



Summer 1966

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Constantine Kermes

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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

Folk Festival Issue

75¢

SUMMER • 1966



AMISH PENNSYLVANIANS

Sauerkraut-making the Old Way—From H. L. Fischer, "S Alt Marik-Haus" (York, 1879).



A. W. AUNER, SONG PUBLISHER & PRINTER,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

SOUR KROUT.

AS SUNG BY JAMES HOWARD.

Now I want to go and tell you how to make good Sour Kroust,
So if you listen mit your ears, I'll tell you all about it;
It is not made out of leather as some people supposes,
But is made from dem flowers what we call Cabbage Roses.

Sour Kroust is bully, I tell you it is fine,
So help me lieber gracious, I can eat him all de time.

Now where dis Cabbage is growing, so nice as nice can be,
We pull dem up and chop dem not pigger as a pea;
Den we put dem in a tub and stomp dem mit our feet,
Und stomp, und stomp, und stomp to make dem nice und sweet.

Sour Kroust is bully, I tell you it is fine,
So help me lieber gracious, I can eat him all de time.

So den we put in plenty salt but don't use no snuff,
We don't use no skyum pepper nor any of dat stuff;
We put dem down the cellar till he begins to smell,
So help me lieber gracious, us Dutchmans like him well.

Sour Kroust is bully, I tell you it is fine,
So help me lieber gracious, I can eat him all de time.

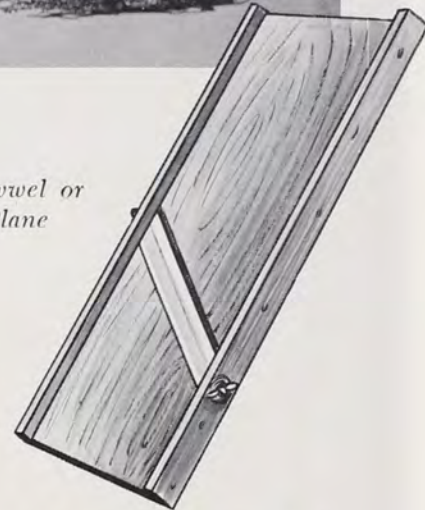
So when he smells like dunder, und can't smell no shmeller,
We go down by dat tub what we leave down dat cellar;
We put some in a kettle mit speck und let dem bille,
So help me you can smell em for fifty thousand miles.

Sour Kroust is bully, I tell you it is fine,
So help me lieber gracious, I can eat him all de time.

A. W. AUNER'S
CARD & JOB PRINTING ROOMS

Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

Grout-Howwel or
Cabbage-Plane



Sauerkraut is a Pennsylvania Dutch delicacy and has been a staple of the folk cuisine since the 17th and 18th Century immigration. It was such a favorite, in fact, that visitors to Pennsylvania sometimes referred to the Dutch as the "Sauerkraut Dutch." The dish was eaten always on New Year's—to bring good luck throughout the year?—in some parts of Pennsylvania and Western Maryland it was eaten with turkey for Christmas dinner, and everywhere Pennsylvania farmers ate it frequently throughout the fall and winter months. Pennsylvania's predilection for sauerkraut has been recorded in folktale, jest, and song. We publish here the famous 19th Century "Sour Kroust Song"—a Dutch-English music-hall production issued in broadside form by A. W. Auner, prolific song publisher of 19th Century Philadelphia. For a version of this song which was recorded from folk tradition, with the music, see the article, "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," Pennsylvania folklife, Vol. XII No. 2 (Summer 1961), pp. 56-69.—Editor.

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**

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Amish Album

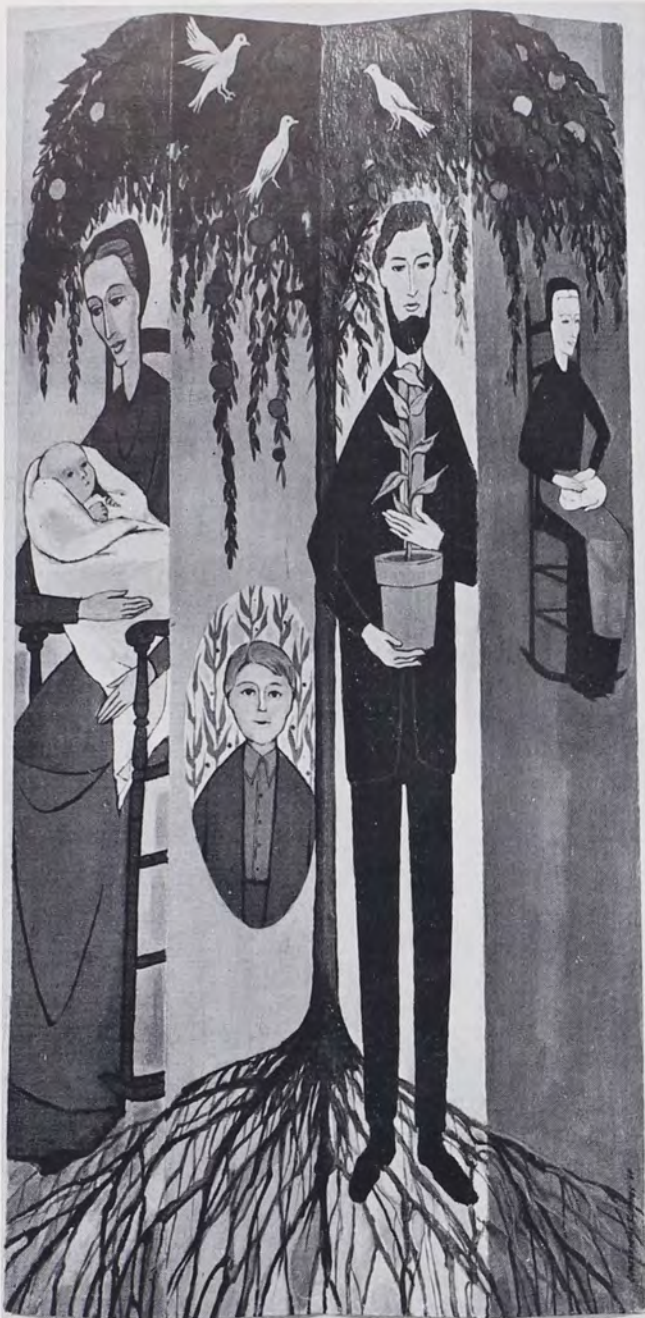
by
Constantine
Kermes

Life in its essentials remains the same no matter what the conditions of society or the extent of technical advances. This statement by Lancaster County artist Constantine Kermes is echoed in his paintings of the "Plain People" of Pennsylvania.

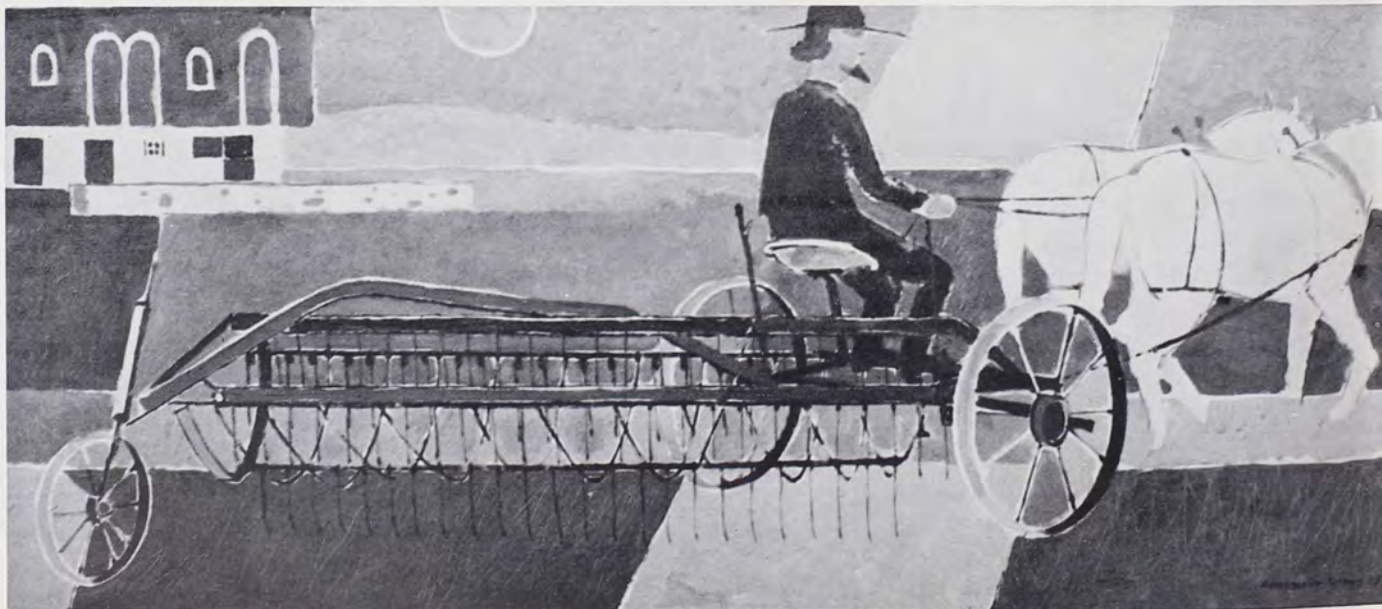
Mr. Kermes has chosen to express in paint the basic way of life of these rural groups which exist in the midst of America's industrialized, materialistic society. These are depicted by Kermes in an approach which echoes the art of his Greek ancestry as well as his interest in American Folk Art.

Many of the folk art designs used in Pennsylvania are a transplanted form of the peasant arts of Germany. For the most part, the symbolic imagery used in these popular arts were Byzantine and generally Near Eastern in origin, having been brought into the Rhine Valley by travelers such as the Crusaders during the Middle Ages.

The Greek forebears of Constantine Kermes were painters of the early Christian stylized, holy images called "icons." The early makers of devotional images looked upon realistic art as pagan and in their work chose to stress the symbolic and impersonal rather than the representational.



Rooted Innocence

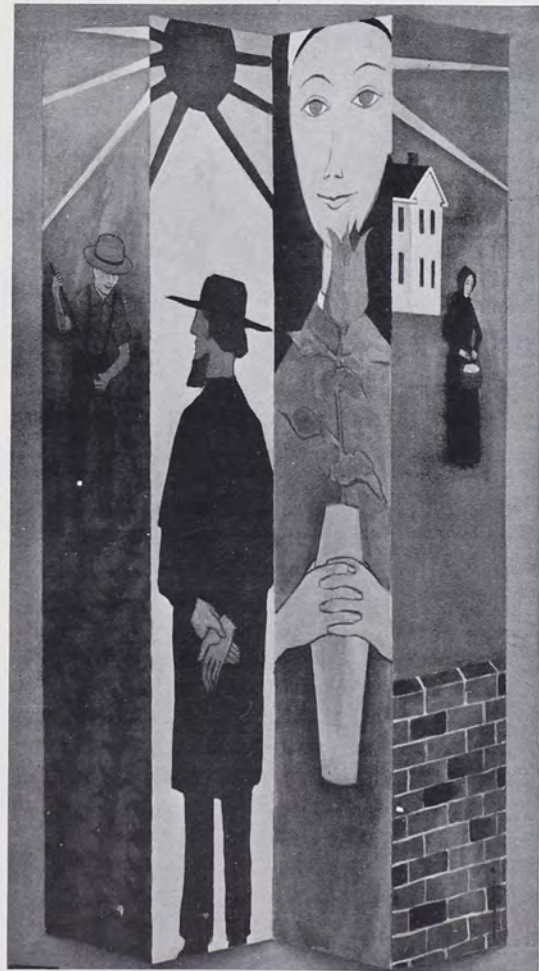


Mechanical Roots



Pennsylvania Roots

Public Auction: Private Echoes



In Search of Innocence



Transplanted Byzantine

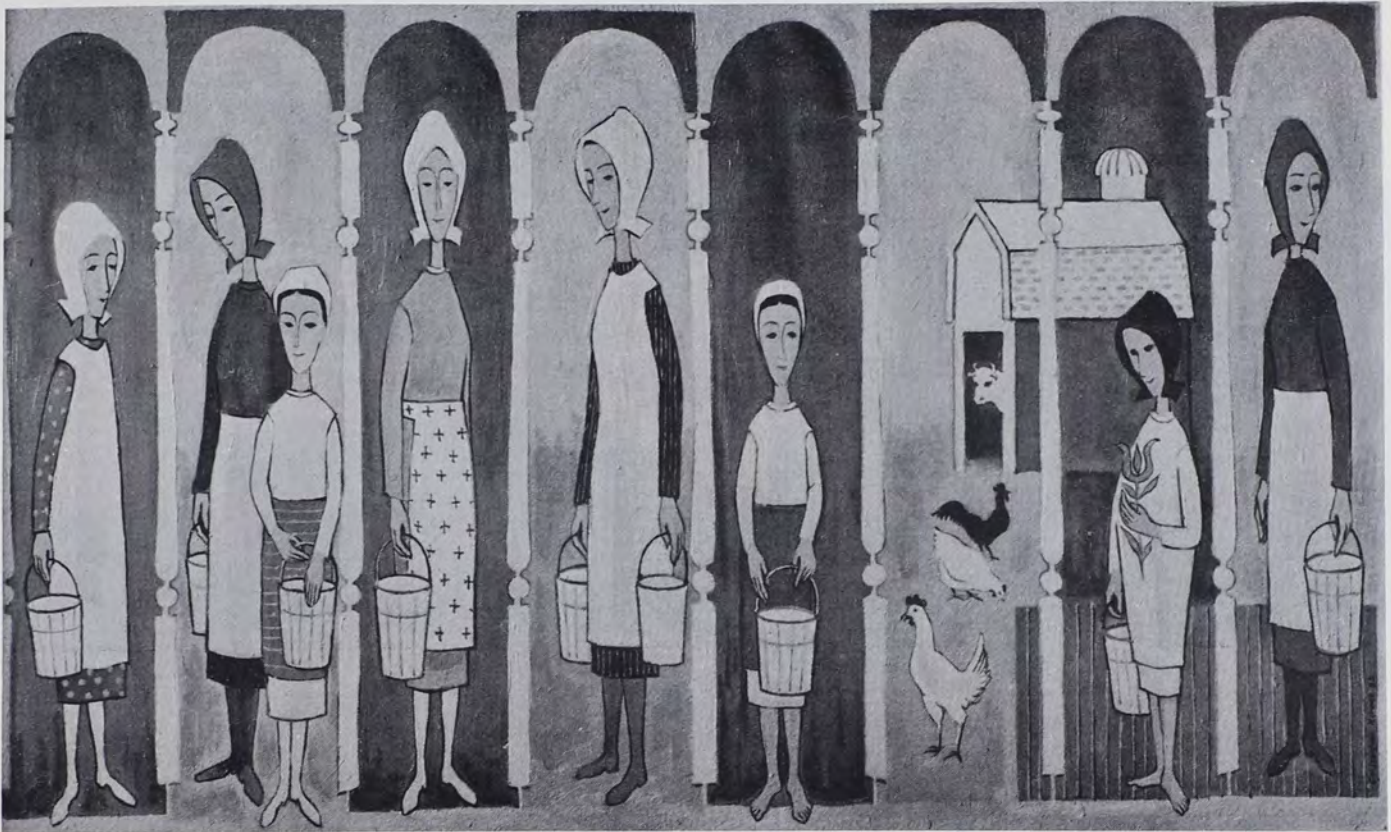


Outside World



Pennsylvania Dutch Thanksgiving Supper

Collection of Hildegarde-Anna Sosent



Milkmaids

Amish Album

by *Kermes*

In a similar way, it is this form and spirit which Kermes employs to depict his Pennsylvania neighbors. Because he feels this symbolic approach underscores the tenacity with which the Plain People cling to basic principles in a frantic modern world, he has chosen to paint them in an approach which echoes Byzantine icons—employing flat color areas and strong linear patterns.

In addition to depicting the rural groups of Pennsylvania, the search for material has taken Mr. Kermes to other parts of the United States. He has gone into the last remaining communities of the New England Shakers, to record that celibate semi-monastic group whose credo was "Put your hands to work and your hearts to God." In Iowa he painted the Amanas who take their name from a mountain top mentioned in the Song of Solomon. Other isolated groups which Mr. Kermes has painted include the New Mexican "santeros" and the Southern Mountain craftsmen.

Constantine Kermes' work has been exhibited in five New York one-man-shows at the Jacques Seligmann Gallery and in over forty solo exhibits throughout the United States. Exhibits of Kermes work have been a part of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival annually since 1961. His work is represented in numerous public and private collections and he is listed in *Who's Who in American Art*.

Maternal Roots



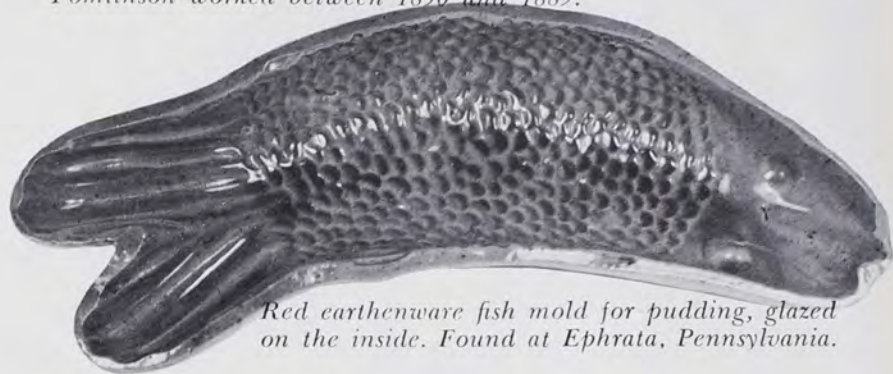
Collection
of Indiana University
of Pennsylvania



Pomegranate decoration in blue on gray stoneware batter pot by Cowden and Wilcox, Harrisburg.



"Piecrust" edge on red clay flower pots and saucer. The smaller pot is marked LKT, for Lewis K. Tomlinson, Dryville, Pennsylvania. Tomlinson worked between 1850 and 1889.



Red earthenware fish mold for pudding, glazed on the inside. Found at Ephrata, Pennsylvania.

Look Back, Once!

By EARL F. and ADA F. ROBACKER

A visitor to the Folk Festival familiar with the Pennsylvania Dutch idiom might observe "They had it good, back then, the old ones did!" This feeling might arise from the supposed greenness of the grass on the other side of the fence, or it might be a surge of romantic nostalgia for bygone days, minus, of course, any overtones of harsh reality; whatever the truth of the matter, there are some very attractive phases of life in times long past . . . whether or not we should actually go back to them if we were given the chance.

To social historians and antiques collectors, looking back is second nature—perhaps even *first* nature. Folk-festival days are a good time for all of us to look back. Visitors to the Festival look back *generally*; now let us take a longer look at a number of specific objects, and make an assessment as to whether or not our forefathers really "had it good."

BATTER POTS AND PANCAKES

For a starter: When did you last have pancakes for breakfast? When you did have them, was the batter poured onto a smoking griddle from a cobalt-decorated gray stoneware snub-nosed pot like the one shown in these pages? The chances are that it was not—unless you inherited the pot from your great-grandmother . . . or unless you were fortunate enough to find one at a Dutch Country antique shop. Whether or not there is romance in pancakes—made from a packaged mix if you are a modern or from buttermilk and buckwheat flour leavened with yeast "sots" if you are a traditionalist—the batter pot can give you food for thought.

The collector likes to get his stoneware pieces in Dutch Pennsylvania, because they tend to be more colorful and distinctive than those made elsewhere. He likes to see the potter's name on the pot, even though he may have to pay double for the privilege, and if that name is Weston or Moyer or Pfalsgraff or Cowden and Wilcox he knows he has something still more desirable. Batter pots are usually marked in gallons as to capacity; families were large in the old days.

Stoneware, unlike the softer red clay which is also characteristic of rural Pennsylvania, was salt glazed; that is, after the object had been placed in the kiln and the temperature gradually brought up to 2200 degrees, handfuls of common table salt were thrown into the inferno, where the salt instantly vaporized and created a vitreous, slightly pebbled or "orange peel" surface on the pottery. The old-time potters early learned that cobalt was the only color which would not bake in the fierce heat of the kiln. Thus it is that chickens, birds, roses, pomegranates, tulips, and the ornate foliage of stoneware are always blue, without regard to what they may have been in real life. Pancakes made from a mix and poured from a plastic pitcher onto a Teflon griddle and turned with a wooden turner? Well, they are probably fine—for those who do not know the kind that came from the stoneware pot and, if it makes a difference, the blender, griddle, pitcher, paddle, and mix—the whole kit and caboodle of them—can be bought for less than the price of a good old batter pot. It's just a question of what one is more interested in—pancakes, stoneware or history.

All illustrations are articles in the Robacker collection.
Photography by Karas of Hartsdale, New York.



Pierced container for flowers, in the manner of redware, but actually of stone, glazed on the inside to make it water-tight. Found at Snyder'sville, Pennsylvania.

REDWARE AND APPLEBUTTER

As for the red clay ware mentioned above, the same consideration applies: One is interested in the vessels, or he is interested in what they once held. While glazed redware served many purposes throughout the full span of the 19th Century—and in some degree before and after—many think of it first in the shape in which they saw it oftenest in times gone by—the squatty applebutter pot with a rolled rim, glazed on the inside but red-brown without, holding a pint, or a quart, or even gallons of the fragrant, tangy spread which has contributed so markedly to the fame of the Dutch Country cuisine. Apple butter (“*latwerg*” to the linguist, “*lotwaerrick*” to the generality of initiates) can be seen bubbling thickly in great copper kettles at the Festival, and can be bought in shining, sterilized glass jars, all neatly labeled, on the grounds. Very good it is, too, but it can never quite recapture the old romantic essence it had in the redware jar with a neatly scalloped paper cover top held in place with a string. Yes, they had it good—the old ones!

Collectors of pottery have come to realize that the lowly clay vessels of our forefathers are in a great many cases of surpassingly skillful workmanship. They have been compelled to realize, too, that with more and more persons in our pre-fabricated, die-cut age searching for distinctive accessories, the prices have not merely sky-rocketed—they have gone moon-rocketing. Pieces of “ordinary” household redware which were tagged at a dollar or two or five less than a decade ago may now be marked at upwards of a hundred—and they are snapped up fast. Why? Because in pottery they are unique in line, proportion, texture, color, and, not least of all, in their evocation of a romantic charm of days gone by. These qualities have more than a sentimental value; they command hard cash—plenty of it.

Not every applebutter pot is worth a staggering sum, of course—but keep your eyes open for redware—jars,



Pierced tin cheese strainer, shown standing on edge, with the smooth side facing the reader. The attached feet do not show in the photograph.

bowls, mugs, pitchers, concave pie plates, and so on. If it appeals to you, buy it now. You won't get it for less, tomorrow, because if you falter it will be in somebody else's possession by tomorrow, and with every piece which vanishes from the open market what is left becomes rarer and the price advances accordingly.

PIERCED TIN CHEESE MOLDS

And on the subject of food: While you are in the Dutch Country, look for the pierced-tin strainers which once turned cottage cheese into a work of art. It would seem that few people today actually make cottage cheese; the days when surplus milk was soured, scalded, and put to drain outdoors in round or diamond or heart-shaped molds presumably vanished into limbo long ago—and yet—and yet—*somebody* is keeping up the tradition, because the molds can be bought right now in cities and towns in the very heart of the Dutchland. A merchant does not keep in inventory something which nobody wants; there is a demand for cheese molds or they would not be there.

Those in the antique shops have a differentness, of course. They were hand made, of pieces of tin cut with shears; the slitted designs were punched through with chisel or nail or both; the pieces were soldered together by hand, and the loop for hanging the object up and the feet for it to rest upon were affixed at that time. The one in the store will give you the idea, even if in price it relates to its prototype in the antique shop in about the same way a paperback reprint relates to a first edition.

