. This went on until the employees squealed about the unbalanced budget, so the union called for another strike for higher wages. This has been going around in circles for forty years, with no end in sight in the 1970's.

With all the laws concerning the New Deal that passed through Congress, unionized labor became the most powerful of all the organizations. It is claimed they have more money and a stronger foot hold in government than the United States government itself. They have control over the majority of all large industries. Unionized labor has side-tracked its original intentions and has created some of our nation's major problems.

Even though this project was considered a major item in bringing us out of the 1930 depression, many people now fear that it will eventually bring our nation into bankruptcy. It is also deeply rooted in politics, if

a candidate favors the unions, he will have a 90% chance of being elected to office. In that way the union men have control over Congress and representatives of the United States government.

From 1932 to 1972 many bills passed through Congress for the benefit of laboring men, farmers, ranchers, and factory workers, as well as the rural people. These bills include the fair labor laws, workman's compensation, old age pension, social security, welfare, medicare and more. They were all set up for a good reason, all being of some benefit to the citizens of the United States. These laws and privileges were amended and enforced by deeply concerned office holders. Most of these men were elected to their office to help our nation out of the greatest financial struggle in its history.

But due to human nature, every one of these bills that were set up by our government were abused by a certain percent of the people. Setting up temptations of that sort makes people feel that the world owes them a living, or that they should have something for nothing. In other words they would rather live off the taxpayers than work for a living. This monopoly is going on in the United States for a long period, still millions of people are being mothered along on government hand-outs. True enough, prosperity has brought our nation out of the 1930 depression as far as better living is concerned. It turned a new leaf in business matters. Most people who wish to work can find a job with fair wages. Farm land advanced in price, farmers who could hold on until 1935 felt rather fortunate to still own a home. Many people who survived financially during the years 1928-1938 felt that they would never again plunge into debt, but buy only on a cash basis and not on credit.

Before the depression years interest rates were kept at from 4% to 4½%. But during the depression it rose to 6%, because of the tight financial condition of the economy. But when the financial crisis changed to better times, and people could pay off their debts, and had money to invest again, the majority were very careful in making investments, and would rather leave their money in safe deposit boxes at the banks. Banks paid 1½ percent interest, while a person with good standing could issue a loan for 2½ and 3 percent. But everyone was very cautious about making loans, as they still didn't forget the crisis of 1930.

By 1940 another war was brooding in Europe. German troops were invading one country after another, with the intention that Germany would rule the continent of Europe in future years. A number of the large countries encouraged the U.S. to help them with food as well as troops. In 1941 Japan won a surprise victory at Pearl Harbor. Therefore the United States was again involved in war. Farm produce prices advanced sharply, while the price of farm land also

advanced some, although not as much as farm products.

From 1940 to 1950 all industry as well as labor conditions were well stabilized, but mostly under government control. From 1950 to 1955, people in all walks of life predicted that another depression was due for our country. Most people looked for declining prices. Farmers were cautious in buying farms, machinery, live stock, and any major investments. They felt that history would repeat itself, usually after every war a depression followed. People's conversation was of preparing for a real hard depression. Predictions were made that the 1930 depression was mild compared to the next one.

By 1960 the fear of declining prices had vanished for a certain class of people, while prices of all products were gradually advancing. Labor problems were one of the major items. The Korean War in the far east kept our government's buying power strong. Due to this no one predicted a depression any more. By 1970 no one could imagine how a depression could come to our nation, with record prices still advancing at higher rates than any records in history.

From 1960 to 1970 more industries developed, larger factories, building and modernized equipment of all descriptions. These large industries were required to invest millions of dollars, keeping an eye on the New York stock market for the economy of the nation. Stock holders were no longer afraid to buy stocks and bonds. As they saw it, there would never again be a depression. They felt the government could stabilize the economy of our nation.

The present generation is no longer afraid to make large investments. Farms, homes, and all kinds of equipment are bought on credit or installment plans. Loan companies take an active interest in issuing loans, especially in farm land. Machinery companies extend credit through loan companies. Life insurance companies also wish to have a share of high interest rates placed in farm land. Farms of all sizes are mortgaged to 90 percent of the principal with interest of 6 to 10%.

