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Folk Festival Issue

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Whitewashing the Fence at the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival.

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**



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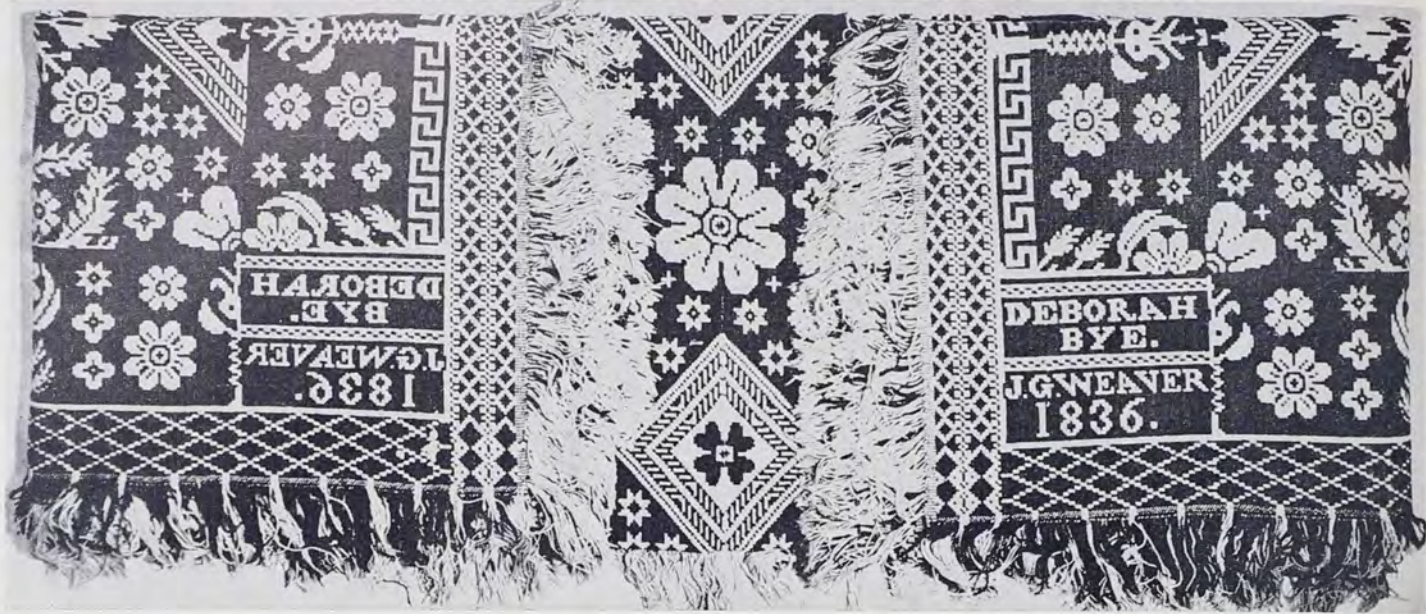
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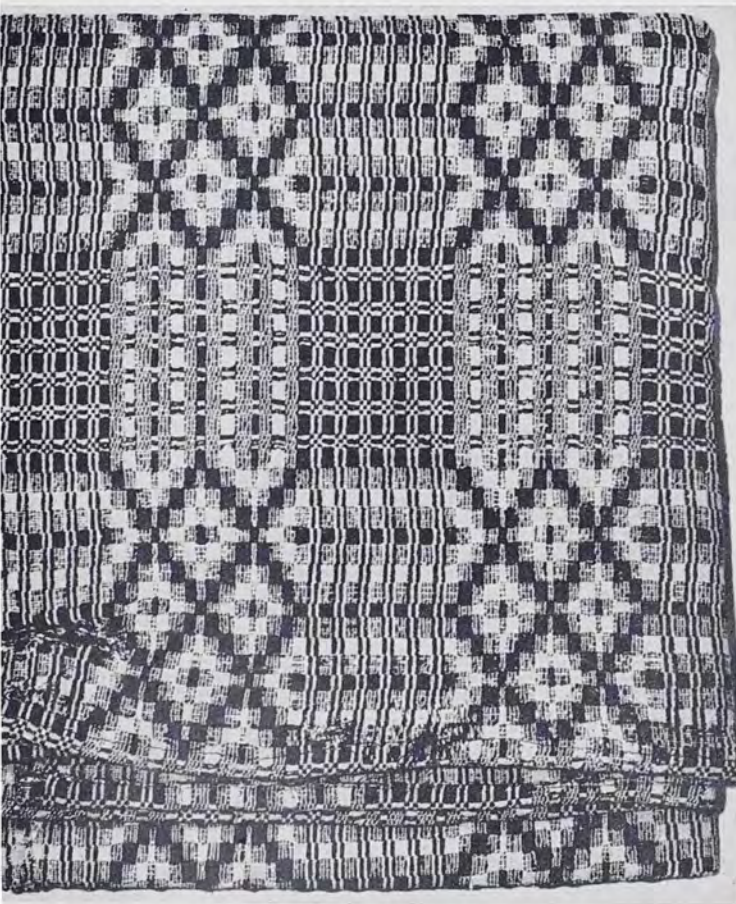
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Summer-and-winter weave in indigo and natural linen, folded to show the "winter" side. Note the almost invisible center seam.



Indigo blue and natural in overshot weave.



Simple but effective summer-and-winter weave in indigo and natural.

The popular overshot weave in one of the many variants of the star pattern. The colors are red, blue, and natural (ivory).

All coverlets shown are from the Robacker Collection
Photography by Charles Bahr



The Townshi Weavers of Pennsylvania

P

By EARL F. ROBACKER

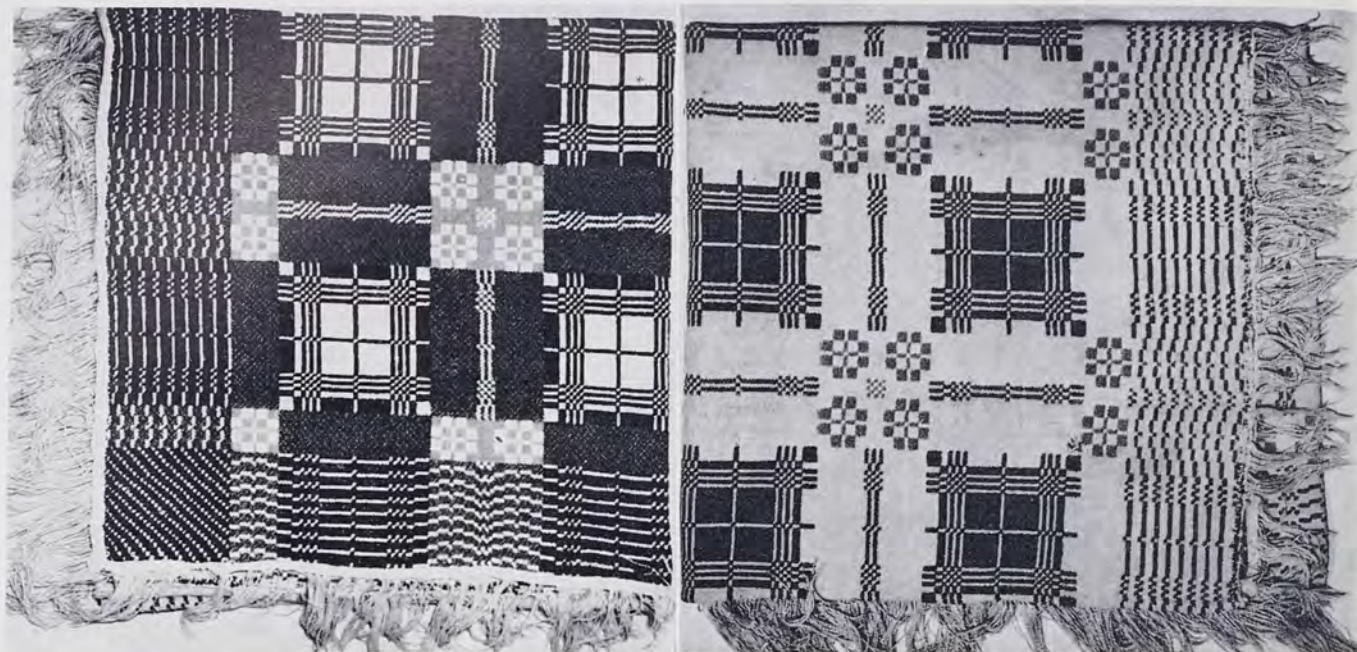
The householder who plugs in his electric blanket on a chilly night may sleep more lightly than did his great-grandparent, but he sleeps in considerably less splendor. If the great-grandparent happened to be a Pennsylvania Dutchman, of course, the consideration probably never came up. The Dutchman was undoubtedly so tired, after a sixteen-hour working day, that he simply tumbled into bed, and that was that!

His wife, though, would have been conscious of the splendor, which would have come about through the use of the magnificent woven coverlets which graced the sleeping rooms of the lofty and the lowly from the time of the Revolution well into the late Victorian era. The chances are, too, that in many houses the coverlets which were eventually retired from active use some time near the beginning of the Twentieth Century were the very articles which had gone into service from fifty to a hundred years earlier. Strong and heavy, they were intended to last, and last they did—through the years of laundering, airing, packing, and unpacking, until finally they came to be too old-fashioned or too faded for display and were put away in moth balls and forgotten. Note “put away”—not “thrown away”; no

bona fide Pennsylvania Dutchman threw *anything* away if there was a shred of potential use still about it.

The earliest bed covers in rural Pennsylvania seem to have been ticks filled with feathers or with straw, or even with dried ferns—one gargantuan object upon which to lie, and one to use as a covering. Feather-filled ticks persisted into the Twentieth Century in certain areas, and straw-filled ticks were the rule rather than the exception in some remote sections of the Poconos up to World War I—but as substitutes for mattresses and not as coverlets. We are told that one reason for the excessive weight of some woven coverlets is that they were intended in a sense as anchors for the skidding feather- or straw-filled ticks and had to be heavy enough to keep the dressings of the bed in place.

From earliest times there were two categories of coverlets—those which were woven at home on the cumbersome looms of the day, and those which were done by the professionals. Weaving was an art practiced everywhere in the new country, but home production alone could not meet the demand for clothing, for household fabrics and textiles, and for the heavier gear needed in connection with running the farm. In almost every group emigrating from the Old



Summer and winter sides of the same coverlet in an unusual combination of indigo, dull brick red, brown, and natural. The piece is "crib size"—one quarter of an original full-size coverlet.

World there was at least one professional weaver—and in the years that followed his arrival here he was seldom idle.

Home-woven coverlets reflected not only the skill of the weaver but also the adeptness of the spinner and the touch of the dyer. If the yarn or the flax was irregular in thickness, the smoothness of the finished product was jeopardized; if the dye failed to "take" or to "set," the result left considerable to be desired esthetically. Since both the spinning and the dyeing were done under trying circumstances, home-woven coverlets exhibit a wide range of expertness in execution. The wonder is that so many of them are so neatly done, whether they come from New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Southern highlands, or elsewhere. Women judged one another by their skill in such arts as these—and certainly no one wished to be found wanting.

Even so, women were only too glad to benefit by the skill of the itinerant professional weaver when he made his rounds of country neighborhoods, or when, as now and then happened, he consigned his surplus to a general store for sale. The saving in time was in itself important, but more significant were the facts that his yarn was always uniform, his colors strong and even, and, most important of all, his designs more intricate and therefore more appealing than any which could be produced at home. The professional always had a pattern book on which to draw, although now and then he departed from it, with unexpectedly interesting results. The home weaver might also have such a book, or she might carry in her head the mathematical formulæ handed down from mother and grandmother. Sometimes the cryptic notations of a favored pattern were recorded on a piece of note paper and stored in an unused sugar bowl for safe keeping. Whatever her starting point, she could hardly compete, and usually did not wish to compete, with the attractive and intricately conceived wares of the professional. For the most part, her designs were purely geometrical, and of an all-over pattern—almost always attractive, but monotonous in execution. It might be noted

that Germantown yarn, ordinarily used by the professionals, was of a quality so far beyond competition and eventually so well known that the word "yarn" came to be superfluous; the weaver simply fashioned his wares of "Germantown."

Those who have made a special study of old coverlets are usually a little awed at the number of geometrical designs to be found in them. These patterns vary from North to South, as might be expected, and from community to community. It is obvious that some are copies or refinements of others. Perhaps most baffling to the non-professional are the names given; seemingly every pattern had its special designation and was recognizable by that name to a number of persons. Morning Star, Maiden's Fancy, Four Square Beauty, Pea Fowl, Snow Trail, Snowball, Double Table, Hickory Leaf, Rose of Sharon, Lover's Knot—these and hundreds upon hundreds of others are evidence not only of the imagination of the weavers but also of the actual numbers of hand-wrought coverlets which once met the needs of our forefathers. According to one's mood, it may be either ironic or a little sad that the more romantic the name, the less representational the design tended to be!

Old coverlets called for two kinds of strands in the weaving: flax for the linen thread which gave strength and durability to the fabric, and wool for the yarn which gave color and body. Each farmstead could supply both, as a matter of course, and both were subject to long and involved processing. Flax apparently reached a condition of abundance in the old days before wool did, for there are stories of households which under no circumstances would think of slaughtering a sheep for food; rather, the animal must be kept alive and healthy as long as possible, for the sake of the wool it would produce. By comparison with flax and wool, cotton as a component of woven coverlets is a mere newcomer.

Proper dyes were a matter of concern to most housewives, and remained so even after commercial dyes became common and were sold reasonably. Perhaps it was native thrift or

Summer-and-winter weave with double pine tree border. From Sciota, Pa., but by an unidentified weaver.



A never-used Jacquard-loomed coverlet in red, navy, and leaf green against a natural background, made in the 1850's.



perhaps it was old custom which led women, as late as the Twentieth Century, to experiment with one kind of bark or root or berry after another in the attempt to find a clear red—when a packet of red dye could be purchased at any country store for a dime. Butternut shells boiled with the raw wool yielded a rich brown. Hickory bark provided a

variable yellow and hemlock a mustardy-green. Madder made a reddish orange, and madder and pokeberry, together, a dull magenta. None of these, however, could equal the bright tones in the wares of the professional weavers—and none of them could produce a good red, a good green, or a clear blue. For these, there was nothing to do but go to the store and buy the necessary dye or chemical. Ordinarily it was only the wool which was dyed; the flax, which was resistant to almost every coloring agent, was allowed to remain in its natural color.

Early looms were limited as to the broadness of the weft which could be produced, and thus it was necessary to sew two pieces together when a bed-size coverlet was made. Sometimes the seam was so expertly maneuvered that it is all but invisible. Occasionally a *half* coverlet comes to light—probable evidence of a solution to the problem of which of two disputants should inherit a coveted article.

According to personal preference, collectors tend to search out coverlets in one of three different techniques; overshot weave, summer-and-winter weave, and Jacquard weave. The overshot weave is somewhat loose in construction; that is, wool and linen are not tightly combined. Instead, the wool skips a number of the linen warp threads as the geometrical intricacies of the pattern are worked out. The versatility of this weave made it a favorite on most early hand looms.

The summer-and-winter weave is a double weave; oftenest executed in indigo blue and white, it has its major design in blue on one side and in white on the reverse. The lighter side was kept uppermost in the summer, the darker in the winter. Not infrequently the double weave was employed on all-linen coverlets. By today's standards, the double-weave construction would be too thick and far too heavy



Another Setzer design, showing the reverse side of the coverlet. The rose of the border was a favorite with many weavers.



Turkey and rooster in the corner of a peculiarly composite coverlet. It is not unlikely that the weaver was taking liberties with the pattern book.

for comfort, but the original owners appeared to find no fault with it.

It was with the introduction of the Jacquard technique in the first half of the Nineteenth Century that the woven coverlet came into its own as a thing of splendor. It must be confessed that something of folk quality was lost at the same time, for the Jacquard loom demanded a skilled operator who could follow the most intricate patterns that had yet been evolved. Joseph Marie Jacquard was a Frenchman who lived between the years of 1752 and 1834. The loom which revolutionized the weaving industry was not purely his own invention, but it represented so many improvements and refinements over earlier looms that he is now given credit for the whole operation. Exactly when the first Jacquard-loomed coverlet was made in America it would be difficult to determine, but a great many were made in the 1830's. Guy Reinert, in his lavishly illustrated little monograph "Pennsylvania German Coverlets," observes, "The oldest coverlet woven on a Jacquard loom that I have seen is dated 1831."

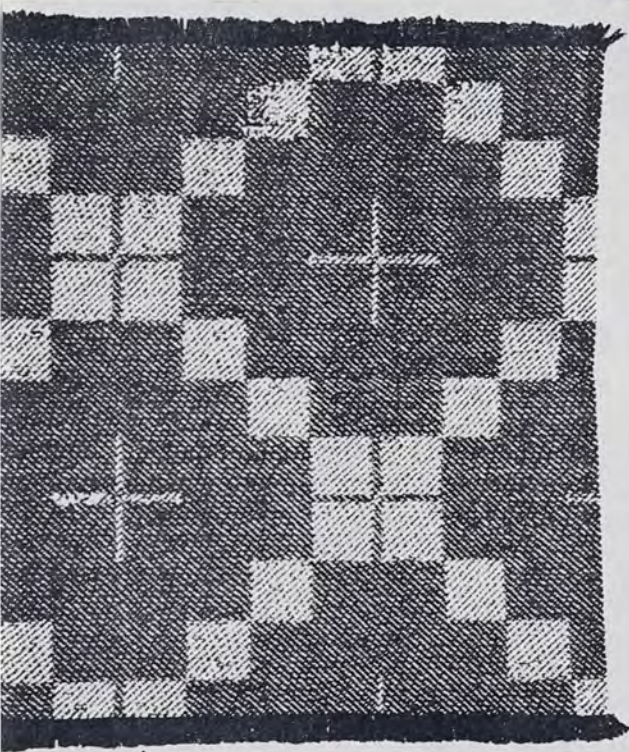
The "dating" of Jacquard coverlets—a term used by some antique dealers—implies more than just the year of manufacture. Not only the year, but the name of the client and of the weaver, often with the address of the latter as well, appear in two of the four corners of the coverlet—or sometimes in a corner and the border, or, more rarely, in all four corners. Sometimes, it appears, the ingenuity of the weaver was sorely taxed to include all the letters of a long identification in a rather small space, and unconventional abbreviations were resorted to. Jacob Setzer, a weaver of Jackson Township, Monroe County, solved the problem of "Township" by setting the first seven letters on one line and moving the "p" to the line below! In a study of numbers of coverlets, one can not escape the conclusion that, faced with the choice of recording the client's name or his own, the weaver usually chose his own—a not unreasonable advertising device, surely. Admittedly, the corners were about the only portion of the coverlet in which the weaver was entirely on his own, the rest of the design being dictated by the pattern book.

There were favorite designs in the Dutch Country—or, to put it differently, collectors now have favorites among the various patterns once common there. The motifs traditional in other art forms of the area are particularly desired—the peacock, the heart, the star, the rose, the house, the eagle, the turkey, the rooster. Patriotic motifs have always been favorites, too, especially when such a motif is combined with the slogan used in a now forgotten political campaign.

Perhaps a word should be said about the fringe which constituted the finishing touch on most Jacquard coverlets. Utilizing wool of the same colors used elsewhere in the coverlet, the weaver fashioned the fringe separately, and either he or someone else attached it to the sides and one end after the coverlet itself had been completed. Which end was it that was left bare of the finishing touch—the one tucked in at the foot of the bed (in which case the sleeper was presumably tickled under the chin by the woolly strands all night long) or the one at the head (in which case a third of the total ornamentation was concealed from sight)? The present writer refrains from taking sides in this perennially contentious subject—as he would also abstain from committing himself on another long-time Dutchland feud: the difference between a cruller and a doughnut (in which one is the leavening agent *yeast* and in which, *baking powder*?).

Zelner did better by his "Z's" than did Setzer, but he could not manage "County." Are the birds of the border intended to be eagles?

Close-up of the "winter" side of a fragment of an all-wool double-loomed coverlet in navy blue and white. The fringe has been created by raveling the edges, and was not original.



Mr. Reinert, in the booklet mentioned above, lists nearly eighty Dutch Country weavers, but would be among the first to note that many more have gone unrecorded or unreported, especially on the periphery of the Dutchland. As an instance of how names are still being added to the roster: In 1958, during the process of settling an old estate in Monroe County, a number of boxes were found at the bottom of an attic packing case presumably untouched for nearly a century. In one of them was a woven coverlet by the Jacob Setzer previously mentioned—still in perfect condition, obviously never used. Had it been a wedding present too garish to harmonize with the quiet Quaker furnishings

of the household, and therefore laid away and forgotten? The last wedding of the family for which such a gift could have been intended had been solemnized in 1855. Who was Jacob Setzer? With the undated coverlet, the date of the wedding, and a hunch as starting points, the researcher was able to track down the data which established Jacob Setzer as a weaver of local note during the middle of the Nineteenth Century. By happenstance, a second coverlet by Setzer was discovered at an antique show a year later.

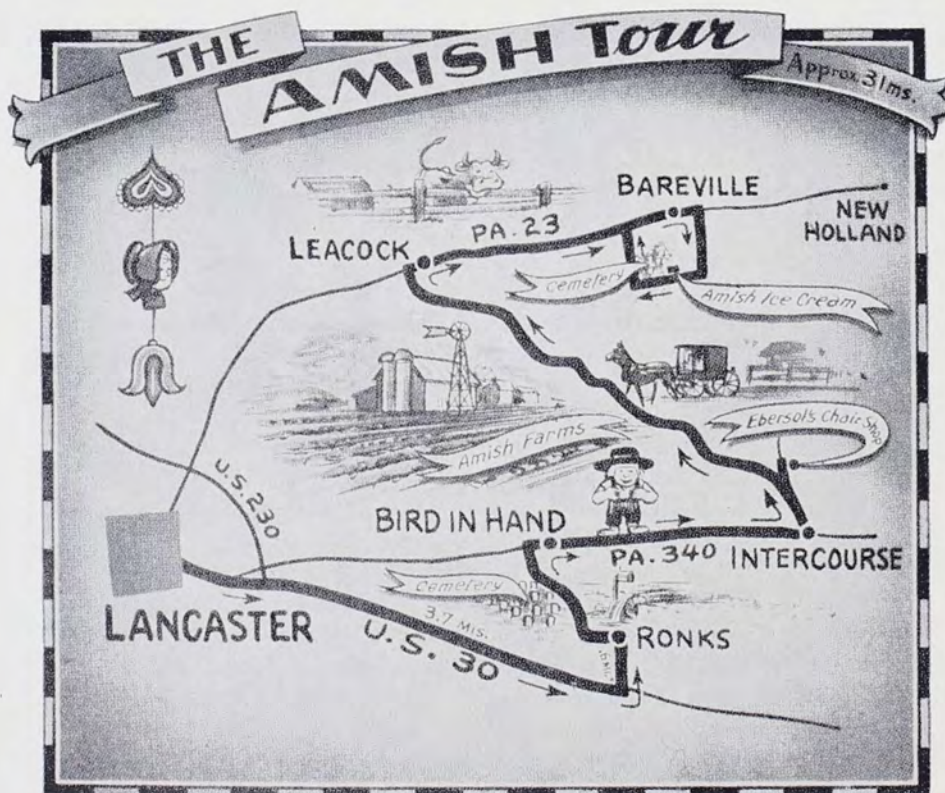
Some names linger on dimly in the minds of old-timers. Where are the coverlets woven in Pike County by the Schiffler whose loom was converted by a later generation, now also gone to dust, for the weaving of rag carpet? Who are the descendants of that first Schiffler? Not until the last avenue into yesterday has been explored can the historian or the art student experience the total richness of the American tradition.

Inevitably, the matter of prices comes up. In this age of inflation, prices of coverlets have remained comparatively modest. There are many still in existence, and of these a surprisingly large number are in near-perfect condition. The would-be purchaser, however, should closely examine the article he has in mind to buy. Moths have always been as fond of the wool in coverlets as they have of any other wool—and a great many moth holes have been adroitly repaired. Missing fringe may be an annoyance, but a collector does not buy a coverlet because of the fringe; he buys it for the pattern or for the maker or simply for auld lang syne. A "normal" price range for coverlets in good to perfect condition would be between forty and one hundred fifty dollars; or, rather, it would if one could pinpoint the word "normal" to something objective. Considerations of normality are likely to be forgotten when one comes upon a coverlet woven by an all-but-forgotten ancestor, or when a long-sought design appears after the collector had given up hope!



The Amish gathering for a funeral at a Lancaster County farmstead.

AMISH FUNERALS



MILEAGE: Intersection of Route 30 and Route 230 to Ronks Road 3.7 miles, Ronks Road intersection to Ronks .6 mile, in Ronks turn left on to Lynnwood Road. Between Ronks and Bird-in-Hand you will find the most scenic section of the Amish Country, Amish cemetery, water wheels in meadows, old buildings, farms solidly Amish between Intercourse and Leacock; no telephone or electric lines here.



*An Amish funeral procession led by a horse-drawn hearse.
Some ninety teams made up this particular procession.*

By VINCENT R. TORTORA

As with their weddings and church-meetings, the Old-Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, derive their present-day funeral practices from half a millennium of tradition and custom. In their detached, semi-monastic existence, they have escaped the winds and tides of fashion which have all but swept personal and family involvement and self-sacrifice at the time of death from the contemporary scene. For the Amish, death is not shrouded by euphemisms and evasions, nor are responsibilities to the deceased facily delegated to disinterested parties.

A death among the Amish literally sets up shock-waves that reach into every corner of the community. Though the deceased may not be known by everyone, one or more members of his extensively ramified family will be.

At the moment of death, relatives living in or near the home of the deceased and many of the neighbors seem to spring into action by a pre-arranged plan. One of the rela-

tives quickly gets to a telephone to call the funeral director—a non-Amishman who, once accepted by the community, is engaged by nearly every Amish family as long as he stays in business.

Almost immediately, the family and neighbors mobilize to perform a dozen or more chores such as preparing the room in which the deceased will lie, cleaning up the house and farm buildings, gathering up the food and utensils which will be needed to feed the many guests who are expected, and so forth. If it is still early in the day, one of the family goes to the store to buy white muslin or poplin which will be sewn into cerements on the following morning. If it is late in the day, the materials are bought early the following morning.

When the undertaker arrives he brings with him a folding stretcher or “cooling board.” He either does the embalming at the home or takes the body to his establishment. If he does the latter, which is increasingly the case nowadays, he returns the body immediately after embalment, irrespective of the hour. It is then brought into the downstairs

A funeral procession on a rural road in Lancaster County.



bedroom, laid on the cooling board with the trunk and head slightly raised and covered with sheets supplied by the family, but no blankets. Use of cosmetics on the body is strictly prohibited. In preparing the bedroom to receive the bier, the women clean its every nook and cranny and divest it of rugs, decorative objects and most of the furniture. The furniture which remains is usually pushed into a corner and covered with a cloth.

The funeral director subsequently returns to his place of business to insert the death notice and the funeral invitations in the newspapers, to telegraph relatives who live at a distance, and to pick a coffin and over-box the size of the body. He brings the rough unpainted white pine over-box to the home of the deceased from whence it is taken to the cemetery by some of the younger relatives who will dig the grave. Since the over-box is shaped like the coffin, six-sided with tapered ends, the grave is dug to conforming dimensions, about 5 feet deep. The dirt is piled up nearby. The digging and other tools are kept handy in a small tool-shed in the corner of the cemetery. When the over-box has been lowered into the grave, a wooden canopy is placed over the opening to keep out animals and water.

The functions of the director end for the time being after he has supplied the over-box and dispatched notices and telegrams. He does not usually return to the home until the following day, when he brings the coffin.