Tin-piercing and tin-punching were well-liked types of decoration in the old Dutchland. Pie cupboards and cheese molds had to be pierced—in the first case to provide for circulation of air and in the second, as has been observed, for drainage. Coffee pots, bureau boxes, candle sconces, and still other pieces were punched so that the design came into being, but not so deeply that the usefulness of

the article would be jeopardized. However, tin-piercing as a means of decorating was not peculiar to the Dutch Country; it was practiced over a wide area throughout the late 18th and the entire 19th Centuries. The "Paul Revere" lanterns, pierced so that the beams from the candle within might escape in patterned form, were as "down East" as the name they bore. The name is a misleading one—as romantic as all get-out . . . but let the owner of one of these objects try to secure any degree of illumination by lighting the candle within and he will see at once why the term "one if by land, two if by sea" applied to an entirely different kind of article.

FLOWER POTS WITH PIECRUST TOPS

Yet *some* candle lanterns as well as some footwarmers were Pennsylvania Dutch, if their designs are any indication. One recognizes the fact that in the course of time the Yankee peddler managed to disperse his wares far and wide, even in the aloof and self-contained Pennsylvania Dutch Country, but there is no evidence to indicate that he ever decorated a footwarmer in the beloved Dutch Country whirling swastika design, or that he was responsible for the six-pointed star so popular not only on candle lanterns but on pie cupboards, spatterware, fraktur—and, in later years, on Dutch Country barns.

A similarity between the way the old-time potter handled his clay and the way the housewife handled her pastry might be noted. Our purchases today reach us after conscious attempts have been made by experts to render them attractive—our soap is perfumed, our bottles have been carefully designed, our packages are shaped and colored to make them irresistible. We tend to buy almost as much because a thing is attractive as because it is useful. The urge toward beauty was no less pronounced in our ancestors—but with them an object was not something processed by a packaging specialist; the creator assumed total responsibility for his own product. A commodity made "for pretty" might catch on or it might not, but it first had to satisfy its creator, who could do away with it if it did not meet his personally conceived standards.

But back to pottery and pastry: It would seem that clay flower pots of the kind in which we get our Easter tulips and summer begonias are the essence of utilitarian simplicity—but the Pennsylvania Dutch potter did some-

thing with them which set them apart from all others. He attached the pot to its saucer, and then made a fluted piecrust top for the pot as cleverly as his wife could create one for her pastry. Not always; one might as well be honest about it. It was a tricky operation, and in contradistinction to the general policy of not marking or signing redware the potter was usually so proud of a successfully fluted rim that he put his name and initials somewhere on the piece, for identification. And since honesty is the order of the day, it is only fair to observe that this pride of the potter will cost today's purchaser a sum which is astronomical by comparison with the purchase price of a merely run-of-the-mill pot. In that respect, too, the old ones had it good!

BUTTER BOWLS

Something today's householder may find useful as well as exceptionally attractive is the old-time oval butter bowl—not for the skilled tossing into shape of rolls of butter, but for nuts or fruit or magazines or small objects of almost any kind. A butter bowl in the rough is likely to be somewhat musty and may be salt-encrusted. If it has also been used as a chopping bowl, the inside surface will be criss-crossed with a multitude of incised lines. It may be cracked, and one or both ends may have been pierced so that it could be suspended on the wall when not in use.

These bowls, however, are extraordinarily susceptible to a good refinishing job, and the grain of the wood—maple, ash, elm, or walnut, usually—shows to greater advantage in both the concave and the convex surfaces of a bowl than in merely flat ones. Burl bowls are even more desirable, of course, but seldom are found in sizes this large. Round bowls are equally attractive in the thinking of many, but are likely to be machine made. Unless the evidences of the turning lathe are completely sanded away and the surface finished to satin smoothness, however, they are unlikely to take on the mellow glow most collectors seek.



Fifteen-inch butter-bowl and cast-iron nutcracker. From Mt. Bethel and Milford, Pennsylvania.

Unusual rectangular candle lantern with a door in the back as well as on the front. Found at Maxatawny in Berks County.

A major sanding operation, of course, destroys not only the circular marks of the lathe but all the old patina as well. "Oval" bowls are not truly oval; they are actually elongated ovals in which the greater axes bring the ends almost to a point. There seems to be an ideal ratio between width and length . . . but perhaps the ratio exists only in the eye of the beholder.

PENNSYLVANIA MAJOLICA

Not every Dutchland visitor will find a wooden bowl, assuming that he wants one—and not every visitor would be able to use one if he did find it. He would be able to conjure up an aura of the past with a piece or two of majolica, however—the colorful, rather thick, rather soft and fragile pottery produced in Pennsylvania at Phoenixville and elsewhere from the 1850's into the 1880's. Enormous quantities of majolica were distributed as premiums with purchases of baking powder and of merchandise from a traveling grocery enterprise which has since become one of the world's great chain stores. Much desired by collectors are pieces impressed "Etruscan" in a circle on the bottom, but unmarked pieces seldom go begging. Designs are bold and varied rather than delicate; favorite colors are pink and green. In great-grandmother's day, a family which could not serve pickles or watermelon preserve on a leaf-shaped majolica dish would certainly have been considered underprivileged. At this writing, collectors appear to be less interested in majolica than in many other ceramics, not inconceivably because much of what is offered for sale is in less than top condition. This is the time, though, when the bargain-seeker is most likely to be successful.

THREE TYPES OF IRONWORK

A territory in which there probably will never again be bargains except by sheer accident is that of fancy ironwork, both wrought and cast. Hand-wrought articles usually have more of folk quality than those which are cast, but good pieces in either category are so rare, so well known, and so eagerly sought for that while one may blink at the asking price he will reach for his checkbook at the same time.

Three types of ironwork are illustrated here. There is no point in saying that the collector is likely to run across them—or that he is not likely to. One never knows when a dealer (who was usually a collector before he went into business) will place a treasured collection on the market; when death or extraordinary circumstance will bring a collection to dispersal; or when pieces long stashed away in unused farm buildings may come to light. In more than three decades of searching, the writer has seen just two of the long-legged iron stools of the kind shown here. In the unpredictable way of antiques, they made their appearance on the same day. Both the top and the 15-inch legs of the specimen shown are wrought; the designs, including the flat-lobed hearts, have been cut out on the anvil. Was the piece intended as a stool, or as a fireplace trivet of exceptional proportions? Lacking positive information, one may make his own guess.

The "kindling" irons shown are cast pieces. They are lower and shorter than the andirons ordinarily used in fireplaces, were pushed up close to the logs between the regular andirons, and held enough dry kindling to ignite the larger pieces of wood. There seems to be no special tradition of kindling irons in Pennsylvania—but when a pair of cast iron hearts comes to market one snaps them up first, and then makes a search for the tradition, if any. No matter where they were used, or when (these were



Etruscan majolica. The cup and saucer are in green, brown, cream-yellow, and pink; the plate is green, yellow, and pink.



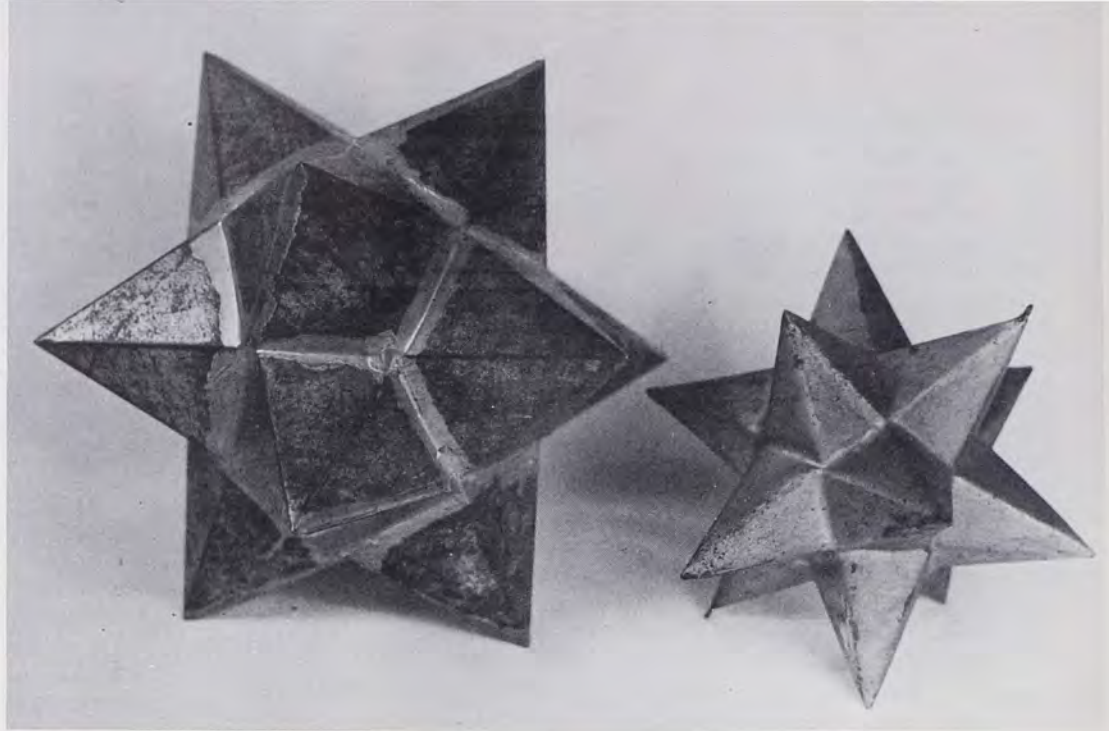
Cast kindling-irons with waffled heart design.

Iron stool or long-legged trivet tilted to show flat heart and other cut-outs.

Dated hasp from Conestoga wagon tool-box, left, and wrought iron door latch. Found at Delaware Water Gap, Pennsylvania.



Moravian Christmas stars of soldered tin. From Alburdis in Lehigh County.



taken out of a fireplace and offered for sale without the intermediate formality of being cleaned up!), they merit inclusion in a fancy iron collection. The reader will notice that the shape of the heart is not like that of the wrought stool-trivet.

"Hard to find" is the term any dealer would apply to the wrought, beautifully decorated hasp in the illustration. Such hasps were attached to the toolboxes of the lumbering Conestoga wagons which were the main vehicles of overland commerce in the early 1800's. The owner-drivers of these vehicles were versatile men; they had to be farriers, blacksmiths, and business men, in addition to being farmers or practitioners of skilled trades. Whoever put the date of 1825 next to the heart on the hasp was proud of his work and he had every right to be. When one looks at some of the distorted, sick iron objects put on exhibition as "art" in our own day, he realizes that there was a time when a man knew *what* he was doing, in metal, and *how* to do it with grace and charm.

The wrought iron door latch shown in the same illustration is further evidence of the kind of skill which could make a thing of beauty in a stubborn medium like iron as easily as another artisan could do it in clay or in paper. Latches, door pulls, key plates—these and many more served out their time as utilitarian objects and now enjoy a reincarnation as *objets d'art*.

MORAVIAN CHRISTMAS STARS

In evidence during the Christmas season in many Moravian homes are three-dimensional stars, intended as reminders of the Star of Bethlehem. Some are 12-pointed, but some have 24 points; some are of paper, others of metal (usually tin) alone. They were ordinarily so constructed that they can be suspended from the ceiling, indoors or occasionally on an outside porch. In some cases nowadays they are illuminated. Those to be found in antique shops are most likely to be tin dodecahedrons, on each facet of which a five-sided pyramid-like figure is mounted, making a total of 60 surfaces. Only those of metal have lasting qualities. The stars are always so constructed that they are rhythmically proportioned, but there is considerable variety in the length of the pentagonal

"rays." The figures, as measured by their greater diameters, range upward from a few inches to as much as 30, according to the place which they were intended to occupy.

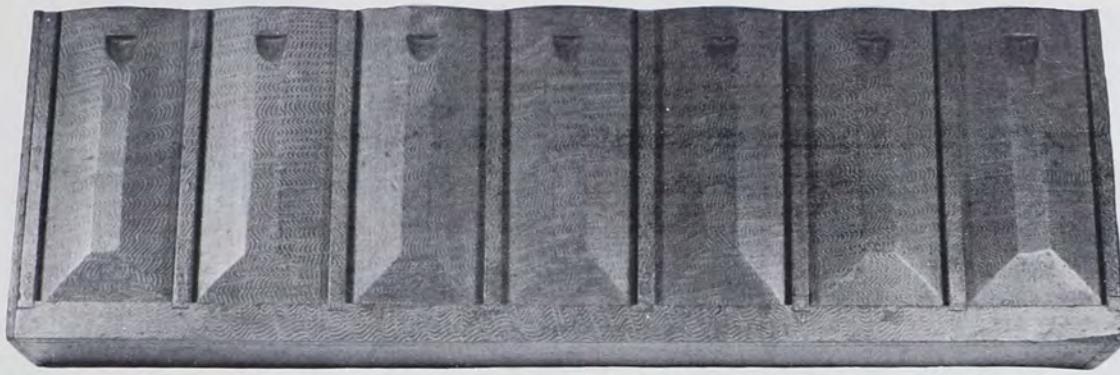
DESK BOXES AND TRUNK-TOP BOXES

Boxes of ornate and fanciful nature have always had an important place among Pennsylvania Dutch folk objects. Very probably unique is a flat table or desk box, 30 inches long, nine and a half wide, and three deep. The box has seven compartments of equal size, each with its own sliding lid and chisel-gouged finger grip. It is paint-decorated—exquisitely set comb squiggles in cream color against a gold ochre background. Workmanship throughout, from dovetailed edges to free-sliding lids, is masterly. Was it made with *seven* sections for any particular reason? There is no clue from the interior—and there are no signs of usage at all. The ends are pierced as though to accommodate handles, although the paint shows no signs of wear or friction. The maker may have decided, at the last moment, not to attach the handles.

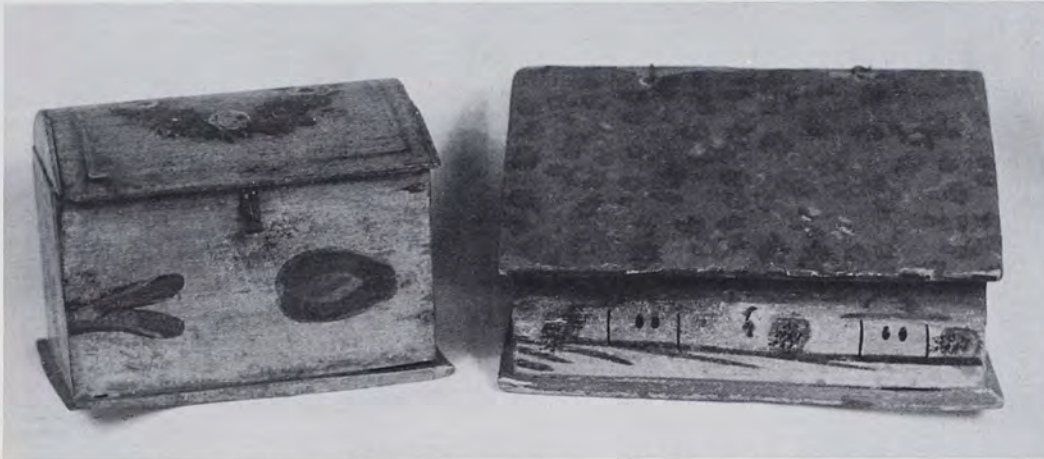
The two small boxes shown in a separate illustration are representative of well-known types of early artistry. For evident reasons, one is called a trunk-top box, the other a house box. The decoration is carried out in casein paint, and the person who is tempted to do a clean-up job on dingy specimens should remember that while liquid of any kind may possibly remove the dirt it will certainly smudge the paint beyond salvage. Art gum used cautiously, or soft bread compressed to a dough and applied gingerly in light dabs will sometimes restore a degree of brightness or cleanliness, but probably the best advice is that of the Dutchman who will tell you, "Just *let* it, so as it is"; in other words, "Hands off!"

TOYS OF THE DUTCHLAND

Finally, something should be said of the toys of the old Dutchland. Not a great many have survived, but there are enough examples to indicate that the imagination of an earlier generation was in no sense stunted or limited. A long-time favorite has been the intricate, seemingly impossible "assembly" of various pieces of wood, all of which have actually been carved or whittled out of one single



Desk box with squiggled comb decoration. Each compartment operates independently.



Two favorite Dutchland boxes: left, trunk type; right, house box.



Whittler's triumph: The mobile bird at the top and the two globes have been cut free of the frame, but the entire toy was created from a single piece of white pine eight inches high. Note the tulip decoration. From Kutztown.

block. Highly valued, they were kept for Christmas tree or putz decorations oftener than they were placed in the hands of children.

Another favorite was the macabre snake toy—a wooden box carved and painted to look like a book. A dangling string, seemingly a Look mark, tempted the holder of the object to open the pages. However, the pulled string released an all-too-realistic serpent from within, a serpent of curved wood with a single sharp fang made from a nail or heavy pin which buried itself in the fingers of the string-puller before he could say "Donnervetter!"

The most ingenious as well as the most attractive toy the writers have seen is the feeding-chicken plaything pictured. In repose, the jointed rooster and hens have their heads to the ground. Each bird, however, has an attached string which goes through the wooden base of the toy and dangles below. All the strings are intended to be pulled at one time—and the hens and rooster duck and bob realistically, with convincing pecking sounds as their beaks touch the base. The carving is highly competent and the colors, still bright, would seem to indicate that the carver was familiar with brown Leghorns. String toys do not come to light every day; the best the collector can do is exercise watchful waiting—and try to keep well supplied with foldin' money against the important moment of discovery!



String toys: jointed rooster and hens, animated by strings underneath the base; snake toy (fang missing). From Doylestown in Bucks County, and Bareville in Lancaster County.

The Pennsylvania Barn



FIG. 24—Summary Map of the Distribution of Pennsylvania Barn Types in the South. A) Double-crib barn (type B) Subtype I, located south of Coushatta, Red River Parish, Louisiana (March, 1964). B) Double-crib barn with cantilevered over-hanging loft, located north of Marshall, Madison County, North Carolina (June, 1963). C) Pennsylvania barn type F-G, located south of Marion, Smyth County, Virginia (July, 1964). D) Pennsylvania barn type H, located near Dawsonville, Montgomery County, Maryland (May, 1965).



FIG. 1—Pennsylvania Barn Type E. Located east of Hamilton, Loudoun County, Virginia. In this area the type E barn has continued to be built to the present (August, 1964).

Maps, Drawings and Photography by Henry Glassie

Part II

By HENRY GLASSIE

The first half of this study of the Pennsylvania barn in the South dealt with the simple types which are no longer characteristic of Pennsylvania's landscape. This second half will deal with the Southern distribution of the two-level barn types which typify, and even symbolize, the folk-culture of southeastern Pennsylvania. Of the full two-level Pennsylvania barns—those with a lower level for stabling and an upper level, reached by a ramp and used for hay storage—there are three basic types which may be distinguished by the forebay.¹ These will be discussed, first, by formal features, with which distribution will be considered, and, second, by construction.²

¹ These types follow those established by Charles H. Dornbusch, *Pennsylvania German Barns*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Vol. XXI (Allentown, 1958). The letters Dornbusch assigned to his types will be employed; the first half of this study considered his types A-C, B, and D as well as the double crib barn with overhanging loft, a type he did not include.

² Alfred L. Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959) is concerned primarily with construction. Little has been written on the Pennsylvania barn in the South; see, however: John Walter Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1907), pp. 191-192; Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (Woodstock, 1902), p. 152; Samuel Chamberlain, *Springtime in Virginia* (New York, 1947), unpagged, but counting the first page of the introduction as page one Pennsylvania barns appear on pp. 33, 93, 141; Edwin Hemphill, "Why Barns?—Then and Now," *Virginia Cavalcade*, VII:3 (Winter, 1957), pp. 17, 27; Elmer Lewis Smith, John G. Stewart, M. Ellsworth Kyger, *The Pennsylvania Germans of the Shenandoah Valley*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Vol. XXVI (Allentown, 1964), pp. 155-156, photographs after pp. 198, 244; W. P. A., *West Virginia: A Guide to the Mountain State* (New York, 1941), p. 161, photographs after p. 92; Henry Glassie, "The Old Barns of Appalachia," *Mountain Life and Work*, XL:2 (Summer, 1965), pp. 27-29.

TYPE E (Figs. 1-2)

This two-level Pennsylvania barn type is characterized by the fact that it does not have a forebay, but rather, has a pent roof supported by the cantilevered floor joists of the second level. The pent roof may run the length of the rear above the stabling doors (Fig. 1) or it may be interrupted in the center for the rear door opening out from the threshing floor (Fig. 2). This type is not common in Pennsylvania and appears only occasionally in central Maryland, the Valley of Virginia and the northeastern Alleghenies in West Virginia; it is found with regularity only in Loudoun County, Virginia, just east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Potomac River.



FIG. 2—Pent Roof on the Rear of a Pennsylvania Barn Type E Located between Harrisonburg and Dayton, Rockingham County, Virginia. Note that the rear of the stabling area is sided with horizontal planks as is often the case in Maryland and Virginia (June, 1964).

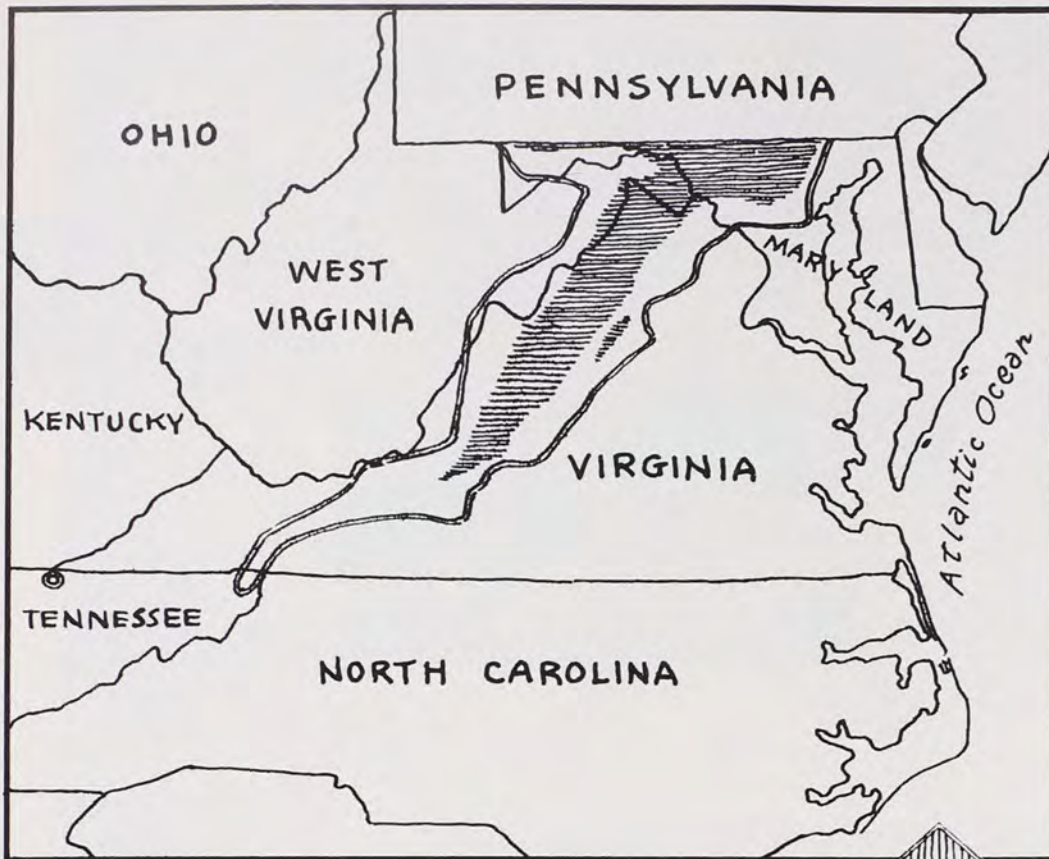


FIG. 3—Distribution of the Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G in the South. Examples have been observed in the area bounded by the double lines; this barn type is found commonly in the shaded areas.