Living expenses in 1972 increased 25% or more in five years. Therefore all manufactured products, and also labor, have been on the upward trend every year. Farm land is bringing tremendous prices, even forest land, inferior swamps or rocky, mountain land. Farms that sold for \$100 an acre during the depression are in 1973 impossible to buy for \$2000 or \$2500 or even more an acre, and still prices are strong.

The talk among the people is, where are these advanced prices going to stop? How can the farmer afford these advanced prices? An agent for a loan company was asked about the extended credit to farm land or business establishments. Answer: As long as the prices of our economy are still advancing, we feel it to be good policy to pour more money into homes, farms, factories, or even farm machinery, household

goods, and the like.

A feed dealer was asked about credit to his customers. Answer: As long as the man has capital or owns real estate, we can give credit or endorse notes against his property, then keep on selling him feed. We see no harm for a farmer to be in debt as long as the interest can be met. The advanced prices of farm land usually covers the principal.

In 1970 a well known banker was asked what he would predict as far as prosperity is concerned. The answer was: The future never looked better; Prosperity is bound to continue. At the rate that the population increases many thousands of homes will be needed. Therefore agricultural products, steel, clothing, and raw materials of all kinds are needed. Manufacturing of cars, trucks, and farm machinery is still a leading source of prosperity.

A real estate agent was asked: "When are these advanced prices of farm land going to stop?" Answer: They are not going to stop, but keep on advancing. Land is the most promising investment. As more roads need to be built every year, more farm land is being used for other purposes. While people handle large sums of money prosperity is going to continue.

In 1975 an insurance agent from Wisconsin was asked what his company predicts for the future, as far as prices of land are concerned. His company has a good reputation in predictions. His answer: We study the future, the population increase world wide, how much food will be needed to feed them, the homes to be furnished, the needs of home life which concerns industries. These are people who study the economy of our nation along with the world conditions. He said, as our company sees it, the world is looking to the United States to feed the fast growing population. Therefore in the next twelve years great changes will be made to produce much more food than was produced in previous years. They predict that land prices will increase 100% in the next five years. His company is buying up all available land in Wisconsin, forest, swamps or cultivated land, for investments. He says land is the best investment, it is increasing in value 15 to 20% a year.

It appears that the people of a few generations ago were much more concerned about the modern world of machinery, as according to scripture that is a prophecy of the last times. The present generation feels that many of these later methods of farm operation is a must, to meet the ever higher costs of modern farming.

Every year the prices of all commodities are raised, to the extent that people don't think of declining prices any more, for they are always on the upward trend. A person's idea of a shrewd operator in 1972 was, better buy now, next year the price will be higher. All kinds of new farm machinery has advanced 10% in the

first 6 months of 1973, and still is going up. A business man doesn't know where he stands. It is almost impossible to keep in line with prices.

A German born business man said that in Germany before World War II, a firm of good standing and doing a big business, lost money on 25 to 40 percent mark up of their merchandise because of advancing prices. Every time they re-stocked, the price was higher than they had just received for their products.

People are putting a lot of faith in these times of so-called prosperity. It reminds us of the great ship *Titanic*; it was predicted nothing could sink it, nothing could happen to it. But the ship sank in a matter of a few hours after it collided with an iceberg. That large piece of ice floating in the Atlantic Ocean was considered worthless as compared to the *Titanic* and its wealthy people. We believe that God had a reason to sink it. These times of prosperity can also be changed in a very short time.

In these days we hear people say we are now living in times when our government has power enough to keep us out of a depression. They feel there will never again be one, that high class living is bound to stay, and if the economy comes off balance for any reason, be it disaster, wars or foreign trade, the government will pour more money into circulation for the benefit of the nation. The rapid rate of devaluation of the dollar is bringing on inflation. And it is being un-noticed by most people. In other words we are handling large volumes of money of little value. In 1976 the dollar value is about fifteen cents.