For the rest of the day of the death, the men and women relatives and the neighbors combine forces to clean up the house and farm buildings. Many persons drop in to offer their help. Some of the women begin to bake and cook. Some of the men go to surrounding farms in quest of benches on which to accommodate the throngs who will come to the viewing and the funeral. Necessary work on the farm or in the barn is performed by the neighbors. So similar is one Amish home to the next or one Amish farm to the next that neighbors can move in and take over with ease.

The period intervening between the return of the embalmed body to the home and the funeral on the third day is devoted to viewing the body and offering sincere condolences to the bereaved. Crying and wailing while viewing is considered a sign of respect to the dead and it will continue until after the burial ceremony. Those who come on the first day and on the morning of the second day view the body on the cooling board by gently lifting the sheet. During the afternoon of the second day, the body is dressed and placed in the coffin. No flowers grace the viewing room or the home. In the rest of the house the assembled friends

and relatives cluster about in the various rooms, engaging in cordial conversations. It is not at all uncommon to hear someone suddenly laugh above the low murmur of voices. Indeed, the atmosphere among the guests outside the viewing room somewhat suggests levity. Moreover, everyone who comes to the viewing is expected to eat a substantial meal before leaving.

Close relatives who have left the Amish communion usually come to the viewing and to the funeral, but do not eat at the same table with the faithful. If they were to proffer money to help pay expenses, it would not be passed from hand to hand; rather, it would be placed on a table and then picked up by the Amishman.

During the morning of the second day, several of the close women relatives detach themselves from the activities to sew with a good deal of tender care the cerements with which they will clothe the body later in the day. For a woman, a white poplin or muslin dress is made in the typical Amish pattern. It is usually designed to slip over the front of the body and to remain open in back or to be loosely closed with cloth straps. A white organdy prayer covering is also made for the head. The apron and the prayer cape (*holsdooch*) placed on the body are those which the deceased, as a young girl, wore at her wedding and at no other time. This practice is thought to symbolize the constancy of the young wife's wedding vows. The feet are clad only in white socks.

For the man, the white muslin or poplin is made into white trousers and a vest in the same pattern as his "going to meeting" suit. An ordinary white shirt and white socks complete the burial dress.

By the time the funeral director returns to the house with the coffin during the afternoon of the second day, the body has been washed and fully clothed and is ready to be placed inside. The six-sided coffin is traditionally made of black walnut wood finished with a turpentine and oil mixture, or of walnut-stained poplar. Plain cloth makes up the lining of the coffin as well as the casing of the cotton-stuffed pillow which is carefully fitted into the tapered head end. It bears no decorations or handles. The screws are blue and rounded at the top.

The coffin is placed on view standing on a pair of portable stools. The two hinged wooden flaps at the head end, which are about 1/3 the length of the coffin, are laid back along the top to reveal the body from the waist up. In sealing the coffin, the two flaps are closed and screwed down.

Members of the immediate family take turns maintaining

An Amish tying lot in winter time.



In winter when there is snow the Amish use farm sleighs at funerals.



a silent and sorrowful vigil at the coffin. They sit upright in a virtual trance with their legs as close to the coffin as possible. Since it is considered bad taste for them to depart from the house during the viewing, they leave the farm work to their neighbors. Furthermore, if church meeting should fall during the viewing period, they do not go.

On the third day, the funeral service is held. In the case of a morning service, the guests begin to arrive at about 8 o'clock. Several of the young men relatives act as hostlers and take care of the horses and carriages. Before unhitching the horses, however, they chalk corresponding numbers on the carriage and on the horse's blinder in order that they might quickly match them up when the service is over and the procession starts for the cemetery. Interspersed among the buggies are several rented cars in which hired drivers have taken friends and relatives to the funeral from distant areas.

The funeral service begins at approximately 8:30 a.m. Hinged partitions ordinarily separating the rooms are folded back to convert the downstairs part of the house into a large open area. The guests, dressed in their Sunday best, sit on backless benches arranged throughout the rooms. The bier is placed between the downstairs bedroom and the

living room in the area previously occupied by the partition, so that it can be viewed by the majority of those on the benches. Members of the immediate family sit quite close to the coffin.

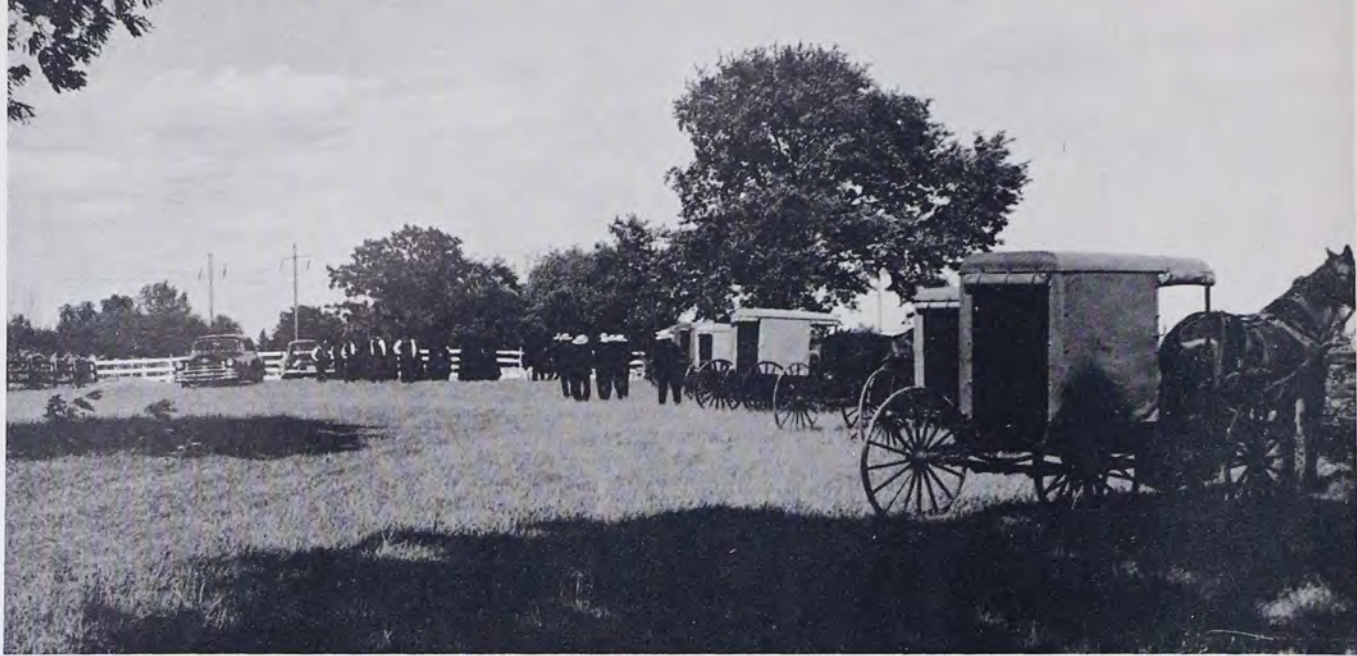
The two to two-and-a-half hour long service consists of silent prayers, spoken hymn texts (in contrast to the chanted hymns of the church service) and sermons intended to offer comfort (*droasht*) to the bereaved. At a child's funeral the sermons begin with the biblical passage, "Suffer little children to come unto me . . ." If a relative of the deceased is a minister or bishop in the church, it is he who gives the main sermon. Each speaker is assigned a given period to sermonize and a clock on a close-by wall reminds him of the time.

At the close of the service, the coffin is screwed shut, lifted from the bottom by the pall-bearers and carried out into the director's black buggy-hearse. Only twenty years ago the coffin was transported in an open spring-wagon. It took an adamant stand by the undertaker to convert the Amish elders to the closed "Black Maria." The driver is usually an Amishman hired by the director.

As quickly as the horses are matched up and hitched up to the buggies, the funeral procession to the cemetery begins.

A procession of sleighs at an Amish winter funeral.





The tying lot of an Amish cemetery.

In the buggy immediately behind the hearse rides the widow or widower of the deceased and the oldest child. Next come the children in order of their age, accompanied by their families; then, the parents, if they survive; and then, the brothers and sisters, in order of their age. Behind the immediate family are the ministers, the more distant relatives and the friends. The hearse sets the pace for the procession, usually at five to six miles per hour. If the trip to the cemetery is a long one or over rough or snow-covered roads, a two-horse team pulls the hearse.

Remaining at the house are a few friends who prepare for the big meal scheduled after the burial. They convert the benches to tables by placing them on saw-horses and arrange them so as to get the maximum number in each room. One of the friends is assigned to making mashed potatoes in large kettles. The others make ready the numerous other foods which have been prepared by family and neighbors on the two preceding days.

The funeral procession heads for the cemetery that is traditional with the family. There are about a dozen active Amish cemeteries in Southeastern Pennsylvania, ranging from those with as many as a thousand stones to those with as few as half a dozen. The land for the cemetery is donated to the community by an Amish farmer for an indefinite period and is improved and maintained by all the families who will be using it. No money changes hands for the plot of ground, for the grave-digging or for perpetual care.

If the deceased comes to his fate by his own hand, the funeral procedure remains essentially the same as that described above. In an earlier day, however, suicides were buried outside the cemetery fence. Today, they are buried inside. There are reports that Amish who meet their death while committing grievous sin are buried in sackcloth, facing downward.

Arriving at the cemetery, the buggies drive into the parking area and tie up at the hitching posts and along the fences. The hearse drives to the entrance of the cemetery itself. As soon as everyone has left his buggy and gathered around the hearse, the pall-bearers take out the coffin, carry it close to the open grave and place it on portable stools. The funeral director, who has come to the cemetery in his

own car, then unscrews the two upper flaps of the coffin for the final viewing. Slowly, all those present file past. Sobs and wails punctuate the solemnity. The men and boys keep their hats on as they pay their final tribute.

Once again, the coffin is screwed shut. It is now the task of the pallbearers to lower the coffin into the over-box at the bottom of the grave by means of webbed straps. As the slow lowering process begins, the men and boys remove their hats. Once the lid has been placed on the over-box, the pallbearers begin the slow and solemn process of shoveling back the dirt. With the first shovelful of earth, the last service begins. This consists of spoken hymn texts and silent prayers. The final act of the officiating minister is to give a chanted benediction.

No one leaves the grave until the last shovelful of dirt is put on. The fresh dirt over the grave is mounded on top to compensate for the settling. Small wooden pegs are placed at the ends of the grave to mark it until the ordered gravestone arrives. A few weeks later members of the family return to the grave to put up the gravestone and to shovel more dirt into the cavity created by settling. Amish gravestones have a uniform and elemental shape; rectangular with a rounded top. The epitaph is as brief as possible; name of person, date of birth, date of death, and age at death to the year, month and day.

The Amish never return to the cemetery after the funeral to pray over the grave. Each week during the summer, however, several families from the community take their turns mowing and trimming the grass and generally tidying up the premises.

Most of those who go to the cemetery return to the house for a big noon meal. The tables and food will have been readied by those who stayed behind. Traditionally served at this convivial repast are: mashed potatoes and gravy, cold beef and gravy, cole slaw, pepper cabbage, prunes, apple sauce, cheese, bread, buns, and raisin pie or "funeral pie" (also known as *leicht-boi*).

The number of persons who attend the viewing and funeral can be astoundingly high. In one case, an 89-year-old woman who died in 1957 left 9 children, 84 grandchildren, 247 great-grandchildren and 3 great-great grandchildren. She also had hundreds of nieces, nephews and friends.



*Typical six-sided Amish coffin
made of walnut-stained poplar.*



*A home-made stone
in an Amish cemetery.*

*After burial wooden pegs are put up
until the stones are finished.*



*A typical tombstone in
German in an Amish
cemetery.*



Methodist Camp-Meeting (1873).

The Bush-Meeting Dutch

By DON YODER

If the shadow of William Penn extends far over the Dutch Country, that of John Wesley extends even farther.

Methodism was an 18th Century movement of renewal within Protestantism which brought new life to the English-speaking lands, gave new hope and confidence to farmer and factory-worker alike, and had profound influence upon culture, politics, and life in general.

Methodism, like Quakerism, was positive. As over against Puritanism it saw the goodness of God in promising salvation to all who would avail themselves of it. It had a warmth and a joy that attracted. While the early circuit-riders (as Methodist preachers were called because they rode horseback from "appointment" to "appointment") warned their converts to "flee from the wrath to come," they fled singing, and today we remember the songs and the joy rather than the wrath.

Quakerism had a sober, gray side—to the gay world at least—but Methodists believed in being "happy in the Lord" and singing their experience to other people.

The Dutch Country became different after Methodism invaded it about the time of the American Revolution. To the historic pattern of "Gay Dutch" and "Plain Dutch" was added a third, if minor, religious pattern, which we call the "Bush-Meeting Dutch," because these were the Dutch who held the camp-meetings, or as they themselves often called them, "bush-meetings." "Bush" was the Dutch word for

"woods." "Bushwhacker," "Bush-German," "Bush-Preacher," "Bush-Meeting"—all these terms stem from the Dutch-English mixture that is Pennsylvania Dutch culture.

John Wesley had said that the world was his parish. In 1769 he sent two missionaries to "America." By 1840 the Methodists were the largest single Protestant denomination in America. It was the story of the mustard seed all over again.

In the Dutch Country the Methodist gospel of free grace and salvation available for everybody spread slowly at first because of the language barrier. In Pennsylvania the Methodist circuit-riders rode into many a remote valley where they were told, in "Dutch," that they could not be understood. No wonder one of the persistent ones in Eastern Pennsylvania, a Marylander named William Colbert, said in 1810, after a year's work on the "Ontelaunee" Circuit in Berks and Northampton Counties—"I count this year as a year of labor lost."

But despite the fact that "revival" (with its two v's) is one of the most difficult of all English words for the Dutch tongue to pronounce, revivalism did eventually win out in parts of the Dutch Country—especially in the back country, the hills and mountains, where poor soil and minimal living standards—so different from the more pleasant living of the rich Gay Dutch areas and the comfortable Plain Dutch belt—turned the backwoods farmer's thoughts to rewards

in the Heaven pictured in the Book of Revelation.

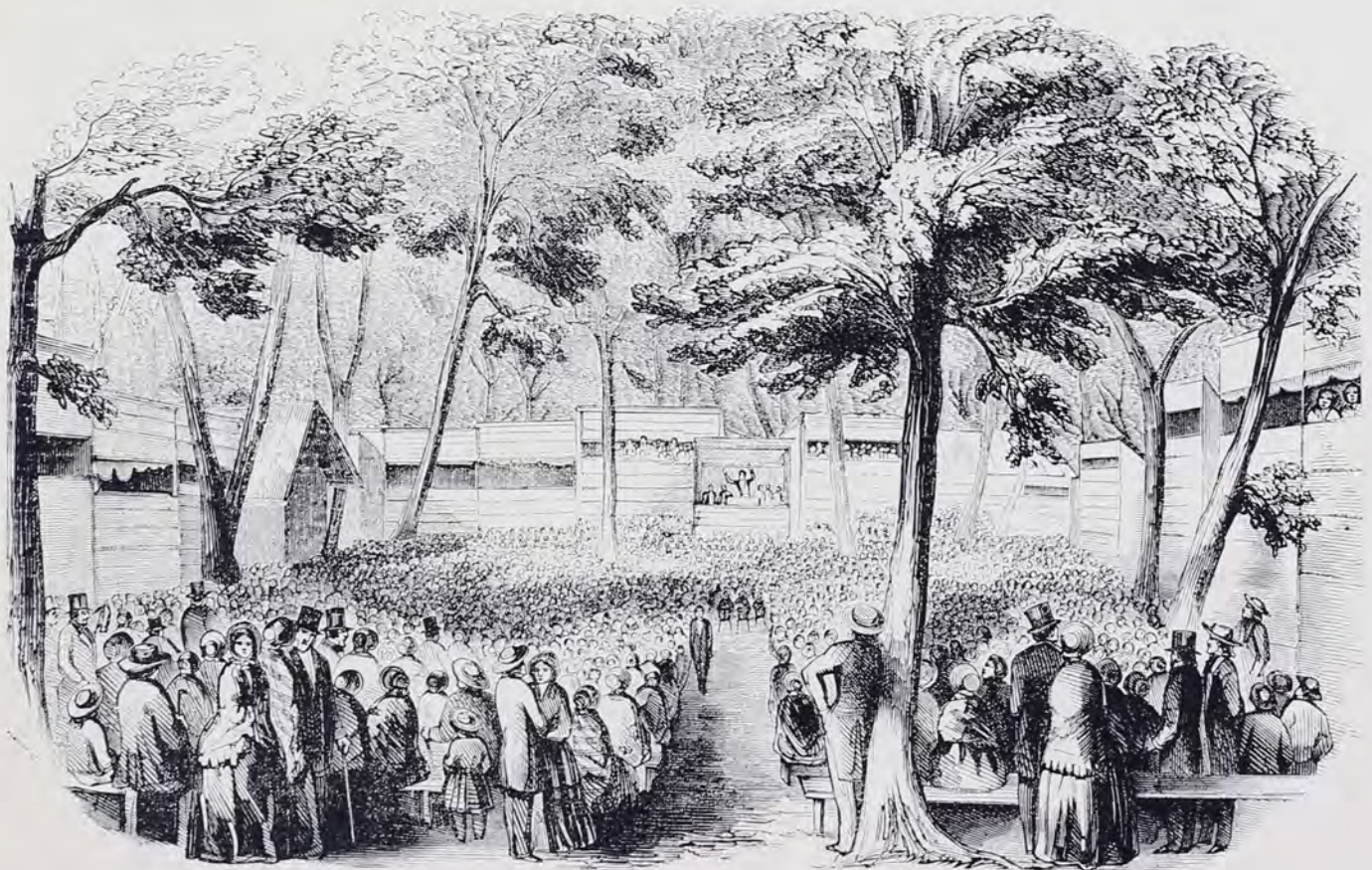
Fortunately for the Methodists their work had been prepared for both among the Plain Dutch and the Gay Dutch, so that when Methodism did actually enter the Dutch Country and cross the language barrier, it found many souls—to use a revivalistic phrase—“hungry” for the new gospel. The residual Pietism of some of the Gay Dutch—German Pietism too had stressed conversion and strict living just as much as Methodism and had in fact influenced Wesley—and the heartsearchings of native saints like Martin Boehm among the Mennonites, led to a partial welcome of the Methodists.

But Martin Boehm (1725–1812), the earliest Mennonite revivalist, was read out of Mennonitism for cooperating with ministers of other denominations. The doors to his plain world closed, he joined with Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813), pietistic Reformed minister of Pennsylvania and Western Maryland, in founding what became (unintentionally) a new denomination—the United Brethren in Christ. German in tongue, it was English Methodist in much of its organization and spirit. It was a case of hands being Esau’s, and the voice Jacob’s. Other native Dutch revivalists followed—like the Lutheran-become-Methodist Jacob Albright (who founded the Evangelical Association) and the Reformed John Winebrenner (who founded the Church of God)—and a whole series of revivalistic Dutch sects arose to take their places beside the original Gay Dutch and Plain Dutch groups. In general these movements form what can be called the Pennsylvania Dutch phase of the “Second Awakening”—the general revival that spread over the nation, reaching region after region, around 1800.

The Bush-Meeting sects were intensely evangelistic—seeing it as their duty to preach to every unconverted, unawakened soul—even if they were already members of the “sleeping” Lutheran, Reformed, or Mennonite Churches. They were intensely moralistic too—taking the local leadership in the temperance and antislavery movements in the pre-Civil War era, with a petty moralism (anti-tobacco, anti-amusement, ultra-sabbatarian) which has lasted to the present day. But their earnestness did win converts. The Dutch-speaking circuit-riders of these Methodist German sects left a trail of closed distilleries, broken families (echoes of the New Testament conversions), and songs behind them.



Souvenir postcard of the Mizpah Grove Camp-Meeting near Allentown, Pennsylvania—1910.



Camp-Meetings brought religion to the masses in early America.

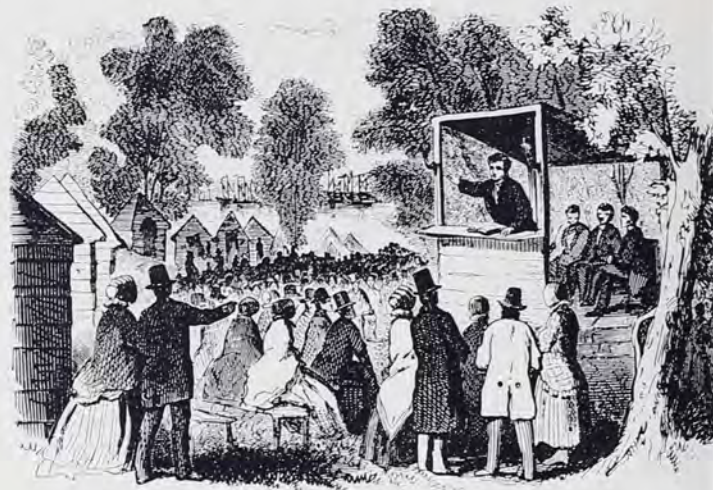
The Bush-Meeting Dutch were singers and shouters. At their outdoor assemblies in the "bush," and in their little wooden meetinghouses (more like a one-room schoolhouse than the massive Quaker or Mennonite meetinghouse) they sang songs that are closely related to the Negro spiritual. In fact they created the Pennsylvania Dutch Spiritual—a body of several hundred "choruses" (as they themselves call them) with assorted verses—which are sung to express the convert's history, the dangers of backsliding, comfort to the wayworn pilgrim on his way to the "New Jerusalem" (a city that was more familiar to the backcountry Bush-Meeting Dutch than Allentown or Reading), joy in the Savior. Some of them were crude but most of them had power, primitive power like the songs of the Negro.

Different they were, though, in theme from the Negro spiritual. Where the Negro slave, facing his blind alley of slavery, sang of escape by chariots swinging low, and golden slippers and golden streets, the Bush-Meeting Dutchman sang of working out his salvation (in fear and trembling), for in the Dutchman's philosophy the work was as much a part of the pattern as the reward.

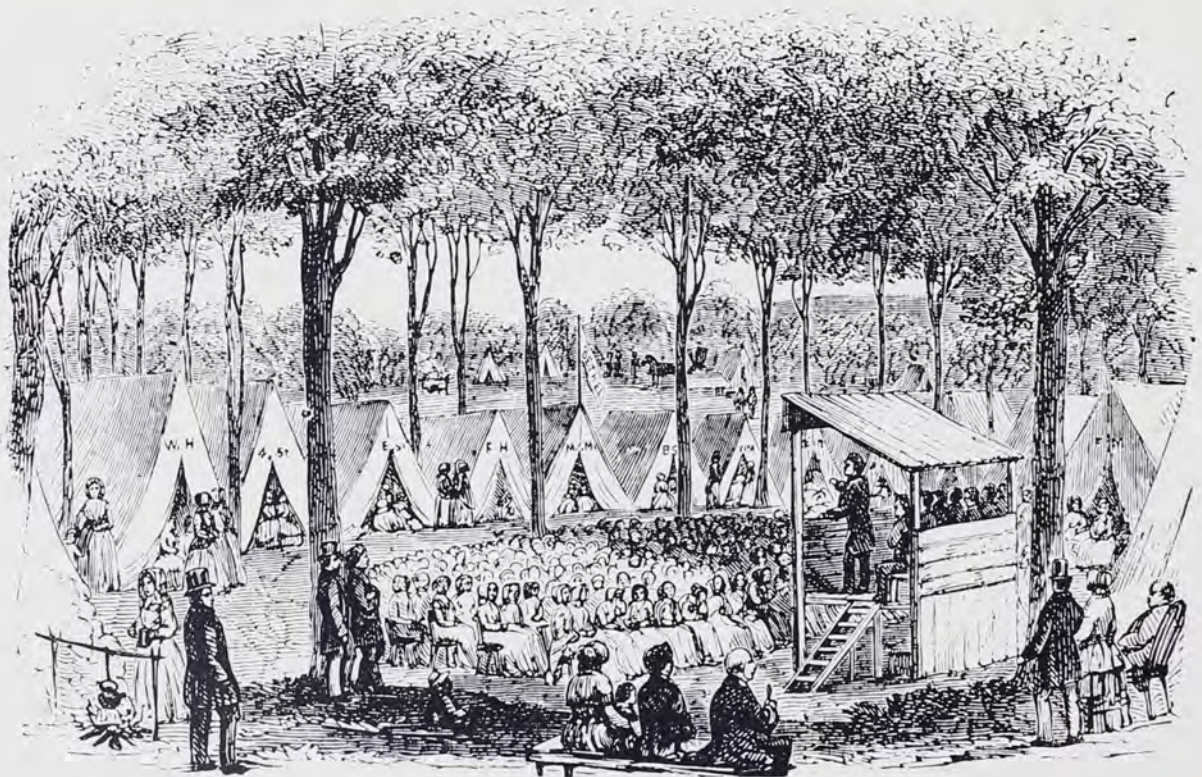
These Pennsylvania Dutch Spirituals—which like the Bush-Meeting Religion itself represent the application of general American religious patterns to the needs of the Dutch-speaking world of Eastern Pennsylvania—are the last "German"-language hymns to be sung by the Pennsylvania Dutch apart from the hymns of the Old Order Amish and the Conservative Mennonites. The German hymnody of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches—a rich treasure of Reformation and Pietistic song—had died a natural death pretty generally by the time of the first World War, although

naturally some of the songs are sung today in English translation.

Wesley's shadow over Pennsylvania includes not only the Methodist Church—and somehow the circuit-riders managed to open enough doors in Pennsylvania to make it today the state with the leading number of Methodists—but also a whole family of Methodist sects and churches—the Bush-Meeting Dutch. But indirectly revivalism (and principally Wesleyan-type revivalism) changed both the Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch groups.



Methodist camp-meeting near Philadelphia—engraving shows preacher's stand and "board tents" or cottages.



Methodist Camp-Meeting of the 1830's—From B. W. Gorham, Camp Meeting Manual (Boston, 1854). Gorham was a Pennsylvania Methodist circuit-rider. Note "plain" Methodist bonnets on the women in the audience.



Shouting Evangelicals taking a pause between services—United Evangelical Camp-Meeting, Kutztown, Pennsylvania, August 20, 1907.

While the early Lutheran and Reformed clergymen generally warned their people against the Methodists as the “false prophets” that were to appear in the “last days,” the bush-meeting gospel (as part of the general American revivalist pattern of religion) did influence both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. This happened between 1800 and 1850, when large wings of both churches became mildly revivalistic, low-church, moralistic. This in turn produced a high-church reaction, a kind of Pennsylvania Protestant Counter-Reformation, which rejected revivalism as a means of winning church members and went back to the old-time catechetical system and emphasis upon esthetic and dignified worship rather than camp-meetings and revivals. The catechism eventually won out over the “anxious bench” in both churches, but the cleavage is still apparent in the differences between Lutheranism in Eastern Pennsylvania (high-church, staffed by Philadelphia Seminary, rigid, ultra-Lutheranism, a step down from Missouri Lutheranism in uncooperativeness) and Lutheranism in Central Pennsylvania (low-church, staffed by graduates of Gettysburg Seminary, which promoted revivals, historically cooperative with the major American churches). The difference in spirit is not so pronounced as it was in 1900, but it is still apparent. History has a strange way of remaining with us, even though we are unaware of it.

The influence of American revivalism upon the Gay Dutch took place from a century to a century and a half ago, with lingering influences to the present day. Among the Plain Dutch revivalism is just now fully entering, in the most remarkable example of cultural lag in the entire Dutch world. A century and a half after the American revivalist

pattern became fully set, in the Second Awakening (when the camp-meeting and the spiritual were born), that same pattern, in modified form, invades the Plain Dutch world. What came to Quakerism after the Civil War has taken another two or three generations to penetrate the hedged religious world of the Mennonites. When revivalism reaches the Amish, with their additional hedge of dialect, the cycle will be complete.