TYPE F-G

(Figs. 3-9, 14-24)

Dornbusch separated types F and G on the basis of construction—type F being of log, type G of stone, frame, or brick. Folk architectural types must be established only by form, therefore his types will be considered as one type: the two-level barn with a forebay unsupported at the ends. In Pennsylvania this type is found primarily in Lebanon and Lancaster Counties; in the South it is more widespread than either of the other two-level types, being common in the Valley of Virginia as far south as Roanoke County, and rarely appearing as far south as north-eastern Tennessee (Map, Fig. 3).

Within individual areas this type exhibits slow formal changes through time, and over the whole of its southern distribution certain regional characteristics of form are apparent. In central Maryland, where this type has been predominant since the end of the 18th Century, the earlier barns present an unsymmetrical gable profile (giving the impression that the forebay was added to an existing gabled structure [Fig 4A]), whereas in the later examples the forebay has been integrated into a symmetrical gable (Fig. 4B). Particularly in the mountainous sections of western Maryland and northern West Virginia, and in the southwestern Valley of Virginia the forebay is usually supported in the rear by a row of posts (Fig. 5). In the central Valley of Virginia—particularly in Rockingham, Shenandoah, Augusta, and Rockbridge Counties—and spilling eastward over the Blue Ridge into Greene and Albermarle Counties,

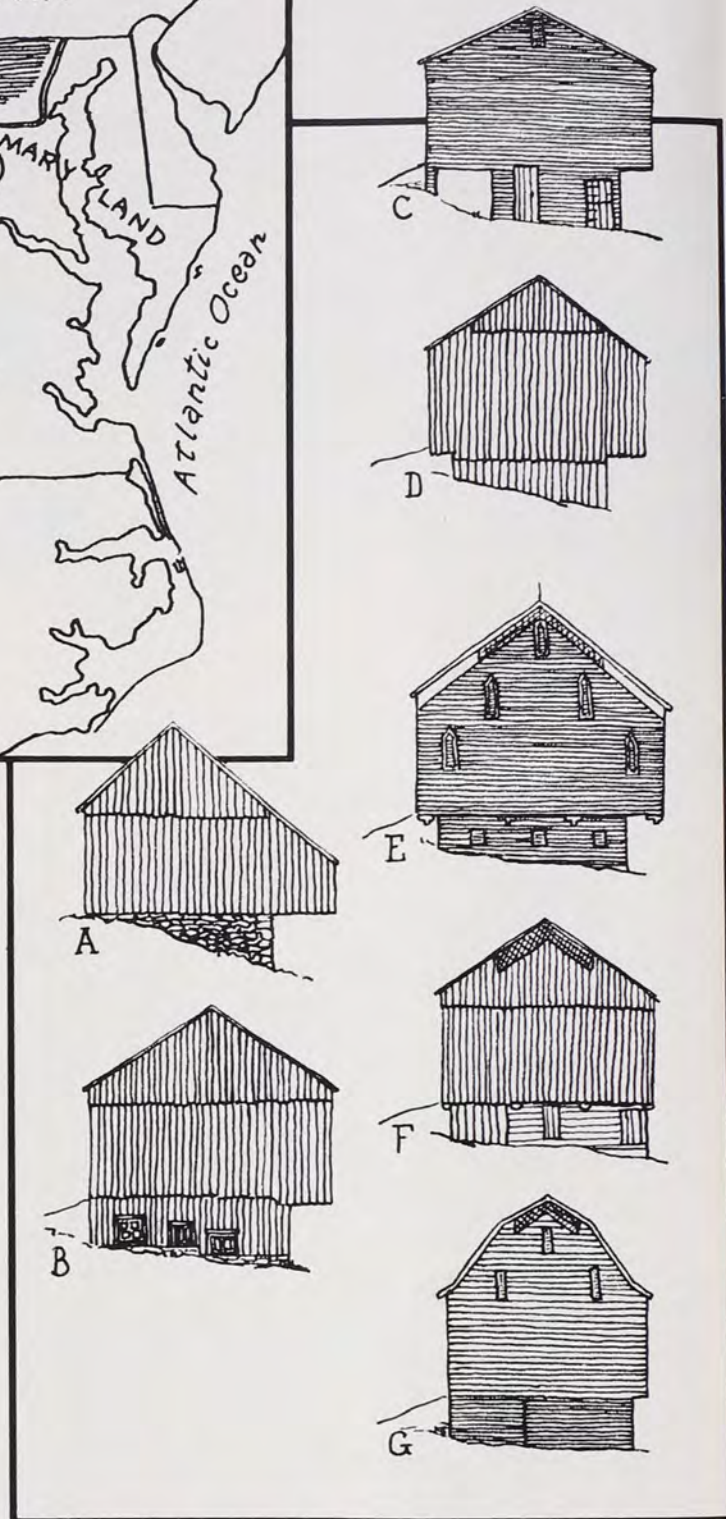


FIG. 4—Gable End Profiles of Barns of the Pennsylvania Type F-G. A) Near Monrovia, Frederick County, Maryland (May, 1963). B) In Accident, Garrett County, Maryland (August, 1963). C) South of Mint Spring, Augusta County, Virginia (July, 1963). D) West of Daleville, Botetourt County, Virginia (July, 1964). E) Between Waynesboro and Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia (August, 1962). F) Near Fairfield, Rockbridge County, Virginia (July, 1963). G) North of Shenandoah, Page County, Virginia (July, 1964).



FIG. 5—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located between Augusta and Rock Oak, Hampshire County, West Virginia. The Pennsylvania barn tradition remains strong in this part of the Alleghenies; this small barn is typical of those recently constructed in the area (note the cement block basement). If no hillsides are available an artificial hill is constructed for the barn, rather than building it flat on the ground with a ramp up to the second level. Barns with the forebay supported in the rear by posts in exactly this manner (the poles set in at an angle are an afterthought necessitated by heavy modern traffic) are found in western Pennsylvania, western Maryland, northeastern West Virginia, and the southern Valley of Virginia (June, 1964).



FIG. 6—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located north of Mount Sidney, Augusta County, Virginia. The overhang on the front, the clapboarding, and the Gothic louvers are typical of the central Valley of Virginia. The decorations on the door, painted in green, are of a type more usual in Pennsylvania than in Virginia (August, 1965).

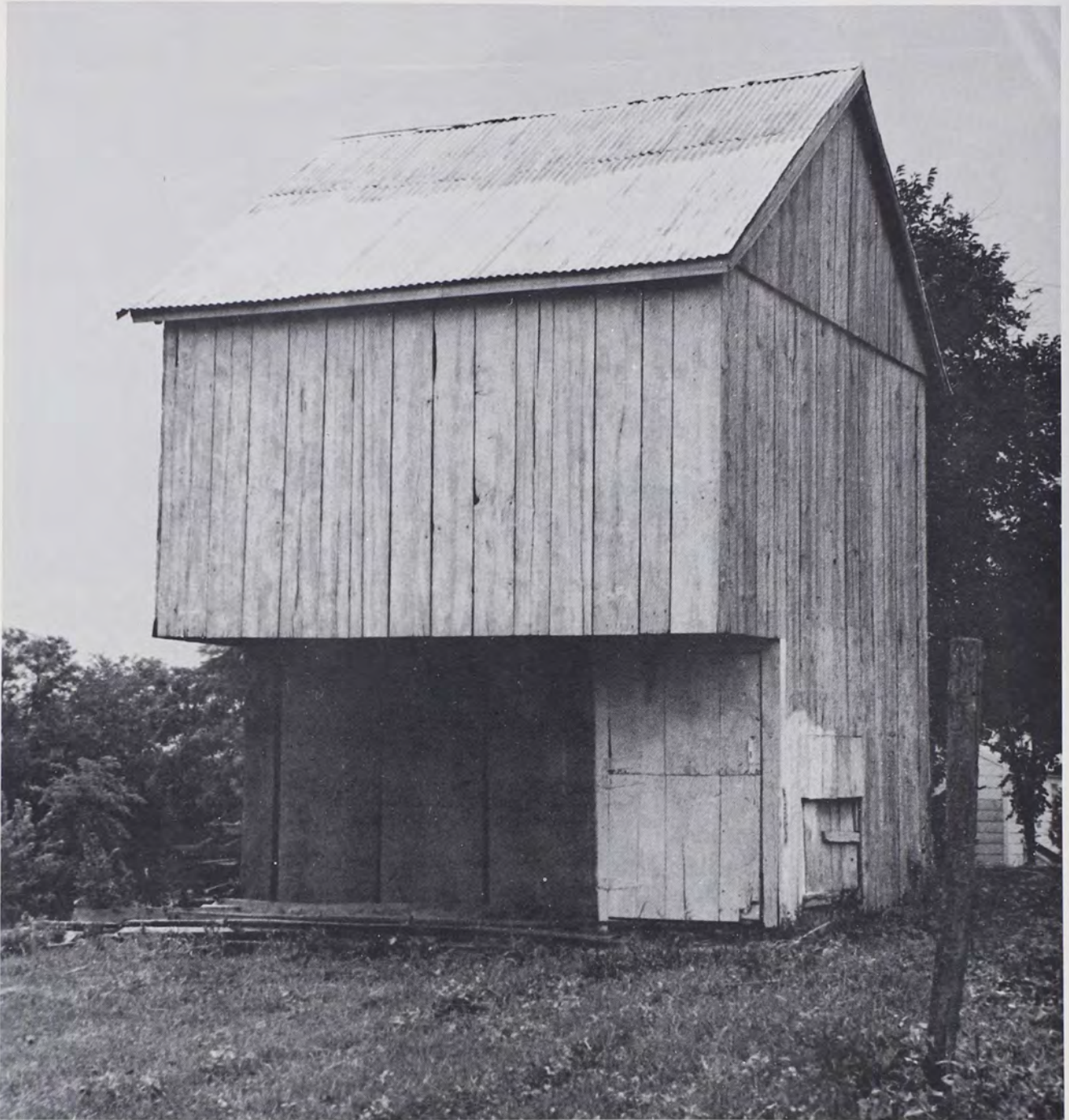


FIG. 7—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located between Uniontown and Middleburg, Carroll County, Maryland. This tiny barn exhibits the major characteristics of the more usual large barns of this type (August, 1965).

there may be, in addition to the forebay, a cantilevered overhang on one, two, or three of the other sides of the barn. On early barns there may, rarely, be a forebay of equal depth on the front and rear (Fig. 17); only slightly more usual are barns in which the overhang on the front is greater than that on the rear (Fig. 4C); barns with a narrow overhang on the front in addition to the forebay on the rear (Figs. 4D, 6) are considerably more common than either of these. The most usual barns in the central Valley of Virginia have a forebay about six feet deep in the rear with an overhang of about two feet on the other three sides (Fig. 4E). In the south-central Valley are a few barns with a vestigial narrow overhang on all

four sides (Fig. 4F); in the northeastern Valley late barns characteristically have only a very narrow forebay in the rear (Fig. 4G).

There is great variation in size within the type F-G. Most usually the barn is three bays—two hay mows and a threshing floor—long, but also there exist examples one bay (Fig. 7), two bays, six bays—a “double-barn”—and twelve bays (Fig. 8) in length. A formal feature of this barn type in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in central Maryland, and, less usually, in the Valley of Virginia, is an open runway for vehicles at one end of the first level of the barn; a corn crib was often built in between the runway and the end wall of the barn (Fig. 9).

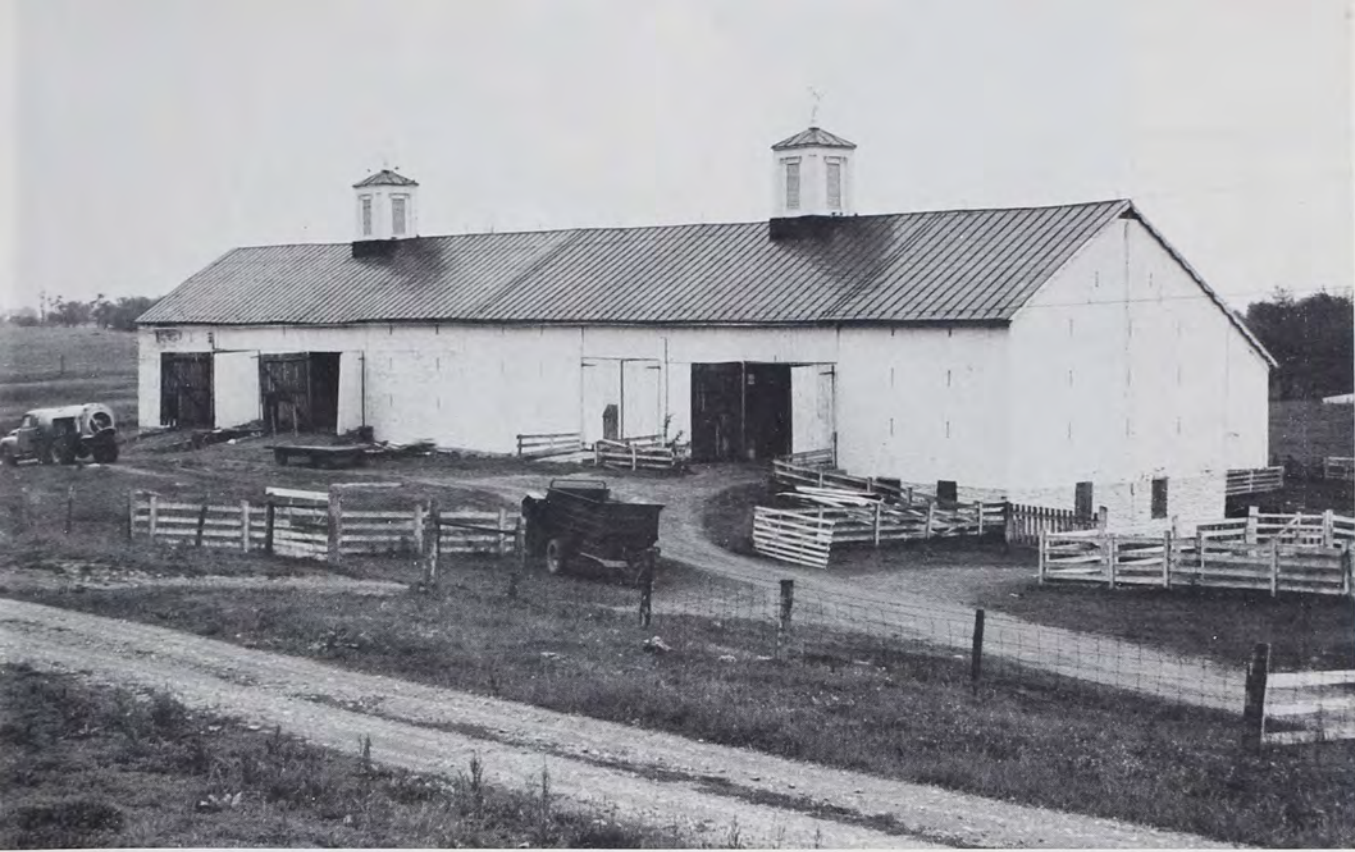


FIG. 8—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located between Charlestown and Middleway, Jefferson County, West Virginia. This barn, which is composed of two double-barns built end to end, has a stone basement and an upper level of brick pierced with loopholes (June, 1964).



FIG. 9—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located west of Hereford, Baltimore County, Maryland. At the right end is a wagonway with a corner crib to one side (August, 1965).



FIG. 10—Distribution of the Pennsylvania Barn Type H in the South. Examples have been observed in the area bound by the double lines; this barn type is found commonly in the shaded areas.

TYPE H
(Figs. 10-13, 24)

This type, in which the basement walls were built out flush with the forebay thus supporting it, is the most common barn type in southeastern Pennsylvania; in the South, however, it is restricted to the eastern peripheries of the German influenced areas of central Maryland and small sections of northern Virginia and northeastern West Virginia (Map, Fig. 10). In these areas rare examples of unsymmetrical barns of this type may be found (some of which were originally type G barns which have had the side walls of the basement extended at a later date³ [Fig. 11A]), but most usually it has a symmetrical gable end (Figs. 11B, 13). This barn type exhibits the same great variation in size that the more usual type F-G does.

APPENDAGES

Additions were often built onto the three basic two-level barn types, and occasionally barns were constructed with these appendages as integral components; barns with such appendages should be considered as subtypes of the basic type to which the addition was made. In north-central Pennsylvania and the Amish settlements in Pennsylvania⁴ and Ohio,⁵ a large central ell is often built onto the rear of two-level barns. Barns with the same resultant T-shaped floor plan are found occasionally throughout the Valley of Virginia and particularly in Rockingham County. This rear ell usually has a lower level for stabling and an upper level for hay storage; it may or may not have a forebay on one or both sides. The two-level Pennsylvania

³ These barns are transitional between the types G and H. Dornbusch considers them to be type G (pp. 114-115, 128-131); if the definitive criteria are to be solid, they must be considered as belonging to type H.

⁴ John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore, 1963), photographs between pp. 110-111.

⁵ William I. Schreiber, *Our Amish Neighbors* (Chicago, 1962), p. 172.

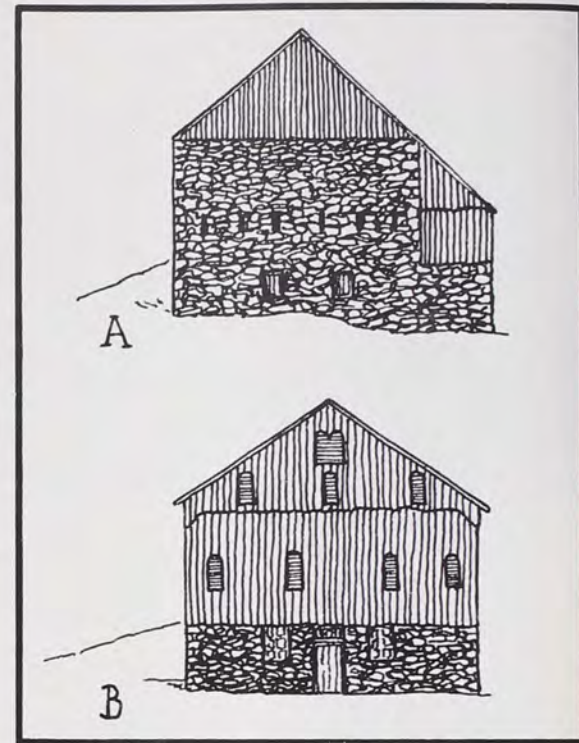


FIG. 11—Gable End Profiles of Barns of the Pennsylvania Type H. A) East of Leesburg, Loudoun County, Virginia (March, 1963). B) Near Knoxville, Frederick County, Maryland (April, 1963).

barn which has been located at the greatest distance from its Pennsylvania source is of this subtype (Fig. 14).

The most usual traditional form of enlargement of an existing Pennsylvania two-level barn is by the extension of the forebay. In Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania, are numerous barns of the H type with an extended forebay supported by stone pillars; to this subtype Dornbusch assigned the letter "J." In the South it is usually the forebay of the type G which is extended; it is supported by wooden posts (Fig. 15). This subtype is found commonly in western Maryland, the northwestern Valley of Virginia, and, particularly, at the southern end of the Valley in Botetourt and Roanoke Counties. Such extended forebays—called "strawroom foreshoots" occasionally by Marylanders who refer to the forebay as an "overshot"—continue the cantilever principle of the original forebay. In the Valley, as was also frequently the case in western Pennsylvania and Ohio, a large shed (structurally simpler than the extended forebay) was occasionally built on the rear of the barn (Fig. 16). In such barns there is usually a large door in the end of the barn opening out from under the forebay. Today, similar rear sheds, generally entirely of metal, form the usual method of enlargement for two-level barns in either Maryland or Virginia.



FIG. 12—Pennsylvania Barn Type H. Located south of Purcellville, Loudoun County, Virginia. The low rear ell for additional stabling is a common feature of older barns in this area (August, 1964).

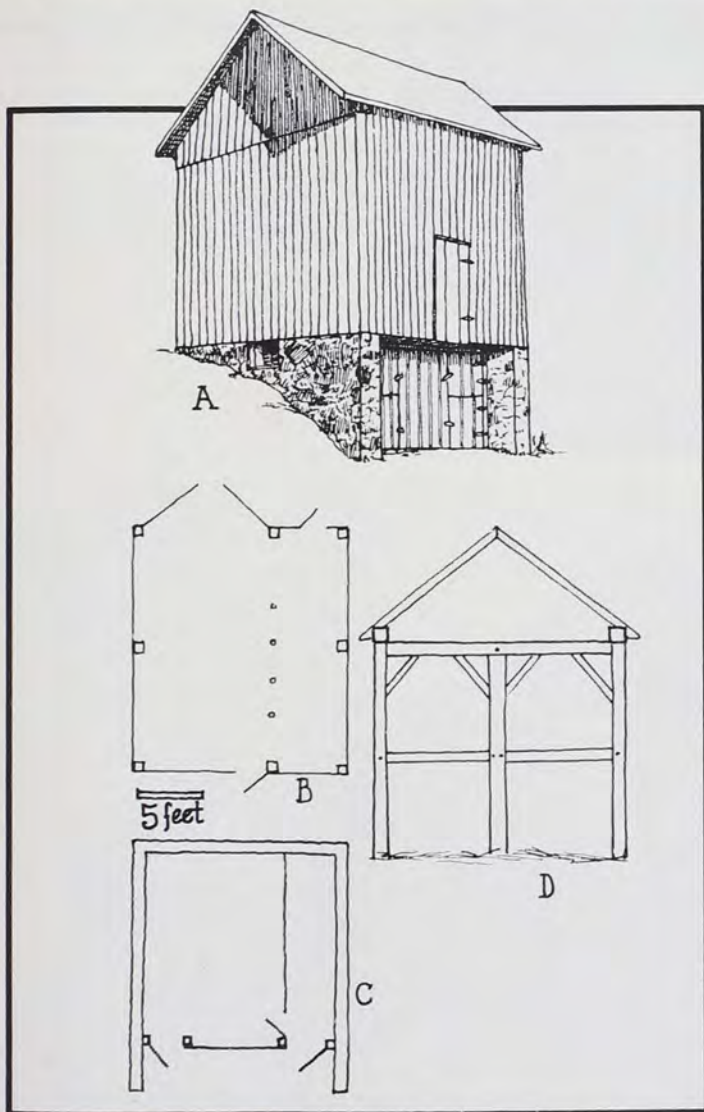


FIG. 13—Pennsylvania Barn Type H. Located north of Kingsville, Baltimore County, Maryland. A) Rear view. B) Plan of the upper level. C) Plan of the lower level. D) Cross-section through the frame—"bent" (December, 1965).

CONSTRUCTION

The smaller Pennsylvania barn types were characteristically built of log, but even in the South, where the tradition of horizontal log construction remained vital much later than it did in Pennsylvania, two-level barns in which the upper level is of log and the lower level is of stone are rare. Only one of these two-level log barns was of the H type.⁶ It was located in Loudoun County, Virginia; two other barns with stone basements and second levels of log were observed in the same county, but these had neither a forebay nor a pent roof.⁷ In the central and southern Valley of Virginia and the Blue Ridge to the east a few log two-level barns with unsupported forebays—type F-G—may be found (Figs.17-19). The constructional characteristics of all of these log barns are consistent with the central European traditions introduced into America by the Pennsylvania Germans, and diffused from southeastern Pennsylvania throughout the United States. Almost all of these barns employed V-notching (Fig. 17F), the type of corner-timbering most common in southeastern Pennsylvania, central Maryland, and the Valley and Blue Ridge of Virginia, and most were sided with vertical board.⁸

The predominant form of construction on two-level barns south of Pennsylvania is the frame. In central Maryland the basements are usually of stone and the upper level of frame (Figs.4A, 13, 20). In the earliest examples the basement is built entirely of stone; in later examples only the front—the ramp side—or the front and the two ends are of stone, with the remaining walls of the basement built of frame. Barns with the basement walls fully or partially of stone are found occasionally in the Valley of Virginia and the northern Alleghenies, but most of the two-level barns south of the Potomac are built entirely of frame (Figs. 4C-G, 6, 14-16). On barns in which the basement is not entirely of stone, the stabling area under

⁶ Near Hillsboro, Loudoun County, Virginia (April, 1963).