To this point we had no discussion on taxes. We understand there is no government or nation that can survive without issuing taxes to finance the budget. Because any national government is the people themselves. In other words we are a part of our government. We owe tax money to the officials that control and enforce laws for the protection of the people. We depend on taxation for representation. Paying taxes is a part of our constitutional duty, that is, the government officials are paid wages out of the tax money as their income, so they will make laws to ensure our liberty to live in a free country.

Many disputes and discussions came up the last forty years as to whether or not the laws for the New Deal, (as it was often referred to) are right according to the Constitution. An example, were the laws which were placed on the farmers to plow wheat under, kill off thousands of hogs in the mid-western states, sink ship loads of wheat to the bottom of the ocean, constitutionally right? The bills that were sent through Congress by the law makers used tax money to pay the farmers and ranchers to ensure better prices.

Farmers that received subsidies to leave their land out of production or to kill off hogs, received from the government their dues from their own tax money. In

other words, the farmer paid taxes to the government, so that the government had money to pay the farmer back again. But by the time the farmer received his subsidy the larger portion was used up by the office of the holders or other channels who have charge of enforcing the laws, while his share was small indeed.

Our local taxes have made almost unbelievable changes from 1928 to 1973. During the depression the farm assessments were low, because of the re-sale value of farms and homesteads. Therefore taxes were also low. School taxes stayed at 4 mills during the 30s, and were not over 8 mills until the 40s. From 1950 to 1960 better and more roads were built. But the greatest factor in taxes can be pinned down on schools and higher education. By 1973 school taxes alone are as high as 70 mills; by 1976, 114 mills.

During the last forty years, in order to make it look worth while and interesting to the individual person, the government paid out more money from the United States treasury than it received in tax money from its people. For that reason the United States has gone into a national debt of billions of dollars so that the U.S. citizen can enjoy prosperity.

A national report: In the year 1972 alone, Social security had collected in taxes over \$190,000,000,000. (one hundred ninety billion) These figures are more than there are seconds since the beginning of time. In other words there are more dollars in 190,000,000,000 than there are seconds in 6000 years.

While President Hoover was in office during the depression years, he was accused by many people of leading the country into the financial depression. He was criticized for letting this world-wide depression enter this nation and not doing anything to keep the economy in a more even balance.

At the same time our nation had no more debt when Hoover left office than it had when he entered. The nation's debt was then upon each individual. President Hoover was credited with saving 20 million lives from starvation in Europe, and left our country with an even balanced budget. Our country has since that time suffered another major war, and now our national debt in 1969 is held at \$347,578,460,426. and the public is enjoying what is classed as prosperity. This writing was taken from *Readers Digest*.

Since Roosevelt's administration the national debt was on the shoulders of the government. In 1970, if our national debt was placed upon the public, it is presumed that every man, woman, and child in the United States would have a debt of over \$9,000 with a 10% interest rate. High taxes are now the greatest problem that our nation has to face. To a certain extent these taxes were forced on the people by government operations.

Roosevelt was elected the first time in 1932, he was re-elected three times. He was the only president ever

to be elected more than two terms. If he would have served only two terms he would be honored as among the three greatest presidents of the United States. He died in office during his fourth term.

The period after the depression the cycle of increasing prices was more or less governed by our nation's enterprise, and not a product of supply and demand. The government bought cheap grain in the late thirties to boost the prices, and built large storage space to store it. This was supposed to be only temporary, or until the nation's agricultural products and prices were more equalized. But as time went on and many other angles entered into the system of controlling prices, it was almost impossible to drop the support price program so that it would not make a deep reflection on the national economy.

These storage reserve bins were not empty until in 1972 when our government sold out of the grain business to foreign trade. In that same year there were two major flood disasters when thousands of acres of corn and soy beans were never harvested. The price of grain was very much on its own, or in the hands of the grain brokers. At the same time foreign trade increased to the extent that millions of bushels of grain was shipped across the ocean for trading on other items. Government contracts with Russia and Japan for grain were filled, with the prediction there would be a record crop of corn and soybeans in 1972. For that reason the prices advanced almost 100% in a six month period. It appeared the grain brokers bought up all available grain because of a predicted shortage. This made the highest priced feed that ever was fed to the farmers' livestock. Supplement that carried thirty or forty percent protein was for many farmers too expensive to buy. But the milk prices increased along with the prices of cattle and hogs, the same with broilers and eggs. Again the farmer handled more money at inflation value.