The Dunkards or Brethren opened the door to revivalistic influences earlier than the Mennonites, in the Shenandoah Valley and in Ohio, where they mingled with Methodists and other revivalist groups. It is significant that the first Mennonite revivalist to perform the difficult feat of remaining within the Mennonite fold, was John Coffman, a Virginian—and Virginia Mennonites also came into contact with revivals earlier than Lancaster and Franconia Conference Mennonites, the ultra-conservative wings of the “Old Mennonite” Church. The Brunk Brothers, Mennonite evangelists of the present day, are also Virginians.

But where Methodism dominated the earlier transfer of revivalism to the Dutch Country groups, today it seems that the pattern of revivalism growing among the “Old Mennonites” is a Baptist pattern, and a Southern Baptist pattern at that, complete with the Bible Conference and the Baptist-type Bible School, in lieu of theological seminaries.

Whatever the reasons, the fact that the Mennonites are belatedly turning revivalist is the best possible example that the Dutch Country was molded far more by outside, general-American cultural patterns than vice versa. After one hundred and fifty years, it looks as if the frontier is returning to Pennsylvania.

Original tile roof (south side only) on the Isaac Long House, Landis Valley, Lancaster County, built circa 1760. Tile laid with vertical and horizontal joints.



Second of two surviving large stone houses in Pennsylvania Dutchland with original tile roof—the Weaver House, Weaverland, Lancaster County, built circa 1760. Tile laid with vertical and horizontal joints; note ridge tiles on peak of roof.

Israel Bertolet cabin, Oley Valley. Roof tiles arranged with customary vertical and horizontal joints.



STEEP ROOFS and RED TILES

By ROBERT C. BUCHER

The Pennsylvania Dutch Country is the land of steep roofs and red tiles. People traveling through Dutch Pennsylvania in 1961 can see two-hundred-year-old red tile roofs and enjoy the sight of steep, medieval roofs on houses and cabins like the ones seen by travelers through Pennsylvania in 1761. Only a small percentage of our charming, primitive eighteenth-century buildings survives, but there are enough of these to be found in the Pennsylvania hills to delight the eye of the explorer.

It is our purpose in this article to show the reader where tiled roofs are located and to provide him with a map that will serve as a guide for a pleasant trip through the Dutch Country. The article will call attention to some of the best of our remaining tile roofs and will give special attention to the two known large houses still having their original, steep tiled roofs and dating from 1760. The discussion of flat tiles is intended to give us an idea of their manufacture, their advantages and disadvantages, the methods of laying the tile and the extent of the use of tile in Pennsylvania. Our discussion will attempt to describe the characteristics and the relative merits of the two methods used in laying tile in early days and the reasons for the cessation of the manufacture and use of tile.

There is little available reference material on our Pennsylvania architectural heritage and the material on the German contribution to this heritage is limited, basically, to G. Edwin Brumbaugh's authoritative volume, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*.¹ On the subject of tile and of roof construction over the years there is considerable published material, some of which will be quoted later in this article. Much of the information in this article derives from the author's research and the assistance of

¹ G. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Norristown, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania German Society, 1933, Volume XLI).

Harry Stauffer, who has located and photographed some of the buildings and has provided valuable information pertaining to the different methods of laying tiles.

Now let us begin our search for red tiles in upper Montgomery County, then heading west and centering in the Oley Valley of Berks County, and finally coming to the climax of our trip in Lancaster County. Here at the western terminus of our trip we will find the only two remaining great houses known to the writer with their original tile roofs, dating from about 1760.

It is a pretty sight on a sunny summer day as we are passing through rolling Pennsylvania to see the reflection of the sun from the red tile roof of a bake-house or a smokehouse or a corn crib, but there are greater things to see in the Oley Valley. Here we will find the original settlers' stone cabins, still sturdy in their meadow locations near the spring and crowned with the red tile so well known and revered by the early settlers.

Where Tile Roofs Were Found in the Eighteenth Century

"The tile roof is indeed worthy of note, for nothing binds the Pennsylvania Germans more closely to the fatherland. Few photographs of old German towns could be taken which would not include one or more of these tile roofs, with all the peculiarities of their Pennsylvania descendants," writes Mr. Brumbaugh.²

Our European ancestors brought their tile tradition with them, and in a few years after their arrival here, the tile roofed cabin of log or stone was a common sight. A. S. Brendle, in his *History of Schaefferstown*, says, "With a few exceptions, the other buildings [of Schaefferstown] were squatty, primitive structures, mostly log cabins, with low eaves and high peaked roofs, the red tiles with which they

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Knabb-Bieber stone cabin, Oley Valley, Berks County. Note the ridge tile and the vertical joints.



were covered shining in the glare of the sun like burnished gold."

G. Edwin Brumbaugh, who has supervised the restoration of many of Pennsylvania's historic buildings, says, "The claim is sometimes made that these tiles were never used to roof large or two-story houses, but were confined to cabins and minor buildings. This is doubtless due to the fact that tile roofs are found only in such locations today. The Bertolet house, illustrated here, is the only exception known to the writer, but it helps to prove his contention that tile roofs were very general on all types of buildings in early German Pennsylvania. A careful examination will show that many of the larger buildings have obviously been re-roofed with more recent materials; while tile roofs are found on comparatively modern wooden sheds, and even on corn cribs. The reasonable explanation lies in the admitted cessation, at an early date, of tile making. In time, roof tiles could not be replaced when breakages occurred, and the logical thing was to cover the large roof with one of the new and cheaper substitutes, using what remained of salvaged tile on a smaller and less important roof."³

Additional evidence to confirm the use of tiles on barns and even churches, as well as on houses and outbuildings, is listed here. First, we have a reference from the Reverend Jacob Fry's *History of Trinity Lutheran Church in Reading, Pennsylvania*,⁴ which describes the settlement of March 15, 1783, thus: "Further, there follows here the receipts and expenditures of Deacon George Schumacher, from back-standing organ money, from tiles taken from the roof of the church." The Reverend Fry says that undoubtedly the tiles were removed because of their great weight. This is evidence that church roofs were tiled, not only in the country, but in county seats as well. It also confirms the opinion of the writer and of others that weight was an important factor in the decline in the use of tile in this country.

In Lehigh County we have additional evidence that churches were roofed with tile. Ziegel's Lutheran and Reformed Union Church, in Weisenburg Township, is described as being the first log church, erected and dedicated on July 29, 1750. This building had a tile roof and tradition has

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ Jacob Fry, *The History of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa., 1751-1894* (Reading, 1894), p. 106.

Rear view, Fisher cabin, Oley Valley. Original "staggered" tile roof. Note the half-tiles on edge of roof in alternate rows. From 1920 photograph.



it that the tiles were made by one of the members. (Note that the German word for tile "ziegel" has been carried over into English without changing it to the equivalent "tile.")

There is another "Ziegel Karrieh," Windsor Castle, in north-central Berks County. This is our third reference to the use of tile on churches, which when added to the three large houses cited as having had tile roofs originally, forms an impressive list of evidence supporting the view that there were many large buildings roofed with tile in early Pennsylvania.

Berks, Lancaster, Montgomery and Lebanon counties, with an abundance of clay, developed impressive pottery and brick operations, but Lehigh and Northampton, due to their geological nature, did not have the widely distributed clay deposits needed for large operations of this kind.

In the writer's native Lower Salford Township, Montgomery County, we have several references to the use of tile in James Y. Heckler's *History of Harleysville and Lower Salford Township*. In the section describing the first settler, Jacob Hoffman, who lived on the tract now owned by Allen A. Alderfer, Mr. Heckler says, "Lawrence Bingeman put the first buildings where Mr. Alderfer now lives, and made a premises there. The barn that stood there fifty years ago (circa 1840) was covered with tiles instead of shingles." The Moravian records provide us with evidence that the community barn erected in Colonial Nazareth, Northampton County, was roofed with tiles.

Mr. Heckler further states near the conclusion of his *History*, "Fifty years ago or about 1840 many log houses and others built of stone by the first settlers were still standing, but were gradually replaced by new ones. At that time there were yet many old buildings covered with tiles. Tile baking or burning was one of the first employment aside from farming. It will not be long now until people do not know what tiles are or for what purpose they were used. Slates began to take the place of tiles about the year 1850 or 1855. There were no buildings in Lower Salford covered with slates before 1855. But until that time there were still some buildings thatched with straw."

None of the references on Colonial American seem to show any use of tile by the English settlers. Although tile was well known in England, the English did not choose apparently to use this type of roofing in America. It appears that this practice was exclusively Pennsylvania Dutch.

Front view, Fisher cabin, Oley Valley. Tile roof of this beautiful Germanic cabin. From photograph by Rev. David A. Souders, taken in 1920.





Both tiles channel water to center bottom. Tile on right has usual design; tile on left has slight decorative touch.

Tile on right is typical, one on left is unusual. Both drain water away from sides to bottom.

Two center tiles are unusual; others are of usual design.

The Manufacture of Tile

There is little, if any, printed material on tile making in America. Personal interviews and searches of the files of a number of our Historical Societies have produced but little information.

Most references consider brick and tile making as one process and few details are given concerning the tiles. We were unable to find a single reference to the moulds used for tiles and the grooving process was not mentioned. This demonstrates how largely we have lost our knowledge of eighteenth-century tile manufacture.

The information below will give some idea of the essential steps of tile making. From the library of the Bucks County Historical Society we have the following description: "Clay of a grayish or whitish color, containing no sand or gravel, should be dug in autumn and exposed to the frost of winter. The clay should be tempered by the treading of men or of oxen and kneading is indispensable. The best season for tile making is in the spring for in summer the clay will crack during drying. Following the kneading of the clay, the tiles are moulded, dried and baked in the back of a kiln like a brick."

From the library of Roy C. Kulp we have the following information: "Tiles of a just thickness are kneaded, moulded and burned in a kiln. They are made of better earth than brick and akin to potter's earth. Earth is dug in autumn and lies exposed to frost, it is worked repeatedly with a spade. Earth may be dug all winter when weather permits but some earth is not all turned over. In spring clay is watered and let set for several days—then it is tempered by treading of men or oxen, a very laborious part of the process and success of tile making depends on this treading or tempering.

"Earth is then taken to the bench of the moulder who works the clay into moulds. Sometimes moulds are sprinkled lightly with sand instead of dipping them in water. Following the filling of the moulds the clay is dried and finally burned in a kiln."⁵

We are under the impression that tiles were sometimes made in a large mould divided into sections, each section being the size of a single tile. After filling the mould, the four fingers were drawn across the surface of the clay in a straight line from the top to the slightly curved bottom. Then a single channel was formed near the outer edges by drawing the finger along the edge until near the bottom when it was brought inward toward the center. This design

channeled the water to the center bottom of the tiles and took it away from the edges.

In examining a number of early "salmon" bricks the writer has found them to be of a uniform salmon color and to contain numerous pebbles or aggregates, which indicated a somewhat crude process. On the other hand, the tiles do not seem to have any small pebbles even though their color is practically identical to the "salmon" brick. This indicates that more care was given to the selection of the clay for tiles than was given to clay for bricks. It is supposed that this was necessary because the thin cross-section of the tiles could not tolerate many pebbles without yielding excessive breakage.

The Two Ways of Laying Flat Tiles

One of the surprises of our many field trips through the Dutch Country has been the finding of roofs with tiles laid in two different patterns, and the locating of the interesting half-tiles used on the edges of the staggered tile roofs. The better known method has the tiles set with joints carried through both vertically and horizontally. These tiles are grooved to channel the rain away from the vertical joints toward the center bottom of each tile. Since these grooves resemble a tulip in some cases, some people have attributed to the Pennsylvania Dutch a desire to decorate the tiles with a tulip pattern. However, the main purpose for the design was doubtless functional.

Standing under one of these vertical joint roofs one can see the daylight coming through each joint but there is little leakage, even during heavy rain. This is one of the fascinating things about a tile roof and has caused considerable speculation as to the reasons this type of roof does not leak. The answer seems to be that the surface tension of the raindrops is sufficient to keep rain from entering the open joints and the rain that strikes the other roof areas is directed away from these joints by the grooves in the tiles. The owners of the Isaac Long house near Landis Valley and the Weaver house at Weaverland told me that their tile roofs show little leakage during rainstorms unless the rain is driven by strong winds. Snow is a problem with this kind of roof and the owners make it a practice to remove any snow accumulation after each snowfall. Many are the stories we have read of our forefathers having slept in the loft of the cabin or garret of the house and awaking the morning after a snowfall with an extra blanket of snow covering their bed. We can readily visualize the farm lads brushing aside the fresh snow after a stormy winter night and beating a hasty retreat across the snow-covered floor to the warm kitchen below.

⁵ Abraham Rees, *Cyclopedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1810), Vols. 37 and 38.

The second method of laying tile utilizes staggered joints instead of the vertical and horizontal joints found in the first-named method. This staggered arrangement is the one used with slates and shingles and the writer is indebted to Mr. Harry Stauffer of the Ephrata Cloister for locating what appears to be an original staggered joint tile roof. This roof is found on a stone bake-house on the Troutman farm, some two miles north of Womelsdorf, on the Womelsdorf-Rehrersburg road. Another staggered tile roof is found on the next farm, about three-quarters of a mile beyond the Troutman farm, on the Bernville road. This roof appears to have been relaid or repaired. It covers a very attractive stone building that has stone arches over the doorways and may have been a blacksmith shop or a distillery.

Another staggered tile roof is shown on the enlarged photographs of the original German settler's stone cabin on the Fisher farm in Oley. This cabin was photographed in 1920 and the tile roof removed in the subsequent alterations. These tiles were then donated for use on the Conrad Weiser homestead in Womelsdorf, where a number of buildings may be seen with tile roofs. The photographs of this beautiful cabin were supplied by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Fisher, who live on the well-known Fisher Mansion, built near the altered cabin. The Fisher Mansion is widely known as an outstanding example of Georgian architecture and a historical marker is located along the road in front of the house.

The Half-tile Identifies the Staggered Tile Roof

The tile on the Troutman farm and the roof shown in the photograph of the Fisher cabin seem to be original and both had half-tiles. The half-tiles on the edge of the roof are an interesting feature of the staggered tile roof and these can be seen in the photographs of the Troutman and Fisher buildings. The half-tiles are needed only on the staggered tile roofs to balance the alternate rows of tiles on the edge of the roof. Their presence on these two buildings indicates that these roofs are original staggered tile roofs. The marks of the original mould on these half-tiles shows that they were originally made in this shape and size. On the southern edge of the Troutman roof, facing the road, are found three of the original half-tiles. The other spaces requiring them have been fitted with pieces of wood shingles to replace the missing tiles.

The enlarged photograph of the rear of the Fisher cabin shows that there were half-tiles on the edges of the roof and these can be seen in their proper locations on the edge of the roof, in alternate rows.

Both kinds of tile have a lug about one inch square moulded on the back and this lug is hooked over the horizontal laths to keep the tiles in position on the roof.

The Ridge Tiles

Ridge tiles are used on the peak of the roof to cover the openings at the junction there. These tiles are approximately fifteen inches long, with a semi-circular cross section and are tapered so that the large end of one tile fits over the small end of the next tile.

These tile are now quite scarce but can still be seen on a number of roofs in the Oley Valley. Some of the roofs marked on the map still have ridge tiles.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Tile

Since many European and English houses being built today are tile covered, we can hardly call the tile roof obsolete. However, the popularity of tile in this country apparently



"Staggered" tile roof on bake-house, Troutman farm, north of Womelsdorf. Note the half-tiles.



Another "staggered" tile roof on Bernville Road, north of Womelsdorf. Note the ridge tiles.

ended about the period of the Revolution. The writer will attempt to explain this decline in the use of tile in the following paragraphs.

The advantages of tile are its durability, its fire resistance and its beauty, the latter characteristic at times having symbolized the social status of the owner as reported before. The beauty of a tile roof is worthy of note and is one of the outstanding characteristics of European cities and villages. Our ancestors built for generation to come and tile makes a permanent roof. Barring serious upheavals, a tile roof will last for centuries and it will not catch fire from a stray ember or from the fire-tipped arrow of an enemy.

In America our ancestors were motivated by practical and traditional considerations in choosing tile for building, and we believe that beauty was a secondary matter with them. To us the beauty of tile is a decided advantage and indeed a number of Oley Valley people have gone to considerable expense and effort to repair and maintain the tile roofs of their outbuildings.

Tile has a number of disadvantages. It makes a very heavy roof requiring strong timbers for its support. Then there are the problems of tile breakage, of snow and occasionally rain leakage, of difficulty in repairing damaged roofs and of high initial cost. We believe the decline in the use

of tile in this country followed the loss of European traditions and the advent of new materials and new concepts of building in America. Since the use of tile has continued until the present time in Europe, but lasted for only one or two generations in the new land, it seems obvious that the new conditions in America were responsible for the change to other materials. One interesting parallel can be drawn, with good authority, namely, that the use of tile coincided with the practice of building the steep roofed Germanic houses. When the use of tile ceased, then the heavy-timbered German house had also become a thing of the past. Our typical Germanic houses remaining today were built during the period when large and small houses were being covered with tile. Before we leave this phase of our subject we must note that the tile roofs of the Pennsylvania Dutch builders were supported by the heavy, barn-like timbers typical of the Weaver and Long houses. When the English style house began to supplant the steep roof Germanic house, it is easily understood why wood shingles were selected instead of tile. Shingles were lighter in weight, freely available, and probably cheap.

We suppose that most breakage occurred as a result of windstorms but one of our references refers to "damage by frost when plain tiles are grooved and have the reduced overlap."⁶ Repairing a tile roof was not as easily accomplished as one might suppose and care was necessary to prevent additional breakage while working on the roof. We have been told that a piece of felt was placed under each tile in the Weaver and Long houses. This felt would cushion the tiles and reduce breakage during storms.

A few words about the relative merits of the two methods of laying tile are in order here. In checking on this point I inquired of two natives of North Germany and was advised by one that all tile roofs were laid by the staggered method. The other man advised me that he had seen only the vertical arrangement in North Germany. A South German told me he was familiar with both types. This demonstrates well the diversity of backgrounds in Europe.

The LeVan House, Oley Valley. Steep roof, segmental brick arches over the windows, central fireplace and austere "feeling" produce strong medieval character.



The Saal, Ephrata Cloisters. Medieval Germanic features: steep roof, "kick" at the eaves, many-storied gable and shed-roof dormers.

All of my informants agreed that the staggered tile roof provides a tighter seal against wind-driven rain or snow and allows little light to enter the garret. This type roof, therefore, seems more practical than the vertical type, but let us examine its weaknesses. The vertical type, with least overlapping of tiles vertically and no lateral overlapping, is a very heavy roof but the staggered tile roof is twice as heavy and therefore twice as costly. It also requires more expensive roof timbers due to its greater weight.

An English dictionary by Knight, published in London, states: "Plain tiles are made with grooves which saves half the weight, but this type roof is subject to leakage by drifting rains and injury by frost." This statement plainly indicates that the grooves on our tiles were for the purpose of reducing overlap. This means reduced weight and lower cost.

Because the staggered roof is tighter it offers greater resistance to wind but would also build up more suction under the roof during a storm. The vertical tile roof, with its open joints, allows passage of the wind, and would, therefore, seem to be less liable to suffer breakage during windstorms. Other sources of information call attention to damage by frost and explain that tiles were sometimes laid in clay, mortar or moss. This would indicate an effort to make the roof less subject to leaks and breakage. It brings to mind that our Lancaster County houses were said to have a piece of felt under each tile to cushion them, presumably against breakage. It is possible that the use of felt in Lancaster was for the same purpose as the use of moss in England, namely to cushion the tile and reduce breakage. There are, no doubt, a number of other reasons, still unknown to the writer, for the preference of one type over the other, but the vertical type seems to have the advantage when all factors are considered. Not the least of the advantages of the vertical tile roof, in the writer's opinion, is its more charming appearance.

⁶ Charles Knight, *Knight's Cyclopaedia of London* (London, 1851).

Where Tile Roofs May Be Found in 1961

In 1761 tile roofed houses, both large and small, were numerous in Dutch Pennsylvania and considerable evidence is available to support this view. Whereas we find few large houses remaining with tile roofs as indicated, our journey through the Dutch Country in 1961 will reveal a considerable number of smaller buildings so roofed. Starting in Upper Montgomery County we will find a number of bake-houses and frame buildings covered with tiles. These are located around Bally and north and south of Hereford as shown on the map. Then heading westward along Route 100 through Boyertown we will transfer to Route 562 and continue to Yellow House. We will then turn north and take Route 662 into the beautiful Oley Valley where the greatest concentration of tiled buildings is found, only one-and-three-tenths miles to the Fisher House where the beautiful mansion may be seen and just beyond the altered cabin which originally had a staggered tile roof. (See photos.) Then another mile or so and we will approach the Sassaman farm with three rather large tile roofs and a number of steep roofs to charm the traveler. Two large trees, one on each side of the dirt lane, a short distance beyond the brick Mennonite church will identify the farm entrance. (Mr. and Mrs. Hoffman have kindly given permission for visitors to drive to the farmstead to look at the buildings and to take photographs.)

We will travel north along Route 662 and eventually come to the Israel Bertolet cabin (see photo), and then on to see tile roofs of the Pikeville and Lobachville areas. Along this route the traveler will be able to see the finest in stone houses, quaint barns of log and stone, a number of stone mills, including the interesting Peter Mill (barn and tile roofs also), some stake and rider fences, some stone fences and the only known vertical type saw mill remaining in Pennsylvania. Returning to Friedensburg (Oley) we will then travel west to see the Reiff homestead now owned by Mr. and Mrs. John Moxon. Here we will find six tile roofs on one farm, possibly the greatest number of tile roofs on any one farm in America today. Go slowly. You are surrounded by beauty, each farm along the old Reading road has quaint buildings to be discovered! Then we will go south of Route 73 to see the Knabb-Bieber tile roofed cabin and return to Route 73 for our trip through Reading.

As we leave the Oley Valley we will take Route 73 west until it intersects Route 422 in Reading. We will then take Route 422 West to Womelsdorf for a stop at the Conrad Weiser Park and homestead. A look at several tile roofed buildings will reward our pause here and we will probably want to walk to the springhouse for a cooling drink at the Weiser spring. A short distance from the Weiser homestead we will turn north on the Road to Rehrersburg to see two staggered tile roofs and then return to Route 422 for the final leg of our trip to Lancaster County.

The traveler is now in the Tulpehocken Valley. Beautiful, rolling Pennsylvania: small wonder that the Weisers and their fellow Palatines stopped here on their journey south from New York state. The Tulpehocken Valley is the most beautiful rolling country yet seen by the writer. This is the land of steep roofed Germanic houses and Swiss barns, of limestone buildings with red sandstone corners, of brick arches over the windows, of churches like Long's church just beyond Stouchsburg, on the left. This church is very photogenic and there will probably be a herd of sheep grazing in the walled-in cemetery.

We will continue west on Route 422 to Myerstown, where we will take Route 501 south to Landis Valley and then on to Weaverland.

We are traveling through the heart of the Dutch Country, land of the Amish, of Swiss barns, beautiful farmsteads, the Cloisters at Ephrata and other unique Lancaster and Lebanon County attractions. Our destination is the area east of Lancaster city and specifically the Weaver house and the Long house. At the Landis Valley Museum, a few miles east of Lancaster City, the traveler will turn north to see the Isaac Long house with its beautiful gable and steep, medieval tiled roof. Then the traveler will turn south to Weaverland to see the Weaver house with its steep tiled roof. On this farm there are two old Swiss barns and the meadow still has its irrigation ditch which carried water to nourish the meadows of Weaverland from Colonial times until the practice was discontinued as recently as 1948.

The Weaver and Long houses were brought to our attention by Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker, director of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, and have typical Germanic features such as steep roofs, double garrets, segmental arches over the windows, and arched root cellars. The gable on the Long house is most interesting. The deep arches and symmetrical fenestration produce a striking beauty, but the real beauty of this gable remains to be revealed when the coat of plaster is removed to reveal the original pointed stone wall and brick arches, on the happy date of restoration.

A Few Points About Tile

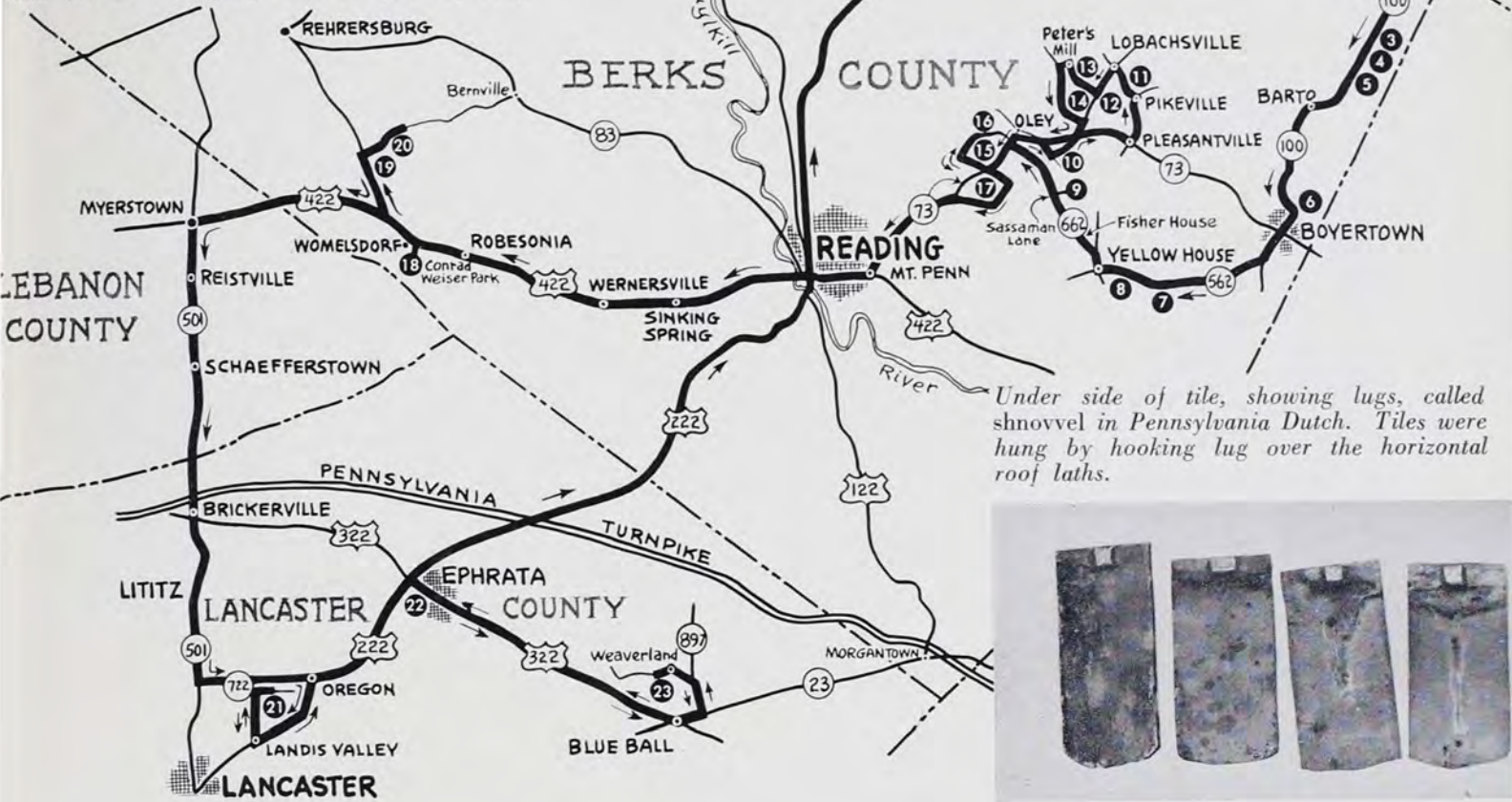
An appraisal of the estate of Jacob Wagner in 1826 on the writer's farm in Montgomery County shows the following item: "To about 100 tile—25 cts." This gives us an idea of the value of tile in 1826: only twenty-five cents per hundred tile! It would appear that tile were very plentiful at that time or there was little demand for them. How different in 1961, when one hears prices quoted ranging from fifteen cents to one dollar per single tile.