⁷ North of Lovettsville, Loudoun County, Virginia (May, 1963); west of Round Hill, Loudoun County (June, 1964).

⁸ For log construction see: Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States," *The Geographical Review*, LVI:1 (January, 1966), pp. 40-66.

FIG. 14—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G With Central Rear Ell. Located south of Cumberland Gap, Claiborne County, Tennessee. This is the Pennsylvania barn which has been located in the South at the greatest distance from Pennsylvania (June, 1964).



FIG. 15—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G With Extended Forebay. Located south of Buchanan, Botetourt County, Virginia. The vertical board siding and extended forebay are typical of this section of the southern Valley of Virginia (August, 1965).

FIG. 16—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G With Rear Shed. Located between Parnassus and Churchville, Augusta County, Virginia. The decorative painting on this barn is typical of the central Valley of Virginia (June, 1964).



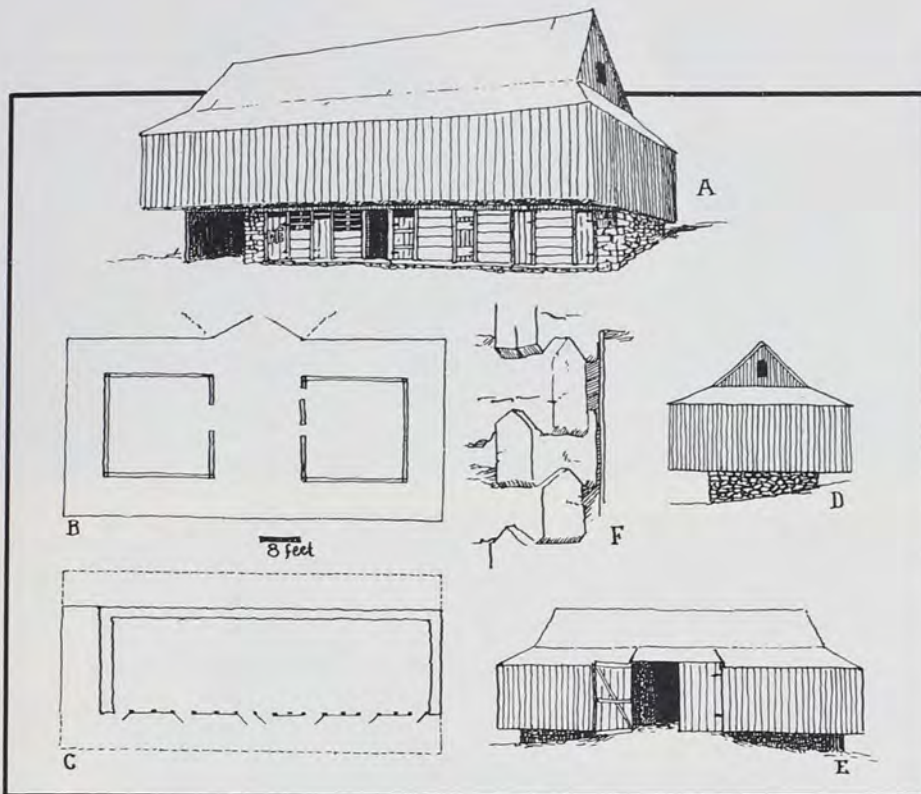


FIG. 17—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located on the southern outskirts of Daleville, Botetourt County, Virginia. A) Rear view. B) Plan of the upper level; note that it is basically two, twenty-three foot square, log cribs. C) Plan of the lower level. D) End view. E) Front view. F) V-notch corner-timbering of the upper level (July, 1964).

the forebay or pent roof is usually covered with heavy, horizontal planks, while the side and front walls of the basement are covered with the same type of siding employed on the upper level (Fig. 2). In Maryland the heavy frame is usually covered with vertical boards as is most common in Pennsylvania; these are painted red or, much less frequently, white. The only usual form of traditional decoration consists of trim around the doors—white on a red barn, green on a white barn. At the northern and southern ends of the Valley of Virginia the frame is also covered with vertical boards, generally unpainted, but in the central Valley and the Piedmont east of the Blue Ridge—the same areas where there may be an overhang on the front and ends of the barn as well as in the rear—the barns are usually covered with clapboards. Barns in England⁹ and the Tidewater¹⁰ were usually clapboarded and this central Valley practice is probably the result of English influence coming across the mountains from the East. These clapboarded barns are painted red with white trim or white with green or red trim; five pointed stars, spheres, trotting horses and, less usually, six pointed stars, similar to those of southeastern Pennsylvania, are often painted on the doors (Figs. 6, 16).¹¹ In central Maryland and the Valley, louvers, usually with a late 19th Century Gothic cast, are built into the end walls; in Maryland, farmers frequently painted their barns to look as if they had these louvers.

The traveler in the Dutch Country cannot fail to note the stone barns characteristic especially of Berks and Montgomery Counties. Two-level barns of stone are found with frequency in central Maryland, particularly in the general area of the Frederick-Washington County border, where they are almost all of the G type (Fig. 21), and

immediately across the Potomac in northern Loudoun County, Virginia, where they are usually of the H or E types (Fig. 12). A few Frederick County, Maryland, examples have wooden louvers set in the wall, such as are found in Berks County, Pennsylvania,¹² but more usually the Maryland and Virginia stone barns have long loopholes for ventilation, of the type known throughout Europe¹³ and in southeastern Pennsylvania.

The two-level barns of brick found in southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania have proved interesting to both students and casual observers of rural architecture:¹⁴ Henry J. Kauffman considers them to be the culmination of the

¹¹ Cf. Smith, Stewart, and Kyger, pp. 155-156, photographs after pp. 198, 244. August C. Mahr, "Origin and Significance of Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols," in Alan Dundes, ed., *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 373-398, and in the *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1957), traces many of the "hex signs" to their prehistoric origins. In his discussion of their significance he naively fails to distinguish between the hex signs painted on the outside of the barn, which Alfred L. Shoemaker (in *Hex No, Three Myths About the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, Pennsylvania Dutch Hex Marks* and several other publications) has shown are now only for decoration, and the objects placed inside the barn which are genuinely apotropaic. A piece of paper on which a Biblical verse (John 1:1-3) had been written was recently discovered under a peg in a beam in a Maryland barn, see *The Washington Post*, February 21, 1965, p. 11.

¹² For good examples of stone barns in Pennsylvania with louvers and loopholes, see, in addition to the books by Dornbusch and Shoemaker, Eleanor Raymond, *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1931), pp. 96-98, 101-102.

¹³ The stone medieval manor and tithe barns in England usually have such loopholes; for a few of many good examples see *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset, I* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, 1952), pp. 6-7, 134-135, plates 55, 63-64; for a Czechoslovakian example see *Český Lid*, 51:1 (1964), photographs preceding p. 33.

¹⁴ J. William Stair, "Brick-End Decorations," in Alfred L. Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn*, pp. 70-86; "Additional Brick Barn Decorations," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 13:1, p. 41; Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture* (New York, 1957), pp. 182-183; "An Architectural Mystery: Decorative Barns," *The Washington Post Potomac* (August 23, 1964), p. 22.

⁹ Clifton Johnson, *Among English Hedgerows* (New York, 1907), p. 69.

¹⁰ Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, I* (New York, 1896), p. 440.

FIG. 18—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located at the crest of the Blue Ridge in Nelson County, Virginia. The upper level is composed of two eighteen foot square V-notched log cribs with a central threshing floor and a frame forebay on the rear and frame sheds on the front. The basement is composed of stone piers at important structural points with the intervening areas covered with vertical boards (August, 1964).

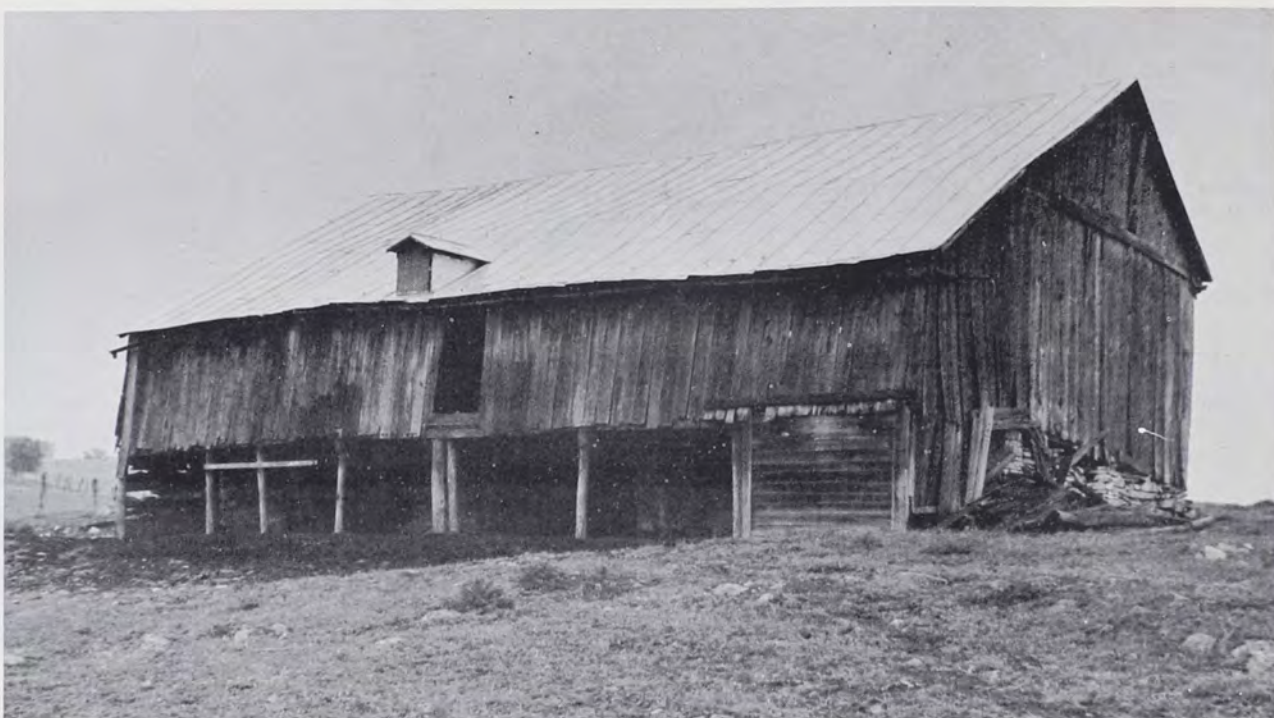


FIG. 19—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located between Staunton and Churchville, Augusta County, Virginia. The upper level is composed of two eighteen by twenty-four foot V-notched log cribs with a central threshing floor and a frame forebay on the rear. As is usual in Pennsylvania, this log barn has been covered with vertical board. The lower level of this barn has a stone front and ends, but the rear, which is protected by the forebay, is completely open (June, 1964).

FIG. 20—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located between Cavetown and Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland. Note that this barn has sheds on the front which balance the forebay in the rear, and a full stone basement (contrast with Fig. 1). Like the majority of the barns in Pennsylvania and Maryland it is painted red (August, 1965).



Pennsylvania German barn building traditions.¹⁵ In these barns bricks are left out in the ends and front of the barn resulting in patterns made up primarily of straight lines (often loopholes, probably in imitation of the stone barns [Fig. 8]), squares, and triangles, though more complex patterns including dates and a man on a mule have been located in Pennsylvania. Two-level barns of brick with decorative ventilation patterns are found in Maryland along the Mason-Dixon line and south through Frederick and Washington Counties, the northeastern neck of West Virginia, and, rarely, deeply into the Valley of Virginia (Fig. 22). This form of decorative brick construction was employed as early as the 15th Century on barns in England, notably in the Counties of Stafford, Cheshire, and Shropshire.¹⁶ It was brought by the English to eastern Virginia,¹⁷ and carried from the Tidewater into northern Georgia¹⁸ and Kentucky;¹⁹ in all of these southern areas its use was restricted to small outbuildings. It was certainly introduced into Pennsylvania by the English and it is interesting to note that one of the most characteristic elements of Pennsylvania German folk architecture has an English provenance (Fig. 23).

CONCLUSIONS

By combining a knowledge of the characteristics of diffusion (as suggested by folklorists and anthropologists) with a knowledge of historic migrations and the southern distribution of the significant barn types which had Pennsylvania as their source, a hypothetical sequence of barn types for southeastern Pennsylvania may be established (Fig. 24). It would seem that the double-crib barn (type B)

¹⁵ Henry J. Kauffman, "Pennsylvania Barns," *The Farm Quarterly*, 9:3 (Autumn, 1954), p. 61.

¹⁶ Olive Cook and Edwin Smith, *English Cottages and Farmhouses* (New York, 1955) p. 30, plates 92-93, 101, 113; W. M. Ingemann, *The Minor Architecture of Worcestershire* (London, 1938), unpaginated, but counting the first page of the introduction as page one, on p. 8 appears a "typical ventilated brick barn north of Worcester." Brick barns and stables with loopholes seem to be common in many parts of England, for example see: Joscelyne Finberg, *Exploring Villages* (London, 1958), facing p. 17; and Dexter Morand, *The Minor Architecture of Suffolk* (London, 1929), plate 20.

¹⁷ Chamberlain, p. 55; *Great Georgian Houses* (New York, 1933), p. 102.

¹⁸ Pennsylvania one-level outbuilding located south of Flint Stone, Walker County, Georgia (July, 1964).

¹⁹ Rexford Newcomb, *Old Kentucky Architecture* (New York, 1940), plate 84.

was known during the earliest period of settlement in Pennsylvania: it is found very commonly as far south as the Tennessee Valley and occasionally as far from its source as northern Florida, central Louisiana, and eastern Texas. The double-crib barn with the overhanging loft must also have been known early enough for it to have been carried south out of Pennsylvania with the first wave of migration in the second quarter of the 18th Century, for it appears commonly in the Great Smokies of North Carolina and Tennessee.²⁰ The two-level barn with the unsupported forebay (type F-G) probably did not become predominant until the period of the Revolution: it does not appear in the Pennsylvania German pocket established in the southern North Carolina Piedmont in the mid 18th Century,²¹ and its southern distribution is limited to those areas—central Maryland and the Valley of Virginia—which remained in direct contact with the German areas of Pennsylvania into the 19th Century. The type H, two-level barn probably did not become predominant in Pennsylvania, as it is today, until the 19th Century (possibly early in the second quarter): its southern distribution does not include the Valley of Virginia, but only those areas in Maryland and northern Virginia into which Pennsylvania migration continued well into the 19th Century.

This sequence of types—double-crib, double-crib with overhanging loft, two-level with unsupported forebay, two-level with supported forebay—seems to suggest a simple evolutionary development for the Pennsylvania two-level barn types. By adding a cantilevered loft to the double-crib barn, a two-level barn with the lower level for stabling, the upper level for hay storage, and a forebay would be achieved. If a ramp were built up to one side of this barn the major distinguishing characteristics of the type F-G would be present, and a few such barns have been observed far south of the southern limits of the two-level type F-G barn (Fig. 25). The double-crib barn with an overhanging loft and a ramp, of course, still has an overhang on the front or the front and the ends, as well

²⁰ These types were considered in the first half of this study.

²¹ Jethro Rumble, *A History of Rowan County, North Carolina* (Salisbury, 1881), p. 45. Field work in this area in August, 1965, uncovered no examples of two-level Pennsylvania barns; the most traditional barn type was the double-crib barn subtype II, which is, apparently, the earliest of the Pennsylvania types.



FIG. 21—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located in Wolfville, Frederick County, Maryland. Like the stone barn in Fig. 12 and the brick barn in Fig. 8, this barn has loopholes for ventilation (July, 1963).

FIG. 22—Pennsylvania Barn Type F-G. Located in Timberville, Rockingham County, Virginia. This barn is the most southerly example yet discovered of a brick Pennsylvania barn. It is laid entirely in Flemish bond. The hollow diamond motif does not seem to be usual in Pennsylvania; the solid diamonds and the X, however, are common (July, 1964).



as the rear; this is not usual on the barns of Pennsylvania, yet barns with cantilevered overhangs on the ends and front appear commonly in the Valley of Virginia, rarely in central Maryland,²² and possibly in Pennsylvania.²³ Although an overhang on the front is not usual in Pennsylvania and Maryland, barns in those areas frequently have sheds on the front (Figs. 18, 20)²⁴ which could be a survival of this missing forebay. Old two-level barns in Maryland occasionally have a large central wagonway in the stone basement²⁵ which could be a survival of the open runway between the cribs of the double-crib barn. The transitional links between the double-crib barn with overhanging loft and the type F-G barn seem to be present. It has generally been recognized that the type H barn was developed from the type G as a result of the need to give support to the forebay.²⁶

Such an evolutionary view of the development of the two-level Pennsylvania barn, while intriguingly neat, is somewhat narrow—it fails to consider Europe. It has frequently been stated that the Pennsylvania barns were developed from the Swiss peasant house.²⁷ Even a quick glance

²² An old two-level barn with a forebay on the front as well as the rear was observed west of Middletown, Frederick County, Maryland (August, 1965).

²³ A diagram published in 1838 and printed in Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn*, p. 6 seems to indicate a forebay in the front as well as the rear.

²⁴ For examples of barns with sheds on the front which balance the forebay see, in addition to Shoemaker and Dornbusch; Charles Morse Stotz, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* (New York and Pittsburgh, 1936), p. 146. Sheds flanking the door on the front are also found on barns of only one level; an excellent example appeared in the first half of this study.

²⁵ A good example is located between Rocky Ridge and Graceham, Frederick County, Maryland (August, 1965).

²⁶ Dornbusch, p. xxii; Kauffman, "Pennsylvania Barns," p. 82.

²⁷ M. D. Learned, "The German Barn in America," *University of Pennsylvania Lectures Delivered by Members of the Faculty in the Free Public Lecture Course 1913-1914* (Philadelphia, 1915), pp. 313-345, 347-348; Maurice A. Mook and John A. Hostetler, "The Amish and Their Land," *Landscape*, 6:3 (Spring, 1957), p. 23; Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn*, p. 5; Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Hex, No!* (Lancaster, 1953), pp. 25, 27; Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Three Myths About the Pennsylvania Dutch Country* (Lancaster, 1951), pp. 21-22.

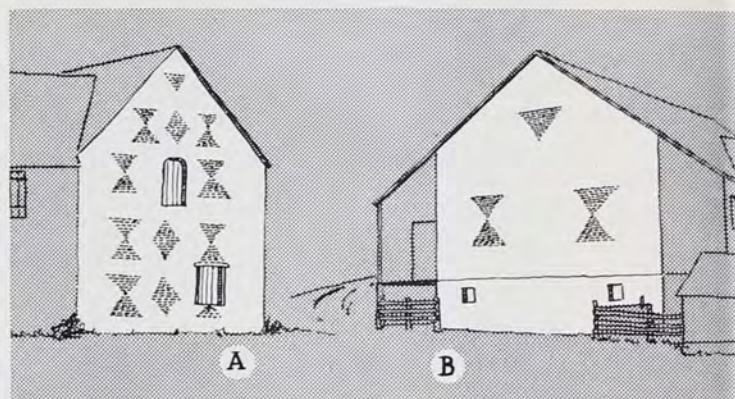


FIG. 23—Brick Barns with Decorative Ventilators in England and Maryland. A) Barn located near Cannock, Staffordshire, England; drawn from a photograph taken recently by Henry H. Glassie, Sr. B) Pennsylvania barn type F-G, located between Johnsville and Union Bridge, Frederick County, Maryland (July, 1963).

at the Swiss houses reveals that, though some are similar, they are not the same as the Pennsylvania barns; a closer look at European architecture reveals similarities between the Pennsylvania barns and not only Swiss traditions, but also those of other central European countries, Scandinavia, and Britain. Two-level buildings with basements for stabling and ramps to the upper level are known in Switzerland,²⁸ particularly in the Canton of Berne, where the ramp takes the form of the covered bridge as it does

²⁸ Max Gschwend, "Schweizerische Bauernhäuser im Bauernmuseum Wohlenschwil (Kanton Aargau)," *Schweizer Volkskunde* 47:5-6 (1957), fig. 15; J. Humziker, "Das Bauernhaus des Grossherzogtums Baden, Verglichen mit demjenigen der Schweiz," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, 2 (1898), p. 92; Hans Schwab, "Volkskunde und Hausforschung," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, XXIII:2 (1920-1921), fig. 8; Franz Colleselli, *Alpine Houses and Their Furnishing* (Frankfort and Innsbruck, 1963), pp. 1, 9, 11. Many examples of two-level buildings with a ramp up to the second level from the French Alps may be found in: Jean Robert, *La Maison Rurale Permanente dans les Alpes Françaises du Nord (Etude de Géographie humaine)*, (Tours [illustrations] and Grenoble [text], 1939).



FIG. 25—Double-Crib Barn with Overhanging Loft. Located across the French Broad River from Alexander in Buncombe County, North Carolina. This barn appears to be transitional between the double-crib barn with overhanging loft and the Pennsylvania barn type F-G because of the presence of the ramp; compare it with the barns in Figures 17, 18, and 6 (June, 1963).

occasionally in Pennsylvania and central New York; Styria in Austria;²⁹ Czechoslovakia;³⁰ Norway;³¹ and northern England, especially in Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland.³² The pent roof is found on houses in England³³ and the Rhineland,³⁴ and on barns in Switzerland³⁵ and northern England.³⁶ The forebay bears a close resemblance to the balcony found on certain Swiss houses,³⁷ to the cantilevered balcony of the *ungebindehaus* of Bohemia³⁸ (from which the double-crib with overhanging loft seems to have developed), to the spinning gallery of the barns of Lancashire,³⁹ and to the overhang found on the rear of barns in Fennoscandia,⁴⁰ Czechoslovakia,⁴¹ and Switzerland.⁴²

The characteristic elements of the two-level Pennsylvania barns have ample antecedents in most of the areas which contributed early settlers to southeastern Pennsylvania; the combination of those elements into the Pennsylvania barn, however, seems distinctly American. Library work in

European folklife journals and field work in the South indicate a complex origin and development for the Pennsylvania barn, and, although it may be foolhardy to do so, this development will be roughly sketched below—until an American does intensive field work in Europe it is probably the best that can be done.

At the beginning of German settlement no large two-level barns were built in Pennsylvania.⁴³ It is probable that most of the barns were double-crib barns or double-crib barns with overhanging lofts, as each of these types has close parallels in Europe, and, as the Pennsylvania tax reports for 1798 reveal a predominance of log barns.⁴⁴ When the need for more commodious barns arose in the mid-18th Century, the double-crib barn with overhanging loft was changed to conform to those traditional practices shared by farmers of northern British or central European heritage: a ramp was added, and the forebays, except for that in the rear, were eliminated, although the overhangs on the other three sides were retained in areas settled during this transitional period—the central Valley of Virginia—and the double-crib barn with overhanging loft survived intact in those areas settled by people who left Pennsylvania before the changes began—the Southern Mountains. When the barn was built entirely of stone, as was common in northern England, or with a frame or log upper level and a stone lower level, as was usual in central Europe, it took on its final form as the type F-G barn. As the knowledge of the cantilever principle diminished and as barns came to be built of lighter timber, support for the forebay became necessary and the type H barn was developed. In the Valley of Virginia, where the type H was unknown, the solution to the same problem was to make the forebay very narrow (Fig. 4G). The Pennsylvania barn, then, is based on European originals and was influenced in its development in Pennsylvania by European practices, but the final result, the symbol of the Dutch Country, was American.