In 1972 the mid-west suffered severely from flood disaster and snow storms, causing crop failure along with a heavy loss of cattle on the ranches. It was reported that millions of cattle were stranded, standing in mud and water up to their bodies. Then the weather turned cold, freezing the ground, followed by snow storms. Millions of cattle perished, frozen to the ground in upright position. The government reported that somewhere along the line this would create a shortage of beef. Cattle supplement feed was below normal, along with losing cattle from weather conditions.

After these reports the house wife began to buy beef for reserve. This created a sharp increase in prices of red meats, to the extent that choice cattle prices advanced considerably. The government officials became alarmed about the increased prices. The housewife, being the customer, asked the government for aid. In June 1973, the government put a freeze on all beef,

to be priced at what was considered a fair price, on ready cut beef as the housewife would buy it, but not cattle on the hoof or dressed halves. Then the demand for meats became real strong. The housewife felt that she was getting a bargain, and began to store beef. The companies that made home freezers were soon sold out, and couldn't make them fast enough for the demand. By some butchers the policy was first there, first served. Then black market started and the butcher sold beef as he never did before. Those who stayed by government rulings were forced to close their doors and go out of business. But those who played the black market made a fortune. Prices of cattle shot up to the highest in all history. Everybody seemed to be beef conscious. A certain percent of the cattle feeders held on for still higher prices. By September the government lifted the freeze on all beef prices and were now again on their own.

The results were cattle prices dropped considerably, with a slow demand. Feeder men who held on for the freeze to be lifted before they sold their cattle, sacrificed at a great loss. Many a housewife had a new experience, a home freezer filled with very high priced beef. The price stayed below the government freeze price for about four months then started on an upward trend again, leveling out to the supply and demand base.

Prices of farm products Feb. 1, 1974

Choice to Prime slaughter steers 1200#	53.00
Choice to Prime Bulls	50.00 to 53.00 per 100
Choice 200-250# Vealers	80.00-84.00 per 100
Good week old calves	50.00-60.00 per 100
Hogs 200-225#	43.00-45.00 per 100
Wheat	4.00-5.00 per bu.
20% Dairy Feed	170.00 per ton
Broiler Ration	308.00 per ton
Sow Supplement	244.00 per ton
Shelled Corn	137.00 per ton
Cob Chop	80.00 per ton
Oats	147.00 per ton
Sun flower Seed	440.00 per ton
Hay — good Alfalfa	90.00 per ton
Hay — good Timothy	60.00 per ton
Soy Bean Meal	260.00 per ton
Straw — clean wheat	55.00 per ton
Straw — clean barley	45.00 per ton
Alfalfa Seed	110.00 per bu.
Timothy Seed	50.00 per bu.
Red Clover	95.00 per bu.
Baler Twine	27.00 per bale
Binder Twine	40.00 per bale
Wages on farms varied under conditions	
Carpenters and Industrial workers from \$4.00 to 6.00 per hr.	
Factory workers \$250.00 per week with time and half-time included, in some occasions much higher.	

Altes un Neues

Old and New

After many years of talk, new signs of cooperative efforts by numerous segments of the German-American community, loosely defined, become apparent. Happily for all of us, the Pennsylvania German Society of Breinigsville promises to provide leadership for some of this activity. They seek additional interest groups as potential members in a drive led by new President Parre Richard Druckenbrod. Many people in the Lehigh Valley and environs know the Parre through his weekly dialect column *Es Deitsch Schtick* in the Allentown Morning Call.

Though plans are still forming, the P.G.S. and the Society for German-American Studies are pooling resources to offer a program early in November 1979, conveniently at Millersville. Steven Benjamin and C. Richard Beam have collected preliminary commitments for an organized overview of types and styles of Pennsylvania German and German-American Studies now in operation in the American academic world.