The individual tiles are from one-half to three-quarter inches thick, about seven inches wide and from about fourteen to eighteen inches in length. The upper edge is straight, while the bottom is rounded slightly. The lug is attached to the underside of the tiles at the upper edge and is about one inch square in size. Many tiles have a slightly arched conformation, a little higher in the center but the writer is unaware of the meaning of this characteristic and does not know whether it is important or merely incidental.

Since many people have told me that their tile roofs do not leak, I was surprised when informed by some Oley Valley residents that their roofs are unsatisfactory in this respect. Analysis of this situation has led me to believe that most leakage is due to two conditions: first, the tile are not properly placed and second the arrangement of tile is not the correct one for the pitch of the roof on which they are now located. The vertical tile arrangement requires a steep roof; the staggered method need not be on as steep a roof because overlap is much greater. Some Oley Valley tile are laid vertically but the roofs are not very steep and some rows of tiles are not in straight alignment vertically. These conditions, I believe, will lead to unsatisfactory results. The following rule seems to apply: the steepest roof will be satisfactory with vertical tile arrangement and little overlap; as the roof becomes less steep the staggered arrangement must be used with overlap increasing accordingly. This means that the roofs with least pitch should be covered with the staggered tile arrangement.



Close-up of ridge tiles. Two tiles in foreground show method of laying tiles on peak of roof.



Under side of tile, showing lugs, called shnovvel in Pennsylvania Dutch. Tiles were hung by hooking lug over the horizontal roof laths.



Tour of the Red Tile Roofs in the Dutch Country

(Approximately 140 miles)

Beginning at Main and Noble Streets in Kutztown, south on Noble 3 miles to stop sign in Lyons, turn left through Topton (stay on Weis Street), through Longswamp and Seisholzville 12.7 miles to tile roof #1 (L). Drive 1 mile to tile roof #2 (L), then .2 mile to Route 100. Turn right on Route 100 and go 2.9 miles to tile roof #3 (L), .1 mile to tile roof #4 (L), .1 mile to tile roof #5 (L), 5.6 miles to tile roof #6 (L). Drive 5.4 miles to tile roof #7 (L), straight through Boyertown and taking Route 562 beyond Boyertown, then 1.2 miles to tile roof #8 (L) and 1.2 miles to Yellow House. Turn right .4 mile on Route 662 to fork, left on 662 .9 mile to Fisher House (R). Continue 1.8 miles to Sassaman Lane marked two large trees on right. Interested visitors may drive in lane to see tile roof of #9 (four tiled buildings). Continue north on Route 662 1.8 miles to Route 73. Turn right .4 mile to blinker, turn right .3 mile to fork, turn left at fork .3 mile to Israel Bertolet Cabin (tile roof #10 R). Continue 1 mile to Route 73, turn right on Route 73 to light in Pleasantville, 1.3 miles. Turn left at light 1.1 miles toward Pikeville, turn left at sign pointing to Lobachsville, tile roof #11 is on the right after making the turn. Continue 1.1 miles to bridge just beyond Lobachsville and turn left. Look for stake and rider fence and stone arch bridge along this road. Go .7 mile to tile roof #12 (L). Turn right on dirt road with stake and rider fence at corner. Go .8 mile to Peter's mill and tile roof

#13 (L & R). Here can be seen tile roofs, ridge tiles on peak of roofs, a beautiful stone arch bridge, an early barn and a stone mill with brick arches over the windows. Turn left .1 mile to macadam road, turn left and go .6 mile to tile roof #14 (L), then .2 mile to Route 73. The LeVan house, pictured in this article, is located at the bend of the road. Turn right on Route 73 to stop sign, 2.1 miles. Turn left on Route 73 and go 1.6 miles to Moravian school sign. When passing white fence along Route 73 across meadow to see tile roofed buildings on the John Moxon farm on the Old Reading Road. Turn right at the Moravian school sign and keep bearing right for 1 mile to tile roof #15 (R). Tradition says Indians slept in the stone bank-house located between the two tile roofed buildings. Continue 1 mile to tile roof #16 on left. This is the Conrad Reiff homestead, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. John Moxon who have restored the tile roofs on six of their buildings. The Reiff log cabin is the first building on the left and adjacent is the beautiful tile roofed blacksmith shop. Now return to the Moravian school sign, cross Route 73 and drive 1.4 miles to the Knabb-Bieber homestead, tile roof #17. Return to Route 73, turn left 5.6 miles to traffic light in Reading, junction of Routes 73 and 422 to Conrad Weiser Park in Womelsdorf, 16 miles, tile roof #18. Stop at Park to see the tile roof on the Weiser homestead and step down for a

(Continued on Page 55)

The Steep Roof, a Germanic Feature

When the origin of the steep roof is discussed some will quickly reply that this construction was designed to cope with the weight of heavy snows, and this explanation appears quite reasonable. Our Continental settlers brought the steep roof tradition with them and built houses in which the steep roof was associated with the central fireplace. This is medieval in character and such influence has produced such austere structures as the Cloister at Ephrata, the LeVan house in Oley, and the Long house in Landis Valley. But is snow the only reason for the steep roof?

"Mankind came to learn, too, that different slopes fitted different climates. In southern, sunny climates, where there is, nevertheless, considerable rain, the low slope was the rule . . . In damp countries, with much rain and some but not a great deal of snow, high steep roofs, like those of the German towns, were general. In windy, snowy, northern climates, a roof of comparatively low and gentle slope was used, for people came to realize that a heavy layer of snow on the roof made houses much warmer, while the gentle slope allowed water from the melting snow to trickle off gradually. Thus, in Scandinavia, in parts of Japan, and in the Alps, the characteristic roof slope is gentle and roofs are comparatively low, with broadly spreading eaves," writes Talbot Hamlin.⁷

It has been reported that the farther north one travels in Europe the steeper the roofs are. This may be true in

⁷Talbot Hamlin, *Architecture Through the Ages* (New York, 1953), pp. 9-10.



Beautiful gable of Isaac Long House, Landis Valley. Steep roof and deep arches over the windows. Double row of windows in gable is evidence of the original two-story garret, a feature of Colonial Pennsylvania Dutch architecture.

general but there are exceptions as indicated above. This brings into mind that another factor may have had a considerable influence on the development of the steep roof, namely, the problem of heating the house efficiently. To what extent the heating problem and to what extent snow and rainfall affected the pitch of roof is not known by the writer but it is believed that the heating problem was of considerable importance. The Germanic houses with central fireplaces, with few and small windows, with great, unbroken wall areas seemed to be laid out for protection against the cold weather. Many people have claimed that the few and small windows of our American houses were the result of high cost of glass and heavy taxes on window space. This may be true in part, but it was not the reason for the Germans building with small windows and large, unbroken wall spaces in the early part of the eighteenth century. The writer's opinion is that this type of construction was the result of their European traditions which were, in this case, based on conservation of heat.

With the fireplace in the center of the house, extra space could be most efficiently heated if the house were built higher rather than longer or wider. Then, the influence of the walled cities of old Europe, with their limited ground area inside the wall, may have been an important factor leading to tall houses of small cross section. Another factor of unknown importance was the European, and early American, custom of storing grain on the garret, which made a many-storied building desirable. These interrelated factors and, possibly some others, were important in the development of the steep roof, but which factors were most important is probably difficult to prove.

One question has intrigued the writer: Did the development of the Pennsylvania barn spell the end of the steep roofed house with its capacity for grain storage? With the development of the large Pennsylvania barns in the late eighteenth century there was no longer any need to store grain in the houses, and the large garret was of less importance. It may be that the large crops of the later period of the eighteenth century required the construction of larger grain storage, which was then built into the barn, making previous ideas on house construction obsolete.

In conclusion we call attention to the four buildings selected as examples of steep roofed Germanic construction. The photographs show a gable view of these buildings, and a careful inspection will show such features as the double row of windows in the garret, the arches over the windows, the central fireplace and the steep roof.

The LeVan house in Oley, the Isaac Long house at Landis Valley, the Weaver house in Weaverland and the Saal at Ephrata are good examples of Germanic construction showing the medieval influence.

The inside of these buildings would show additional features such as the smokehouse in the garret, the heavy timbers in the double garret, the use of mud and straw wrapped around wooden strips and inserted between the joists for warmth and possibly protection against fire, the arched root cellar, the great fireplace and the open beams. Each feature yields a clue to bygone days and fitted together these pieces tell us a story that reaches back hundreds of years.

Eighteenth century red tile from the Oley Valley can be seen at the Folk Festival on the bake oven. Authentic pieces of tile are offered at the L. W. Bumbaugh book stand in the upper Craft Hall on the Festival grounds. EDITOR.



The Paul R. Wieand Gay Dutch Folk Players here depict a carpet rag party "at work." Note the piece of rag carpet in the foreground.

CARPET RAG PARTIES

By PAUL R. WIEAND

The term "Carpet Rag Party" has a strange ring to most ears nowadays, but to the Pennsylvania Dutch of bygone days it meant a night out with lots of fun. Today cocktail parties, house warmings, and coming out parties are the go. All of these have an air of sophistication about them, but it is doubtful whether they engender the friendliness, the spirit of cooperation, and the general wholesomeness which prevailed at the parties of yesteryear when grandfather and grandmother were lad and lass.

Carpet rag parties were one of the many forms of recreation enjoyed years ago when the home had no radio or television. Now and then a family had a music box, but who needed a music box for entertainment when there was more fun at a *loomba pairty* (rag party)!

After the *schnitzen* (apple quartering) and the corn husking—parties of the Fall—came the *loomba pairty*. This was one of the several social functions of the village or farm during the winter months. *Loomba pairties* were not held too frequently at most homes; however, several were sure to occur in the neighborhood during the sleighing season.

These gatherings forced neighbors and friends to work hard to get the daily chores done just a bit earlier than usual, so that a longer time might be spent at the designated party place.

Who came? The whole family. There were no baby sitters then. Of course the party soon became subdivided, and this did not take any special effort. The children gathered in one corner and soon had their games and fun. This happened early in the evening because as the hours passed they became tired and soon were asleep in their elders' arms or resting upon the woodchest. The oldsters found another corner and had their common conversation, while they were seemingly trying to accomplish something for their hosts. The young unmarried found the parlor more enjoyable than watching their elders or lending a hand at the task of ripping, cutting, snipping, sewing, or winding. Therefore, before too many minutes were lost, games were initiated. Most of the work had to be done by the married couples, who told stories, related jokes and asked riddles, all the while working earnestly at the rags. After putting in an hour or two at the rather arduous task, the workers also joined the young folk in their play party games.

To the women fell the lot of cutting squares or rectangles of cloth from the worn-out cotton clothing—aprons, dresses, and shirts, which had accumulated since the last party. The rags had been washed and stored away by the *haus frau* in her *loomba foss* (rag barrel) or her *loomba sock* (rag bag), which was usually a burlap potato bag or a linen grain bag.



Tearing rags into thin strips—the first step, illustrated by Mrs. Audra Miller.



After the rags were torn into strips the second step was to trim the ends. Mrs. Paul R. Wieand demonstrates.



Mrs. Martin Wetzel depicts the third step—sewing the individual strips into one continuous strand.

These rags or pieces of unwearable clothing were stored in the *loomba foss* in the attic and were brought down for the guests to convert into material for the carpet weaver. Buttons were salvaged for the button box. The hard-worn parts of the clothing were always cut away as were the seams, bands, and clumsy parts. All of the unuseables were put back into one of the *loomba* bags and sold to the rag man who made his rounds in the Spring of the year during housecleaning time.

The swatches of material salvaged in this manner were transformed into long, seemingly endless, narrow strips. These long strips were formed by cutting into the piece of cloth about one inch from the edge, ripping the length of the swatch to about an inch of the opposite end. You continued back again along the length of the cloth to one inch from the rip of the other end. In this manner you proceeded until the swatch of cloth was ripped into one long continuous strand. The person doing this had to watch the weight of the material. Heavier material was not ripped as wide as regular material. Light weight cloth was made wider so that the same thickness resulted when it was used as weft.

To another woman fell the lot of snipping off the corners where the material made the turn as it was ripped to continue lengthwise along the material again. This snipping off of a triangular piece at the corners was to remove the excess thickness that occurred in the weaving when this strand was rewound from a ball as the weft for the shuttle.

Seated comfortably, several women sewed the strands or strips together. The ends had to be overlapped about an

inch. The overlapped portion was folded lengthwise before sewing the two end pieces. When the strips were sewed together, care was taken so that the color of rags was varied. The variation of colored strips provided a more colorful pattern in the finished carpet. "*Net all de hella bei-nonner*" (not all the light colored ones together), were frequent words of caution. Interchanging dark strips with bright and light colored strands was a must.

Winding of course fell to the lot of the men who had to wind the sewed strands into balls. The balls, about six inches in diameter, were produced by continuous winding, while news, jokes, and riddles were exchanged. Scores of balls were needed for a roomful of finished carpet. Sometimes there were neighbors who delighted in bragging about the large balls of rags they had. Some of these large balls were even exhibited at county fairs. Tricks were even resorted to at times to produce such enormous balls at gatherings. Some balls were wound on large stones, while others were wound on peach baskets to form the base until the braggard was discovered by the carpet weaver.

Carpet weavers, when receiving the bags of carpet rag balls, would customarily inquire whether they were made at a party or whether *De Gremmy* did the work during her declining years. If a party prepared them, the price was usually a few cents a yard more for the finished carpet. Though he was not told, the weaver soon knew, the reason being he had to spend extra time in correcting errors and sewing ends again where the happy gatherers failed intentionally or unintentionally to do it correctly.

The weaver could produce a beautiful carpet from such salvaged rags. He asked you whether you were interested

in a dark or light warp, all cotton, or cotton and wool mixed. A dark warp was selected if you were interested in carpet for the kitchen. A light warp was used for the bedrooms. If you had extra money to spend for the project, you usually decided on woolen strips running horizontally with the length of the carpet. The width of this woolen stripe again depended on the extra money you wanted to invest. Attractiveness of the carpet was found in the woolen stripe. Wool was more expensive than cotton warp, however, wool allowed for brighter colors, and the Dutch liked bright colors. The well-to-do families in the neighborhood usually had the broader stripes of wool in their carpets. Every additional inch of wool warp in the carpet meant an extra outlay of

money as well as additional care in preventing moths from destroying it. Ironically, the lowly rags, put to good use in making colorful carpet, denoted material wealth or was an economical way of saving a few dollars which came in handy on a rainy day.

Without too many halts, the fun and play continued until the prescribed work was finished. Generally the younger ones enjoyed forfeit and guessing games, promenading and singing in the parlor as long as the older ones desired to remain. Oh yes, refreshments were not forgotten. A glass of *ab-gekochter* (mulled cider) and a plate of Fallawalter apples, served with a knife, were very appetizing at such a gathering.



After the strips are sewed, they are rolled onto balls. Allen Stephen and Martin Wetzel show how it's done. The balls were put in bags and were then ready for delivery to the local carpet weaver.

FENCES

in Rural Pennsylvania

By AMOS LONG, JR.

Stone and rail fences were at one time a prominent feature of the landscape of rural Pennsylvania. Many of these fences had a multifold purpose in that they were used not only to keep livestock in or wild animals out but also to subdivide fields and establish boundary lines.

The pioneer settlers, however, did not have need for and consequently did not build many or substantial fences during the early period of settlement. Farm animals were branded or earmarked and were allowed to roam at will and the supply of labor and tools was limited. Neighbors also were few and widely dispersed. In most cases, all available time had to be devoted to the clearing of land in order to produce food and to the construction of some type of shelter for the family and livestock. Another reason also is that many of our early settlers were completely unfamiliar with the fence as an enclosure. Large numbers of those Europeans who emigrated from the Rhineland regions lived under feudal control and since land holdings were generally large, there was little or no necessity for enclosures of this type. This in part is also the reason that there was nothing in the immigrant's German dialect for the word fence and therefore the English word was incorporated into the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect.

As settlements grew heavier, as neighbors moved closer, and farm animals became more numerous, fences of some type were needed and constructed so that stock running at large would not ruin the crops under cultivation. The first fences were generally built of wood or stone. The type of fences constructed depended primarily on use, location, and materials available. Wood was most commonly used because it was always readily available.

The earliest fences were many times temporary structures built from materials which were being cleared from the land in preparation for cultivation. One of these was the brush fence (*heckafens*) which was made of merely brush and

stakes. In some areas, trees were cut over in a line where the fence was to be located and the openings were then filled in with limbs and branches from other trees. This was referred to as a felled timber fence. Like the brush fence, however, it did not prove very practical. There was also the stump fence (*shtoombafens*) which was nothing more than a row of stumps piled close to and on top of one another. These were more prevalent in mountainous areas where the soil is shallow and root structure is forced to grow laterally which made excellent material for this type fence. Some of these still exist in the more northern areas of the state.

In some areas, the early settlers built a fence of logs (*bluckfens*). Trees of nearly the same thickness were hewn down and cut into lengths of twelve to fifteen feet and then trimmed. The fence was built in a straight line with overlapping ends where the logs are joined. Two shorter, heavy stakes or posts driven or dug into the ground on each side of the logs near the end of each panel helped to support the structure. After the proper height was attained, small, young trees were cut down and placed alternately between the stakes or posts of two adjoining panels or sections and securely fastened at the top. This fence, like some others, varied in structure from place to place.

There was also the stone pile fence. It was merely a continuous pile or piles of stones and rocks thrown or dumped along the edge of the clearing or field which were picked from the land. Occasionally we still find some of these stone and rock piles to remind us of this early type of enclosure.

Similar to the stone pile fence is the stonewall fence (*shtay-mauer* or *shtayfens*) found along the rocky regions

*All photographs courtesy of
the Schwenkfelder Library*

*A stone fence along a
country road circa
1900.*





The village of Hereford, Berks County, around 1900. Note the rail and rider fences around the fields in the foreground.

which is probably the most durable of all fences. The materials used in their construction were taken from the land which had to be cleared of rocks and stones before it could be cultivated. The most common stone used was the native limestone or sandstone although others were utilized. The region in which the fence was located determined the type of stone to be used. These early structures were set up dry, without mortar, and when properly built required little or no maintenance and yet proved more durable and sturdy, in addition to being fireproof, than any other fence.

Generally they were built by laying the stones as they were found in two parallel rows with the largest ones placed

nearest the bottom. The center and open spaces were filled with smaller stones to make them more durable and substantial. The builder, many times with few or no tools, arranged the stones so that they fit rigidly together, being careful to place them in order to bind each other and so that the wall was well balanced. This was similar to the construction of the early building foundations.

The height of the wall varied from two to six feet. Occasionally another fence was built on top if the wall alone was not of sufficient height to keep the livestock in the enclosure. Most of these fences which are rapidly vanishing because of deterioration, high maintenance and replacement costs, were



Stone fences dividing fields on a Berks County farm around 1900. Note the rail and rider built on top of the low stone fence in background, left.

A type of rail and rider fence.



built before the present century and have been replaced in many instances with the post and rail or the steel wire fence. Many of these because of their decrepit condition have also been removed and the stones used for building purposes or road construction. Some have also given way to larger fields or widened roads.

These structures also served as retaining walls to protect the soil from erosion and numerous family burial plots were enclosed with a wall of this type. The top of the wall was many times covered with a miniature board roof structure to protect the upper surface from the elements thereby extending the existence of the wall.

Another type of early fence and probably the most picturesque is the stake and rider (*shtawkafens*) or zig-zag fence. It was popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and practical as long as timber was plentiful and land and labor less costly than today. Although not too much time was involved in the erection of this fence as compared to some other types, it did take a lot of timber and wasted much good farming land. Generally it occupied seven feet, more or less, with three and one-half feet on each



A post and rail fence on a Berks County farm around 1900.

Post and rail fences at the village of Hereford during horse-and-buggy days.



side of the boundary line if it served as a boundary fence. It was also used many times along roads or to divide fields but more often around permanent or temporary pasture fields. Today one may occasionally find short sections around a wooded area or along a back country road.

The fence built in a zig-zag course to prevent it from falling over or being pushed over easily was generally six or seven rails high. The end of the lowest rail at each section rested on a flat stone known as a rest stone or in the dialect as a *rook shtay* or less frequently on a piece of log. The rails, usually five or six courses, were laid alternately on top of one another at right angles. These panels were then supported with two shorter rails or stakes six or seven feet long or approximately half the size of the rails which were set at an angle in form of an X. It was important that these stakes or posts did not protrude too far above or below in order that they not prove a hindrance to the farmer in carrying out his work in the field. Then two additional rails were laid in the notch of the angle. The top rail or *dub riggel*, usually round and heavy, rested as a binder in each fork. The second or "rider" rail was generally light, one end riding in the notch of one angle and the other end of the rail resting beneath the angle of the stakes at the other end. This rail served primarily to keep the animals from getting their heads between the rails and throwing down the fence. The horizontal rails were from ten to twelve feet long, depending on the length of the panel desired.

To some these fences bring back memories of sore hands and strained backs, of thorns and ivy poison, of bumble bees and snakes; to others the recollection of hurriedly having to set up the fence after the cows broke out or after a severe wind storm. Not to forget, how at the time of Hallowe'en the fence was many times set up across a road as a prank for the innocent passerby. There are also those who can vividly recall cutting down the trees, hewing the posts, and splitting the rails. Alvin Knoll of near Bernville and William Meck of near Hamburg, both of whom still have a section of stake and rider fence on their farms, tell of the many days they spent preparing timber for and erecting these fences. Meck tells of receiving one cent each for making posts and a cent and a half each for making rails. Sometimes board was included. It was said that a good rail splitter could split one hundred rails a day.

These fences and fence corners also served in other ways in addition to their intended purpose. The older folk need only to reminisce about their earlier days to recall some of these other uses. Within the bounds of many of these fences grew trees of various kinds which offered welcome shade and tasty fruits and nuts of many varieties, the wild cherry, papaw, persimmon, chestnut, shellbark, and walnut to mention but a few. Here also in season were to be found bountiful supplies of strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, and elderberries which not only supplied food for man, but for beast and birds as well. They served also as a haven for many types of smaller wildlife and with their passing have gone the large numbers of small game which once roamed the fields. Today all that remains in many instances may be the trees which were originally planted in the fence corners or the stones on which the rails once rested.

Arthur Haas, a surveyor from Breinigsville, Lehigh County, tells how occasionally he is able to locate a boundary line by finding the rest stones on which a boundary fence once set. He stated that many of these stones are still lying where they were originally placed but are covered over with

earth and other debris.

The worm fence (*warremfens*) or snake fence (*shlongafens*) was similar to but not the same as the stake and rider fence. It was also built in a zig-zag course but with thinner timber and was started closer to the ground. It was used primarily to retain smaller animals—sheep, pigs, and geese within the enclosure while the various types of stake fences were used to retain horses and cattle. It differed from the stake and rider fence also in that there were no stakes or posts to hold the ends of the rails in place. The stake and rider and worm fences varied in many regions and have been frequently referred to each other interchangeably.

Similar to the stake and rider and worm fence was the Irish fence in which one end of the rail was laid or fitted into the notch of the stakes and the other end rested on the ground. Here again the stakes were set into the ground at an angle to form an X at the center of each rail rather than at the end on which the end of the next rail was laid and so traversed over the field in a direct course.

The Swedes fence was also a variation of the stake and rider fence. It was well adapted to rugged terrain although, like the Irish fence, it never came into wide use in this area.

Another variation was one in which the fence was similarly constructed but was without the angled stakes. The rails were laid in a direct line and were wired into position. Here again construction varied somewhat in different areas. These were many times referred to as a patent fence and are still used in many of our national forest areas.

A later variation was one in which long, thin saplings were nailed to the angled stakes. Generally the two lowest saplings, about ten feet in length, were nailed about twelve inches from the ground on both sides. The others, about twelve inches apart, on the inside of the fence except the top rail which rested in the notch of the stakes. This type followed a direct rather than a zig-zig course.

Very few tools were necessary to prepare and construct the stake and rider fence. Of greatest importance was the axe and if available a saw. A grubbing hoe was essential for erecting. When the time came that it had to be removed and replaced, generally by a post and rail fence, the good rails were pointed for the new fence. The ones that were too short or no longer substantial were used for such things as a base on which to stack grain, to pile corn fodder or fuel for summer baking or winter butchering.

The post and rail fence (*poshtafens*), (*riggelfens*) in many instances replaced the stake and rider fence. Although it required more time and labor to prepare the timber and put it up, it was more substantial and required less space and timber for its construction. It was also easier to control the weeds because of its straight line construction.

Constructing a post and rail fence was a wearisome task and meant much hard labor. In the early days there were no post hole diggers. Holes, approximately two feet deep and the width of the shovel, had to be dug every ten feet. In addition to the shovel, a digging iron was used to loosen the earth within the hole so that it could be removed. The work became even more tedious when the subsoil consisted mainly of rock. Generally after the post was set in, stones were thrown into the bottom of the hole to wedge in the post securely. Then it was filled in completely with rock and soil and firmly tamped. After the posts were properly lined up in direction and height and rails fitted, the fence was completed and the only maintenance was replacing, resetting, and straightening the posts or rails from time to time, particularly after the winter freeze.



A live fence in the horse-and-buggy days.

The trees for the timber were cut during the winter and spring months. The bark of several trees, particularly certain oaks, was most easily secured in the spring of the year and then sold or bartered at the tannery, thereby providing additional income and partly off-setting the cost of the fence.

The posts of chestnut, or locust when available, were generally six or seven feet in length. These were trimmed with a broad axe or in later years sawed into the proper width and thickness. Trimming was most easily done when the log was laid on two large cross beams and fastened down with a device known as a metal dog which made it more stable and gave it elevation. The centers of the rail holes were usually twelve inches apart. These were chiseled out at first and later made with several types of hand augers having a diameter up to three inches. Two borings were necessary for each hole. A chisel or another smaller axe, adapted for that purpose, was used to cut out the wood between the auger holes where the rails would later be inserted. These holes, from three to five in number in each post, measured approximately three by six inches. Later, various types of post hole boring machines, which were cooperatively owned by the farmers within an area and passed among each other when needed, did the same work with much less effort. The posts were nearly always timber with the exception of the slate and limestone producing regions where we find that they were cut and shaped out of slate and limestone. These posts measured up to twenty inches in width and two or more inches thick and were most generally used for decorative purposes.

The logs from which the rails were split were sawed into the proper length, usually eleven feet, after the tree was felled. They were split into halves, quarters, or eighths depending upon their size. This was usually done with a maul and wedge or axe. The rails were then pointed at both ends, a task which called for considerable skill. Again the broad axe was used for this purpose. A device known in the dialect as a *riggel-glomm* was used to hold the rails in position and give them elevation while being pointed. It was important that these ends were properly shaped in order to fit two rail ends into the post hole. An extension of six inches was allowed at each end. Each panel then was ten feet long.

In most cases the posts and rails were prepared after the fall work on the farm had been completed, much of it during the winter months. Usually construction took place during early spring when the holes could be dug more easily and when the ground is relatively moist and free of vines and underbrush. Usually the task was performed so that it did not interfere with the other seasonal farm chores. After

the posts and rails were ready, they were hauled to the place where the fence was to be erected. It was important to determine a straight line over hill and vale and mark the proper location and distance between, before the holes were dug.

A type of fence related to the post and rail, although not as popular, is one in which two posts were dug into the ground parallel to each other the thickness of the rail apart and held in position by short cross pieces on which the rails rested.