⁴³ Harold E. Dickson, *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings* (State College, Pennsylvania, 1954), p. 25; Robert C. Bucher, "Grain in the Attic," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 13:2 (Winter, 1962-1963), p. 7.

⁴⁴ Henry J. Kauffman, "The Log Barn," in Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn*, p. 29.

²⁹ *Steirische Landbaußibel* (Salzburg, 1948), pp. 13-14.

³⁰ Stefan Mruškovič, "K Niektorým Prežitkom v Sposobe Ľudového Bývania za Kapitalizmu na Záhorí" (Some Anachronisms in People's Dwellings During Capitalism in Záhorí), *Sborník Slovenského Národného Muzea Etnografia*, LVI:3 (1962), p. 80.

³¹ Johan Meyer, *Fortids Kunst I Norges Bygder* (Oslo, 1930), plate X; Kristofer Visted and Hilmar Stigum, *Vår Gamle Bondekultur*, I (Oslo, 1951), p. 115.

³² Cook and Smith, pp. 38-39, plates 170-172, 174, 188. Plate 174 is conceivably a fully developed Pennsylvania barn type E.

³³ Ernest Pickering, *The Homes of America* (New York, 1951), p. 108.

³⁴ Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, 1950), pp. 139, 160.

³⁵ G. E. Kidder Smith, *Switzerland Builds* (New York, 1950), pp. 43, 48-49, 53, 57.

³⁶ Cook and Smith, p. 37, plate 154.

³⁷ See footnotes 28 and 35.

³⁸ Klaus Thiede, *Alle deutsche Bauernhäuser* (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 96.

³⁹ Cook and Smith, pp. 38-39, plates 170, 172.

⁴⁰ Valter W. Forsblom, "Sydösterbottniska allmogabyggnader." *Folkloristiska och etnografiska studier I* (1916), pp. 98-99; Visted and Stigum I, p. 123.

⁴¹ Drahomíra Stránská, "Zvýšene Stavby ve Valašské Belé a Čavojí," (Storeyed Buildings in Valasska, Bele and in Čavojí), *Slovenský Národopis*, XI:1 (1963), pp. 105-106.

⁴² Richard Weiss, *Häuser und Landschaften der Schweiz* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1959), p. 237 (f).

Pennsylvania

JULY 2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9, 1966

Stage

Place—

12:00-12:30	Heidelberg
12:30-1:00	Food Special
1:00-1:30	"Professor"
1:30-2:00	Horseshoeing
2:00-2:30	Snake Lore
2:30-4:00	Major Folk
	Men of One
7:00-9:00	Major Folk
	Men of One

AMISH WEDDING

Place—Green Chair
 Time—12:30 & 4:30
 Ruth Yoder and Amos Fisher exchange traditional Amish wedding vows.

HANGING

Place—Gallows
 Time—11:30 & 3:30
 The hanging of Susanna Cox for infanticide, reenacting Pennsylvania's most famous execution, 1809.

SEMINARS

Place—Seminar Tent
 Time—1:30 to 4:30 P.M.
 Daily except weekends and holiday.
 Educational presentations, lectures, and group discussions of Pennsylvania folk-culture. (topics to be announced daily).

SCHOOL DAYS

Place—Desk
 Time—1:30 & 5:30
 Reading, Writing and Arithmetic done Pennsylvania Dutch style.

TRIAL

Place—Hutch
 Time—2:30 & 6:30
 William Penn presides at Pennsylvania's most famous witchcraft trial — 1684.

See Folk Festival

Dutch Folk Festival

KUTZTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

Program

ON STAGE

Band
at the Festival
itzel, Dutch Humorist
he Dutch Country

al presentation:
er (see program page 28)
al presentation:
er (see program page 28)

CHILDREN'S GAMES

Place—Hay wagon
Time—12:00 to 5:00 P.M.
Children under 12 years are invited to join in the playing of the traditional Dutch children's games.

SLAUGHTERING & BUTCHERING

Place—Butcher shop
Time—11:00 to 6:00 P.M.
Demonstration of hog-butchering including the making of ponhoss and sausage.

QUILTING CONTEST

Place—Quilting Building
Time—1:00 to 6:00 P.M.
Demonstration of the art of quilting. All quilts entered in the contest are on display and for sale.

SQUARE DANCING

Place—Hoedown Stage
Time—1:00 to 6:00 P.M. and 9:00 to 11:00 P.M.
Everyone is invited to join in the dancing. Demonstrations and instructions will be furnished by championship hoedown and jigging teams.

on Back Cover

MEN OF ONE MASTER

A documentary epic of the Pennsylvania Amish struggle to survive over three centuries of tension with the world.

Written and Directed by Brad Smoker

Music and Music Direction by Glen Morgan

Scene One: **A Go-To-Meetin' Sunday.**

Scene Two: **In The Beginning, Was Europe, 1650.**
"Gonna Find That Freedom Land". . . . Group

Scene Three: **The Amish Hear William Penn and Follow His Dream.**
"The Land Is God's Land". . . . Group
"Bundling By The Blue Gate". . . . Nancy & Aaron

Scene Four: **The Amish Soul Is In The Earth, Their Heart In The Sun,
And Their Stomach In The Harvest.**
"The Much Dutch Touch". . . . Group

Scene Five: **The Harvest Frolic.**
"Seven Sweets and Seven Sours". . . . Group
"Vexed With a Hex". . . . Group

Scene Six: **Let The Child Be Educated To The Earth.**
"What Is A Man?". . . . Joel
"Where Will We Go". . . . Group

About The Authors:

Brad Smoker, author and director, received an M.A. in theatre from Syracuse University and now teaches at Abington High School. Six other scripts of his have had college and community theatre productions.

Glen Morgan has a doctorate of music from Indiana University and presently teaches at Lycoming College. He and Mr. Smoker have written a musical about the Molly Maguires, **BLACK DIAMOND**. Other compositions by Mr. Morgan include a chamber opera, **ABRAHAM & ISAACS**, a cantata, **OLYMPIA REBORN**, and incidental music for many plays.

The history of the Amish in Europe, the ideas and concepts of their religion, their mode of life, the church service and its music—all of these are authentic. Although the young Amish dance at their Sunday evening frolics, we have supplemented our accurate information of the Amish with choreographed dances and background music for their pageantry values of spectacle. We do not believe this will divert from the honesty of information portrayed about the Amish.
—Brad Smoker.

The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation. Purpose of the Society is three-fold: collecting the lore of the Dutch Country; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public both in this country and abroad. All proceeds from the Festival are used to further these goals.

The offices of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society are located at 218 W. Main Street, in Kutztown, Pennsylvania.

AN INVITATION to become a subscriber to the Society's periodical, PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE. (Subscription \$4.00 a year; single copies \$1.00 each.) Now in the seventeenth year, PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October. Each issue appears in a colored cover, with 48 pages-or-more of text, and is profusely illustrated.

Subjects covered include: architecture, cookery, costume, customs of the year, folk art and antiques, folk dancing, folk medicine, folk literature, folk religion, folk speech, home-making lore, recreation, superstitions, traditional farm and craft practices, and transportation lore.

Contributors to this Issue

CONSTANTINE KERMES, Landis Valley, Pennsylvania—Out of his feeling for Mediterranean and especially Greek Orthodox piety Constantine Kermes interprets the Pennsylvania Amishman. In an adapted ikon style, he portrays the holiness of life as viewed by the Amish farmer, the roots of life that go deep into the very soil the Amishman tills and the Amishman's resolute stance in his facing of the "world." The Amish have long attracted the attention of artists and we are happy to present to our readers this unusual ikon-rooted interpretation of the wholeness that binds Amish life together.

EARL F. AND ADA F. ROBACKER, White Plains, New York—The Robackers are well known to readers of *Pennsylvania Folklife* for the long and distinguished series on Pennsylvania antiques which they have contributed to our columns. Dr. Robacker is the author of *Pennsylvania German Literature*, *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff*, and other volumes. His most recent book on antiques is *A Touch of the Dutchland* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1965).

MAC E. BARRICK, Carlisle, Pennsylvania—Prof. Mac Barrick, a member of the Department of Romance Languages at Dickinson College, is a native of Cumberland County, and a lifelong student of Pennsylvania proverbial lore. He has published several articles on other phases of Pennsylvania folklore in the *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*.

HENRY GLASSIE, Philadelphia—A graduate student in the Department of Folklore at the University of Pennsylvania, Henry Glassie already stands in the first rank of scholars working in the field of American material culture, especially folk architecture. A graduate of Louisiana State University and of the Cooperstown American Folk-Culture Program, he has most recently become Editor of *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*. The first part of his invaluable article, "The Pennsylvania Barn in the South," is available in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XV No. 2, Winter 1965.

VICTOR C. DIEFFENBACH (1882–1965), Bethel, Pennsylvania—Victor Dieffenbach was a longtime contributor to *Pennsylvania Folklife* and its predecessor, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. He came from the "Dumb Quarter" ("Des Dumm Fattel") of which he writes so engagingly in this last article from his pen. He was well known at the Folk Festival, and for many years carried on a dialect column for the *Lebanon Semi-Weekly News*, under the pseudonym of "Der Oldt Bauer"—"The Old Farmer."

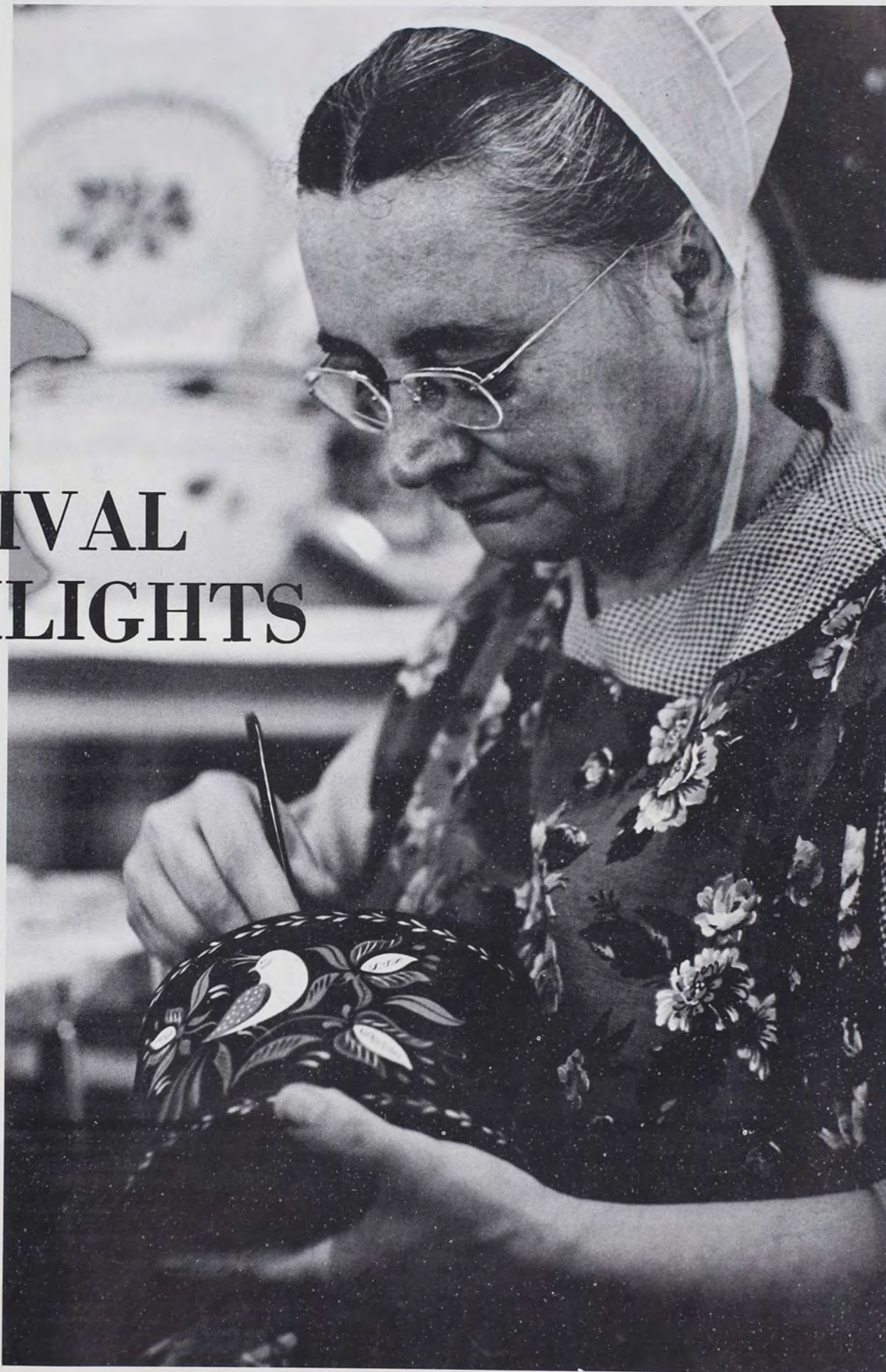
TYRONE POWER (1797–1841)—Tyrone Power, an ancestor of the 20th Century film star by the same name, was an Irish comedian who made several trips to America in the first half of the 19th Century. From his visits to Eastern Pennsylvania he wrote the sketch we republish on the relation of the Irish and the Pennsylvania Dutch, a theme which deserves doctoral dissertation treatment.

The Funnel-Cake Maker. Anna Mertz of Kutztown R.D. makes batter for Dutch dessert delicacy "Drechter-Kucha"—"Funnel-Cakes."



FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTS

*Mabel Wells of
Lancaster keeps
Pennsylvania's painted
tinware tradition alive.*





*Hex-Sign Painter
Milton Hill*

Festival Highlights

*Potato Candy,
Dutch confection,
manufactured
by Katharine Bodenhorn
of Kutztown.*





Brad Smoker coaches participants for Pageant of Amish Life. Left to right: "Bridegroom" Chris Buss, "Bride" Lynn Myers, Brad Smoker, and Archibald Meserole Sr., who plays the part of the Amish Bishop.



Hemp Rugmaking is demonstrated at the Festival by William Shade of Lyons, Berks County.



Beelore Tent at the Festival—Barbara and Lester Breinger of Robesonia explain beekeeping and honey-extracting.

Wedding Couple leaving in Amish Carriage. The Festival has on display several types of "plain" transportation used by Pennsylvania's "Plain Dutch" sectarians.



Festival Highlights



The View from the Gallows. Each day the hanging of Susanna Cox at Reading in 1809 is reenacted on an authentic 13-step gallows; out of the hanging came Pennsylvania's most popular German-language ballad, "The Sad and Mournful Tale of Susanna Cox."

Old Order Amish Wedding is dramatized for Festival Visitors twice daily.



Powwower Sophia Eberley from the Coal Region in Schuylkill County "powwows" a "patient." Powwowing is occult folk medicine and involves the use of charms and prayers which originated in medieval Europe.



The Almanac Man Donald Brensinger of Bechtelsville (right) discussing the Signs of the Zodiac with Harvey M. Fisher of Kutztown.

Cigar-maker Salome Eberly of Lancaster County.



Festival Highlights



Broom-making is one of the many early American crafts demonstrated at the Festival.



Freddie Bieber, basket-maker of the Oley Hills, near Kutztown.

Twenty Questions on

POWWOWING

By DON YODER

1. **What is powwowing?**

Powwowing is Pennsylvania's native brand of religious healing, on the folk-cultural level, using words, charms, amulets, and physical manipulations in the attempt to heal the ills of man and beast.

2. **Where did Powwowing originate?**

Similar practices are universal. Every primitive tribe in the world, every rural culture in Europe and America had similar methods of folk healing. Despite its Indian name, Pennsylvania's powwowing has *no* connection with Indian folk medicine and shows no indebtedness to Indian cures. Powwowing (called by the Pennsylvania Dutch "*braucha*," from the German verb *brauchen*, to "use") was brought from the Rhineland and Switzerland in the 17th and 18th Centuries by the great wave of emigrants who settled the Pennsylvania Dutch counties of Eastern, Central, and Western Pennsylvania, and influenced culturally the western parts of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, as well as the Midwest and Ontario. While the British Isles emigrants in Colonial Pennsylvania (Quakers, Scotch-Irish) had their own cures and charms, for the most part it is the *brauch*-formulas of the Pennsylvania Dutch which are today used by Pennsylvania's powwowers.

3. **Where does the word "powwowing" come from?**

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of American English*, New England Puritans were the first to use the word in the English language (1646). The verb "powwow" and the noun "powwow" (later "powwower") for a practitioner of primitive healing are both 17th Century terms, Algonquin in origin, which were once generally known throughout the colonies, so called because the motions of the powwower resembled superficially the gesticulations of the Indian "medicine men" of colonial days. Other English words for "powwow" are: to "charm," to "conjure" (Southern and Negro), to "try for" (Central Pennsylvania and Western Maryland), and to "use" (a direct "translation" of *braucha* documented from the Carolinas).

4. **Who practices powwowing?**

In every Pennsylvania Dutch community there used to be and in many communities there still are "powwow doctors" or "powwowers," as they are called—persons who are recognized by other "believers" in the community, i.e., those who believe in the efficacy of powwowing, as having the "gift" of healing. In addition to these "professionals"—some of whom have large clienteles drawn from several counties, and who often

support themselves by contributions from their patients—many Dutch farmers and farmwives claim the gift of healing one or two ailments, such as "blowing fire" from burns or "stilling blood" through the use of charms. It used to be said that every Dutch grandmother was, in this sense, a "powwower."

5. **What is the sociological background of the powwower?**

In primitive society, healer-priests called "shamans" were set apart and recognized by the community as having supernatural powers. Pennsylvania's powwowers were, similarly, a kind of folk-clergy, recognized by the community as having "God-given" powers of healing. The two sorts of powwowers, however, had differing status in Pennsylvania's rural communities. The unprofessional—the grandmother, for example, who could powwow for a few ailments—was a respected member of one's family. The professional, while recognized by the community, was in a sense withdrawn from the community, not a "respectable" member of society. In fact he often lived apart literally—in Europe as a shepherd, in Pennsylvania as a hermit or hill country healer on the back roads. Professional powwowers, especially those who achieved the status of "witch doctors" (see 10, below) were actually feared and avoided by the community, resorted to only when needed for healing or countering the spells of the neighborhood witch.

6. **Is powwowing still practiced?**

Powwowing is very much a contemporary thing in Pennsylvania. There are still dozens of powwowers of the "professional" category in operation in Eastern and Central Pennsylvania. Additional evidence of the contemporary nature of powwowing is the steady volume of mail received by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society seeking information on practitioners. In fact, despite statements to the contrary by clergymen and educators—who have concerned themselves only with what they have termed "higher" aspects of culture—powwowing is still as important a feature of Pennsylvania folk-culture as it was in the 19th Century.

7. **How is powwowing learned?**

Most powwowers claim their "powers" as a God-given "gift." However, the charms and manual techniques are learned either from other practitioners or from "powwow books." In learning the art from other practitioners, alternation of the sexes is involved—a woman learning powwowing from a man, or vice versa—providing a kind of "powwow chain" or "apostolic succession," or, if you will, a kind of unofficial "ordination" on the folk level.

8. **What are "powwow books"?**

John George Hohman's *Long Lost Friend*—first published in Reading in 1819 as *Der lang verborgene Freund* and still in print—is the foremost powwow book, and the most influential German book ever published in Pennsylvania. There were many digests and pirated editions of it, in German and English. In addition to this book, some of the printed "hex" books, such as *Egyptian Secrets* and the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, although dealing mostly in "black" magic, contain some powwow charms. Some powwowers also copied charms into manuscript books. Hundreds of manuscript powwow books are in existence, some of them deriving from Hohman, others pre-Hohman and independent of the Hohman tradition.

9. **How is powwowing related to "folk medicine"?**

Powwowing is one variety of folk medicine or folk healing. Folk medicine can be divided into two branches—herbal and occult. Dr. Jarvis' recent best-seller on (New England) *Folk Medicine* deals entirely with herbal folk medicine. Herbal folk medicine is concerned with the "home remedies" that our grandmothers used to know and practice on the farm. Occult folk medicine, on the other hand, is the attempt to heal sickness by dependence upon occult means, calling upon the powers of the supernatural world, through words, prayers, charms, and in some cases, curses.

10. **Is powwowing related to "hexing"?**

Primitive magic as it survives in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country is of two kinds. Powwowing is "white magic," magic the intent of which is curative and beneficial. "Hexing" (Pennsylvania Dutch *hexerei*) is

"black magic," magic whose intent is evil and damaging. In some cases powwowing involves the theory of disease that a person is sick because he has been "hexed." Therefore to "cure" the patient it is believed that the powwower must first "remove" the spell from the person and retaliate by "damaging" the supposed witch by occult means. Where a powwower achieves a reputation for "cures" in such cases he is often called, in English, a "witch doctor" (Pennsylvania Dutch *hexa-duckder*). However, the majority of powwow charms are simply attempts to "cure" patients without reference to "hex" influences.

11. **Is powwowing "superstition"?**

The word "superstition" is a value judgment, implying that the person who uses it is deriding or denying the validity of another person's beliefs. For such deep-rooted phenomena as powwowing the anthropological term "folk belief" is a more descriptive term.

12. **What is the connection of powwowing to religion?**

Religion has many levels. For those who believe in powwowing, it is just as much a part of their religion as anything they hear or say or sing in church. Anthropologists have coined the term "folk religion" for these primitive survivals in society. Powwowing is Pennsylvania's best example of the survival power of the "old religion" of medieval Europe in a New World and Protestant setting.

13. **Is powwowing recognized by the churches?**

The vast majority of the Pennsylvania Dutch are Protestants. At the time of the Protestant Reformation four centuries ago, the Protestant Churches attempted to separate "religion" from "superstition." In doing so, they drove folk healing underground, divorcing it from the official church organization. Powwowing still exists in Pennsylvania as a primitive underground movement not officially related to the churches, yet in content it is related to Christian theology, Christian ideas of the power of prayer, etc. Roman Catholicism has been much more cordial to faith healing than Protestantism—witness the healing cults of various European saints, the key examples being the shrine of St. Bernadette at Lourdes and the shrine of St. Anne de Béaupré in Quebec. Powwowing among Pennsylvania's Protestants is almost entirely pre-Reformation and Catholic in spirit. The official religion of the Dutch Country (Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite, Dunkard, Amish, etc.) is Protestant—the unofficial or folk religion—which still exists after 400 years of Protestant preaching—is basically Catholic.

14. **How is powwowing related to "faith healing"?**

Because faith healing was outlawed by official Protestantism, it went underground. But because belief in the possibility of healing through faith and prayer is a widespread human hope, it has occasionally emerged above ground and crept back into the world of the Protestant sects and cults. Two examples of

Long Lost Friend, First Edition, Reading, 1820



faith healing becoming official in Protestant church organizations are (1) the Pentecostal Sects, which practice faith healing officially, gearing it into the church services of the group, and (2) Christian Science, which teaches faith healing on a sophisticated, philosophical level. Powwowing is folk religion—underground, relatively unorganized, unofficial, apart from the churches and unrecognized by them.

15. **Is science concerned with powwowing?**

Scientific medicine is again turning to look at the influence of our "minds" over our bodies. Modern psychosomatic medicine is, in a sense, powwowing—on a more sophisticated level, of course. In Europe the new science of parapsychology—the psychology that deals with the "fringes" of the human thought world—is beginning to investigate folk healing.

16. **Is there proof of cures by powwowing?**

Thousands of Pennsylvanians, urban as well as rural, claim to have been "cured" by powwowing—everything from warts safely removed to the stopping of bleeding in mine accidents. These proofs are often subjective and of the same sort as are available in studying Christian Science or other faith healing claims. If results are negative, blame is usually shifted from the powwower to the patient, i.e., it is said that the patient's faith was not great enough to effect a cure.