For reasons not clearly stated, the Pennsylvania German Society has apparently withdrawn its co-sponsorship of the Current Status of German-American Studies. To assure that a program of such importance does indeed continue the Pennsylvania German Studies Program of Ursinus College (formerly Penna. Dutch Studies) has volunteered to shoulder the portion of planning and sponsorship originally planned for P.G.S. In the state of planning as this issue goes to press, the meetings will take place 9 & 10 November 1979 at Millersville State College.

Take note of this *Conference on German-Americana in the Eastern United States*, now jointly sponsored by the Pa German Studies Program and the Society for German-American Studies. One-page abstracts of proposed papers should be sent by 1 October and requests for information at any time to:

Steven M. Benjamin,
Dept. of Foreign Languages
West Virginia University,
Morgantown, WV 26506



Some of the best tidings we have heard in recent years came to our attention in the rain at Schaefferstown recently: C. Richard Beam has renewed his efforts to produce a full workable English-Deutsch Dictionary, particularly mustering specialized and alternate usages not found in the one-way Deutsch-English Lambert Dictionary contributed by Penna German Society in 1922. Unavailability of an English to dialect version had led to many proposals and suggestions over the years, but with all the conversation we still await a useful item in print. *Es Bischli Gnibbli* has already prepared several trial portions of the new opus, now more urgently sought under the Bilingual Education provisions of state and federal programs.

Any of our readers who enjoy word play and who particularly remember or study the word variations of dialect in their locality or region are encouraged to send word lists and definitions or explanations to Professor Beam of the Department of German at Millersville State College, Pennsylvania.

We firmly believe that all efforts in such constructive directions are worthy of your attention and support. We will indeed make note of this and similar projects as we become aware of them. Though evidences of division and confusion of purpose continue to plague the German-American community (perhaps inevitable given the great diversity and fierce partisanship of our constituency) the only way ethnic linguists and folk-cultural remains are going to survive in a homogenizing world is through cooperation. Consider, if you please, the merits of giving it a try.



It now seems likely that the initial portion of the Symposium marking the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Carl Schurz, sponsored jointly by the Brooklyn College (CUNY) Program in Social Change and the Anglo-Amerikanische Abteilung des Historischen Seminars, University of Cologne, will indeed present a wide variety of relatively short papers on a broad range of German-American topics at Brooklyn on 3 to 5 October 1979. The second portion is now scheduled to meet in Köln early in June 1980 for a second series of scholarly offerings.





The Country Youth Group at Lichtenberg Castle near Kusel in the Pfalz

Roland Paul of Heimatstelle Pfalz in the college classroom



Doris Schmitt speaks Pälzisch at the Folk Festival

Wolfgang Krück and Margret Gohlke, Folk Dance partners at Ursinus



The Youth Group even sang for the American audience at the Kutztown Festival

Even during this attempt to describe the glad warmth and happy personal feelings present in all of us in Pennsylvania who were touched in ever so many ways by an engagingly authentic folk cultural troupe, one of the best to pass our way in many years, we note that the Landjugendtrachtentanzgruppe NANZDIET-SCHWEILER plays its last American stand of this trip at Mascoutah, Illinois, at the moment we write. Since we have not actually spoken to the friends and acquaintances this Western Palatinate Country Youth Group met and charmed from Buffalo, New York, to St. Louis, Missouri, we speak only for the Eastern friends, numbering literally in the thousands, from Collegeville to Ephrata, from Philadelphia to Washington, and from Plainfield, New Jersey, to Reston and Williamsburg in Virginia. We met you and we loved you.

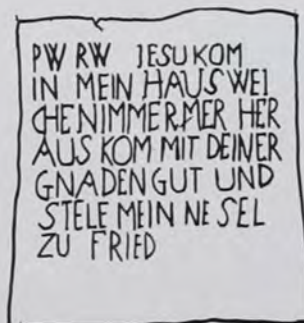
Words of thanks are due to Roland Paul and the personnel at the Heimatstelle Pfalz in Kaiserslautern, who made initial contacts. Indeed Herr Paul served as a kind of running contact man throughout the visit. Travel arrangements made by Wolfgang Krück gave to all a splendid tour, though Krück's talents were even more evident when he took over as dance leader and song director.