The most common type of wood used in constructing the rail fences was the native, fast growing chestnut of which there was a bountiful supply until the present century. It was very durable and easily prepared; however, because of the blight which ravaged nearly our entire supply of this timber, we have had to resort to other types of wood such as red cedar, oak, hickory, ash, and occasionally white pine. Locust was most generally used for the posts. A solid chestnut fence rail was said to last practically a life time and a locust post up to one hundred years. Most of the posts which have to be replaced usually decay at the surface level.

Another type fence, although not as commonly used, is the hedge fence (*heckafens*) also referred to as a living fence. They serve not only as a stock enclosure but also as a stormfence which served as a windbreak and snow fence in addition to giving natural beauty to property lines, pastures and fields. These fences also do a good job of soil and game conservation. They are formed by planting cedars, privet, or other evergreens in a direct line and close together. In recent years, the multiflora rose has been used to a considerable extent and has been highly recommended by state and federal conservationists. The osage orange was also widely used for a time. Because of its fast bushy growth, its large thorns, and fast propagation, it made a good fence. Even though the hedge fence requires little maintenance except pruning to keep it in bound, it was not adopted on a wide scale. It occupied more land than other type fences and generally did not thrive too well in our Pennsylvania climate which many times resulted in vacant spaces and consequently fences that were not stock proof.

Another fence, although not too practical in many respects, was a ditch which substituted for some enclosures. These ditches were usually four to six feet deep and nearly as wide. The ground from the ditch was thrown along the outer side and many times bordered with a hedge. This type of enclosure involved a great amount of labor and therefore also was not used to any great extent.

In addition to stone and rail fences, the galvanized steel wire fence has become especially practical and has been in use for some time. Generally a steel wire fence is used to

replace the rails as they deteriorate. The steel wire fence has many variations. In the early 1880's a type of band or ribbon wire was introduced. It consisted of a thin band of loosely twisted galvanized wire which measured one-half inch in width and was notched or grooved on both edges. The barbed wire which consists of two strands of twisted wire set with sharp points several inches apart came into use shortly thereafter. Here three or four strands of wire, stapled approximately twelve inches apart on posts ten to twelve feet apart, is all that is required. The wire is fastened to the posts with galvanized steel staples. Another type is the stock fence of horizontal and perpendicular wires forming different widths and size of mesh used primarily to keep livestock in. The latest innovation is the single strand of wire fence fastened to stakes with or without insulators which is charged with electricity. The electric fence has proven very practical in that it is easily moved, restrains the animals, and is relatively inexpensive to build. The introduction of the wire fence has eliminated a lot of work and has saved the scarce growing timber since only posts are needed and these can be set apart at greater distances. During this same period there was introduced a plain round wire that was inserted into a small hole which was drilled through the center of the post. This however did not prove as practical because drilling the holes and threading the wire involved more time than stapling.

Another fence of more recent origin, constructed with posts and boards, is the board fence. The boards, usually rough, four to six inches wide and four or five boards high with four to six inch spaces between were nailed to posts which were sawed. On some of these fences a board the same width or slightly wider was nailed to the outer side of the post on top of the boards. A piece of wood slightly wider than the top of the post was nailed on after the top of the post was sloped. These fences, generally whitewashed with slaked lime, were built around the farmstead and along the road and entrance. In some instances the rails or boards were attached to limestone pillars instead of posts. This was known as the barnyard fence (*sheiarhof-fens*). Some of these had a simple roof structure for protection which also helped to give a still more pretentious touch to the farmstead.

Up to this point, we have concerned ourselves with fence structures enclosing the field and farmstead. There were also those which enclosed the house, garden, and lawn. Probably the most common type was the pale, picket, or clapboard fence (*glappbordfens*). The wooden pales or pickets which were sawed at the sawmill measured approximately two and one-half inches wide, one inch thick, and two to three feet in length depending on the height wanted. These were nailed at top and bottom to rails measuring usually two by four inches which were attached to posts usually ten feet apart. This type fence was whitewashed annually which gave it a very attractive appearance against its background of buildings. Most of these fences have also been replaced with the board or steel wire fence or no fence at all.

Another type structure used to enclose the house and yard area was the ornamental wrought iron fence (*eisafens*) of various and elaborate designs. It proved rather expensive to construct but very durable and for that reason it is not unusual to frequently find this type today.

The fences described here by no means exhaust the types that were to be found during this earlier period in rural Pennsylvania. There were others which were occasionally to be found but had far less practical use. Among these

was the slab fence (*shwordafens*) which was made from slabs of wood cut from logs. A palisade fence (*shtickelfens*) in which the stakes or posts, sometimes split in half, were dug into the ground at close range and held together with cross pieces, a trestle fence (*buckfens*), a solid board or spite fence (*shpeitfens*), a fence made of small, cut up tree limbs (*briggelfens*) and others.

There were also many laws and lawsuits concerning fences. As early as 1678, the Duke of York's Laws provided for the establishment of fences with certain specifications. This law also provided for the appointment of officials who had the authority to inspect the fences and see that they were properly maintained. Penn's "Great Law" of 1682 again provided for the establishment of fences with specifications and provided also for the recovery for damages from violators. There were also other related laws which reaffirmed or revised the specifications and provisions. At one time neighboring farmers were responsible for half the cost of erecting a boundary fence; that ruling no longer applies. Early in this century there were laws passed preventing the use of barbed wire along public roads. The fence has also helped to determine disputed boundaries where it has been erected for more than a twenty-one year period.

Associated with the fence also was the lore or beliefs which circulated freely among the Pennsylvania Dutch settlers. They related to such things as planting, curing diseases, construction, housekeeping, sleep, and numerous others. The following expressions illustrate these beliefs: A child should never crawl through a fence or it will not grow, Chickens perched on a fence while it rained meant still more rain, and Fences should be built when the moon points down otherwise the posts would force upward. There are still those who firmly believe that a fence post will last longer if it is set into the ground upside down.

Any of these fences well built, properly proportioned, and in good repair have proved an asset to any farm. However, fences like many other forms of material culture of our early settlers are no longer as prevalent in our countryside as they once were and in many instances have completely disappeared from the rural scene. The steel wire fence is replacing those which were once built around the meadow or permanent pasture and in many instances no fences are to be found along the cultivated fields. The absence of fences has come about primarily because of our diminishing timber supply and cost of materials and labor, as well as the more scientific methods of farming and caring for cattle. With their absence, however, has gone much of the attractiveness and fascination of the countryside.

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12th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival

July 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8, 1961 Kutztown, Pa.

SATURDAY, JULY 1

PROGRAM—STAGE A

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|-------------|---|-------------|---|
| 11:30-12:00 | Music program. | 6:00- 6:30 | Kitchen band. |
| 12:00-12:30 | Food specialties at the Festival. | 6:30- 6:55 | Flax demonstration. |
| 12:30- 1:00 | Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show. | 6:55- 7:10 | Fractured Dutch-English. |
| 1:00- 1:20 | Dialect folksong program. | 7:10- 7:30 | Program of dialect folksongs. |
| 1:20- 2:00 | Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. | 7:30- 8:00 | Plain garb show. |
| 2:00- 2:30 | The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb. | 8:00- 8:40 | Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. |
| 2:30- 2:45 | "Brofessor" Schnitzel. | 8:40-10:30 | Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40) |
| 2:45- 3:25 | Folk dances of the Dutch Country. | 10:30-11:00 | Amish documentary film. |
| 3:25- 5:30 | Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40) | | |

PROGRAM—STAGE B

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|-------------|---|------------|--|
| 11:00-11:30 | Music program. | 3:30- 4:00 | Flax demonstration. |
| 11:30-12:00 | The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country. | 4:00- 4:30 | Amish folklife. |
| 12:00-12:30 | Courtship, wedding and marriage customs in the Dutch Country. | 4:30- 5:00 | Fowl and feather lore show. |
| 12:30- 1:00 | Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show. | 5:00- 5:30 | Water witching demonstrations. |
| 1:00- 1:30 | Pennsylvania Dutch folk art show. | 5:30- 6:00 | Music program. |
| 1:30- 2:00 | Customs of the year show. | 6:00- 6:30 | Plain Dutch folkways. |
| 2:00- 3:00 | Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania. | 6:30- 7:00 | Powwowing and hexerei in Dutch Pennsylvania. |
| 3:00- 3:30 | Music program. | 7:00- 7:30 | Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show. |
| | | 7:30- 9:00 | Music program. |

SUNDAY, JULY 2

PROGRAM—STAGE A

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|-------------|---|-------------|---|
| 12:00-12:30 | Food specialties at the Festival. | 6:30- 7:15 | Carbon County musiganders. |
| 12:30- 1:00 | Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show. | 7:15- 7:45 | Plain garb show |
| 1:00- 1:20 | Dialect folksong program. | 7:45- 8:20 | Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. |
| 1:20- 2:00 | Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. | 8:20-10:15 | Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40) |
| 2:00- 2:45 | Carbon County musiganders. | 10:15-10:45 | Amish documentary film. |
| 2:45- 3:00 | Dutch-English humor. | | |
| 3:00- 3:30 | Folk dances of the Dutch Country. | | |
| 3:30- 5:15 | Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40) | | |

PROGRAM—STAGE B

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|-------------|---|------------|--|
| 11:00-11:30 | Music program. | 4:00- 4:30 | Amish folklife. |
| 11:30-12:00 | The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country. | 4:30- 5:00 | Fowl and feather lore show. |
| 12:00-12:30 | Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show. | 5:00- 5:30 | Water witching demonstrations. |
| 12:30- 1:00 | Flax demonstration. | 5:30- 6:00 | Music program. |
| 1:00- 1:30 | Customs of the year show. | 6:00- 6:30 | Folk art show. |
| 1:30- 2:00 | Plain garb show. | 6:30- 7:00 | Pennsylvania Dutch superstitions, folkreligious in origin. |
| 2:00- 3:00 | Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country. | 7:00- 7:30 | Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show |
| 3:00- 3:30 | Music program. | 7:30- 9:00 | Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country. |
| 3:30- 4:00 | The Bushmeeting Dutch and their spirituals. | | |

MONDAY, JULY 3

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food specialties at the Festival.	5:45- 6:30	Music program.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:30- 6:50	Jim Johnson flax show.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	6:50- 7:10	Fractured Dutch-English.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:10- 7:30	Program of dialect folksongs.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	7:30- 8:00	Plain garb show.
2:30- 2:45	"Brofessor" Schnitzel.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:45- 3:25	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)
3:25- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)	10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	3:00- 3:30	Music program.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	3:30- 4:00	Flax demonstration.
12:00-12:30	Folklore of childhood in Dutch Pennsylvania.	4:00- 4:30	Amish folklife.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	4:30- 5:00	Fowl and feather lore show.
1:00- 1:30	Transportation lore: Conestoga wagon to Amish buggies and carriages.	5:00- 5:30	Pennsylvania Dutch folk art show.
1:30- 2:00	Customs of the year show.	5:30- 6:00	Music program.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania.	6:00- 6:30	Plain Dutch folkways.
		6:30- 7:00	Pennsylvania Dutch superstitions.
		7:00- 7:30	Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.
		7:30- 9:00	The Kutztown Band

TUESDAY, JULY 4

PROGRAM—STAGE A

11:30-12:00	Folk art show.	5:25- 5:55	Kitchen band.
12:00-12:30	Food specialties at the Festival.	5:55- 6:15	The Jim Johnson flax show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:15- 6:30	"Brofessor" Schnitzel.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	6:30- 7:15	Carbon County musiganders.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:15- 7:45	Plain garb show.
2:00- 2:45	Carbon County musiganders.	7:45- 8:20	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:45- 3:00	"Brofessor" Schnitzel.	8:20-10:15	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)
3:00- 3:30	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.	10:15-10:45	Amish documentary film.
3:30- 5:15	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	4:00- 4:30	The Bushmeeting Dutch and their spirituals.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	4:30- 5:00	Fowl and feather lore show.
12:00-12:30	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	5:00- 5:30	Water witching demonstrations.
12:30- 1:00	Flax demonstration.	5:30- 6:00	Music program.
1:00- 1:30	Customs of the year show.	6:00- 6:30	Plain Dutch folklife show.
1:30- 2:00	Plain garb show.	6:30- 7:00	Powwowing and hexerei in Dutch Pennsylvania.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.	7:00- 7:30	Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.
3:00- 3:30	Music program.	7:30- 9:00	Music program.
3:30- 4:00	Amish folklife.		

WEDNESDAY, JULY 5

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food specialties at the Festival.	6:30- 7:40	Music program.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcraft show.	7:40- 8:00	Jim Johnson flax show.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	8:00- 8:45	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	8:45- 9:00	"Brofessor" Schnitzel.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	9:00-10:00	Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals.
2:30- 2:45	Fractured Dutch-English humor.	10:00-10:30	Pennsylvania Dutch folklife in slides: Olive G. Zehner.
2:45- 3:25	Folk dances of Dutch Pennsylvania.	10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.
3:25- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)		

WEDNESDAY, JULY 5

PROGRAM—STAGE B: FOLK SEMINARS

11:00-11:30	Music program.	3:20- 4:00	The Bush-Meeting tradition in Pennsylvania.
11:30-12:00	The campmeeting in American history.	4:00- 4:30	The Mose Dissinger tradition: folk-humor in the pulpit.
12:00-12:30	The spiritual tradition in America.	4:30- 5:30	The Pennsylvania spiritual and the folk-song tradition.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show.	5:30- 6:00	Music program.
1:00- 1:30	Flax show.	6:00- 6:30	Folk art show.
1:30- 2:30	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.	6:30- 7:00	Customs of the year show.
2:30- 3:00	Music program.	7:00- 7:30	Dutch funeral lore show.
3:00- 3:20	Citation ceremonies.		

THURSDAY, JULY 6

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food specialties at the Festival.	6:30- 7:40	Music program.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcraft show.	7:40- 8:00	Jim Johnson flax show.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	8:00- 8:45	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	8:45- 9:00	Fractured Pennsylvania Dutch humor.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	9:00-10:00	Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals.
2:30- 2:45	"Brofessor" Schnitzel.	10:00-10:30	Pennsylvania Dutch folklife in slides: the Bavers.
2:45- 3:25	Folk dances of Dutch Pennsylvania.		
3:25- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)		

PROGRAM—STAGE B: FOLK SEMINARS

10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.	4:00- 4:30	Program of folk hymns.
11:00-11:30	Music program.	4:30- 5:00	Bush-Meeting religion invades the Plain Dutch world.
11:30-12:30	The bench versus the catechism: Bush-Meeting Dutch versus Gay Dutch.	5:00- 5:30	Folk art show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show.	5:30- 6:00	Amish singings.
1:00- 1:30	Flax show.	6:00- 6:30	Folksong collecting in the Dutch Country.
1:30- 2:00	Customs of the year show.	6:30- 7:00	Dialect folksongs.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.	7:00- 7:30	Funeral lore show.
3:00- 3:30	Music program.	7:30- 9:00	Music program.
3:30- 4:00	The Dutch Country's three historic patterns of hymnody.		

FRIDAY, JULY 7

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food specialties at the Festival.	5:45- 6:30	Music program.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:30- 6:50	The Jim Johnson flax show.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	6:50- 7:10	Fractured Dutch English.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:10- 7:30	Dialect folksong program.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	7:30- 8:00	Plain garb show.
2:30- 2:45	"Brofessor" Schnitzel.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:45- 3:25	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)
3:25- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.	3:30- 4:00	Pennsylvania Dutch folk art show.
11:00-11:30	Music program.	4:00- 4:30	Amish folklife.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	4:30- 5:00	Fowl and feather lore show.
12:00-12:30	Pennsylvania Dutch folklife.	5:00- 5:30	Plain Dutch folkways.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	5:30- 6:00	Music program.
1:00- 1:30	Flax demonstration.	6:00- 6:30	Dutch homelife show.
1:30- 2:00	Customs of the year show.	6:30- 7:00	Pennsylvania Dutch superstitions.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania.	7:00- 7:30	Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.
3:00- 3:30	Music program.	7:30- 9:00	Music program.



SATURDAY, JULY 8

PROGRAM—STAGE A

11:30-12:00	Music program.	6:00- 6:30	Kitchen band.
12:00-12:30	Food specialties at the Festival.	6:30- 6:50	Jim Johnson's flax show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:50- 7:10	Dutch-English humor.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	7:10- 7:30	Program of dialect folksongs.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:30- 8:00	Plain garb show.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:30- 2:45	"Professor" Schnitzel.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)
2:45- 3:25	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.		
3:25- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. (See program, page 40)		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.	3:00- 3:30	Music program.
11:00-11:30	Music program.	3:30- 4:00	Flax demonstration.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	4:00- 4:30	Amish folklife.
12:00-12:30	Courtship, wedding and marriage customs in Dutch Pennsylvania.	4:30- 5:00	Fowl and feather lore show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	5:00- 5:30	Water witching demonstrations.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch folk art show.	5:30- 6:00	Music program.
1:30- 2:00	Customs of the year show.	6:00- 6:30	Plain Dutch folkways.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania.	6:30- 7:00	Powwowing and hexerei in Dutch Pennsylvania.
		7:00- 7:30	Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.
		7:30- 9:00	Music program.

FREE FOR ALL: Square dancing on the commons every evening - 9:00 to 11:30

Pageant of Pennsylvania Dutch Folklife

(As found among the Gay Dutch Fifty Years Ago)

Arranged and Directed by Paul R. Wieand

A. DE HUCHTSICH (Wedding Celebration)

Narrator: Rev. William J. Rupp.

The marrying of a member of the family was a celebration the entire neighborhood looked forward to. Before the wedding, the family was kept busy and after the ceremony relatives and friends joined forces to honor the occasion.

1. Beliefs:
 - a. The best day.
 - b. Weather conditions.
 - c. Hiding food and money in the clothing.
2. Children's games:
 - a. Groppa sheesa (shooting crows).
 - b. Grudda hoopsa (leap frog).
3. Folksongs:
 - a. Maedel, witt do heiera?
(Daughter, will you marry?)
 - b. Der gook gook.
(The rooster with fourteen wives)
 - c. Schloof, bubbly, schloof.
(Sleep, baby, sleep)
4. Tricks played:
 - a. Fixing the bed.
 - b. Barring the road.
 - c. Jumping the broomstick.
5. Bull band or serenade:
 - a. Common object.
 - b. Saws and tanks.
 - c. Fanning mills.
 - d. De sei-geik (horse fiddle).
6. Refreshments.
7. Love songs:
 - a. Oh, mei leewy Lisbet.
(Oh, my darling Elizabeth)
 - b. Ich weiss dass du mich leebst.
(I know that you love me)
8. More folk beliefs:
 - a. Im sei-droak donsa.
(Dancing in the pig trough)
 - b. Der bock-uffa reida.
(Riding the outdoor bake oven)
 - c. De kotz un der deppich.
(Cat and quilt)
9. Game:
 - a. Deller rulla.
(Spinning the plate)
10. Parting song.

B. EN QUILDING (A Quilting Party)

Narrator: Mrs. Audra Miller.

The quilt contributed so much to the social life of our forefathers. The entire community was affected by "just a quilt."

1. Before quilting:
 - a. Setting up of frame.
 - b. Marking off designs.
 - c. Arriving of guests.
2. Folk beliefs:
 - a. Knots in thread.
 - b. Needle and thread.
 - c. Stitches.
 - d. Announcing engagement.

3. Showing of spreads:

- a. White quilts.
- b. Appliques.
- c. Patchwork.

4. Sayings:

- a. On home life.
- b. On eating.

5. Girls sing:

- a. De bower's fraw.
(The farmer's wife)
- b. Sauerkraut.

C. ES OAWET-ESSA BEI DA NOCHBERA

(The Evening Meal at the Neighbors)

Narrator: Mrs. William J. Rupp.

The afternoon of a quilting was usually followed by a dinner in the evening when the women were joined by their husbands. After the meal a social hour followed:

1. Preparing food.
2. Setting the table.
3. Evening menu:
 - a. Filling and seasoning.
 - b. Meats.
 - c. Seven sweets and seven sours.
 - d. Desserts: Yudda-karsha boi and dulla-koocha.
4. Dooma Schwoava Shtories.
(Funny Swabian tales)
5. Games:
 - a. De shtoom band.
 - b. De shill-grutt (turtle).
6. Question and answer songs:
 - a. In Poland shtait n haus.
(In Poland stands a house)
 - b. Woo iss donn de Mary?
(But where is Mary?)
7. We gfolll's der? (forfeit game)
(How are you faring?)
 - a. Shpeck shneida.
(Cutting the bacon)
 - b. Leffel wisha.
(Swishing spoons)
 - c. Booder draya.
(Churning butter)
 - d. Booder weega.
(Weighing butter)
8. Ring game:
 - a. Happy Miller.

D. DER SHTROUSE DONS (The Strouse Dance)

Narrator: Paul R. Wieand.

The Strouse Dance was not so much a distinctive type of dance as it was an occasion, a festive evening when a dance was held for the purpose of deciding who among the dancers was to receive a prize known as a "Strouse."

1. Decorating Strouse tree.
2. Selling of tickets.
3. Songs:
 - a. Wonn ich koom.
(When I arrive)
 - b. Tswitserich donsa.
(Nimble dancing)
4. Lighting of candle.
5. The Strouse dance:
 - a. Calling numbers.
 - b. Passing of key.
 - c. Winner announced.
6. A square dance:
 - a. Waltzing polka.
7. Parting Song.

A Study of the DIALECT TERMINOLOGY of the Plain Sects of Montgomery County, Pa.

By CLARENCE KULP, JR.

There are many areas of research in the lore and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country which, up to the present time, have been largely neglected. One of the most important of these areas is that of dialect vocabulary. After a thorough examination of the published works on this subject, one comes to the conclusion that nothing has yet been done in a comprehensive or definitive manner. True, we have had our share of dialect dictionary compilers: Horne, Lins, Fisher, Rauch, Schnader, Lambert, and Danner. However, the work of all of these, with the possible exception of Lambert, shows an almost complete lack of original field research. Most of these men merely took a German dictionary, sorted out those words therein listed which were used in Pennsylvania, and gave them dialect pronunciation and orthography. The result was that their compilations lacked many words of dialect origin, those of folk origin in this country, as well as those of English origin, which were "Dutchified" and adapted to the dialect. The best of all the productions in this field is Marcus Bachman Lambert's *A Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania German Dialect*.¹ It has become the standard published authority for those who are working in this field. Though by far the most accurate and comprehensive work available, it is, however, sadly lacking in many areas of our folk speech. One of the most important of these which Lambert failed to cover in a comprehensive manner is that of ecclesiastical or religious terminology. The specialized field, within this general area, which he almost entirely passed over is that of the religious terminology of Pennsylvania's Plain Dutch sects.

The need for research and scholarship in this field has been evident to this writer for the past few years, during which time he has been engaged in intensive research on the doctrines, religious ceremonies, and folk practices of the Plain Dutch area of our culture, as well as on the attitudes and philosophies upon which these practices are based. In the midst of such research one cannot avoid being constantly exposed to the dialect terms relating to these doctrines and practices, as well as being impressed with the fact that nothing has heretofore been done to collect, interpret, and list them.

Your author² enjoys definite advantage in this particular field of research, having been born and reared among the Dunkers and Mennonites of middle Montgomery County. He comes from a conservative Dunker background, in which the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect is the speech of home, social, and, in part, religious contacts. Another linguistic advantage is that of having in my youth listened to the last of our local Mennonite and Dunker preachers who still used the *Schrift*

*Deutsch*³ or "Sermon German" in regular preaching services.⁴

Although the last of our regular German-language preachers has passed away, the use of the German language in religious services among the plain sects of Montgomery County is by no means dead. Scripture reading, occasional *For-retts* or short pre-sermon addresses, and the occasional singing of the old hymns are still engaged in from time to time in the German language.⁵ Because of the above-stated factors, much of the material in this article derives from personal experience. However, aside from those terms which my own background afforded me, I have also collected many words in interviews with aged informants of our locality. I have as well consulted local manuscript sources, such as congregational and conference record books for additional terms.

In presenting this list of terms, no claim is made, either to comprehensive and definitive coverage, or to a scientific linguistic analysis of the same. It is merely a presentation of the fruits of my research in a relatively untouched field, with the aid and assistance of devoted associates.

There is yet much to be done before a definitive work can be presented—many persons to be interviewed, many records to be consulted, as well as problems of origin and interpretation to be considered. We hope that this article can lay the groundwork for such an endeavor.

The geographical area covered by this article is that of the Plain Dutch belt of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania—roughly the central and part of the upper section of that county—containing the far eastern section of the Eastern District of the Pennsylvania Church of the Brethren (Dunkers), the Franconia "Old" Mennonite conference, and almost the entire Schwenkfelder denomination in America.

The religious scope of the article covers the conservative Brethren or Dunkers, the "Old" Mennonites, and the Schwenkfelder groups of the above-mentioned geographical

³ Literally, "Bible German."

⁴ The last of our local Plain Preachers to use the Sermon German or Pennsylvania High German in regular services was the Rev. Elmer M. Moyer, an ordained elder or bishop in the Indian Creek Church of the Brethren at Vernfield, Pa. He was the last of the old German preachers of Montgomery County. The last German sermon which he delivered was at the annual memorial service in the old Funkite meeting-house, near Harleysville, on Sunday afternoon, August 7, 1960. He passed away November 27, 1960, at the age of 83. He had served his congregation in the Christian ministry over a period of nearly fifty-four years.

⁵ There is one "Old" Mennonite congregation in the Franconia conference which still holds to the singing of the old German hymns as a regular practice. This is the large congregation at Franconia, where at least one German hymn is read and sung at every regular Sunday morning service, throughout the year. The other local Mennonite and Dunker congregations use these German hymns from occasionally to fairly often, depending on the attitude of the local ministry, in each congregation, toward the same. Up to 1920 nearly all of the singing was still in the German language.

¹ Published by the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XXX, 1924, Lancaster, Pa.

² The author's date of birth is December 25, 1938.

Meetinghouse of the Franconia Mennonite congregation, Franconia Township, Pa. A typical meeting-house of the Franconia conference.



area. The other half dozen or more of Montgomery County's plain sects and formerly plain groups will have to wait for future coverage.⁶

Linguistically speaking, the coverage of this article is three-fold, because of the fact that the culture of the Plain People of Montgomery County has been and still is, to a degree, tri-lingual. From the standpoint of the church or *gamay*, the official language, up to and including the first and perhaps part of the second decades of the twentieth century, was the German language. This was that particular brand or variety of German which has been referred to by scholars as Pennsylvania High German. The pronunciation of this *Schrift-Deutsch* or Bible German follows dialect rather than Standard German sound values. This was the language used by the plain sects in their preaching, singing, discipline, etc., hence the term, "Sermon German." This linguistic phenomenon lives today, among the dialect-speaking Plain People of Montgomery County, in their German singing, German scripture reading, and in terms relating to the functions of the church itself.

The language of every-day use has always been and still is, to a large degree, the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect. This is still, among the middle-aged and older folk, the predominant language of home, farm and business. Among the children, teen-age youth, and young married people the dialect is, however, rapidly passing away. There are many in the young age groups who can understand but who cannot any longer speak the dialect. In the more conservative areas, such as Franconia and Lower Salford Township, there is, however, a sizable percentage of younger people and even children who still speak the dialect.

Following the dialect, in our discussion of terminology, we cannot accurately cover this subject without considering the vast area of English terms relating to the customs and practices of the Plain Dutch, which have become a part of

the plain heritage during the last century and earlier. In this section of our Plain Dutch terminology we find several divisions. First, we have those English terms which were improvised by the English-speaking settlers of Pennsylvania—the Quakers and Scotch Irish—to describe the Plain Dutch and their culture. Secondly, we have those terms arising from the Plain People themselves, as the language of conferences, publications, and finally worship services, changed from either the *Schrift-Deutsch* or the dialect to English.