17. **Can powwowing be done at a distance?**

"Aunt Sophia" Bailer of Schuylkill County, most adept of Coal Region powwowers, used to tell how she stopped the bleeding of a man seriously hurt in a mine accident ten miles from her home. There was no time to take her to the scene of the accident, so the miner's friends phoned Sophia and she powwowed, as it were, by remote control. All she needed was the baptismal name of the patient. In this case the patient knew that he was being prayed for, and the serious bleeding stopped and he recovered. A psychosomatic explanation is of course possible here.

18. **Powwowing and the law?**

Powwowers operate on the fringe of the law. They are usually not molested unless (1) they charge a fee for their services, when they can be arrested for practicing medicine without a license, or (2) one of their patients dies under the charge of neglect. There have been several Pennsylvania cases where children have died after being powwowed, the parents refusing them any higher medical aid. In such cases the parents have been charged with neglect of their children. The same thing has happened in the case of Christian Science parents, where the question involved is, does a parent have the right to exclude his children from all possible medical care?

19. **What is the content of the powwow charms?**

Powwow charms are primitive but set in a Christian frame. Most powwow charms, to be effective, end in

the "three highest names"—"God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." Christological symbols (the blood of Jesus, the cross of Jesus, the "five wounds" of Jesus) frequently appear. The Virgin Mary and the Saints (examples: Peter, Lawrence, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar), the four Evangelists and the three Archangels make a post-Reformation appearance in many charms. Primitive aspects of the charms include the fact that to be effective a charm must use the name of the patient, hence all powwow patients have to be baptized. An exception here is Pennsylvania's "plain" community, where infants are not baptized. These groups use simply one's given name in powwowing. The frequent use of the number "3" has of course both Christian and primitive undertones. The references to the "three holy drops of blood," "three holy wells," "three lilies on Christ's grave" and the poetry of the charms (in their original German versions) provide living American parallels to the Welsh triads and other medieval folk-poetry of the Middle Ages.

20. **Some sample charms**

In conclusion, three sample charms out of the hundreds still in use in the Dutch Country in 1966:

(a) *For Erysipelas*

Vild-feiar, flee, flee, flee!

Dar roada fawdem yawgt dich hee, hee, hee!

(Erysipelas, fly, fly, fly,

The red string will chase you by, by, by!)

† † †

For erysipelas (wild-fire) the powwower "measures" the patient with a red woolen string (red is the color of the disease). The disease is collected into the string, which is then smoked above the stove, and slowly turned to ashes. As the string disappears, the disease disappears. The connection with primitive "white magic" is clearly seen here. The charm ends, however, with the Christian frame—God Father, God Son, God Holy Ghost help (here the patient is named) Amen.

(b) *For "Heartspan" and "Livergrown"*

Hots-kshbar, awgawoksa

Gay ous denna rippa

Vee Yaisoos Grishdow ous seina grippla.

(Heartspan, livergrown

Go out of these ribs

As Jesus Christ moved out of his crib.)

† † †

Here the powwower bends over the patient and rubs his thumbs down over the ribs and off at the sides of the lower ribs, suggesting the transference of the disease away from the patient's body. This is done three times and is closed with the "three highest names."

(c) *To Stop Blood*

Jesus Christ's dearest blood,

That stoppeth the blood,

In this help (name)

God the Father

God the Son,

God the Holy Ghost, Amen.

† † †

This is repeated three times while "walking the floor" back and forth in front of the patient. Another common charm is to repeat Ezekiel 16:6 three times.

MOON-SIGNS In Cumberland County

By MAC E. BARRICK

The complete home library among farm families of western Cumberland County for generations consisted of the Bible, a "doctor-book," and *Baer's Agricultural Almanac*.¹ The Almanac usually hung by a string from a nail in the kitchen, the same nail that held the fly-swatter, so that both were readily available and indeed both received about equal amounts of use. The Almanac was rarely used for checking the weather; its predictions were not specific enough for that. Nor was it used to tell the date, since the feed stores furnished calendars for that. Still, the Almanac received hard use, especially during the spring and summer months, since without it, how could one know when to plant crops, work the fields, or bring in the harvest?

Many local residents depended entirely on the information in the Almanac for an indication of the best time to plant peas or potatoes, corn or tomatoes. It was thought that the moon had much to do with the growth of crops, and it is still a common belief that grain grows just as much the night of full moon as it does during the day. Some sought Biblical evidence to support their beliefs, noting that God "appointed the moon for seasons" (Psalm 104:19) and that "there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and the stars" (Luke 21:25).

The day of planting seeds or setting plants was of great importance, and everything depended on the moon's position in the zodiac on that day. Everett A. Gillis in an excellent study called "Zodiac Wisdom"² explains the significance of the moon-signs:

The zodiac proper is an imaginary belt or circle on the celestial sphere, sixteen degrees broad, containing the twelve zodiacal constellations—through which the sun, because of the earth's annual orbit around it, seems to an observer on the earth to make an annual circuit. In its horoscopes and predictions, traditional astrology makes great use of the influence on human

¹ Published by John Baer's Sons, Lancaster, since the 1820's. Of its annual circulation of over 200,000 copies, several thousand are sold in Cumberland County.

² *Western Folklore*, XVI (1957), 77-89.

The Man of the Signs. (Reprinted by Permission of John Baer's Sons, Lancaster, from Baer's Agricultural Almanac, 1966)

ANATOMY OF MAN'S BODY,

AS SAID TO BE GOVERNED BY THE TWELVE CONSTELLATIONS

The Head and Face — ♈ Aries.

Arms,
♊ Gemini.

Heart,
♌ Leo.

Reins,
♎ Libra.

Thighs,
♏ Sagittarius.

Legs,
♐ Aquarius.



The Feet — ♓ Pisces.

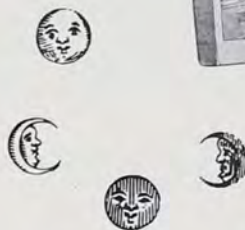
Neck,
♉ Taurus.

Breast,
♋ Cancer.

Bowels,
♍ Virgo.

Secrets,
♏ Scorpio.

Knees,
♑ Capricorn.



affairs of the sun and the planets as they occupy various constellations. Folk interest, however, is concerned only with the moon and its phases, and the specific periods at which it occupies the various signs. During its monthly revolution around the earth, the moon appears in each of the signs at least once. The dates at which this occurs for any given sign is carefully recorded in the almanacs and is thus easily available to any interested farmer. When the moon occupies those signs which lie above the earth's ecliptic, or plane of its orbit, it is said to be in the "up" signs; when in those below the ecliptic, in the "down" signs.

Among the farmers of western Cumberland County the astrological horoscope has had little importance, but the belief in the effectiveness of moon-signs was formerly quite widespread.

This belief in the effect and importance of the moon in agricultural pursuits is both ancient and far-reaching. Arnold Van Gennep considers it one of mankind's oldest beliefs,³ and scientists even today are puzzled by the effect of the moon on living organisms.⁴ Thus a belief in the efficacy of moon-signs may not be as far-fetched as it at first appears. The origin of this belief is lost in the primitive practices of medieval Europe. In the 15th Century, the signs were used to determine the best days for administering purges and bloodletting. Since at least 1569 almanacs have indicated the change in the signs and the various farm activities best performed at such times.

The classical names for the figures surrounding the Man of the Signs have long since been forgotten, the local folk having replaced them with more significant names. Thus Aries is now the Ram, Taurus the Bull, Gemini the Twins, Cancer the Crab, Leo the Lion, Virgo the Posey-woman, Aquarius the Water-man, Libra the Scales, Scorpio the Scorpion, Sagittarius the Archer, Capricornus the Goat, and Pisces the Fish. Though most of the beliefs about moon-signs are traditional, having been spread by the almanacs, some develop by analogy, through a belated functioning of a belief in sympathetic magic. Thus it is thought that the best time to plant cabbage is in the sign of the head, and the best time to go fishing is in the sign of the Fish. The zodiac signs were originally identified with the four elements—earth (cold and dry), air (hot and moist), fire (hot and dry), and water (cold and moist)—but this association has virtually disappeared and presently persists only in the occasional reference to the

³ *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), p. 258.

⁴ See for example John Lear, "The Orbiting Potato," *Saturday Review*, Sept. 4, 1965, pp. 47-51.

Lion as a fiery sign (see no. 22, below) and to the Water-man as a wet sign (see no. 29, below).

The following beliefs are typical of those held in western Cumberland County in the first half of the 20th Century.⁵ The predominant racial stock of the area is Pennsylvania German, two or three generations removed from the "Dutch" language and traditions. There has been in addition considerable intermarriage with English, Irish and French elements, though a number of the local families trace their ancestry in the area to the early years of the 19th Century.

General Planting Signs

1. The sign of the Ram is a good sign for planting things with heads.

EB. Gillis, p. 83; Randolph, p. 37.

2. Plant in the sign of the Twins if you want a lot of something.

EB. Brown 7994; Owens, p. 120.

3. The Twins is a germination sign. Plant anything above the ground to produce in that sign.

EB. Gillis, pp. 82-83.

4. The upper [anatomy] signs are for leafy crops.

ES.

5. The Scales is a good sign to plant anything if you want a heavy crop.

JRB. Brown 7993.

6. Whatever you plant in the sign of the Posey-woman 'll go to blossoms.

EB. Gillis, p. 82; Hand, no. 219.

7. Plant shoots in the sign of the Archer. This is a good sign to plant vegetables.

JRB. Cf. Fogel 1011: "Everything planted in Sagittarius will run to seed."

8. The lower [anatomy] signs are for root crops.

ES. Randolph, p. 34.

9. Root crops planted in the down sign go deep; those planted in the up sign stick out.

ES.

Specific Planting Signs

10. The Twins is a good sign to plant *applemelons*.

ES.

11. If you want a lot of *beans*, plant them in the sign of the Twins.

EB, JRB. Brown 8066, 8072, Fogel 1013; *Moonlore*, p. 7.

12. Tomorrow [the sign of the Crab] is a good day to plant *beans*, so the Almanac says.

ES. Brown 8067.

13. Plant *beans* in the up sign and they'll go up the poles.

EB. Fogel 1025; *Moonlore*, p. 7; Owens, p. 119.

14. When the sign's in the head [Aries, the Ram] it's a

good time to plant *cabbage*.

EB, JRB. Brown 8096; *Moonlore*, p. 8.

15. Plant *cantalopes* in the sign of the Twins if you want them to have a lot on.

EB, ES.

16. Never plant *clover* in the up sign.

JRB.

17. The Scorpion is a good sign to plant *corn*.

ES. Fogel 981; *Moonlore*, p. 8; Randolph, p. 38. Cf. Brown 8124-25.

18. If you want a lot of *cucumbers*, plant them in the sign of the Twins.

EB, ES. Brown 8167; Fogel 1013; Randolph, p. 36; Yoder, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 2 (1961), p. 68.

19. The Posey-Woman is a good sign to plant posies and anything you want blossoms on.

EB, ES, JRB. Brown 8362-63; Amos Long, Jr., "Grout-Kootch, Coldframe and Hotbed," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIII, no. 4 (1964), p. 27.

20. The Twins is a good sign to plant *melons* of any kind.

ES. *Moonlore*, p. 9.

21. If you plant your *onions* in the up sign, they'll come out on top of the ground. In the down sign they go deep.

JRB. Brown 8190; Owens, p. 120.

22. If you want strong *onions*, plant them in the sign of the Lion. That's a fiery sign.

EB.

23. The Goat is a good time for planting *onions* or anything under the ground.

JRB.

24. If you plant *peas* in the sign of the Posey-woman, they'll all go to blossom.

EB. Brown 8207.

25. Tomorrow's the best sign in the whole Almanac for *potatoes*—the sign of the Scales.

JRB. Brown 8225, Fogel 1019.

26. If you plant your *potatoes* in the up sign they'll come up on top of the ground. In the down sign they go deep.

JRB. Cf. Brown 8224; Owens, p. 119; Yoder, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 4 (1962), p. 37.

27. The Fish is a good sign for *potatoes*, but they get watery.

EB. Brown 8226; Hoffman, p. 130.

28. Don't plant *potatoes* in the sign of the Fish, or they'll get watery.

JRB.

29. The sign of the Water-man makes *potatoes* watery.

JRB. Fogel 1014; cf. 988.

30. The Twins is a good sign to plant *watermelons*.

ES. *Moonlore*, p. 10.

Butchering and other activities were likewise carried out according to the signs of the moon:

31. Butchering should be done when the moon is on the increase, so the meat doesn't shrivel up when you fry it. I've seen this happen.

JRB. Brown 7693; Fogel 1259; Hoffman, p. 130; Owens, p. 120; Randolph, p. 47. Cf. Eric Sloane, *Folklore of American Weather* (New York, 1963), pp. 59-60.

32. If you butcher in the decrease of the moon, your meat'll shrivel up.

ES. Brown 7710, 7715, 7718; Yoder, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 4 (1962), p. 37.

33. The signs of the Fish, Crab and Scorpion are good fishing signs.

JRB. *Moonlore*, p. 12. Cf. Brown 7744.

⁵I wish to thank the following informants for indicating beliefs and practices of their relatives and neighbors in an earlier generation: Mrs. Ella Barrick (EB), Mrs. Elsie Snyder (ES), J. Russell Barrick (JRB). These beliefs have been compared with the following folklore collections and studies: The *Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, vols. VI-VII (Durham, 1961-64); Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia, 1915); Wayland D. Hand, "Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Pennsylvania," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, IV (1959), 106-120; W. J. Hoffman, "Folk-Lore of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Journal of American Folklore*, I (1888), 125-135; *Moonlore*, pub. by John Baer's Sons (Lancaster, n.d.); J. G. Owens, "Folk-Lore from Buffalo Valley, Central Pennsylvania," *Journal of American Folklore*, IV (1891), 115-128; Vance Randolph, *Ozark Superstitions* (New York, 1947); Don Yoder, "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 2 (Summer, 1961), 56-69; idem, "Witch Tales from Adams County," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 4 (1962), 29-37.

JULY, 7th Month

Days and Weeks	Remarkable Days	H. w. h.	The Moon				Miscellaneous Particulars	The Sun	
			South eve. h.m.	Place & Age	rises eve. h.m.	sets		alt.	sets
Friday	1 Theobald	1	11 30	☾ 13	7 00	No. Crown so. 8:30-9:30e.	4 4 34	7 33	
Saturday	2 Visit V. M.	1	morn.	☾ 14	7 56	2. Owl so. 7:04e	4 4 35	7 33	
27] 4th Sunday after Trinity									
Day's length 14 hours 57 min.									
Sunday	3 Dog Days beg.	2	12 25	☾ 15	8 43	☽ rises 2:32 mo.	4 4 35	7 32	
Monday	4 Independence	3	1 18	☾ 16	9 22	Markab rises 9:22e.	4 4 36	7 32	
Tuesday	5 Demetrius	4	2 09	☾ 17	9 55	☽ furthest ☽ ☽ ☽ ☽	4 4 36	7 32	
Wednesday	6 John Huss	4	2 56	☾ 18	10 22	☽ sets 11e.-1 mo.	4 4 37	7 32	
Thursday	7 Edelburga	5	3 40	☾ 19	10 45	Moon Apogee	5 4 37	7 32	
Friday	8 Aquilla	6	4 22	☾ 20	11 07	☽ rises 12-1 mo.	5 4 38	7 31	
Saturday	9 Zeno	6	5 02	☾ 21	11 28	Antares so. 9:16e. ☽ ☽ ☽ ☽	5 4 39	7 31	
28] 5th Sunday after Trinity									
Day's length 14 hours 51 min.									
Sunday	10 Israel	7	5 42	☾ 22	11 50	☽ so. 9-11e.	5 4 39	7 30	
Monday	11 Pius	8	6 22	☾ 23	morn.	☽ rises 3:18 mo.	5 4 40	7 30	
Tuesday	12 Henry	9	7 04	☾ 24	12 13	☽ sets 10-12 eve.	6 4 41	7 30	
Wednesday	13 Margaret	10	7 43	☾ 25	12 40	☽ rises 1-3 mo.	6 4 41	7 29	
Thursday	14 Bonavent.	11	8 40	☾ 26	1 10	Betelgeuse ri. 4:01 mo.	6 4 42	7 29	
Friday	15 St. Swithin	12	9 34	☾ 27	1 49	Sickle sets 10e. ☽ ☽ ☽	6 4 43	7 28	
Saturday	16 Hilary	12	10 34	☾ 28	2 36	Gr. Cross so. 11e-1 mo. ☽ ☽ ☽	6 4 44	7 28	
29] 6th Sunday after Trinity									
Day's length 14 hours 43 min.									
Sunday	17 Alexius	1	11 36	☾ 29	sets eve.	17. Orion rl. 3-5 mo	6 4 44	7 27	
Monday	18 Maternus	2	eve 40	☾ 0	8 23	Altair so. 12:04 mo.	6 4 45	7 26	
Tuesday	19 Rufina	3	1 41	☾ 1	9 4	Moon Perigee	6 4 46	7 26	
Wednesday	20 Elias	4	2 38	☾ 2	9 37	Sisters rise 12:30 mo.	6 4 47	7 25	
Thursday	21 Praxedes	4	3 32	☾ 3	10 06	☽ ri. 3:56 mo. ☽ ☽ ☽	6 4 48	7 24	
Friday	22 Mary Magd.	5	4 22	☾ 4	10 33	Auriga ri. 2-3 mo.	6 4 48	7 24	
Saturday	23 Appollinaris	6	5 11	☾ 5	11 00	Antares so. 8:24 eve.	6 4 49	7 23	
30] 7th Sunday after Trinity									
Day's length 14 hours 32 min.									
Sunday	24 Christiana	7	5 59	☾ 6	11 27	24. Andromeda so. 4-6m.	6 4 50	7 22	
Monday	25 St. James	8	6 48	☾ 7	11 56	☽ Cl. ☽ ☽ ☽	6 4 51	7 21	
Tuesday	26 St. Ann	9	7 39	☾ 8	morn.	Rigel rises 3:30 mo. ☽	6 4 52	7 20	
Wednesday	27 Martha	10	8 31	☾ 9	12 30	Mira rises 12:10 mo.	6 4 53	7 19	
Thursday	28 Pantaleon	10	9 25	☾ 10	1 10	☽ so 10-12e. Inf. ☽ ☽ ☽	6 4 54	7 18	
Friday	29 Beatrix	11	10 19	☾ 11	1 56	Vega so. 10:07 eve.	6 4 54	7 18	
Saturday	30 Abdon	12	11 13	☾ 12	2 50	Job's Coffin so. 12:04 mo.	6 4 55	7 17	
31] 8th Sunday after Trinity									
Day's length 14 hours 20 min.									
Sunday	31 Germanus	1	morn.	☾ 13	3 48	☽ rises 9:36 eve.	6 4 56	7 16	

STAGE COACHES HELPED KEEP EARLY AMERICANS MOVING.



July, 1966 as it appears in Baer's Agricultural Almanac. The Moon Signs appear in the column labeled "The Moon: Place & Age." The up and down signs appear in the "Miscellaneous Particulars" column. The Almanac is used also to predict the weather. If it rains on St. Swithin's Day (July 15) the saying goes, it will rain for forty days. On July 2 "Mary goes over the mountain, and if it rains on that day, it'll rain till she comes back" (Aug. 15). The sign of the Herschel (☿) on July 21 is read to indicate a thunderstorm that day. (Reprinted by permission of John Baer's Sons)

- 34. When the sign of the Fish comes in the dark of the moon, it's supposed to be good fishing.
JRB.
- 35. Soap should be made in the increase of the moon.
EB. *Moonlore*, p. 11. E. and O. Webber, *Bound Girl* (N.Y., 1950), pp. 52-53: "Soap made when the moon was fulling lathered up and cut the dirt, but when it was becoming smaller you'd about as well throw the stuff away as to use it."
- 36. Sourkraut should be made in the sign of the Fish.
JRB. *Moonlore*, p. 13. Cf. Yoder, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 2 (1961), p. 68.
- 37. The Lion is a good sign for getting rid of weeds and thistles.
EB. ES. Gillis, p. 81; Hoffman, p. 131; *Moonlore*, p. 12; Randolph, p. 41; cf. Brown 8347.
- 38. Grass cut in the decrease of the moon won't grow back as fast.
JRB.
- 39. Cut your hair in the decrease of the moon and it won't grow back as fast.

JRB. *Moonlore*, p. 11; see also Frederick Starr, "Some Pennsylvania German Lore," *Journal of American Folklore*, IV (1891), 322; Owens, p. 120.

40. Cut all kinds of Oak wood & Chestnut in the month of August, in the Forenoon, & in the dark of the moon that is after Full Moon.

Rev. Daniel Stock, c. 1865; see *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, X (1965), 192.

41. [Cut] Hickory, Pine, Maple or any kind of white wood in the Month of August in the forenoon and between New Moon and the full of the Moon in the sign of the Virgin.

Rev. Daniel Stock, c. 1865; see *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, X (1965), 192.

It is somewhat strange that the farmers of this area usually pay little attention to the light and the dark of the moon since these signs are of particular importance in Pennsylvania Dutch lore.⁶ This may be due in part to the confusion surrounding the time of the light and dark of the moon. It is generally agreed that the time between full moon and new moon, when the moon is decreasing, is the dark of the moon, while the light of the moon is the time between new moon and full moon.⁷ Many people, going by the moon-faces in the Almanac (where the new moon and first quarter are shaded), consider the opposite to be the case.

Very important signs in Cumberland County are the up and down signs, indicated in the Almanac by a small moon with the horns pointing up (☾) or down (☽). In July 1966 the up sign occurs twice, on the 2nd and 29th, while the down sign occurs on the 15th (space did not permit its inclusion on the Almanac page accompanying this article). These signs are usually considered important in lumbering and wood-working activities, though they have other applications as well (cf. nos. 9, 13, 16, 21 and 26, above). A common witticism, "It must be the down sign," said when something is dropped accidentally, would suggest that these signs are not taken too seriously, but those who do believe in them are firmly convinced of their effectiveness. One man tells of helping to shingle a stable roof, part of which was done on Saturday in the down sign, the remainder the following Monday in the up sign. Five years later, he says, the shingles put on the up sign had curled, while the rest were still flat. Common beliefs associated with the up and down signs are:

- 42. Concrete walks should be put down in the down sign.
JRB.
- 43. Ground plowed in the up sign stays loose; in the down sign it gets hard.
JRB.
- 44. Spread manure in the down sign.
JRB. *Moonlore*, p. 13; Owens, p. 120.
- 45. Shingles [wood or asbestos] should be put on in the down sign, or else they'll curl up.
JRB. Brown 8467-68; Fogel 1252; Hoffman, p. 129; *Moonlore*, p. 12; Yoder, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII, no. 4 (1962), p. 37.
- 46. If you clean your well in the down sign, the water'll disappear. That's what they said.
EB.
- 47. If you plant a willow tree in the down sign the limbs will grow down and be nice. If you plant it in the up sign, they won't get nice at all.
ES.

⁶ See the booklet, *Moonlore*, published by John Baer's sons, especially pp. 5-10.

⁷ See *Moonlore*, p. 6; *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, X (1965), 193.

Reminiscences of "Des Dumm Fattel"



By VICTOR C. DIEFFENBACH

[Victor C. Dieffenbach (1882–1965), long familiar to the readers of *Pennsylvania Folklife* as writer of engaging sketches of his boyhood, and topical articles on various phases of Pennsylvania's rural culture, died last year at the age of eighty-three. We are happy to publish this article as a tribute to him. It was written in 1965 and is one of the last things he wrote for us. It deals with his favorite subject, his own reminiscences of his boyhood days in the so-called "Dumb Quarter" (*Dumm Fattel*) of Berks County—that northwestern corner of Berks County which was proverbially famous for "*dumme Leit un fette Ochse*" (dumb people and fat oxen). The oxen were fat, but the people, judging from Victor Dieffenbach himself and many other distinguished farmers' sons who came from the area, did not fit the proverbial description. For the area described in these tales, see Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1886), especially the chapters on Bethel, Tulpehocken, and Upper Tulpehocken Townships. For a brief sketch of Victor Dieffenbach, see Joel Hartman, "The Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect Can Never Die Out—Der Alt Bauer," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. I No. 11, July 14, 1949, page 1. —EDITOR.]