The Presidents of the Country Youth Group, Winfried Sauter and Gudrun Zimmer, were largely responsible for local organization of the musical wanderers, most of whom work and reside on farms, all in Land Kusel or Land Kaiserslautern. Zimmer and Sauter made introductions and provided continuity for the varied activities of the Landjugendgruppe. Special thanks are also due to the long-term efforts of Karl and Lore Jung, organizers of the Costumed Dance activity, who continue as full-time participants in the extensive dance routines.

Carrying a banner to identify their unit, they marched in the 4th of July Country Parade at Kutztown

Folk Festival barely twelve hours after arrival in the Keystone State. Although they ordinarily limit their activities to folk dancing, they sang Pälzisch folk songs of greetings and some used on festive occasions.

Since many of the Trachtengruppe live in the Glan Valley of the Westrich and the hilly farm territory surrounding (which would have been so familiar to Ludwig Schandein's Heenerich, *Vide PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE*, vol. 28, #4 —SUMMER 1979) they felt quite at home in Southeastern Pennsylvania, *sowie unsre Vorfahren aus der Pfalz*. The particular interest of the visitors in farm methods and the desire to speak to American farmers, and to compare American and Pälzisch methods old and new, led them to visit an Amish farm in Lancaster County and saw them tour the historic Peter Wentz Farmstead in Montgomery



House Blessing at Peter Wentz farmstead

County. (Records at the Heimatstelle Pfalz in Kaiserslautern show that the Wentz family originated in the Palatinate town of Partenheim near Alzey.) Dialect conversations in generally easy exchange of *Pälzisch un' Pennsylvanisch Deitsch* later arose over the well-laden picnic table furnished by Keystone Grange # 2 of Trappe. Questions and answers by both Palatinate and Pennsylvania farmers were necessarily translated into English and *Pälzisch* for those in each group who had not yet mastered both. The thanks of all were expressed for

the friendly arrangements by Charles Wismer, whose dairy farm lies within the Borough limits of Trappe and who serves as Mayor of Colledgeville's older neighbor.

In two formal folk dance appearances on the Main Stage at Kutztown Folk Festival, one initiating a summer college class, the entire troupe did itself proud indeed. Historical introductions to Palatinate history and geography and information about dancers' costumes by Roland Paul was welcomed by the serious students of dance, costume and folk culture in attendance. Doris Schmitt and Anette Kayser also presented occasional poems or sayings in the dialect.

But as in all their international appearances, it was the historically researched regional folk dances which particularly brought rounds of applause from appreciative audiences, including many of the craftsmen and local workers on Festival grounds. The pavillion at the Main Stage was filled to capacity along with many standees both days. The days the Trachtentanzgruppe NANZDIETSCHWEILER performed, though only modestly publicized in PENNSYLVANIA FOLK-LIFE and some local newspapers, and not mentioned at all in Festival Program nor on the grounds, were the two best attended days of the entire Festival despite a long-standing tradition that the final days are usually poorly attended.

To the delight of sponsoring personnel at Ursinus College, the smash hit of the appearances in the

region was their Part II of German-Pälzisch Background to Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Music, performed 9 July. For two and a half hours on a Monday morning, they drew a lively crowd of 212 devotees. Several had come hundreds of gas-short miles to tape record the folk music performance and to meet the Landjugend in person. Their Shoemaker Dance and the *Siebenschritte* brought down the house, only to be outdone by an enthusiastic performance of the Pälzer Wald folksong, *Die Wutzgeschlacht!* Sightseeing tours of Philadelphia, Valley Forge and Washington, D.C., gave further opportunity for guests and host interpreters to learn most pragmatically about the concerns and the dialects of their friends. Professors Krug and Parsons and Dean Snyder serenaded the sightseers with *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch* folksongs on the trip to the national capital.