This article is based primarily on the *Schrift-Deutsch* and Pennsylvania Dutch dialect terms of the Plain Dutch of central Montgomery County. However, when there is a corresponding English term, in common usage, for the same practice or article it is given together with the definition of the dialect or German term.⁷

The article is divided into two main divisions: Division I, covering the terms relating to the material part of our plain culture, i.e., the plain meetinghouse and the plain garb; and Division II, covering religious and philosophical terms, i.e., the terms of the church, her officers, meetings, functions, etc.; terms relating to ordinances and rites; and the doctrinal and philosophical terms.

DIVISION I

The first division of our list will concern itself with the terms relating to the physical or material part of the religious culture of Montgomery County's Plain People. Under this category we have two subdivisions, i.e., A. Architectural, referring to the dialect terms concerning the plain meetinghouse, its component parts, its religious furnishings, and its immediate surroundings; and B. Plain Garb terms, being a list of those dialect terms referring to the various modes of Plain Dress and their component parts.

⁷ There is also a large field in Plain Dutch linguistics which, because of lack of space, is not covered in this article. This is that body of English terms for which there is no dialect equivalent. These terms originated largely in those areas where isolated groups of Plain Dutch settled in the midst of a predominantly English area, and through the process of acculturation developed an English language culture at an earlier date than the large majority of the Plain Dutch.

⁶ The other groups or sects of Plain Dutch of Montgomery County are as follows: Old Order of River Brethren, Brethren in Christ (River Brethren), Reformed Mennonites (Herrites), the Godshall Group, the Derstine Group, the Reinford Group, Mennonite Brethren in Christ, General Conference Mennonites (New Mennonites), Johnson Mennonites, and Church of the Brethren (North Atlantic Conference).

A. Architecture. *The Plain Meetinghouse.*

Before we present our list of meetinghouse terms, a brief word of explanation may be in order. The meetinghouse of the Plain Dutch sects of Pennsylvania is always an extremely plain, rectangular-shaped building with an absolute minimum of adornment. There is no embellishment or furnishing more than that which is necessary to comfortably seat a congregation, all facing in one direction, from which the Word of God is preached. The only other prerequisite is that the sexes are always seated separately and enter by a separate door or doors. Aside from these basic rules there is great room for variety in construction and arrangement.

Among the plain sects of Montgomery County there seem to be two traditional types of meetinghouses. There are the traditional Mennonite type and the traditional Dunker type. The smaller plain groups of the area seem to have used either one or the other of these two basic types.

As far as exterior appearance is concerned, there is practically no difference. The difference is primarily one of interior arrangement and furnishing.

The Dunker meetinghouses of the eighteenth century had as their provision for the ministry or ordained leaders a plain "Preacher's Table." This was often an extremely plain sawbuck⁸ or stretcher-type table, behind which the bishop and ministers sat on a plain backless bench.

In the case of the Mennonite meetinghouse of the Franconia conference, the long, panelled "Plain Pulpit" seems to be the traditional form. This type of pulpit has been in continual use in Montgomery County since the early eighteenth century.

We will endeavor to give a brief interpretation of the origin of these two types of pulpit arrangements in the definition of the *Farsommling-Haus*.

The only other major difference between the Dunker and Mennonite types of meetinghouses seems to have been the absence of the *kich* or ante-room for the bonnets and shawls of the sisters in the early Dunker meetinghouses. This feature of the *kich* seems to have been traditional among the Mennonites from the very earliest beginnings in this area.

To the casual eye of the outsider, the plain, unadorned meetinghouse of the Pennsylvania Dutch country must be

⁸ A sawbuck-type preacher's table of the eighteenth century can be seen in the Pricetown Dunker Meetinghouse in Berks County, built in 1777.

a strange sight indeed. To the Plain Dutch themselves, however, it is a statement of their religious principles of worship "in the spirit." The worship of the Plain People consists of five component parts, namely, scripture reading, meditation, prayer, preaching, and singing. These are all consummated in the simplest manner, free of all liturgical encumbrances, whether they be physical objects or patterns of worship.⁹

LIST OF TERMS

1. **S Farsommling-Haus** (literally, the meeting or gathering house; corresponding English term "meetinghouse")—the building, of special construction, in which religious services or preaching and observances of rites and ordinances are held. It is never referred to as a "Church" or *Karrich*. To the Plain Dutch the "Church" or *Gemeinschaft Christi* is never a building. The "Church" consists of people, the "called-out saints," who worship in a plain building, called a meetinghouse. No special religious significance is given the meetinghouse, other than the universal restriction that it be used only for functions of a religious nature. This restriction is also applied to the grounds surrounding the meetinghouse.

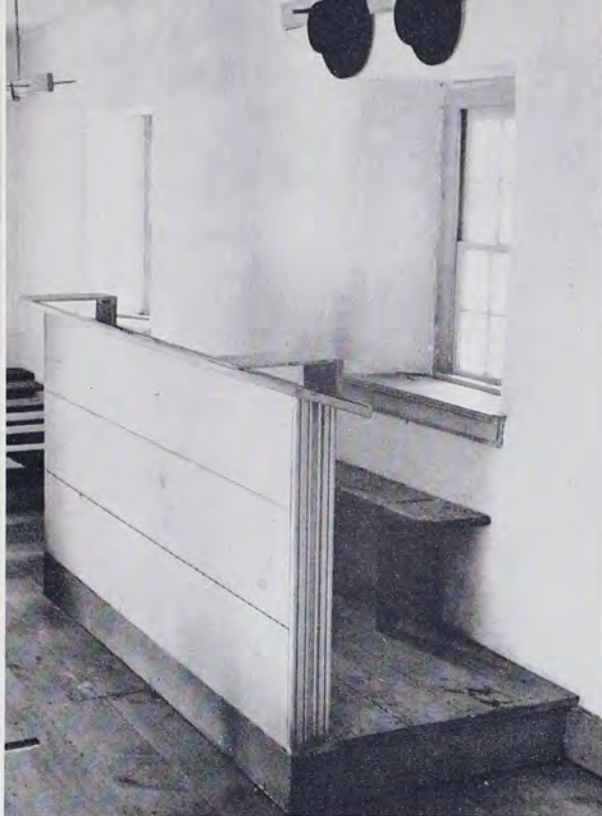
The erection of special buildings for the holding of worship services among the Mennonites of Montgomery and Bucks counties is a far older practice than among the Mennonite groups of Lancaster County or elsewhere. It is the opinion of this writer that this difference in practice can be readily explained by examining the differences in European background, between the early Lancaster County Mennonite settlement and the early Skipppack-Franconia settlement.

The preponderance of the early Lancaster County Mennonites were of Swiss Mennonite background. In Switzerland, because of persecution from the state, the Mennonites met privately in their homes. Consequently, the Swiss immigrants to Lancaster County, not knowing the institution of the meetinghouse, continued their European pattern of worship: services in their private homes.

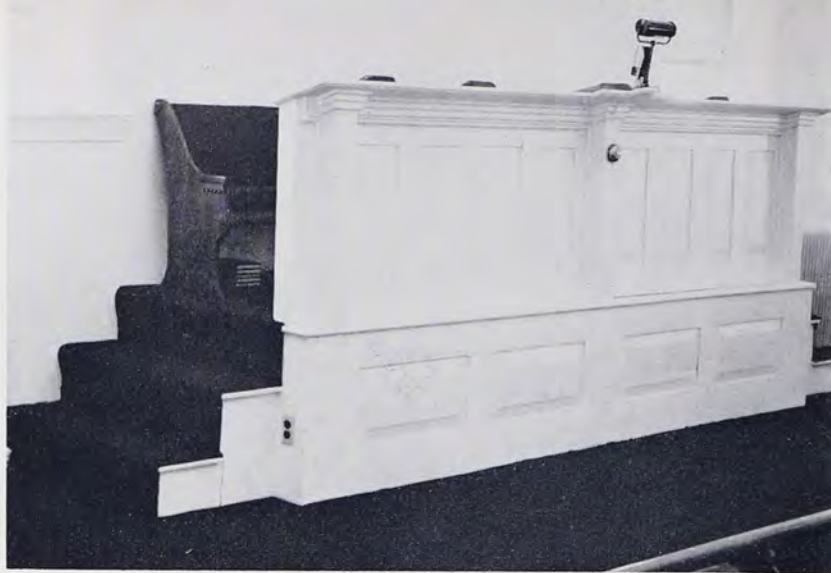
⁹ The Rev. J. G. Francis (Brethren), describing the early Dunker meetinghouses states the following: "The only consideration was a plain room in which to have preaching . . . with facilities for cooking and long tables to feed the multitudes (at Love-Feast time)." "The Church of the Brethren in Lebanon County." Lebanon County Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 3, p. 98.



Indian Creek Brethren meetinghouse, Vernfield, Pa. Typical Dunker meetinghouse exterior of 1850-70 period.



Old Mennonite panelled desk, a type of plain pulpit. Funkite Meetinghouse (Herre-Heisel), Franconia Township, Pa.



Old Mennonite type of plain, panelled-desk pulpit of circa 1840. In Lower Skippack Mennonite Church, near Skippack, Pa.

The large majority of the early Skippack Mennonite settlers (1702–1730) were of Holland or Dutch Mennonite extraction, or from such areas of Germany, as Crefeldt and Kresheim, which were under the influence of Dutch rather than Swiss Mennonitism.¹⁰ From this background in Dutch Mennonitism, these settlers knew well the institution of the meetinghouse, it having been established in Holland as early as 1608. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, approximately 1650–1660, nearly every Mennonite congregation in Holland was worshiping in its own meetinghouse.¹¹

An examination of early sketches and descriptions of Dutch Mennonite meetinghouses in Holland shows a remarkable resemblance to the early Mennonite meetinghouses of the Skippack-Franconia settlement, as well as those of traditional design which are standing and in regular use.

With this strong European meetinghouse tradition as a part of their culture, it is not surprising, therefore, to find the Dutch Mennonite immigrants erecting meetinghouses in this country, as early as 1708 in Germantown and 1725 at Skippack, the latter a daughter of the Germantown settlement.

As far as interior design and furnishings are concerned, the Skippack-Franconia meetinghouse seems to be a direct

¹⁰ Following is a list of the family names of early settlers of the Skippack area who were of Dutch (Holland) background. Those names preceded by the letter "M" represent those families known to have been Mennonite. Following the names are their present-day spellings: M Gaedtschalk (Gottshall or Godshall), M Jansen (Johnson), M Kuster (Custer), Jacobsz, M Tenhebben or In den hofpen (Dehaven), Dewees, M Op den Graeff (Up de Grave), M Keyser (Keyser), M Van Fossen (Van Fossen), Vandersluice (Vanderslice), M Tiesen (Tyson), M Van Sintern, M Neus (Nyce or Nice), Papen, M Rittinghuisen (Rittenhouse), M Clemens (Clemens), Tunes (Tennis), Lukens (Lukens), M Van Bebber, Schoenmaker (Schumacher).

¹¹ Discussion of the Mennonite meetinghouses in Holland, Cornelius Krahn in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol I, p. 148 (Scottsdale, Pa., 1955).

transplant of the Dutch meetinghouse. Among the most orthodox of the Holland Mennonites, the "Old Flemish," the meetinghouse interior was practically identical with that of the typical Franconia conference "Old" Mennonite meetinghouse. The congregation sat on plain, backless benches, in a plain, unadorned room, with boards, containing hat pegs along the side walls. The minister sat on a low platform at one end of the room, behind a long section of waist-high panelling. Along the top of the entire length of panelling was affixed a slant-board type desk for hymn-books and Bible.¹²

This description of an "Old Flemish" meetinghouse of seventeenth-century Holland could also be an accurate description of the Franconia Mennonite meetinghouse as it appears today, except for two minor exceptions.¹³ First, the panelled pulpit has been shortened in length. Whereas the Holland variety extended from wall to wall across one side or end of the room, the Franconia conference variety generally measures from ten to fifteen feet and

¹² See sketch preceding p. 205 of *Mennonites in Europe* by John Horsch, Scottsdale, 1950.

¹³ It is the opinion of this writer that the traditional Mennonite meetinghouse of Montgomery County is a direct transplant of the early meetinghouses of the most orthodox groups of Holland Mennonites, as far as the interior architecture and furnishings are concerned. The exteriors of our earliest meetinghouses were probably also patterned after their Dutch forbears, as is witnessed by the account of the old hip-roofed Skippack Mennonite Meetinghouse, built in 1725 and razed in 1844. James Y. Heckler in his history of Skippack Township (1896) states: "The first house [at Skippack] was built about 1725, and stood in the north corner of the graveyard. It was built of stone and had a hipped roof, as the writer remembers." The hipped roof shows definite Dutch influence, as it was this feature which marked nearly all of the old Holland meetinghouses.

It seems that the exterior of the Mennonite meetinghouse was soon influenced by the Quaker meetinghouses of the surrounding area, as is evident today.

The interior, however, bears no such resemblances, and was never influenced by the Quaker meetinghouse.

Mennonite meetinghouses in contrast to Quaker meetinghouses, needed a definite preaching center, for the simple reason that Mennonite worship is based on scripture reading, singing, preaching and prayer, all of which are led from a pulpit or panelled platform, by specially designated leaders. Moreover, the Skippack settler brought with him a meetinghouse pattern which provided well for such a worship service. This pattern was originated by the Holland Mennonites, who were building houses of worship a full half century prior to the organization of the Society of Friends in England.



Dunker type preacher's table, 1843. Klein's Dunker Meetinghouse, Franconia Township, Pa.

holds from eight to ten men. The second difference is that the benches in the Franconia conference meetinghouse today are provided with backs, placed there approximately seventy-five to a hundred years ago. This varies from congregation to congregation.

Although, in the later years of immigration, 1730-1760, many South German and some Swiss Mennonites came to this area, their coming does not seem, however, to have had a marked affect on the established Dutch Mennonite meetinghouse culture of the Skippack settlement, except in a few rare cases.¹⁴

In the later development of Montgomery County Dunker meetinghouses, the "Preacher's Table" gradually gave way to the long panelled pulpit, probably under Mennonite influence. However, the Dunker pulpit kept the flat top of the table, rather than adopting the slant top, obviously because of the difficulties one would encounter in serving a Dunker Love-Feast meal on a slant-topped desk. The appearance of the traditional Dunker pulpit is that of a long panelled counter.

2. **S Gamay-Haus** (literally, congregation house; there is no corresponding English term)—an alternate dialect term for the plain meetinghouse. It is in present use in Montgomery County but is not nearly as common here as in Lancaster County.

3. **S Vergadering-Haus** (literally, foregathering house; no corresponding English term)—an early term for the meetinghouse, used in the old Skippack congregation. J. C. Wenger gives the term a Dutch Mennonite origin in a published description of the old Skippack Mennonite Alms Book, 1737-1836, the accounts making use of this term frequently.¹⁵ It is probably a remnant of the original Dutch (Holland) speech of the Skippack settlement, which had probably died out as an official language as early as the late 1720's because of new immigration of South German and Swiss Mennonites and the increasing number of Palatines of other faiths settling around them in their once exclusive area.

¹⁴ These will have to be discussed in a later article on the subject of the influence of Dutch Mennonitism on the early Skippack and Germantown settlement.

¹⁵ J. C. Wenger, "The Alms Book of the Skippack Mennonite Church, 1738-1936." *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, April, 1936.

4. **S Lievesmoll-Haus** (literally, Love-Feast house; corresponding *Schrift-Deitsch* term *Liebesmahl Haus*; corresponding English term, Love-Feast house or Love-Feast meetinghouse)—a Dunker term for the specially built and arranged meetinghouse, in which provision was made for the cooking and preparing of the Love-Feast meal. A congregation might have several "Preaching Houses" within its district but usually one "Love-Feast House" was sufficient.

5. **Der Breddicher-Schtool** (literally, the preacher's seat or chair; corresponding English term, pulpit or plain pulpit)—the long plain section of panelling, with slant top, behind which the ministers and deacons sit in the Mennonite meetinghouses of Montgomery County, described under *Farsommling-Haus*.

A variant of *breddicher-schtool* is *der breddich-schtool* (literally, the sermon chair or seat). This variant is used in the Lower Skippack congregation.

6. **Der Lehr-Schtool** (literally, the teaching seat; no corresponding English term)—an early term for the long, plain, panelled pulpit of Skippack Franconia Mennonitism. It was used as a substitute term for *Breddicher-Schtool*.

7. **Der Breddicher-Disch** (literally, the preacher's table; corresponding English term "preacher's table")—the Dunker term for the plain sawbuck or stretcher-type Preacher's Table, found in all Dunker meetinghouses prior to 1850. Unlike the Montgomery County Mennonites, the Dunkers did not bring with them from Europe the institution of the meetinghouse. In southern Westphalia, Germany, where the Dunker Church originated, they had always worshiped in private homes. Even those migrations of Brethren, sojourning in Crefeldt on the Rhine and in Surhuisterveen, Holland, did not seem to pick up the institution of the meetinghouse from their Dutch Mennonite neighbors and associates. It was not until the Dunkers settled among the Germantown and Montgomery County Mennonites that they started building meetinghouses, the first in Germantown in 1770, the second in Pricetown, Berks County, in 1777, and soon thereafter, throughout Montgomery and even into Chester counties.

Although the Brethren or Dunkers seem early to have adopted the meetinghouse tradition from their Mennonite neighbors, they did not adopt the plain pulpit of the Mennonites until nearly a century had elapsed. Instead, they

brought the Preacher's Table of their worship pattern in private homes into the meetinghouse, placed it parallel to a side wall, and seated the preachers behind it on a long, plain bench. Later they even went so far as to elevate it upon a step-high platform, but not without a considerable amount of opposition. This type of preacher's table is still in use in several of the more conservative Dunker congregations in Pennsylvania, although it has passed from the Montgomery County scene entirely, except for the old Kline Meetinghouse, near Harleysville, which is still used several times a year for special services.

8. **Die Mannsleit-Seit** (literally, the men's side; corresponding English term, the men's side or the brethren's side).

9. **Die Weibslleit-Seit** (literally, the women's side; corresponding English term, the women's side or the sisters' side)—the terms referring to the division of all Plain Dutch meetinghouses into two areas, one for the male members and the other for the female members. In the more conservative groups this rule is rigorously observed to this day, while in the more liberal groups, the gradual breaking down of this practice is evident. In the eighteenth-century Montgomery County Mennonite meetinghouse the sisters sat in the center section, facing the pulpit, while the brethren sat in special sections to the left and to the right of the sisters. These special sections were usually elevated and faced each other, across the meetinghouse and at right angles to the pulpit. This is the same pattern of division of sexes in use in the early Dutch Mennonite meetinghouses in Holland. In the nineteenth century the practice of dividing the meetinghouse by a single line through the center was developed. This is the general practice today, with the men sitting to the left as one enters, and the sisters to the right. This is the general arrangement although in rare cases it is reversed, with the brethren on the right and the sisters on the left.

10. **Die Kich** (literally, the kitchen; corresponding English term, the "ante-room")—this is the long, rectangular room in the Mennonite meetinghouses of Montgomery County, which is traditionally used as a cloak room for the sisters of the congregation. It is usually situated along the entire length of the gable end of the meetinghouse, immediately adjoining the women's side, for easy access. There is always at least one door leading from the *kich* into the main meeting room. There is also, in nearly every case, an outside entrance into this room, and in some cases there are as many as three such entrances, one on the entrance side and two on the gable end. As one enters a typical meetinghouse *kich*, the first sight to catch the eye is that of rows and rows of either pegs or hooks fastened into boards, running the entire length of the room on both sides. Around the inside walls of the room, directly underneath the rows of pegs or hooks are plain, narrow benches, set against the wall. At one end of the room there was usually in former times an old-fashioned rocking chair and child's cradle. Most of the sisters of the congregation enter this room, through the outside door, hang their bonnets and shawls on the hooks and enter the meeting room through the interior door. The benches were used in former days by the aged sisters, who would sit there prior to meeting and converse about the happenings in the local community during the preceding week.¹⁶ The rocking chair was used either by an old or infirm sister, unable to sit on a bench, or by a young mother

¹⁶ In the more conservative congregations of the Franconia conference, especially the Franconia congregation itself, the old custom of arriving at the meetinghouse a half hour or hour before the beginning of the services is still observed.



View of traditional meetinghouse Kammer-Kich in the Lower Skippack Mennonite Meetinghouse, near Skippack, Pa.

nursing her child. The *kich* was used by mothers as the place to nurse their children. The presence of the cradle is, of course, self-explanatory.

The existence of the *kich* in our local "Old Mennonite" meetinghouses seems to date from the very earliest beginnings of Mennonitism in this area. We know, from contemporary records of the eighteenth century, that the old Skippack meetinghouse, built in 1725, had this feature, as well as the old Deep Run meetinghouse in Bucks County, built in 1766. In earlier days this room was usually divided from the main meeting room by a partition of board panelling.

Another use for this room was for special "counsels," taken of the individual members of the congregation prior to baptism and communion.¹⁷ The sister's footwashing service, prior to communion, also took place in this room, while the brethren engaged in their ceremony in the front of the meetinghouse, by the pulpit.

The origin of the *kich*, from an architectural standpoint, is obscure. It may be a descendant of the *Ohm-stube* or "officials' room" in the Holland meetinghouse. These rooms were used for special "counsels" or meetings of the ministers and elders prior to the worship services.

The Dunkers or Brethren seem to have adopted this feature in their meetinghouses at the same time they adopted the plain pulpit, approximately 1850.

The Schwenkfelders, not having built meetinghouses in their early days, seem to have adopted the traditional Mennonite meetinghouse, pulpit, *kich*, and all, when they erected their first meetinghouses in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was approximately one full century after their arrival in this country.

11. **Die Kammer** (literally, the chamber)—an early term for the *kich* or ante-room in the Mennonite meetinghouse. This term was used to describe this room in the old Skippack meetinghouse.¹⁸

In addition to the terms *die kich* and *die kammer* to designate the ante-room there is also the word *die kammer-kich*, probably a transitional form between the older usage *kammer* and the later term *kich*. *Kammer-kich* is used

¹⁷ These practices will be more fully explained in Division II, Section A: On the meetings and functions of the "Gemay."

¹⁸ Skippack Mennonite Alms Book in possession of the Upper Skippack "Old" Mennonite congregation.



“Rooscht” or “Poschta Benck” at the Old Mennonite Funkite-Herrite Meetinghouse, Franconia Township, Pa.

among members of the Lower Skippack Mennonite Church (Johnson Mennonite).²⁰

12. **Die Iwertswarricha Benck** (literally, the crosswise benches; corresponding English term, the “Amen Corner”)—dialect term for the section of benches set at right angles to the front wall of the meetinghouse. There are usually two sections of these in the plain meetinghouses, one on the men’s side, and one on the women’s side, facing each other across the room, with the long pulpit in between. Originally, these sections extended, along the side walls, the entire length of the meetinghouse and were occupied by the men, the women sitting through the middle on benches facing the pulpit. Since the division of men’s and women’s sides has been placed through the center, only a short section of these was left in the front of the room, on both sides.

13. **Die Kotza Benck** (literally, the short benches)—another term for the *Iwertswarricha Benck*, probably originated since the shortening of these sections of benches, or within the last fifty to seventy-five years.

14. **Die Forsinger Banck** (literally, the chorister’s bench)—in Mennonite and Dunker meetinghouses, this is usually the front bench of the *Iwertswarricha Benck* on the men’s side, occupied by the several *forsinger* or song leaders. In conservative Mennonite congregations the singing is led by the choristers, from the bench, in a sitting position. In more liberal Mennonite and in all Brethren or Dunker congregations the chorister rises and stands in front of the congregation to lead the singing.

²⁰ The Lower Skippack Mennonite congregation was the leading congregation of the old Skippack-Franconia conference of Old Mennonites until 1847 when they followed the Oberholtzer schism. They remained in Oberholtzer’s “New” Mennonite conference for several years and then split again over the question of feetwashing. They belong to no conference and are known locally as the “Yonsa Gamay” or “Johnson Mennonites”—the name deriving from the family which has provided their leadership for over one hundred years. Formerly very plain in dress, they gradually laid aside their dress regulations in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. According to their congregational historian, Mr. A. G. Keyser, there are still two sisters who wear the devotional covering. Although they have discontinued plain dress, they still preserve their conservatism in practice and polity and preserve many of the old Mennonite precepts and traditions.

15. **Die Poschda Benck** (literally, the post benches)—In the early days the sections of crosswise benches were usually elevated, each bench a little higher than the one in front of it, from the front of the section to the wall. Such sections are still found in the older meetinghouses. The largest sections of this type are to be found in the present Franconia meetinghouse, consisting of more than six rows of benches on either side of the pulpit, elevated towards the side walls. The old dialect term for this type of bench arrangement was *Poschda Benck*, probably harking back to the heavy timbers or posts which supported these sections of seats. Sometimes such sections were also found at the rear of the men’s side for the young boys.

16. **Die Rooscht** (literally, the roost; corresponding English term “the roost”)—later dialect or English term for these sections of benches. This term very likely originated as a humorous term for these benches. The word was probably first used by the younger boys, who occupied these sections in the rear part of the meeting room. The humorous connection between these benches and a roost in a chicken stable is quite obvious.

17. **Der Lievesmoll-Disch** (literally, Love-Feast table; corresponding English terms, Love-Feast table, Love-Feast bench or bench-table)—originally applied to the old sawbuck type table, which were set up in Brethren meetinghouses for the observance of the Love Feast meal. These were usually long plain tables with crossed or sawbuck legs. The tops were usually detachable from the understructure to facilitate easier storage and handling. In the mid-Nineteenth Century an early type of Love-Feast bench-table was developed. This was a long, backless bench, but with solid plank ends, of elbow height to the sitter. These ends or arm rests contained two round holes near the top to make possible the fastening of a table top. The plain table tops were stored in either the attic or cellar of the meetinghouse and were pegged to the tops of every third bench at Love Feast time, thus creating a Love Feast table with bench on either side. Following the introduction of benches with backs, in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, the flip type Love Feast bench-table was introduced. Here the back of the bench is fastened to the ends by means of a hinge, so that the back can be flipped up to form a Love Feast table. This is probably the most common type used today in the more conservative congregations of the Church of the Brethren in Eastern Pennsylvania.

18. **Die (Heet)-Hoaka** (literally, the (hat) hooks; corresponding English term, “hat racks”)—the hat pegs or hooks fastened into long, narrow boards and suspended from the ceiling above the benches on the men’s side or else fastened to the side wall along the men’s side. These were found in all the old meetinghouses and still survive in some of them.

19. **Der Schtall** (literally, the stall)—term used to describe the early horse stables at Mennonite meetinghouses in Montgomery County, in the period when members rode horseback to meeting.

20. **Die Schedda** (loan word from English “sheds”)—the horse sheds, of early nineteenth century origin, used by all religious groups. The sheds at local Mennonite meetinghouses were removed between the years 1920 and 1950.

21. **Der Grawb-Blatz** (literally, grave place; corresponding English term, the graveyard)—the common name used by all the plain groups of Montgomery County for the graveyards, adjoining all of our plain meetinghouses. The alternate terms *Grawb-Hof* and *Karrich-Hof* are in use.