This area also includes the old-style town of Frystown, which, although it is over 100 years old, has never been a post office. Even though it served as such for a number of years in the receiving and distributing of mail, it was then known as "Cross-Kill Mills," but the town proper never had this name as its own. At the extreme western end of Berks County, less than a quarter of a mile from the county line, at what used to be Newcomer's (Newcomer's) Mill, now Spannuth's Mill, used to be the post office long ago.

The Spannuths originally were Hessian soldiers—others of the British troops in the Revolutionary War. When they came to Mt. Penn, east of Reading, and saw the natural beauty of the country, they threw down their guns and swords and shouted: "This land is too beautiful to be ravaged by war," and refused to fight any longer.

The Swope family were also in this gang, being originally from the province of Swabia (*des Schwowaland*), and J. Hiram Swope, one time a member of the State Legislature, is the man who put the name of Frystown on the map; it is at present seen on the road map of Pennsylvania.

DRIED HERRING AND DRIED RAT

As a teenager, we used to sit round the red-hot cannon-ball stove at the store—run by the Old Squire, viz., Jim Swope, and listen to old John Yiengst, a Civil War veteran. There used to be an old-style wood-chest there to sit on; it was very old and rounded at one end and had a partition through it; the small compartment at the end was always full of dried herring, which was the favorite lunch of the oldsters. Every once in a while one of them would

reach down and pick up such a dried fish and then with his barber-knife he'd cut a notch at the rear end and pull out the guts. They were always dried in their natural form just as God made them.

Now in this town lived an erstwhile verterinarian, a horse doctor of sorts, by name of Johnnie S. He had a son, Will, and he was a replica of Peck's Bad Boy.

One day Will found the dried remains of a rat in a pile of waste material, and secretly he mixed it in with the dried fish, which it very much resembled. So as soon as I had occupied my reserved seat the following night, he slipped a slip of paper in my hand. On it was scribbled, "Watch old Schlobbich!"

This was a disreputable character, always after the herring, and as he assumed them to be free-lunch he never paid for what he consumed—maybe several dozen—while the rest of the gang, keeping account of the number consumed by each, always paid for them at the conclusion of the evening's fun at the rate of one cent per fish.

This night old John was telling of some of his experiences in the Deep South during the days of the Confederacy, and old Schlobbich was after the fish in dead earnest, when all of a sudden he started to gurgle, making a noise like a dog with a bone in his throat. He chewed with all his might, he made a double shuffle and spewed out the half-chewed carcass of a rat into his cupped hand. Old John started for the door and he just about made it. When he came back he said to this fellow, "If you do that again I'll lick you, old as I am. I never saw the likes of that—not even in the Confederacy!"¹

THE SIZE 14 SHOES

On the west side of the creek (the site of the Fire Hall at present) lived old Ed Moyer, the village shoemaker, a very religious man but given to exaggeration. He still made the old-style cowhide boots. They were made to measure, and if not properly greased they finally got as hard as the Rock of Gibraltar. One night having got the floor as Speaker of the House, he related of the monstrous boots that he had made one time for a man of gigantic build. "They were size 14, at least, and when I started to turn one boot around end for end, I couldn't—it was too big. So I took it out on the street to turn it around!"

"How did you get it out through the door," said one of the Marks boys.

"Well, now, that I cannot remember," he said. "You must think of how long ago this was. I forgot."

"Oh, sure," said Jimmy—"It must have been before you started lying!"

¹This story illustrates the practical joking that went on constantly in the rural areas. This example has a double theme, youngsters getting back at the older generation, as well as deflating the prestige of an obvious sponger.

FREE STRAW HATS

I recall the time when Dad and I were up in the barn in a rainy day, busily engaged in making coops to put the chickens in as they were butchering. Our next neighbor (Isaac B.) had gone to town to the general store of Old Squire Swope, and we saw him on his way back with several store boxes loaded on his two wheeled gig. Shortly after dinner he came over to our house, and the gate-lock of the barn being wide open he drove right in on the barn floor. The gig was now loaded to overflowing with dozens of new straw hats, of all shapes and sizes.

"Pick yourself out a few," he said to me. Then he told us that he had bought the wooden boxes to make coops as we were doing. In those days there were no corrugated boxes like nowadays. Swope had a boy as clerk in the store, a very lively kid, so when he unpacked boxes he always nailed the loosened top to the bottom of the box and threw them onto a pile in the lot back of the store. The hat boxes being very light, got mixed up with the empty ones and were relegated to the pile without getting unpacked.

THE DAY I MADE MONEY

At the East End of this town is a white building, the school-house wherein the writer got his meager (?) education. Later it was used as a meetinghouse by the Dunkards and still later converted into a dwelling-house.

One time on a nice October day an old farmer by the name of David Bensing came to the schoolhouse and asked me if I would take care of a herd of cattle during the noon hour and herd them on the street near the town and let them graze along the roadside. He was going to sell them at the hotel in town in the afternoon. I did. There were 17 cows, some with calves, a dozen heifers, plus a score of bulls and steers of assorted sizes and colors.

That hour contained at least 247 minutes. The cattle were all over town, in old Nolt's garden, one got into Kelty Yiengst's yard and I almost had a mess when I came around the corner of the woodshed and there stood a big brindled bull and had one of old Kelty's custards hanging on one of his 18-inch horns. After old John had helped me to finish the roundup (it was the first and only rodeo ever held in Frystown), old Bensing came and gave me a nice round nickel. He thought it was generous pay.²

²This story illustrates the niggardliness which once commonly existed in the payment of children. It is related to the common Pennsylvania story of the father who gave each of his children a penny for the county fair and told them to be careful how they spent it.

THE CASKET SLIPPED

Right south of the school-house is a big white building; it is the meetinghouse of the Church of the Brethren. We had a school teacher who was a member of this congregation, so when there was a funeral at this house of worship he allowed us to go over. One day there was the funeral of a very big fat old woman and as it was in winter, the ground had been frozen hard when they dug the grave; consequently there were big chunks of frozen sod in the pile of ground near the grave. There was a big crowd of people in attendance, so I got up on the pile of ground so as to see better.

The undertaker in charge of the obsequies was a very old man and somewhat careless. This all happened long ago (in the era of round shoelaces) and there were no concrete burial vaults, the lower part of the grave simply being lined with bricks so as to present a more decent appearance for the reception of the casket. One of the pall-bearers was a neighbor of ours, a man of a queer facial expression, a complexity of features—you might say he had a perpetual scowl or frown, intermixed with an impish grin of jollity.

To lower the casket into the grave they used a long strap of some woven material, much resembling a web-halter or stuff used for making heavy suspenders; this was used as a sling by the bearers of the coffin; it was slipped underneath the coffin on top of the bier, one man held each end of it, someone removed the bier, and the bearers proceeded to lower the coffin into the grave.

Now these four men actually had, as the saying goes, their hands full. The exceptional weight of the deceased, plus the weight of a big casket of solid walnut, was a considerable weight and one of the straps was so weakened that it tore while the casket was being lowered into the grave. The strap that broke was held at one end by Benjamin B. and as the weight was reduced, naturally he overbalanced, fell, and rolled backwards out through the assembled crowd of mourners at the graveside. Never to my dying day will I forget the looks of that man as he went revolving through the assembled throng. When I reported this mishap at the supper-table at our home, I said, "*Er iss gerollt wie en Karrebs!*" (He rolled like a pumpkin).

THE LIBERTY POLE

In 1885 when Grover Cleveland was elected his first term as President of the United States, and Adlai Stevenson, Sr., as Vice-President, the Democrats of this section erected a Liberty Pole on the hill in Frystown, right where Henninger's Purina feedstore now stands. It was a hickory pole, 75 feet high, and it was made of two trees of equal diameter, held together by half a dozen hand-wrought iron rings.

The pole had a banner of strong canvas, mounted on a wooden frame, and on it was painted the likeness of the two lucky candidates and their names and the date, all done by my father, Jacob Dieffenbach. We, he and I, carried it for two miles to its destination, slung on a pole on our shoulders. At the extreme top of the pole was an iron pulley for running up a flag after the pole had been erected.

It was a monstrous and a jolly crowd that raised the pole. A gang of fellows with long pikes and local carpenters assisted and finally it stood straight and tall like a veritable skyscraper. But woe betide! The pulley in some way or other, refused to work, the rope wouldn't slip through, and Old Glory hung at half mast. A young strippling, a boy hired to Old John Zeller, volunteered to climb up and fix it so that it worked, if someone would first give him a good shot of liquor.



Area referred to in this article.

My Granddad, a real Old Time Democrat, said that if the boy could fix it, he'd give him five dollars in gold. And was ready to pay him, but he only shook his head. "Keep your money," he said. "I'll go up for nix, but I drink first."

So, to keep the peace, the old man took the boy over to the hotel, gave him a good snorter of the real stuff and then shinned up that pole like a singed cat and soon had the thing a-going. Old Glory was flung to the breeze and was proudly flapping while the eagle screamed and likewise did the crowd. And the youngster took the money and finally let the good old rye drool from the corners of his slack-jawed mouth. He was called Anson Sourwine; later he was a steeple-jack, fell from a church spire that he was painting up in Harrisburg, hit in a sky light and broke his back.

This was the first pole I ever helped to erect for a Democratic President of the United States. The second one was for Woodrow Wilson, at the Rehrersburg Fire Hall in 1913, and the third one was for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at Mt. Aetna in 1932. I still think that this is quite a record for a kid of 82 years old. I'd like to have anyone with such a record write to the Editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife* and tell him.

THE OLD CIDER MILL

About a city block South of Frystown was the home of old Jacob Groff. Old Jake was godfather to my Dad and so we used to go there to make our cider. This, in the olden times, was quite a chore. Unlike the article by Alliene DeChant in a former issue of the *Dutchman* which describes it—the farmers in our area did NOT congregate and discuss the crops while waiting their turn at making cider.

I remember the time when Dad and I went to the Groff homestead to find out when we could get the mill. Jake scratched his pate and replied, "Tomorrow (Monday) Mike Stoudt will come; Tuesday comes Jim Krause. Wednesday is the day for John Deck (*Der Schof-Deck* [Sheep-Deck], so called since he always had sheep and there was another man of the same name in the community).³ So you can come on Thursday!"

So we went bright and early to the Groff farm. One of the horses was hitched to a long pole, or rather to a single-tree attached to the pole, which at the upper end was mortised into the revolving shaft of the grinder. So when the horse walked all the time in a circle with the sweep that turned the grinder, I would be seated near the two wooden grooved rollers of the grinder. The apples were dumped into a hopper, fell down into the contraption and were mashed into a lumpy mass, which clung to the rollers. I had a wooden paddle (*en britsch*) to scrape this stuff off the rollers, down into a bin underneath, from where it was scraped up and put in the press nearby. I was deathly afraid that I would drop into the machine and be ground to mush. Maybe it would have been lucky for me if I had.

Canvas or burlap had not yet been invented, so rye straw, threshed with flails, was used in the press. One time as the man at the press stopped to put on a fresh layer of apples, I asked him if I could have some cider to drink. He handed me a long piece of straw and told me to drink all I wanted. Eager to quench my thirst and as

³ Will our readers send lists of similar nicknames familiar to them from their home areas, to the Editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

a kid of five usually will be, I was over anxious to taste the sweet juice. A yellow jacket sat on the end of the straw and when I put it in my mouth, I thought that lightning had hit me. I hollered. Old Jake gathered me in his arms and rushed to the house. Some one of the women put some baking soda on it, but Jake went to the corner-cupboard and got out a big bottle of whiskey. He put about a spoonful in a glass, added a good swallow of water, and gave it to me. I drank it and soon forgot the pain.

"WET CIDER" IN THE "OFF YEAR"

The apples on the trees while still growing and immature, were just allowed to grow, they were not thinned. So the tree bore a super crop of fruit, was exhausted, and the next year or the next growing season would fail to bring a crop. It was the year of no fruit and was called in the Pennsylvania German dialect "*des abyohr*"—the "off year." Nobody seemed to know the cause of it—the why and the wherefore.

So when there would be a scarcity of fruit (only a few apples), the pomace (*eppel-dreschder*), after it had been pressed, was placed in wooden tubs, the big scalding-trough, used at butchering time to scald hogs, and a lot of water poured on it, until it was covered. It was let soak for several days and then it was used to replenish the cider barrels. This was called "*nasser cider*" (wet cider).

THE TRAMP AND THE VINEGAR BARREL

If one wanted good vinegar in a hurry, we put a branch from a linden-tree (basswood) in through the bughole. Just cut it from a live tree, let the bark on it, leave a stub so it will not slip down into the barrel, and you will have vinegar strong enough to use before you know it.

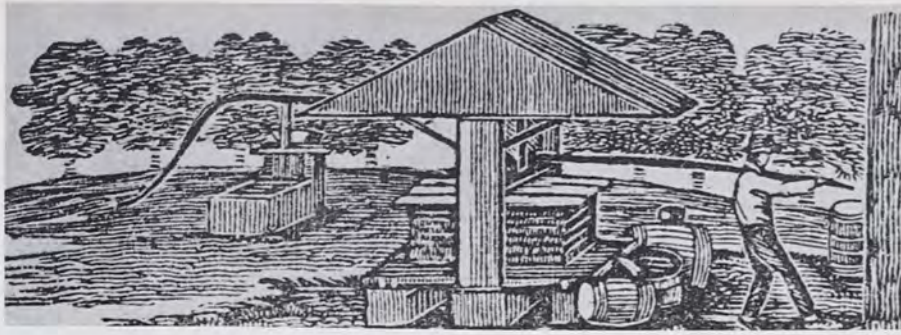
I remember the day that I was busily employed in cleaning out an old vinegar barrel as a kid, when a big old German tramp (*en rum-laefer*)⁴ came into our yard and asked me what I was doing. I told him; the vinegar had been no good—it wasn't spoiled—it never had been vinegar. My mother, the hired girl, my grandmother and all the neighboring women had all tried their luck and it was just an oily, sticky slop. So Fritz stood the barrel on end, took off the hoops at the top and lifted out the barrel-head. "*Kein Wunder*" (no wonder), he said. He reached into the barrel and removed an armful of grapevines, twigs, strips of dough, and God knows what. All of it had been put in by the various diagnosticians. Then he put in some lime and wood ashes and boiling water. After we had cleaned it, he put the hoops back on it again.

Fritz helped to pick cider apples and when we were ready to go to Spannum's Cider Mill he went along. He took an axe along and while we made cider he went upstream, alongside the mill-dam, with the axe on his shoulder.

Soon he returned carrying a stick from a linden tree. He told us that they call it "*Sauer-huls*" (sour-wood). When we told of this at our supper-table, old Sarah, our old maid hired girl, said, "*Geb mir uscht drei beesse weiver far ins Fass duh*"—"Just give me three angry women to put in a barrel."⁵

⁴ Victor Dieffenbach had a particularly rich repertoire of tramp stories. See also his valuable article, "Peddlers I Remember," in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIV No. 1, October 1964.

⁵ This "method" for souring vinegar, with its obvious sympathetic magic basis, has been commonly reported by folklorists working in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. The sourness of the women was thought to transfer itself to the vinegar.



PROVERBIAL LORE OF THE "DUMM FATTEL"

1. "Never lie back of a green (unbroken) mule to rest during the noon hour (*die rik-schtundt*)."

2. "Don't lift a guinea-pig by the tail or its eyes will drop out."

3. "When bringing a new cow home—i.e., one that you just bought—drive it *backwards* around the barn three times and the cow won't get homesick," said Old Nick Wagner to me one time.

"How do you go backwards with a cow?" I said. "She has no reverse."

Then he explained that he meant counter-clockwise, only he didn't know that word, so he said to go backwards.⁶

4. "When the applebutter would boil up and go over the kettle and run all over, they told us to put some butter in it to get it down again." We were at one of our neighbors when this happened. So one of the girls came and put in a hunk of butter like a walnut in a plate; it didn't help. She said that down in the cellar was plenty but she was afraid to go down in the dark all alone, so I went along to hold the lantern. I was only about fourteen then.

5. "Whenever one moves to a new place, the very first thing the farmer's wife should do in entering her new home is this: without speaking one word to anyone, she should give to their dog a freshly cut slice of bread, well smeared with butter, and that dog will never let any stranger or robber enter that house!" This is from a very old farm wife that used to live up here long ago. It also applies to anyone that moves from place to place, not just to farmers.

FLITTING (MOVING) DAY

Speaking of moving, reminds me—some folks say a "flitting," but that is more modern. Folks in towns and cities, renting, often move to a distant place and forget to pay the rent. This is often done at night, hence a fly-by-night, or flitting.⁷

As a kid, I remember how Dad and I would go to a moving where folks moved in from a distance, too far for us to help transporting their stuff. So Dad would go, armed with a giant old wooden-handled screwdriver to help in setting up the old four-posters with their big iron screws in the ends of the side bars. Most of the folks would not have any tools of sufficient strength to move

⁶ Sun-wise or clock-wise was, in the Celtic and Germanic traditions of Northwest Europe, the accepted direction for going in a circle for healing and other purposes. Going counter-clockwise was looked upon in folk-culture as reversing the process involved.

⁷ The term "flitting," from the verb "to flit" is a common Scotch-Irishism in Pennsylvania. Despite Victor Dieffenbach's personalized etymology of it, the word has been traced, via Scotland, to Old Norse. It means simply to move from place to place. Pennsylvanians use the noun "flitting" both for the process of moving personal property from farm to farm, and for the goods moved at the time of moving.

these two-inch logscrews. I would help whenever I could get a hold.

One time I helped to move the landlord from the hotel at Frystown to Rock, in Schuylkill County. It took three days—one to get us loaded and drive all the way across the Blue Mountain. It got too late and we were tired, so we didn't get unloaded that day. At least some of the wagons didn't, although some drivers did.

The second day no one was inclined to do a stroke in the morning. Towards evening we finished unloading, but it was too late to start for home and we went home the third day.

APPLEJACK AT THE FUNERAL

Speaking of funerals in times past, I recollect Granddad telling of how it used to be the custom of passing around the jug or bottle at a funeral before proceeding to the church and subsequent interment.⁸

If the man of the house had passed on, the eldest son would come out into the yard with a jug or bottle of rye or applejack. The friends, neighbors, and acquaintances of the deceased then all lined up in a row alongside the fence and he'd go all along the line and give each a drink.

Granddad said that there was one very short fellow who would always get to the upper end of the row, get his drink, then work his way down to the lower end of the class so as to get a second helping.

I still have in my possession a black serge swallow-tailed frock coat, worn by a preacher of ye olden time. It has a slash-pocket in the inside of the coat-tail, to slip in a flask.⁹

A VISIT TO THE CENTENNIAL

I remember my mother relating of her experiences when she and my father, in company with a number of friends, had attended the Centennial in Philadelphia in 1876. She used to tell us of how full of soldiers, standing on guard, it was, and of all the numerous statues they saw there.

One place the big crowd jammed the traffic and they had to wait for a moment. A statue was right beside her, or at least she thought it was one; so she reached over and gently stroked the cheek of the man with her forefinger and said, "My, but he's got a smooth cheek," and the fellow turned his head.

⁸ This custom represented the pre-temperance movement stance of the Pennsylvania Dutch Lutherans and Reformed of Berks County—who held out longest against the invasion of the Puritanized mores of the Anglo-American churches.

⁹ The relish with which Victor Dieffenbach relates this discovery is related to the fact that Pennsylvania Dutchmen like to tell stories of Lutheran or Reformed preachers of the 19th Century who entered church on Sunday with one too many for the road. We need studies of attitudes of layman to clergyman in American religion. Even in the Protestant Pennsylvania Dutch Country there was a lingering anti-clericalism which expressed itself in such folktales where the preacher was deflated in this common way.

TOBACCO IN THE CHURCH

When Granddad rebuilt and remodeled the old Lutheran Altalaha Church at Rehrersburg, my father and I went to Myerstown to get some moulding for making frames to hang in the church telling the public to avoid spitting on the floor in church.¹⁰ Some chewed tobacco.

I was only three years of age at the time and had never seen a locomotive nor a train of cars. As luck would have it none went by while we were in town, but on the way home I saw one leaving for the next stop west—Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

Later, when I was a deacon of aforesaid church there was an old man who always sat up in the gallery, right up from the preacher, so he could hear him better; he chewed tobacco all the time and he always had a tomato can with him to spit in.

The name of the church (Altalaha) is of Indian origin and the run or little creek in the church property is of the same name.

"GREISCH FAR DER JECK!"

When I was six years old Dad took me along to the City of Lebanon. Barnum and Bailey's Big Show was there and we saw the parade. We were on Cumberland Street and for some purpose the parade stopped right in front of the William Penn Hotel at 7th Street.

There was a big cage on a wagon with a number of tigers in it and one of them, an immense Royal Bengal Tiger, refused to do his stunt when the keeper told him. He finally did the act, but one could see his heart wasn't in it. The man cracked his whip, turned to come out, and the big cat got him. He had him in his mouth crosswise at the hips and I could hear the man's bones crack like our big tomcat at home when he eats a mouse.

Men of the show came with long iron rods, heated in a furnace in an enclosed wagon till they were white hot for at least a foot. They pushed the rods into the cage until the beast relinquished his grasp and the man dropped. Other men dragged him out of the wagon and he fell almost on my toes with his head—I was that close.

They put him in an ambulance and after it was all over there was a man in front of me who looked very familiar—the only one I could see that I knew. The big cop on whose finger I had a grip of steel asked the man, "Are you Jake?" and we both yelled "Ya"—it was Dad. The cop said that I had told him to yell for Jake.

I am not sure but I think the crippled man's name was Bucci—anyway he was an Italian.

Years later, when I was already grown up, Dad would often yell, "*Greisch far der Jeck!*" (Holler for Jake!), depending on what the occasion was.

TWO SYSTEMS OF SCYTHING

Methinks 't would be a sin and a shame did I neglect, among all these memorabilia of the peaceful village, the revered and aged patriarch of the town, viz., Benneville Reinhard, who lived at the extreme western end of town.

¹⁰ Tobacco-chewing was so common in 19th Century America that spittoons were provided for constantly chewing male church-members. This ecclesiastical tolerance of human foibles has died out in the American churches, but one can still see in certain more primitive parts of Europe, signs such as the one which Victor Dieffenbach mentions. While it is rumored that examples of this type of church-placard have been preserved in several historical societies in Pennsylvania, the nearest the Editor has come to this tradition has been seeing (and, as a folklife scholar, duly photographing) the sign in a South Italian church, "Prego di non sputare nella chiesa!"—"Please do not spit in the church!"

He was a native of Lancaster County and very self-confident and set in his ways.

We had a very large meadow on my Dad's farm—in fact, it was at least eight acres in extent, and a big wet spot we had to cut with the scythe. Now this veteran used to help at haying-time and he had a very good German scythe, and he prided himself on his ability to swing it; so while he waddled through the tall grass, cutting only a three-foot swath, along came a little round fat roly-poly chap, name of Jake Neischwender, wielding a shining English scythe and cutting a swath, as Ripley says, believe it or not, it was almost eight feet wide.

"Yes," said the old-timer, "I learned how to mow in my young days."

"No, I did never learn to mow with a scythe," said Jake—"I was born too late. By the time I was old enough to handle a scythe, the mowing machine was invented, and I never learned how to cut like you do!"