Thus it was more like a family departure when the bus which had carried the by-now familiar banner of Landjugendtrachtengruppe NANZDIETSCHWEILER through fair weather and foul, pulled out for Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Huntingdon and Fort Wayne, Indiana, Belleville and Mascoutah, Illinois, and even across the Mississippi to St. Louis, Gateway to the West.

All forty persons of the tour group have left their special impact on a small college in a smalltown which likes to consider itself fairly cosmopolitan. It is always pleasant to meet genuine country folk! Lewe wohl, Ehr' Liewe Leit! Adje un Auf Wiedersehn!!!



A tired Dance Group after the final curtain at Wismer Hall on the Ursinus campus



The famous banner is firmly secured



PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY ARCHIVES COLLECTION

301 Myrin Library
Ursinus College
Collegeville, Pa.
19426

Hours: Monday 2:00-4:00 p.m.
during school term or by
appointment Tues. - Fri.
9:15 am - 4:00 pm.

Welcome to the Archives Collection of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society. We are housed in Room 301 Myrin Library at Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. The Collection, a result of some thirty years of accumulation, donation and purchase, includes old and local books and imprints. It also contains many documents, records and manuscripts, some photographs and color slides, audio-tape cassettes and other materials pertinent to the Pennsylvania German (popularly called the Pennsylvania Dutch) settlements of Pennsylvania and neighboring areas. These materials are supplemented by printed sources about the Pennsylvania Germans and similar materials on other groups for comparative study done by various societies and organizations in the United States and Europe.

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives Collection functions as a research center for all facets of history and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans, but especially for the folklife, folk culture and all that these encompass. In the Myrin Library the scholar may consult the Alfred L. Shoemaker File, a unique index to folk-cultural information explicitly about museums or cultural-historical collections. It consists of 80,000 cross-reference cards listing information from books, journals and newspapers. In addition, abstracted information from thousands of folk-cultural informants' interviews, letters and other comments is to be found in the files. The letters and interview notes may be used, also, for research purposes.

Photographs, color slides and audio-tape cassettes of activities in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country are another useful part of the collection to be found in Room 301. A personality card file has been begun which documents names, families, points of origin and locations of American settlements having thousands of Pennsylvania German migrants.

The Archives of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society in Room 301 Myrin Library are open regularly on Monday afternoons of the school term between 2:00

and 4:00 p.m. or at other times by special arrangement in advance. Inquiries should be directed to:

Professor William T. Parsons, Archivist
Pennsylvania Folklife Society
Box 92,
Collegeville, Pa. 19426

COLLECTIONS

Charles R. Roberts Manuscript Collection

Account books, ledgers, order books and other bound manuscript items (1762-1818), especially those of Peter Rhoads and Frederick Schenkel; letters and documents 1756-1875, including some correspondence of the Reverend Abraham Blumer (1736-1822).

Walter Boyer Collection

Books, pamphlets and prints in German and English; Rhineland and Pennsylvania imprints, on the history, dialect, folk culture and heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans, including some items purchased by Boyer from the earlier Henry S. Bornemann Collection.

William T. Parsons - Evan S. Snyder Cassette Collection

Audio-tape cassettes of Fersommlinge, Karrichedscht and other program use of *Pennsylfawnisch Deutsch* (the Pennsylvania German Dialect); interviews and commentary in Deutsch and English; Folk Culture and Oral History from Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Classes at Ursinus; Rhineland and Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs.

William T. Parsons Color Slide Collection

Approximately 750 slides of items, artifacts, locations and personalities in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, reflecting the heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans; slides of German and Swiss locations from which these travelers emigrated.

31st Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

KUTZTOWN

BETWEEN ALLENTOWN & READING, PA.

**FOLK
FESTIVAL**

June 28-29-30,
July 1-2-3-4-5, 1980

The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society's purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.



FOR THE FOLK FESTIVAL BROCHURE WRITE TO:
Pennsylvania Folklife Society
College Blvd. & Vine, Kutztown, Pa. 19530