HENRY CHAPMAN MERCER

Pennsylvania Folklife Pioneer

By GARY S. DUNBAR

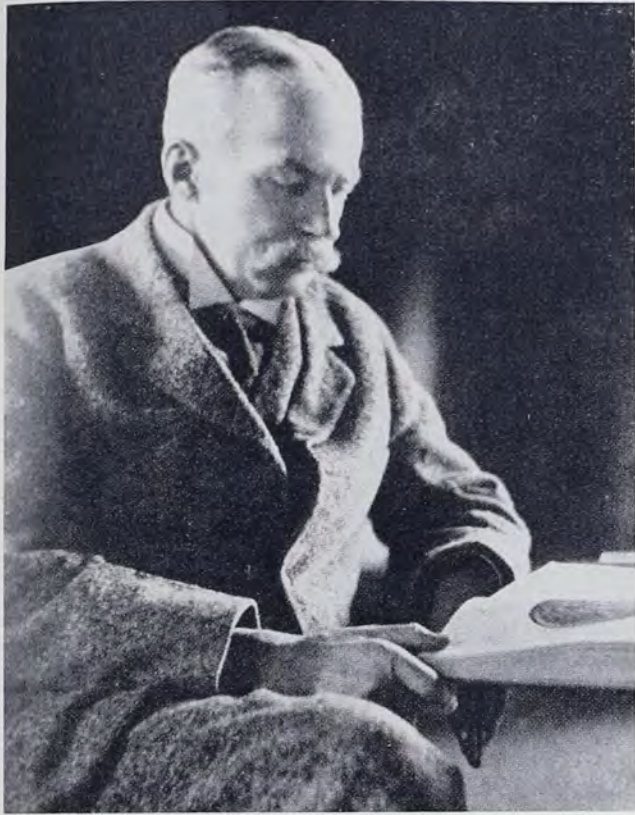
Henry Chapman Mercer was born in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, in 1856, and there he died in 1930, and although he traveled widely during a part of his life it was always to his native heath that he repaired to meditate, to write, and to create. It was his hap to be born into a well-to-do family in a region of unusual richness in those things to which he was to devote his life. During his boyhood he tramped the hills of home and acquired that easy familiarity with the local landscape which accounted for much of the depth of insight displayed in his later works. After graduation from Harvard in 1879 he read for the law and began practice in Philadelphia in 1881. Young Mercer was apparently never keenly interested in law, despite its value for training in historical research, and although he may have practiced until 1888 he did not take to this profession with the zeal which marked his other activities. In 1880 Mercer was present at the initial meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, founded by General W. W. H. Davis (1820-1910). The Society was for most of its first two decades a typical little county historical society with narrowly local outlook and interests. It nearly foundered before Mercer invested his resources in it after 1896 and turned it into a personal vehicle for the expression of his interests.

In 1881 there occurred an event which caused Mercer to turn his energies to the scientific study of archeology. In that year his friend Henry Paxson purchased an interesting curio from a farmer in Bucks County. This was the famous Lenape Stone, said to have been uncovered in 1872, but which was to gain its greatest publicity after Mercer turned his attention to it. The Lenape Stone is a small gorget which depicts a mammoth and a spear-carrying man. Mercer and his allies contended that the stone was an authentic Indian artifact offering proof that man and mammoth existed simultaneously in North America. Mercer's book, *The Lenape Stone or The Indian and the Mammoth* (1885), is a rather dispassionate review of the evidence for and against the stone, but he concludes by casting his vote with its supporters. Largely because of the circumstances of its finding, the stone was not accepted by most archeologists, but Mercer, because he committed himself firmly in print, always stoutly defended its authenticity.

Mercer's enthusiasm for his new avocation became all-consuming, and he soon gave up law entirely in order to immerse himself in archeology. As the study of earlier peoples through their material remains, archeology was of incalculable value to Mercer's later researches in folklife.

One of the most important collections of Americana is housed in Mercer's "Cement Castle," the seat of the Historical Society of Bucks County at Doylestown.





HENRY CHAPMAN MERCER

His training in archeology not only provided him with techniques applicable to folklife study but instilled in him a broad time-sense that gave him a sort of panoramic overview of human history.

The major part of Mercer's archeological work was done in the period 1891-1896. In the first year he began his connection with the University of Pennsylvania and commenced archeological investigations in the Delaware River valley, mostly in Bucks County. From 1894 to 1897 he served as Curator of American and Prehistoric Archaeology of the University Museum and for the period 1893-1897 acted as anthropology editor of *The American Naturalist*, a monthly journal owned by Mercer's friend Professor Edward D. Cope. During this period he performed archeological investigations in eastern and central Pennsylvania, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Yucatan, and western Europe. An indefatigable traveler and worker, he addressed himself to the central problems of archeology, questions which are mooted to this day: How long has man existed in America? How can human history be correlated with glacial history in North America? How close to the present did the extinct Pleistocene mammals live? These are problems that have been probed in recent years by the geographer Carl Sauer and the anthropologist Loren Eiseley. It was Mercer's belief that the earliest peoples lived in caves, and thus much of his work was devoted to looking for traces of early man in caves. In this view, as in many others, he was opposed by his friend and critic, D. G. Brinton, who believed that early man was probably arboreal. In his archeological years Mercer turned up some interesting materials and provided some fresh insights, but the questions he posed were largely insoluble, and in 1897 he retreated abruptly from the archeological firing-line.

The year 1897 marked the great turning-point in Mercer's life, but in a sense his new activities were but a natural extension and logical following-out of his earlier interests. In that year Edward Cope died, and *The American Naturalist* was sold. The new management replaced the former editors, and thus Mercer's connection with the journal came to an end.

At this time, too, archeology and science in general were getting to be more scientific. The day of the versatile but poorly-trained (often self-trained) amateur was fast drawing to a close. Mercer was temperamentally unsuited to the intellectual polemic to which all archeological work must be subjected.

He was under fire from other quarters as well. For example, he chose to enter the controversy then raging over vivisection. As a sensitive humanitarian with a tender regard for all life-forms, he urged that the claims of the anti-vivisectionists be investigated and pondered.

Homo sapiens . . . seems to have lost touch with fellow animals somewhere in the stone or bronze age, since which time he has ceased to domesticate them . . .

Science, since Darwin at least, admits no such chasm as theology formally [sic] alleged, between animals and man . . .

Suddenly and strangely, at the close of the nineteenth century, we mark, throughout civilized peoples, the uprising of societies and individuals who, again rejuvenating the thought of Buddha, appear unselfishly to strive to extend human sympathy beyond the human barrier.

However, this "uprising" was not strong enough to divert the arrows which rained down on Mercer's head. One can imagine that it was with some relief that he turned away from active participation in science to spend the rest of his life in relative isolation in his Bucks County retreat.

At this time Mercer began to turn his full attention to material folk culture. Of course, as an archeologist he had studied material culture, but it was the culture of extinct peoples. He now set out to study those things which had ancient roots but which continued into modern or recent times. While cave-hunting in Yucatan in 1895 he became convinced, partly through his association with a German archeologist whom he met there, that study of the modern Mayas could throw light on the early cultures which they were studying archeologically. As a result he published notes in *The American Naturalist* on the sandals and pottery of the modern Mayas.

Mercer's appreciation of the great value of folklife studies in the reconstruction of culture history was to grow during the next two years. Then, with dramatic suddenness, his life's mission became so clear to him that he had to drop what he was doing in order to concentrate his full attention to folklife studies. But let Mercer tell it in his own words:

[Early in 1897 I set out] to buy a pair of tongs for an old fashioned fire place, but when I came to hunt out the tongs from the midst of a disordered pile of old wagons, gum-tree salt-boxes, flax-brakes, straw beehives, tin dinner-horns, rope-machines and spinning-wheels, things I had heard of but never collectively saw before, the idea occurred to me that the history of Pennsylvania was here profusely illustrated and from a new point of view. I was seized with a new enthusiasm and hurried over the country, rummaging the bake-ovens, wagon-houses, cellars, haylofts, smoke-houses, garrets, and chimney corners, on this side of the Delaware valley.

During the months May–September he furiously scoured the countryside, and in September published his *Tools of the Nation Maker*. This is a catalogue containing brief descriptions of some 761 items which Mercer had collected, mostly in 1897 and mostly in southeastern Pennsylvania. However, there are a few items from other areas—e.g., #751 “Sunbonnet of Middle Tennessee” (collected by Mercer in 1896). This collection was the beginning of the Mercer Museum, and *Tools of the Nation Maker* was the seed from which grew Mercer’s magnum opus, *Ancient Carpenters’ Tools* (1929).

Mercer’s great interest in pottery and tilemaking also dates from 1897. While making his “Tools of the Nation Maker” collection he saw that the old Pennsylvania Dutch potter’s craft was rapidly disappearing. At first he thought only of reviving and maintaining an existing pottery, but he soon discarded that idea in favor of building a wholly new pottery near his home. This was done in 1899, and the operation was moved to its present site in 1912. Mercer plunged into this new activity with his characteristic zeal and not only mastered the potter’s craft but made several important innovations and inventions. The Moravian Pottery and Tile Works has been a self-supporting commercial operation to this day. Mercer’s tiles became universally famous, and when the new capitol was constructed in Harrisburg, he was called upon to provide the tiles for the extensive pavement. In the Harrisburg tiles, Mercer sought to tell the story of “the building of a commonwealth economically great, by the individual work of thousands of hands, rather than by wars and legislatures; the successful toil, the energy and self-reliance of a number of Europeans, who, taking possession of a rich and fertile region, dispossessed a weaker race, removed an all-pervading forest, contended with the forces of nature, constructed a government, and dug up and utilized the riches of the soil.”

Another item in the “Nation Maker” collection which fascinated Mercer was a decorated Pennsylvania Dutch stoveplate. He set out to collect more stoveplates and to learn all he could about them. Long hours were spent translating the inscriptions on them. He published his tentative findings in 1898 and then the next year published *Decorated Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans*. This led ultimately to his monumental treatise, *The Bible in Iron* (1915) (Full title—“The Bible in Iron, or The Pictured Stoves and Stove Plates of The Pennsylvania Germans, with Notes on Colonial Fire-Backs in the United States, the Ten-Plate Stove, Franklin’s Fireplace and the Tile Stoves of the Moravians in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, together with a List of Colonial Furnaces in the United States and Canada”). A second edition of *The Bible in Iron* was later issued under the direction of Horace Mann. Joseph Sandford, Mercer’s friend and an able scholar in his own right, has revised *The Bible in Iron* and added some new material of his own. This third edition was just published this spring (1961).

In his work on stoveplates and on early ironmaking Mercer was greatly aided by the materials collected by his friend Dr. Benjamin Franklin Fackenthal, Jr. Fackenthal rendered invaluable support to the Bucks County Historical Society. In 1909 he established the Fackenthal Publication Fund which allowed the publication of papers read before the Society (8 vols., 1909–1940). It was through Fackenthal’s influence that Mercer was awarded an honorary D.Sc. degree from Franklin and Marshall College in 1916. In 1929 Mercer was granted an honorary LL.D. degree from Lehigh University.

In 1921 Mercer devised his “Classification of Historic Human Tools.” Tools are classified as either primary or secondary in the following ways:

Primary

- Tools to Make Tools
- Tools for Food
- Tools for Clothing
- Tools for Shelter
- Tools for Transport

Secondary

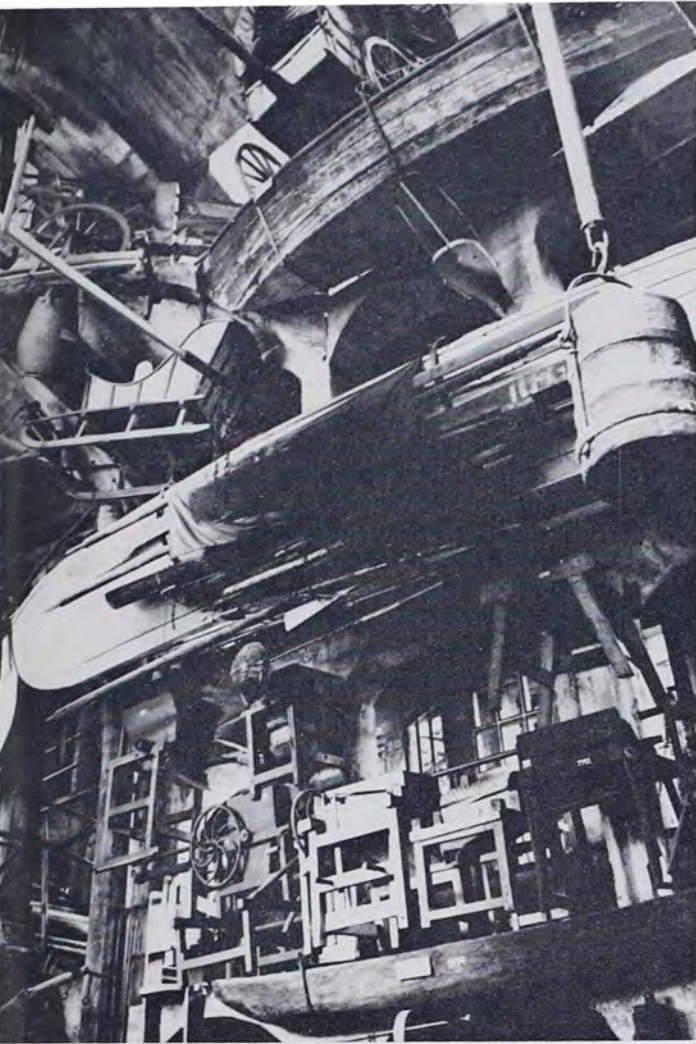
- Tools to Help Language
- Tools Used in Religion
- Tools Used in Commerce
- Tools Used in Science
- Tools Used in Art
- Tools Used in Amusement

As examples of how broadly he interpreted the word “tool,” under “Tools to Help Language” he listed whistles, gongs, and books! The classification was presumably developed primarily for grouping and displaying museum materials, and Mercer did not use it in *Ancient Carpenters’ Tools*. However, Rudolf Hommel employed the classification of primary tools in *China at Work*.

In the mid-1920’s Mercer planned a series of articles illustrating tools in the Mercer Museum for *Old-Time New England* (Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities). In the April, 1925, issue the first installment was published—“Ancient Carpenters’ Tools, Part I, Tools for Felling, Splitting and Log Sawing.” Subsequent chapters were printed in 1925–1926, but the final

Folk-cultural items are broken down into alcoves in the museum. Here shown is part of the section on early lighting fixtures.





In the huge "cavern" of the museum are suspended hundreds of tools and machines of bygone days.

installments were not published in *Old-Time New England*. Mercer originally planned to reprint the series in a book to be named *How Was the House Built, A Handbook of the Tools of the Lumberman, Carpenter and Joiner of the Eighteenth Century*. Instead, when finally published in 1929, the book bore the title *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*. A second edition was issued in 1951. It would be a mistake to describe this volume, as some have done, as dealing with "American colonial carpenters' tools." It treats not only carpenters' tools but illustrates the handskills of many other occupations as well. These implements were not confined solely to the colonial period of American history; most of them had ancient roots and are very much in use today. Although Mercer placed emphasis on tools collected in the eastern United States, many of those illustrated are from Europe and the Far East.

As a pioneer in the study of American folklife, Mercer can be credited with several "firsts." For example, he was apparently the first to treat the subject of Fraktur in Pennsylvania. His paper, "The Survival of the Mediaeval Art of Illuminative Writing among Pennsylvania Germans," was read before the American Philosophical Society in September, 1897, and was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society in December.

Mercer was among the first to inquire into the origins of log construction in America. In a paper read before the Bucks County Historical Society in 1924, "The Origin of Log Houses in the United States," he concluded that "the

art of log construction was introduced in North America, not in the Delaware valley, but either in New York or Virginia or New England, not in the form of dwellings but of forts or block houses." Amandus Johnson and Fiske Kimball had earlier established the priority of the Delaware Valley Swedes and Finns in the building of log houses. It has subsequently been shown that the earliest English "garrisons" in New England and elsewhere were not built until after the Swedes settled on the Delaware in 1638. Thus one of Mercer's major points has been repudiated. However, it might be said that the early work of Johnson, Kimball, and Mercer paved the way for Harold Shurtleff's classic, *The Log Cabin Myth* (1939).

Mercer may have been the first to inquire into the origins of the Christmas tree in America. He stimulated Alfred Berlin to do a paper, "Introduction of the Christmas Tree in the United States," which was read before the Bucks County Historical Society in 1915. Berlin interviewed a number of elderly people, one of whom claimed to remember the use of Christmas trees as early as 1827. Berlin's paper was followed by Mercer's "Remarks on the Christmas Tree." As a result of his historical researches Mercer asserted his belief that among the Pennsylvania Dutch the early Mennonites, Dunkards, Schwenkfelders, and Amish did not have Christmas trees; the first trees must have come into use among the Moravians and Lutherans. In his recent work, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study* (1959), Alfred L. Shoemaker gives the subject of the origin of the Christmas tree in America its most thorough review to date. Shoemaker and other recent writers have succeeded in placing the first American Christmas tree in Pennsylvania as early as 1821.

There was hardly an item of material culture which escaped Mercer's eye. His published works contain interesting information in a vast range of subjects—zithers, flails, peaveys, wafer irons, seals, flax seed mills, etc., etc. Several lacunae are evident, however. One might reasonably have expected him to do more with items of material culture associated with such important economic activities as agriculture, fishing, and mining. One might have expected him to record more of the oral traditions associated with material culture. In *The Bible in Iron* he does repeat many of the German inscriptions on the stoveplates, but this is only an incidental part of a book devoted primarily to technological description. *Tools of the Nation Maker* contains some incidental scraps of folklore—rhymes, German popular names, and the like. Mercer was not especially interested in folk music, but during his boyhood he became fascinated with the story of "The Arkansas Traveler." He finally decided to dig into the story behind the famous fiddlers' tune, and the result was his paper, "On the Track of 'The Arkansas Traveler,'" published in the March, 1896 issue of *The Century Magazine*. The story is especially interesting when we realize that Mercer was a younger contemporary of the alleged authors of "The Arkansas Traveler," Colonel Sanford Faulkner (d. 1874) and Jose Tasso (d. 1887). However, this was virtually Mercer's only foray into the field of musical tradition.

Mercer is also known for the two famous buildings which he designed—the Mercer Museum, which houses the "Tools of the Nation Maker" collection, and "Fonthill," his home. The latter was built in the years 1908–1910 and the former in 1914–1916. These buildings are alike in that both are huge castle-like concrete structures, "built from the inside outward" (i.e., planned with certain functions in mind and

without much concern for exterior appearance). Described by architects in such terms as "frank," "bold," "weird," "theatrical," "severe," and "impressive," they attract constant attention and were recently featured in *Progressive Architecture* (October, 1960). These structures earned for their creator the craftsmanship medal of the American Institute of Architects in 1921.

In his later years Mercer did not travel frequently or far, but he would send his trusted aides on collecting expeditions with detailed instructions on what to look for and what to bring back. Indeed, he sponsored Rudolf Hommel for eight years in China (1921-1926, 1928-1930).

Rudolf P. Hommel (1887-1950) was the son of Fritz Hommel (1854-1936), professor of Semitic languages in the University of Munich. Rudolf came to this country in 1908 and first met Henry Mercer in 1915, after previous correspondence about stoveplates and their inscriptions. Mercer found in him just the scholar to conduct researches in Chinese technology, a field in which Mercer had developed a great interest but in which he could not do any field work himself. The fruits of Hommel's travel and study are found in his great book, *China at Work* (1937), and in numerous scattered articles. Hommel's collection of Chinese ceramic materials was given to the University of Virginia by Mrs. Hommel in 1953. After his return from China, Rudolf Hommel turned to early American history and to studies of the Pennsylvania Dutch. He was able, as Mercer never really was, to make profound studies in the culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. He contributed articles to Dr. Barba's "Eck," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, *Hobbies*, and *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association*.

In a brief address at the memorial services for Henry Mercer on May 3, 1930, Rudolf Hommel said:

Dr. Mercer's most important contribution to Science . . . is the founding of a new branch of it, namely: The Systematic Study of Primitive Trades, Domestic Utensils and Activities. He has broken with the old prejudice that only the life endeavors and belongings of the so-called "upper" classes are worthy of investigation. In a democratic spirit he has called to the fore the so-far-slighted class of simple people and toilers, who compose about 95 per cent of humanity, and have been the backbone not only of ours, but of any civilization. To stress this important point Dr. Mercer has built this museum, to show how toil, trades and crafts, domestic manners and activities have been conducted in past ages, and—this is important—has shown it for the first time. Other museums may spring up to do the same thing, and we hope they will, but let us not forget that Dr. Mercer was the originator of this new branch of Science.

After Mercer's death, his work in Doylestown was carried on by his able lieutenants, Frank Swain (1876-1954) and Horace Mann (1890-1951). Swain began working with Mercer in 1896. "Mr. Harry" sent him on a collecting trip through the southeastern United States in 1916-1917. He observed a hand corn mill in Georgetown, South Carolina, described dugout canoes from Natchez, Mississippi, and searched in vain for Bowie knives in museums and curio shops from North Carolina to Louisiana. He reported on this trip in two papers read before the Bucks County Historical Society. Two other papers read by Swain before the Society also demonstrate his devotion to Mercer's interests—"Charcoal Burning in Buckingham Township" (1913) and "The End of Open Fire Cooking in Bucks County" (1924). After 1930 Swain looked after Fonthill and the Pottery and contributed articles to *Hobbies*, *Antiques*, and

The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association.

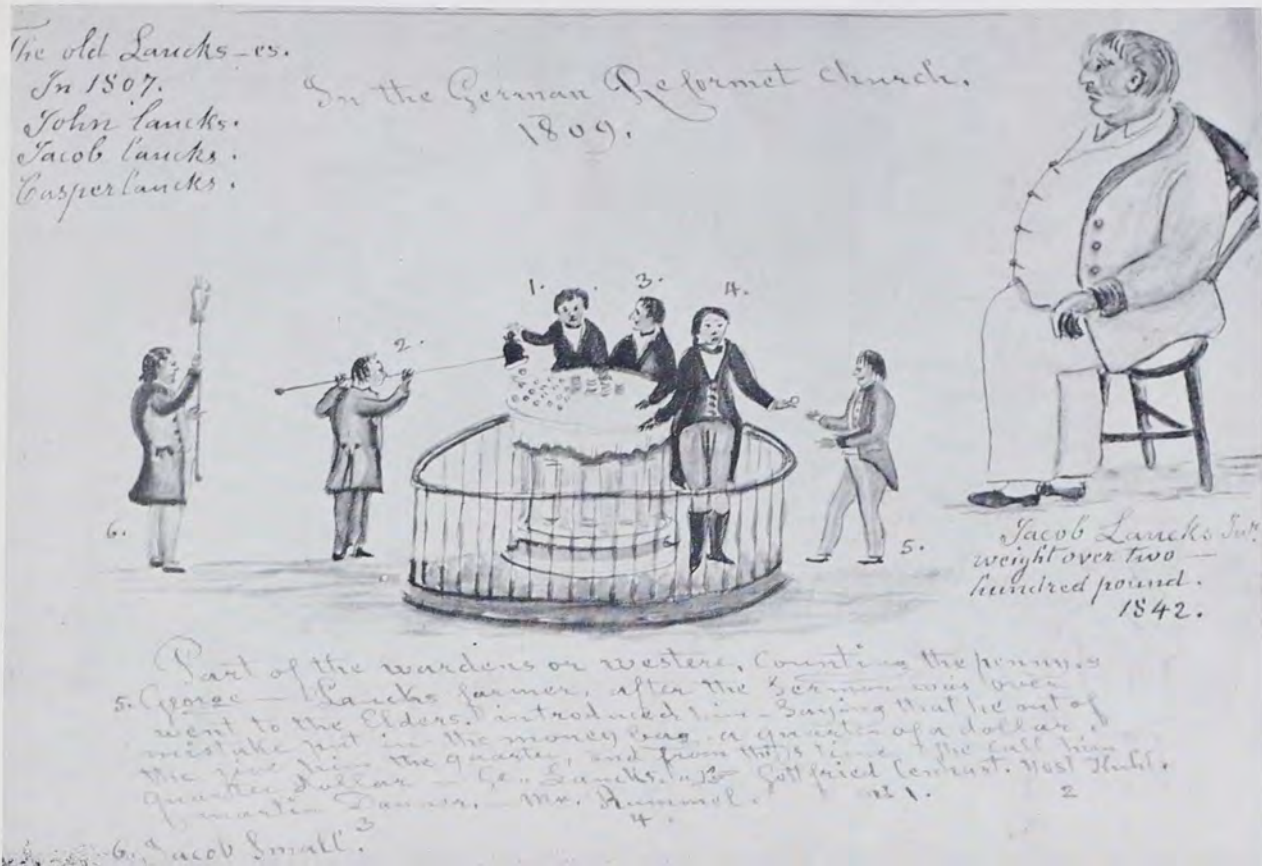
Horace Mann, curator of the Bucks County Historical Society from 1925 to 1951, was a native of Doylestown and worked as an accountant there before he was drawn into the Mercer orb. His first paper was "Gristmills of an Ancient Type Known as Norse Mills" (1918), a subject on which Mercer and Hommel also worked. It had long been Mercer's hope to send Mann on a collecting expedition to the southwestern United States. In January, 1919, when Mercer heard that his friend Dr. B. F. Fackenthal was planning a trip to California via Santa Fe, he wrote to him:

I would say that there must be among the primitives almost the utensils that the Spaniards used in the settlement. Forked stick plows as still used in Spain and Italy, winnowing baskets and a whole range of agricultural implements of old latin type handed over at any rate to the Indians. No one has thought of collecting these things. Everybody goes crazy about the Cliff Dwellings and the pre-historic Indians. But that subject has been completely squeezed out. Later I want to send Horace out and get a complete set of these Spanish American utensils before it is too late. If you can go to some old ranch or Indian village and pick up any of these things I will pay all the bills.

Although the plan to send Mann to the Southwest never came to fruition, he later reported on adobe brick construction to the Society. In his presidential report in 1923 Mercer said: "There are many gaps in our collection. Until recently we had nothing to explain the fact that thousands of houses are annually built in the southwestern United States of 'adobe' . . . [And to have had no] miners tools in such a museum as ours was like playing Hamlet with Hamlet left out. These two . . . deficiencies have been partly corrected in the past year." Then Mann as assistant curator reported that the Society had been presented "adobe bricks and a brick mould by the El Paso Chamber of Commerce."

In summary, what can we say were Mercer's major achievements? He devoted his life to scholarship, traveled widely, made accurate observations, and published most of his notes. He read some forty-seven papers at meetings of the Bucks County Historical Society from 1884 to 1925 and contributed articles to numerous journals. He called attention to some neglected aspects of social and economic history, but, with the notable exception of Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, historians have paid scant notice to Mercer's folklife studies. In focusing attention upon material folk culture Mercer was almost unique in America, but similar work was being done by European, especially German, anthropologists and cultural geographers. Folklife studies are now being carried out in several centers in northern Europe, and in America the inheritor of Mercer's mantle is Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker, who is thoroughly acquainted with European scholarship and whose training enables him to enter certain fields (especially Pennsylvania Dutch lore) which were closed to Mercer.

Mercer put new life into the Bucks County Historical Society and made it a truly national, rather than merely local, institution. He gave generously to the Society, especially for its physical plant and collections. Inflation has seriously eroded the endowment in the three decades since Mercer's death, but the Society is still in the front rank of institutions of its kind and is characterized by vigorous leadership. Surely the Pennsylvania Folklife Society owes much to Henry Mercer and the Bucks County Historical Society. May their good works be known in the land!



Courtesy of the Historical Society of York County

Lewis Miller, the early York County folk artist, here illustrates the use of the "glingelsock" in a York church in 1809.

The "Glingelsock"

By ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

Glingelsock is the Pennsylvania Dutch word for a unique type of collection bag with which the offering was lifted in the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Dutch Pennsylvania from colonial times to the middle decades of the last century.

The *glingelsock*¹ consisted of the following parts: a metal ring, some six inches in diameter; an open pouch of black velvet, fastened around the ring, usually about eight inches deep and drawn together at its bottom; a tassel and small bell sewed to the bottom of the pouch; the ringed pouch attached to a thin pole or handle, approximately eight to nine feet in length.

Historically, the *glingelsock* is believed to have had its beginnings at the time of the Reformation, when the lifting of alms offerings was initiated during the church services, generally following the sermon. Linguistically, the dialect word is the equivalent of Standard German *Klingelsack*, or more commonly, *Klingelbeutel*.²

There is no real equivalent in English for the word *glingelsock*. I have come upon the following renditions into English

¹The plural of *glingelsock* is *glingelseck*. In Western Pennsylvania Dutch the term encountered is generally the diminutive form, *glingelseckli*.