THE CARPENTER'S STAIRWAY

When the old man was some ninety he would walk at least four miles one way to the Swope farm and husk corn and hike home at night. He was in the nineties when he died.

He was a carpenter of sorts and rumor had it that at one time he built a stairway in a summer house, and having nailed on all the treads of the stairway, he was afraid to descend the wobbly structure, when the housewife called to him to come down for the noon meal, so he hollered for the farmer to put a ladder at the window in the gable end of the building and thus he got down.

He would get mad as a hornet when someone would mention this whether it were actually true or not.

NICKEL HAIRCUTS

And old Serenus Noll the tailor who lived at the east end of town and also officiated as the village barber, he would cut your hair with the scissors for none knew what a clipper was at that time. It was a decent haircut for a nickel, although it might not have passed muster in the city. For a nice smooth shave he charged a dime.

He was the father of the late Rev. Elmer S. Noll.¹¹ His wife—*die Kitt* (Kate)—was a sister to Squire Francis J. Rollman of Rehrersburg who was a daughter of Aaron Snyder of Mt. Aetna, also a Justice of the Peace, and who was the father of "Die Wunnernaas" of radio fame.¹²

Veritably, when I recall all the noted individuals who came from this remote area and filled various offices in their time, including statesmen, doctors, judges, politicians, generals, and the law, one cannot help but wonder why such a name as "*Des Dumm Fattel*" (the Dumb Quarter) had been saddled on the community. Perhaps some comic homespun jester did it while in a sarcastic mood. But such is the saga of *Des Dumm Fattel*.

Undoubtedly it may have included towns like Strausstown, Shartlesville, etc., so as to contain one-fourth of the area of the county west of the Schuylkill. I hope that some reader of *Pennsylvania Folklife* may set me right.

¹¹ Elmer Noll was one of the last practising German-language preachers in the Dutch Country. In the last years before his recent death he used to preach the German sermon at the commemorative dialect services that have come to be held widely in Lutheran and Reformed (United) Churches in Eastern Pennsylvania.

¹² G. Gilbert Snyder ("*Die Wunnernaas*") will long be remembered for his popular Sunday-afternoon dialect program over WFFU, Reading, commenting on events and lore of the Dutch Country. For "*Die Wunnernaas*," see the article "The Reading 'Wunnernaas.'" *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. 1 No. 2, May 12, 1949, page 1.

THE ROUND CHURCH

Religiously, I am a Freethinker, i.e., I am NOT tied down to any stereotyped way of thinking and/or form of worship. And this reminds me of a very humorous story that I heard one time about a certain smart young man and a preacher. The boy was hired to a farmer, and on the first Sunday at his new home he attended the services in a nearby church.

The preacher, noticing the stranger, came up to him after the conclusion of the services and cordially extended his hand in greeting to the boy. Having asked his name he asked the youth if he belonged to any church, and if so, to state its name, location, and any particulars pertaining.

The boy said, "I belong to the Round Church."

The conversation having been in dialect, the preacher said, "*Rundti Karrich? Was iss des?*" (Round Church? what does that mean?).

"Well," said the boy, "It's built of stone and it's round in shape like a silo."

"And undoubtedly," said the man of God, "this has some particular idea in having such an unheard of form?"

"Right you are, Reverend," said the boy. "There are various reasons for its shape. First of all, it is very easy for the preacher, as the pews are all equally distant from the pulpit; he don't have to yell so that the folks in the corners can hear him. There are no corners. And if the chap with the tail and the horns should get in it, he could never get the preacher into a corner and get him."

"Where is this church?" asked the reverend, and the wise kid, grasping the preacher's hand as though to say, "Goodbye," laid it over his pulsing heart and put his own hand on his forehead, and said, "In both of these places—it's imaginary."¹³

BUTTER IN THE HAT

I do remember how a man used to work for Dad by the day on the farm and always got a pound of butter for their table use (they were only he and his wife and one child).

One time he came to our home a few days before Christmas on his way home from town where he had been shopping and enjoying the various fluid presents given him.

He always wore a brown derby—a "corkie" we used to call it—and he invariably put the pound of butter into the hat to carry it home about a mile and a half.

So when Granddad came up from the cellar with a bucket full of currant wine, preparatory to the usual festivities of Christmas, Benjy naturally did not refuse the drink.

The women of the family were at their baking and the stove was almost red hot when Benjy placed the butter inside his hat and resumed his seat on the wood-chest behind the stove. In a short time the butter started to melt and trickled down his forehead, down his cheeks and back of his ears.

Before he left they gave him another pound, free, and the old man himself put it into the poor inebriated fellow's hat.

Later, at a quilting-bee, his wife asked my grandfather what in the world had happened and how he had managed to pour a lot of grease down his back and get his clothes all full of grease, and not get scalded. She almost had a fit, when Grannie told her.¹⁴

¹³ Will readers with a knowledge of folktales of the "round church" tradition, please notify the Editor.

¹⁴ The "butter in the hat" theme is found, of course, in the fairy-tale corpus of Europe.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL P.S.

P.S. To the Editor, the dear readers of *Pennsylvania Folklife*, and—I feel justified in adding—to whoever it concerneth.

I remember on several occasions when standing at the microphone on the stage at our annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival at Kutztown, and spilling out some of my proverbial Dutch humor, when I saw some of the audience whisper into the ear of a person sitting alongside the words, "Who is he?" meaning me. So I will tell you. I am a born Pennsylvania Dutchman. Years ago, I would have said that I was a 100% Dutchman, but later changed my mind. Montgomery's *History of Berks County* tells me that Nicholas Thompson of Schuylkill County, a step-brother of my maternal grandfather, was born in Ireland. So today I say I'm 60% Pennsylvania Dutch, 10% Irish, 40% German, 1/10 of 1% French—and the rest of it you can cast to the four winds of heaven.

I was born on a windswept hilltop on a farm about approximately two miles west of Bethel, Pennsylvania, the second son and third child of a farmer and his wife. I have in my possession a diary written by him stating in his fine writing that at 3 P.M. on October 26th, 1882, a son was born to them and was called Victor after my uncle. So this corroborates the fact that it was the place where I first smelled paregoric.

After a strenuous life in various occupations I specialized in Pennsylvania Dutchiana by writing, speaking at the Hershey Dutch Days, at the annual Lebanon Valley Pennsylvania Dutch Fersammlung, at the annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival at Kutztown, Pennsylvania, ever since its conception. Likewise at the Harvest Frolic at Lancaster.

For almost fifty years, not continuously, I was engaged off and on in soliciting orders for nursery stock for several reputable firms, and sold many thousands of dollars worth of fruit, nut and shade trees, vines, hedges, rosebushes, and many decorative shrubs and flowers ad infinitum.

Early in this struggle for existence I formed the idea of leaving my politics, my religious leanings and my rubbers out with the doormat. It doesn't pay to bring them into the house, mixing them in business and thus spoiling a good order.

But please pardon my digression. I'm a lifelong Democrat, but at election time when I see a name on the ballot that looks good to me, I'll mark it, be he of any party but the Hammer and Sickle. Last Fall (1964) as I had no way to get to the polling place (Bethel) I did not vote. I had all the confidence in the good old Democrats to do the right thing. They did.

NOTES and DOCUMENTS

Two Documents from the First World War

Folklife scholars are interested in the same history and culture as scholars of other disciplines. However, their interest in such events as the Civil War or World War I, for example, is not in these events as political or military history, but in the effects of these events on the folk-culture, and the deposit of songs, ballads, and other effects of the war period on the area and culture under study.

Recently two such documents have turned up on the Editor's desk, one a Pennsylvania Dutch "Receipt for Wartime Pohnoss," a dialect satire on the Hoover food-saving program of the World War I period. It represents Pennsylvania Dutch humor at its broad and uneuphemistic best. The manuscript copy of the "receipt" was given the Editor by Mrs. Mabel Snyder of Temple, Berks County, long a faithful demonstrator (soapmaking, whitewashing) at the Folk Festival, who has treasured it since the days of its first circulation.

The second document, also a product of the first World War, was brought to the Editor by Scott Swank of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, graduate student in American His-

tory at the University of Pennsylvania. This document illustrates a type of "prophetic" biblical numerology that is popular among American Protestant sects of the apocalyptic, pre-millennialist, and adventist varieties. A popular pastime for sectarians of this type is to exercise their ingenuity in figuring out who is the "Beast" of the book of Daniel or the "Antichrist" of the book of Revelation. Since sectarians of this mind-set are radically against contemporary culture, this usually turns out to be the contemporary "enemy," in 1918 the Kaiser, earlier Napoleon, and in our time Hitler. The document would seem to be a copy of a newspaper article submitted to a local newspaper by Private Richard D. Kistler. The manuscript was found in Frederick, Maryland, which places it within the Pennsylvania Dutch cultural area. This type of fantastic numerological calculation is not limited to Pennsylvania Dutch sects; it is widespread in the United States and usually appears in times of national crisis. The document is reproduced here with the permission of its owner, Scott Swank.—EDITOR.

DOCUMENT NO. 1

"Receipt for Wartime Pohnoss"

Ich bin shon dale mols frorrok'd werra for my "ra'sate" for an guder pohnoss tzu kocha. Darrich die "food constarvation" tzeita mus mer alles denka for wolfel tzu lava. Des is en "ra'sate" os approved is bei'm food exterminator Hoover un aw by da Mrs. Scott.

Nem en paar gum shtivel, en shtivel knecht, en alt geil's g'scherr, 20 foos rubber hose, etliche paar alta hossadrager un fertle klofter schlipperry elm holz; du's all in en grosser eisner kessel un koch's mit tzwa aimer foll wasser for drei dawg udder bis die gum shtivel waich sin un die hossadrager folla fun da schnalla. Run's all darrich en flaish mill un du's tzurick in die bree. Now du ganunk sakemale, kola esh un buchwaitza shtroh nei for en dick tzu kocha wie mush. For seasoning used mer quentle, english saltz un rhoder pepper. Ich du oftmols paar hendfoll dodta micka nei schmeisa des macht der ponhaas gucka os won flaish drin wehr un des macht was mer haist "camouflage" ponhass.

Now for der ponhaas tzu broda nem en flaish-sake un sag'n uf in slices, schmier die pon mit waga-schmier un brod 'n bis die gum shtivel aw fonga tzu shtinka. Ich rekomend der ponhaas tzu leit os es pepsy hen.

Ich charge my laser mix for die "ra'sate." Ich feel es is my pflicht for da leu mit tzu helfa in denna deira tzeita. So en "ra'sate" is fiel werth un helft der grieg ga'winna.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION]

I have already been asked many times for my "receipt" for cooking good pohnoss. Throughout these food constarvation times we have to consider everything carefully in order to live cheap. This is a receipt that is approved by Food Exterminator Hoover and also by Mrs. Scott.

Take a pair of gum-boots, a boot-jack, an old horse's harness, 20 feet of rubber hose, a few pairs of old suspenders and a quarter cord of slippery elm wood; put it all in a big iron kettle and boil it with two pails full of water for three days or until the gum-boots are soft and the suspenders fall from the buttons. Run it all through a meat-grinder and put it back into the juice. Now put in enough sawdust, coal ashes, and buckwheat straw to cook it thick like mush. For seasoning we use thyme, Epsom salts, and red pepper. I often throw in a few handfols of dead flies—that makes the pohnoss look as if there is meat in it and that makes what you call "camouflage" pohnoss.

Now to fry the pohnoss take a meat-saw and saw it up in slices, smear the skillet with wagon-grease and cook it until the gum-boots begin to stink. I recommend this pohnoss to people that have the pepsy.

I don't charge my readers anything for the receipt. I feel it is my duty to help people along in these times of scarcity. Such a receipt is worth a lot and helps to win the war.

War Abracadabra

The following most remarkable article appeared in the Tulsaco Democrat for the first time and was published in the Enid Events of Enid, Oklahoma. Whoever wrote it is a marvel at figures, and we most sincerely hope that the author is right, and that the figures do not lie.

The Kaiser is the man that started the war: Serbit is the country where the war started. There are six letters in each of these words, and if written together and divided by halves will also spell "Kaiser" and "Serbia"

The greatest man in France is Joffre, commander at the Marne. Apply the same rule as above, and we have

Germany claims to be the most cultured nation in the world, and this Super-culture is termed "kultur," Turkey is the least "kultur"-ed. Apply this rule:

And now the Kaiser's number: If the word "Kaiser" is written with each letter followed by the number of its place in the alphabet, and after these is placed the significant number "6," we have:

- K - 116,
- A - 16,
- I - 96,
- S - 196,
- E - 56,
- R - 186,
- "666" - the Kaiser's number.

Six times six equals 36, plus six, equals 42 months. Also note that when the Kaiser started the war he was 55 years and six months old, 666 months, which again fixes the Kaiser's number.

Having established this fact, you will be interested in the reading from the thirteenth chapter of (over)

Revelation, the 4th, 5th and 18th verses:

4 - "And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying: Who is like unto the beast, Who is able to make war with him?"

5 - "And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and power was given to continue forty and two months."

18 - "Here is wisdom, Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred, three score and six." (666.)

War started in August, 1914, plus 42 months, brings you to February, 1918.

Respectfully Submitted by

Richard D. Kistler,
Private, First Class, Co. B, 7th U.S. Infantry,
Syracuse, N.Y.

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The Dutch and Irish Colonies of Pennsylvania

By TYRONE POWER

[Tyrone Power (1797-1841) was an Irish actor, born in County Waterford, Ireland, who spent his youth in Wales, England, and South Africa. From 1826 on he was a success as an Irish comedian on the London stage, where, according to his biographer, he was "best in representations of blundering, good-natured, and eccentric Irish characters . . ." In 1833-1835 he made an extensive theatrical tour of America, repeating the circuit in 1837 and 1838 and again in 1840-1841. He died at sea on the way back to England on the ill-fated ship *President* which sank in a storm in March, 1841. The following humorous sketch of the Dutch and Irish groups in Pennsylvania appears in his *Impressions of America, During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835* (London, 1836), I, 181-187.—EDITOR.]

Here are two colonies yet existing within this State,—samples of both indeed may be found within a few miles of Philadelphia,—and these constitute with me a never-failing source of interest and amusement. They are composed of Dutch and Irish, often located on adjoining townships, but keeping their borders as clearly defined as though the wall of China were drawn between them. No two bodies exist in nature more repellent; neither time, nor the necessities of traffic, which daily arise amongst a growing population, can induce a repeal of their tacit non-intercourse system, or render them even tolerant of each other. I have understood that Pat has on occasions of high festivity been known to extend his courtesy so far as to pay his German neighbours a call to inquire kindly whether "any gintlemen in the place might be inclined for a fight;" but this evidence of good-nature appears to have been neither understood nor reciprocated, and, proof against the blandishment, Myuheer was not even to be hammered into contact with "dem wilder Irisher."

It is a curious matter to observe the purity with which both people have conserved the dialect of their respective countries, and the integrity of their manners, costume, prejudices, nay, their very air, all of which they yet present fresh and characteristic as imported by their ancestors, although some of them are the third in descent from the first colonists. Differing in all other particulars, on this point of character their similarity is striking.

Amongst the Germans I have had families pointed out to me, whose fathers beheld the commencement of the war of Independence in Pennsylvania, yet who are at this day as ignorant of its language, extent, policy, or population, as was the worthy pastor of whom it is related, that, having been requested to communicate to his flock the want of supplies which existed in the American camp, he assured the authorities that he had done so, as well as described to them the exact state of affairs:

"I said to dem," he repeated in English, "Get op, min broders und mine zisters, und put dem paerd by die vagen, mit brood und corn; mit schaaap's flesh and flesh of die groote bigs, und os flesh; und alles be brepare to go op de vay, mit oder goed mens, to sooply General Vashinton, who was fighting die Englishe Konig vor our peoples, und der lifes, und der liberdiess, op-on dem banks of de Schuykill, diese side of die Vestern Indies."*

In his piggery of a residence and his palace of a barn, in his waggon, his oxen, his pipe, his person and phys-

* Powers' impressions of the sound of a Dutch Pennsylvanian talking English were obviously mixed with his memories of South African Dutch.

ognomy, the third in descent, from the worthies exhorted as above, remains unchanged. The cases upon which, as a juryman, he decides, he hears through the medium of an official interpreter; he has his own journal, which serves out his portion of politics to him in Low Dutch, and in the same language is printed such portions of the acts of the State legislature as may in any way relate to the section he inhabits; the only portion of the community, indeed, which he knows, or cares to know, anything about.

My honest countrymen of the same class, I can answer for being as slightly sophisticated as their colder neighbours: it is true, their tattered robes have been superseded by sufficient clothing, and a bit of good broadcloth for Sunday or Saint's day, and their protracted lenten fare exchanged for abundance of good meat, and bread, and "tay, galore, for the priest and the mistress;" but when politics or any stirring cause is offered to them, their feelings are found to be as excitable, and their temperament as fiery, as though still standing on the banks of the Suir or the Shannon.

On all occasions of rustic holiday they may yet be readily recognized by their slinging gait, the bit of a stick borne in the hollow of the hand, the inimitable shape and set of the hat, the love of top-coats in the men, and the abiding taste for red ribands and silk gowns amongst the women.

The inherent difference between the two people is never more strikingly perceived than when you have occasion to make any inquiry whilst passing through their villages. Pull up your horse by a group of little Dutchmen, in order to learn your way or ask any information, and the chance is they either run away, "upon instinct," or are screamed at to come within doors by their prudent mothers; upon which cry they scatter, like scared rabbits, for the warren, leaving you to "*Try Turner*," or any other shop within hail.

For myself, after a slight experience, I succeeded with my friends to admiration: the few sentences of indifferent Dutch which I yet conserved from my education amongst the Vee boors, at the Cape, served as a passport to their civility. Without this accomplishment, all strangers are suspected of being Irishers; and, as such, partake of the dislike and dread in which their more mercurial neighbours are held by this sober and close-handed generation.

On the other hand, enter an Irish village, and by any chance see the young villains precipitated out of the common school: call to one of these, and a dozen will be under your horse's feet in a moment; prompt in their replies, even if ignorant of that you seek to learn; and ready and willing to show you any place or road they know anything, or nothing, about. I have frequently on these occasions, when asked to walk into their cabin by the old people, on hearing their accent, and seeing myself thus surrounded, almost doubted my being in the valley of Pennsylvania.

So little indeed does the accent of the Irish American,—who lives exclusively amongst his own people in the country parts,—differ from that of the settler of a year, that on occasions of closely-contested elections this leads to imposition on one hand and vexation on the other; and it is by no means uncommon for a man, whose father was born in the States, to be questioned as to his right of citizenship, and requested to bring proofs of a three years' residence.



Koom Widder Naegsht Yahr!

18th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival

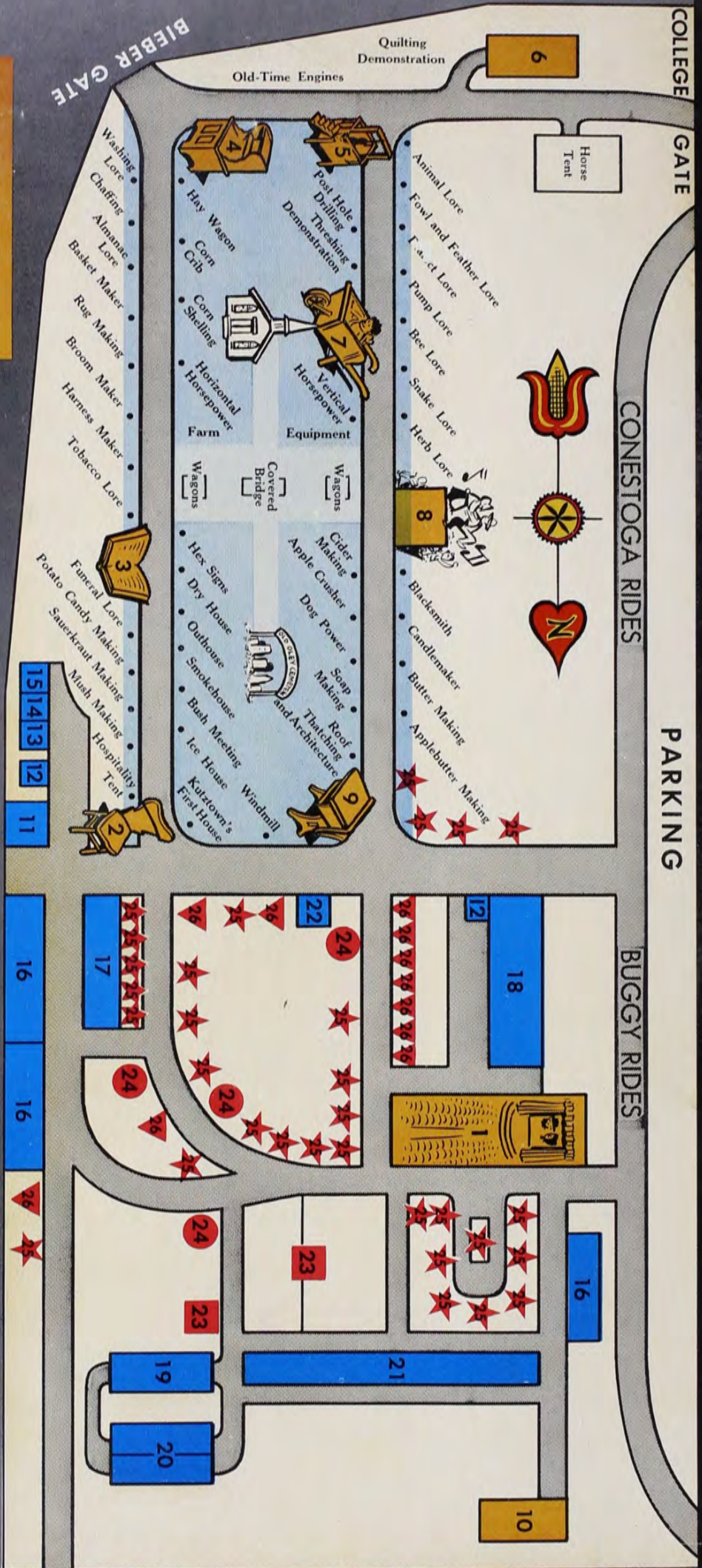
KUTZTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 1-8, 1967

Come Again Next Year!



FOLK FESTIVAL MAP



1. MAIN STAGE
2. WEDDING
3. SEMINAR
4. WITCHCRAFT
5. HANGING
6. QUILTING
7. CHILDREN'S GAMES
8. SQUARE DANCING
9. SCHOOL DAYS
10. BUTCHERING

BUILDINGS

11. OFFICE
12. TELEPHONES
13. POLICE
14. FIRST AID
15. PRESS
16. REST ROOMS
17. EXHIBITIONS*
 - Re-creation of early 19th-century Kitchen, Dining Room and Bedroom
 - Old-Time Toy Shop
 - Country Store
 - Dry Goods Store
 - Children's Furniture
 - Grandfather's Clocks

ARTS and CRAFTS

18. ARTS and CRAFTS
 - Spinning
 - Penmanship
 - Rug Making
 - Hex Signs
 - Furniture
 - Painting
 - Toleware Making
 - Spatterware and Glassware
 - Pottery
 - Cookery
 - Fraktur and Portrait Painting
 - Display of 18th and 19th-Century Organs
 - Block Printing
 - Basket Making
 - Strawmobiles
 - Tinware
 - Etc.
19. ANTIQUES
20. FARMERS MARKET
21. PIG PENS*
22. PROGRAMS PUBLICATIONS
 - *Craftsmen from a seven-county area displaying, demonstrating and selling their wares.

FOOD and DRINK

23. FAMILY STYLE DINNERS
24. FOOD PLATTERS
25. FOOD SPECIALTIES of the Dutch
26. EATING and DRINKING STANDS

COMMONS

The Commons area portrays the down-to-earth Qualities of the Pennsylvania Dutch, demonstrating the many facets of their way of life.