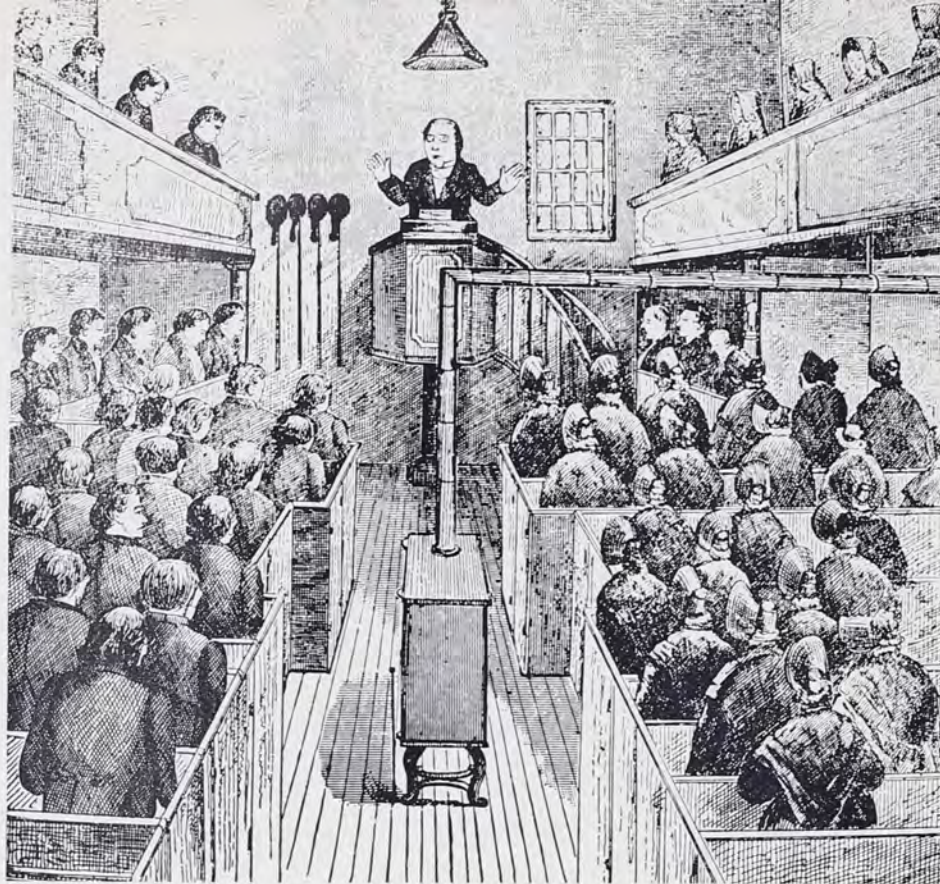
²The German-language Lutheran and Reformed church periodicals use the term *Klingelbeutel* exclusively.

in the local Pennsylvania and Maryland church histories: alms bag, bell bag, jingle bag, jingle sock, shake bag, and tinkling or tinkling bag.

The most characteristic thing about the *glingelsock* is the small bell, of course. Its purpose was to alert worshippers when the offering was being taken. The little bell was the subject of much ridicule through the hundred-and-fifty years of use of the *glingelsock* in the Dutch Country. One of the earliest instances of church strife³ in the Commonwealth had its roots in a trifling circumstance in respect to the *glingelsock* bell. In 1752 one of the elders of St. Michael's Lutheran Church in Germantown was joshed by a member of one of the sects on account of the bells on their collection bags. (The sects, it will be noted, did not lift an offering during their services.) Thereupon this church official took it upon himself to cut the bells off the *glingelseck*, an action that split the congregation in two. There is a record of like kind in Abdel Ross Wentz' *History of the Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland, 1738-1938* (page 184): "With reference to the collection bags or 'shake-bags,' as they were often called, it is interesting to note that for a while there was some difference of opinion about the little bells attached

³St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Barren Hill, Pa., 1952, p. 44.

An illustration from Henry L. Fisher's *Olden Times* (York, 1888) shows four "glingelseck" on the front wall near the pulpit.



to the bottom of the bags. In 1821 the bells were taken off, but this was resented by some of the members and when a few of them enforced their protest by refusing to contribute to the church funds, the bells were restored to the bags." The *Reformirter Hausfreund* of February 29, 1872, carries an account of how two deacons in one of the Montgomery County union churches secretly cut off the bells from the *glingelseck* in use there. This action, however, did not result in congregational difficulties, at least not as far as we know.

Next to the bells, the long handles of the *glingelseck* attracted the attention of the folk mind. Long as they were, they were without doubt difficult to maneuver. One of our Pennsylvania Lutheran pastors tells us that people used to say humorously that bakers made the best deacons, they having a lot of practice in wielding the long-handled peels, shoving the bread in the ovens and taking it out when baked.

One of the best known jests in Pennsylvania Dutch popular oral literature has to do with a not-too-sure-of-himself farmer who suddenly finds himself elected a deacon in one of the rural union churches. Afraid that he might poke the church people in their faces when presenting the *glingelsock*, he decides he had better practice manipulating the long-handled bags beforehand. He goes out in the barn, takes a bran bag and attaches it to the long handle of a rake. He takes the rake with the bran bag dangling from one end into the cow stable and brings it deftly in front of the heads of the cows, one by one. Finally he comes to the bull who vigorously shakes his head and bellows terrifically. The farmer retorts: "All recht, du brausht nix gevva; siss yoosht-far dee woo wulla." (You needn't bother to give anything; it's only for those who want to.)

The *glingelsock* has found its way into Pennsylvania Dutch creative dialect literature as well. Henry L. Fisher in his poem "Der Parre Un Die Hummler" has this stanza:

*Die Forschteher, mit de Klingelsäck,
Die, samme ei die Benze;
Bis Geld un' Music, kling-de-klang,
Schallt dorch die alte Kränze.*

(The deacons with the *glingelseck* collect the pennies, the money and music echoing through the old cornices.)

The *glingelseck* were replaced around 1850 with collection boxes and baskets. In Lancaster the Reformed replaced⁴ them in 1845 and the Lutherans in 1847.⁵ The Rev. J. J. Kline in his *History of the Lutheran Church in New Hanover, Montgomery County* (Lancaster, 1910, page 206) tells us that on July 23, 1859 the council resolved to substitute baskets for the *Klingelbeutel* in taking up the offering.

What led to the discontinuance of the *glingelseck* around the 1850's and the acceptance of other types of collection containers? Two factors were the principal cause, I believe: a general rejection by the then Pennsylvania Dutch intelligentsia of the German-Continental folk-cultural forms and the introduction of the Sunday School with its completely Anglo-American cultural patterns.

The earliest description of a *glingelsock* known to me in our American literature is in the diary⁶ of the Rev. Dr. Bruce McClure for the year 1772. Dr. McClure, a long time resident of Connecticut, in attending a service in the Lancaster Lutheran Church remarks: "The mode of collecting was new to me. At the close of public worship about 6 men, each with a small black velvet bag fastened to the end of a long staff presented the bag which had a small bell suspended at the bottom to each person in the long pews or

⁴ In minutes of First Reformed Church, Feb. 4, 1845: "On motion, It was Resolved, to dispense with use of Bags, in collecting in Church, and to use the Baskets in place."

⁵ *The History of the Lancaster Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania* (Lebanon, 1942), p. 85.

⁶ *Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. V, p. 111.

slips. The tinkling of the bell gave warn'g of the approach of the little purse. The contribution was speedily finished."

I know of but one instance where the *glingelsock* is mentioned in a Union Church constitution. It is from the Trexlertown Church constitution, dated June 2, 1784: ". . . und Klingel Beutel ist alles gemeinschaftlich." (The *glingelsock* is to be held in common by the two congregations.)

The archives of the Follmer Lutheran Church in Northumberland County has a receipt touching on the acquisition of a *glingelsock*: "Friend Mr. Adam Follmer:—Enclosed you will find the 'bell bag' ordered for Mr. Menges. Mr. Menges will attend to getting a stick (or pole) for it. I hope we will have it in use by next service. The expense is 13 s. and 11 d., which I hope to receive by next service. Until then I recommend you to the protection of the Most High. Sunbury, July 13, 1803. John Paul Ferd. Kreamer. Received payment, Kreamer."

The *glingelsock* were kept in a hanging position on the wall in the front of the church, frequently to the side of the altar. The *Souvenir History of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hummelstown, Pa.* says in that church "they were hung against the gallery pillars."

During services, after the offering was lifted, the *glingelsock* with their coin contents were returned by the deacons to the nails on the walls or pillars. The day's services concluded, the deacons removed the offering from the pouches for counting. One source indicates that whenever, in lifting a collection, a deacon's *glingelsock* filled up before he concluded collecting, another church official would follow the collector and empty the bag into his hat, thus permitting the deacon to conclude lifting the offering.

In one particular, at least, the people regretted the passing of the *glingelsock*. They disliked the persons sitting next to them being able to see how much they put in the collection plate. This had been impossible, of course, when the contribution was put into the deep pouches of the *glingelsock*. This specific feeling comes to the fore in a conversation between two farm women, Ket and Mary, from an article in the *Reformirter Hausfreund* of June 27, 1876. Discussing their rural church, Mary is made to say: "Ich glaub nicht, dass ein Mensch das Recht hat, den Opfernden auf die Finger zu sehen. Deswegen lieb ich die alten Beutel oder Bäckschen in der Kirche und nicht die Teller oder Körbchen." (I don't think another person has a right to see how much one gives. For this reason I like the old-time *glingelsock* in church and not the plates and baskets now in use.)

I shall conclude this article on the *glingelsock* with two of the best accounts I located on the subject. The first is from the *Lutheran* of April 24, 1879: "Ah! those wonderful contrivances, called the 'Klingelbeutel,' which might be translated, 'jingle bag.' What a sight it was when half a dozen grave and revered seignors marched forth from the vestry door back of the pulpit and altar, each bearing a long black pole (say eight or nine feet long) with such a black purse or bag, or pouch attached to one end. The deacon carried his pole in his right hand, at an angle of more than 45 degrees, so that the purse was only a few feet above the ground, in front of him, as he walked. At the end of the purse, concealed in a black tassel, was the little bell, whose tinkling marked each step of the deacon's progress. It required no little skill to stand at the pew door, high as it was, and to pass this purse, and the pole to which it was attached, from the first to the last man in the pew. It was comparatively easy as long as the purse was empty, but as one large old-fashioned big and heavy copper penny after the other dropped into the bag, it required great strength and skill on the part of the deacon to push in his pole and get it back again. In those days it was a common saying, that no one but a baker, who acquired skill in shoving bread into the oven and taking it out again, made a really successful deacon, and therefore, the ranks of the deacons were largely recruited from the guild of the worthy bakers."

The other account is from an article by Daniel Miller, "Early History of the Reformed Church in Reading," a paper read before the Berks County Historical Society, September 11, 1906 (Proceedings, Vol. II, p. 151): "During a long period, probably more than a hundred years, the collections in the church were taken up by means of the 'Klingelsack,' which was a velvet bag attached to a long pole. Originally, these bags had little bells attached to them, whence the term 'Klingelsack'—jingle-bag. Collections were lifted not only at the regular services, but also at funerals. Then as now, money was an important factor in the management of the church. By and by the 'Klingelsack' at funerals became objectionable, and some people asked for its omission. On January 20, 1820, the consistory resolved that upon request the mourners should be passed by; but other people were expected to patronize the 'Klingelsack.' In 1822 the family of William Hiester was asked to pay the church \$5, because no collection should be taken in the first two pews occupied by the mourners. The record fails to inform us when the collection at funerals was discontinued."

Tour of the Red Tile Roofs (continued from page 25)

drink at the Weiser spring. Leaving the Park turn left (west) on Route 422 and drive 1.2 miles to the road to Rehrersburg. Turn right 2.9 miles to tile roof #19 on the Troutman farm (R). Continue .4 mile to Bernville road and turn right .3 mile to tile roof #20. Return to Route 422, turn right 6.6 miles to Route 501 at Myerstown. Turn left on Route 501 and drive 20.9 miles to Oregon Road (Route 722). Turn left on Route 722 to Route 222, 3.6 miles, then right on Route 222 to Landis Valley Road (at the Landis Valley Museum) 2.7 miles. Turn right on Landis Valley Road .1 mile to stop sign. Turn right on Kissel Hill Road, past historical marker "Isaac Long Barn" for .8 mile to white arrow pointing right to Isaac Long Barn. Turn right .7 mile to lane of Long Farm, noting quaint steep roofed buildings of Long Farm, .1 mile to buildings, tile roof #21. Only the south side of this steep, medieval roof is tiled and the beauty of this roof may be seen as one

enters the driveway between house and barn. Return to the intersection of Landis Valley Road and Route 222 past the Landis Valley Museum. Turn left on Route 222 to Route 322 in Ephrata, 8.6 miles. Turn right on Route 322 just beyond historical marker and stop at the Cloister, one of America's finest historical and architectural treasures. Tile roof #22 is on the grounds. Leaving the Cloister, turn right and drive south on Route 322 9.2 miles to Route 23. Black carriages of the Horse-and-Buggy Mennonites may be seen in this area. Turn left on Route 23 to Weaverland Mennonite Church sign, .6 mile. Turn left on Route 897 to fork, 1 mile and bear left, leaving Route 897, to Weaver House, .8 mile, on left opposite quarry. Pause for a view of tile roof #23 (L), then turn left .2 mile to the farmstead for a closer view of this fine tile roofed house. To return to Kutztown take Route 23 to Route 322, then Route 322 to Route 222, then Route 222 to Kutztown.

SAUERKRAUT

in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture

By DON YODER

Sauerkraut and Pennsylvania have been partners in the popular mind for many generations.

Sauerkraut, that staple of all Pennsylvania Dutch tables, that darling of the Dutch cuisine, once a despised and countrified dish at which the city folks turned up their noses, became a general favorite in the state—among Quakers and Scotch-Irishmen as well as the Dutch—by the time of the Civil War, and—with the reinforcement provided by Emigrant Germans of the 19th Century, was well on its way toward becoming a nationally known dish by 1900.

But apart from sauerkraut's honored place on Pennsylvania tables, and its hold on Pennsylvania stomachs, sauerkraut is featured in Pennsylvania's proverbial lore, its folk beliefs, its folk medicine, its English and Dutch folksong tradition, and its rural muse. In the early days of the first Dutch governors, sauerkraut insinuated its way into Pennsylvania politics, and remained an important ingredient in Pennsylvania political satire throughout the 19th Century. Lastly, the cult of sauerkraut invaded even Pennsylvania's churches, in the annual institution of the "Sauerkraut Supper."

We shall look at all these historical ramifications of Pennsylvania's sauerkraut cult in detail. But first let us look at the gastronomic aspects, beginning with the references to sauerkraut in the first article on Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery to appear in the national press—1907.

As a very little girl, Pennsylvania Dutch meant for me the vision of a big farm, not far from my own town, the home of kindly, slow, hopelessly unprogressive Germans, where one was sure of a warm welcome and good things to eat in plenty. Bountiful, indeed, was the table and delicious the cooking, especially when it concerned native dishes. It was there that I saw my first apple butter boiling, and ate my first sauer kraut dinner—sauer kraut cooked as only the Pennsylvania Dutch know how. I've eaten it since on its native heath, and cooked by metropolitan chefs, but never again will it taste so delicious as when prepared by the deft hands of Annie Shadel of Lykens Valley.

To the Pennsylvania Dutchman such a dinner always means sauer kraut, boiled with a good-sized piece of fresh pork, preferably, and served with mashed potatoes and

'knepe.' I wonder how they would manage without dumplings in their bill of fare, they belong to so many of their native dishes. The kraut and meat are boiled together until the meat is tender, then it is removed from the kettle and the dumplings popped in, and boiled briskly with the kraut. Browned butter is poured over the 'knepe' when they are placed on the hot platter, and I can fancy no more tempting table than the one with plates of meat and deliciously light dumplings at top and bottom, while deep tureens of kraut and mashed potatoes flank the sides.¹

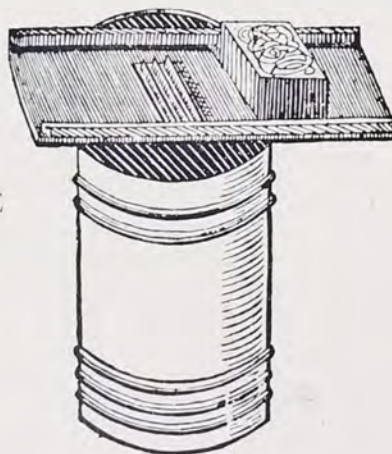
While sauerkraut was served at many times throughout the fall and winter months on Pennsylvania farm tables, Monday was a favorite "sauerkraut day" on the Pennsylvania Dutch farm. A Berks County farmwife has explained the reason why. "Monday was the day for sauerkraut," writes Elsie Smith. "A piece of pork was cooked to sauerkraut. This did not take much watching and one could do one's wash and cook dinner also. Mashed potatoes also were quickly made. Applebutter went well with sauerkraut, cut the grease, as one used to say. There was always enough cooked so some was left over for another meal. Dumplings were added and one had another good, stick-to-the-ribs meal."²

The reference to "cutting the grease"—a common Pennsylvania usage—is paralleled in more "scientific" language by the anthropologist W. J. Hoffman, who studied the Dutch culture in the 1880's: "The usual accompaniment to saur kraut was mashed potatoes, while apple-butter was eaten with the bread in the belief that the acidity of the former helped to neutralize the grease of the cabbage and meat and prevented liability to nausea from over-indulgence."³

THE PREPARATION OF SAUERKRAUT

Sauerkraut making was of course one of the fall tasks on the Pennsylvania farm. One of the first descriptions of the process comes from the pen of the Quaker "discoverer" of the Pennsylvania Dutch, Phebe Earle Gibbons, who observed her Lancaster County neighbors at work making it.

In the fall our "Dutch" make *sauer kraut*. I happened into the house of my friend Susanna when her husband and son were going to take an hour at noon to help her with the kraut. Two white tubs stood upon the back porch, one with the fair round heads, and the other to receive the cabbage when cut by a knife set in a board (a very convenient thing for cutting kohl-slaw and cucumbers). When cut, the cabbage is packed into a "stand"



PENNSYLVANIA
"GROUT-HUVVEL"
OR CABBAGE-PLANE

*From Peter Kalm's
Travels in
North America
(Stockholm, 1753)*

¹"Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery," New York *Evening Post*, 1907. The author is not named, although she states that she was from Dauphin County, and of Dutch background on her mother's side. She adds, after describing the main Dutch dishes as she recalls them from childhood, "But how empty all these attempts at reproduction seem when compared with the actualities. The rosy-cheeked boys and girls, and the ruddy old men and women to be found in the trim farmhouses in middle Pennsylvania, bear witness to their nourishing qualities, while those who have eaten as strangers, in the hospitable kitchens, can bear testimony to the enjoyment of the palate." The complete article can be found reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, April, 1953.

²Elsie Smith Manuscript, Pennsylvania Folklife Society, File 42-18.

³W. J. Hoffman, "Folk-lore of the Pennsylvania Germans," *The Journal of American Folklore*, II (1889), 23.



THE "OLD METHOD" OF MAKING SAUERKRAUT—From Fisher's 'S Alt Marik-Haus (York, 1879).

with a sauer-kraut staff, resembling the pounder with which New-Englanders beat clothes in a barrel. Salt is added during the packing. When the cabbage ferments, it becomes acid. The kraut-stand remains in the cellar; the contents not being unpalatable when boiled with potatoes and the chines or ribs of pork. But the smell of the boiling kraut is very strong, and that stomach is probably strong which readily digests the meal.⁴

A 20th Century description next, by the Berks County housewife whom we have already quoted: "You also made sauerkraut for winter and stored it in the cellar. It was rather smelly, but good. This was made in the fall and took a whole evening to make. A tub full of cabbages was ready with the outer leaves removed. The women cut and sliced the cabbages on a cabbage cutter. A layer of cut cabbage was put in a big crock and a layer of salt added. The men then had a big wooden stamper with a rather long handle and stomped the cabbage till the juice covered it, then another layer of cabbage and salt was added, [and] so on till the cabbage was all or the crock was full with the juice covering it. A clean piece of cloth was placed over the top with a stone to keep it down. These stones would be from out of creeks and were round and [were] called 'Wasser' stones."⁵

A more "scientific" account, by the pioneer anthropologist W. J. Hoffman: "Saur kraut is now less extensively used. It is prepared by cutting the cabbage into slaw, which is then packed and stamped with salt in a tall wooden vessel termed a shtenner. When filled, and the brine has formed, the mass is kept submerged by means of a piece of board and a heavy stone."⁶

THE "OLD METHOD" OF MAKING SAUERKRAUT

Tradition is that in the old, old days, sauerkraut was "stomped" in the barrels not with a wooden pestle but by foot. Instead of "treading the grapes" in the autumn as the Mediterranean peoples are said to have done, our Dutch forefathers "trod the sauerkraut."

It is difficult to get any firm knowledge of the custom. The anthropologist W. J. Hoffman wrote in 1894 that he

⁴ Phebe Earle Gibbons, "Pennsylvania Dutch," and Other Essays (Philadelphia, 1872), pp. 46-47.

⁵ Elsie Smith Manuscript, Pennsylvania Folklife Society, File 42-18.

⁶ Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

"has frequently been told of families who invariably had one of the children to press down the cabbage with the bare feet, as the kraut was, by this method, not so bruised as when stamped with a heavy wooden pestle."⁷

The memory of the "old method" still persists in the Dutch Country, although it is vastly more difficult to locate today than in 1894. On September 30, 1955, Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker asked Lena Stamm, aged 93, of Centerport, Berks County, whether she remembered the practise. She did not remember it herself, but "her mother used to say when she was a child the children were put into the crocks to tread the cabbage in sauerkraut making." She put it (in dialect): "se hen's ei-gadraida."

Although long since supplanted by the "new method," the memory of the "old method" remains, and is a popular ingredient of the "sauerkraut songs" in the folksong tradition, which we shall discuss in detail in a later section.

"DAR OLT BOUER" DESCRIBES SAUERKRAUT MAKING

Victor C. Dieffenbach ("Dar Olt Bouer") of Bethel, Pennsylvania, has given us a full description of the rite of sauerkraut-making. We publish it in full.

"Sauerkraut was no luxury, but a stand-by on any farmer's table in the good old days. And it was not bought in tin cans like now-a-days.

"During the day my father would bring a lot of cabbage into the house; in the evening after supper, once the dishes were washed and the table cleared, then the whole family would start to make sauerkraut. First of all, the big *grout-huwvel* (cabbage-cutter) was laid across *en groasser hilsner tsoover* (a big wooden tub). This cutter was made from a plank; it was about three feet long and a foot wide, and had a strip of wood about one inch high fastened lengthwise on each side. In the middle of this plank was an opening or slot, one and a half inches wide and cut diagonally across the plank; one side of this opening was cut on an angle or slope, and had a thin knife or cutter with a very sharp edge, extending above the edge of the plank. This cutter could be adjusted so as to cut the cabbage fine or coarse.

"A square box, made of boards, fitted into the space between the guiding strips on the sides.

"My grandmother would trim the cabbage, removing the outside leaves and all damaged or unsuitable parts. Grandfather would then cut the heads through the middle, and with a triangular cut, take out the *grout-dorsh* (the heart of the cabbage), and throw them, the heads, one at a time into the cutter box. My father was a big husky man, and he would operate the cutter by sliding the box back and forth over the sharp knife, at the same time pressing down with his fingers on the cabbage it contained; the sliced cabbage fell into the tub. When a sufficient quantity was in the tub, it was removed into the *grout-shtenner*. This was a high wooden tub, with sloping sides. My sister would then take the shredded mass out of the tub, and put it in the *shtenner*, and sprinkle some coarse salt over it. About four inches was all that was put in at one time, in a layer. And now came the fun of the entire job—tamping it down with the *grout-shtembel* (kraut-tamper). This was a cylindrical piece of wood, six inches long, and three in diameter, and had a long handle—*en baisem-shteel* (broom-handle)—fastened into a hole in the middle of the end. With this

⁷ W. J. Hoffman, *Gshicht fun da Alta Tsaita in Pensilvania* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 6. Reprint from Vol. XXXII of the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

THE EARLIEST DRAWING OF SAUERKRAUT-MAKING IN PENNSYLVANIA (1806). Lewis Miller, of York, the Dutch Country's most important folk-artist, illustrates cabbage-cutting and stomping in a wooden "shtenner," at York in 1806. This batch was ruined, however, as Miller tells us in the caption: "Anthony Ritz, in his Seller Stamping Sour Kraut, and John Lahman through the little window, made his water in the tub, without knowing it, John have been out of the reach of Anthony, the Kraut was thrown away. This was at the corner of Duke and Philadelphia Street."



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implement the cabbage was then rammed and pounded until the salt and the juice from the cabbage would squash up through, and would cover the cabbage. One could pound away with that thing for dear life. I can still hear the sucking, squashy sound that the *shtembel* used to make when one pulled it up through the frothy salty mess.

"More cabbage and more salt were added from time to time, and tamped until the tub was full. There must be enough salt to form plenty of liquid, so it will cover the entire top of the mass.

"As to the proper amount of salt to use—it is a matter of taste; too much is as bad as too little. My grandmother used a handful of salt to every two quarts of cabbage. As soon as the tub was full, two inches from the top, it was covered with clean big cabbage leaves; then a wooden disc or lid, cut so it would fit inside and slide down, was put on top, and was weighted with a heavy stone or a stone-jug full of water. After it had fermented, in from several days to a week, she would skim off all the scum and froth on top with a big spoon or ladle.

"After the winter's butchering was over, Grandma would fetch enough kraut to last for several meals, for her family. She would wash and rinse it in fresh water to remove some of the salt. Then she would put it in a big kettle with a liberal portion of spare-ribs, or a *sei-rick* (a choice cut of pork, where head joins the back-bone). And then she would boil it till the meat was soft and done.

"*'Now iss es goar!*' she would tell us. (Now it is done!) And was it good; and she always had *groombeera-brei* (mashed potatoes) to serve with it. And if we could consume two quarts at one sitting, she would prepare at least a peck of the odoriferous stuff. *'Olla moal oss mer's oof-varremt vott's besser!*' (Every time you warm up the leftover kraut it gets better.)

"*'Ya, gaviss! Deer breicht net locha—ich hop's shoon feer moal gavarremt! Sell iss voar!*' (Yes, certainly! You don't need to laugh—I've warmed it up four times already. That is the truth!) That is what one Pennsylvania Dutch *hous-fraw* (housewife) told me one time when I was at their home for dinner."⁸

SAUERKRAUT IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY*

Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist who visited Colonial America in the 1740's, is the first witness to Pennsylvania's predilection for sauerkraut. Visiting Eastern Pennsylvania in 1748, he noted among the Pennsylvanians even at that time the useful invention of the *Grouthuvvel* or cabbage-plane, of which he included a woodcut for the benefit of his European readers.⁹

Moving on to post-Revolutionary times, we find the good Doctor Rush of Philadelphia, in his *Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (1789), paying tribute to the sauerkraut cult as widely practised in those days. Although the Pennsylvania farmers live frugally, he comments, using little meat, they do consume "large quantities of vegetables, particularly salad, turnips, onions and cabbage, the last of which, they make into *Sourcrouit*."

The 19th Century historian of the Pennsylvania Dutch, Israel Daniel Rupp, had some additional words of praise to say when he republished Rush's *Account* in 1875. "*Sauer-Kraut* is a wholesome food," he informs us in a long footnote, "if properly made, and not allowed to ferment beyond the proper point." And he goes into its earlier "Teutonic" background, as was fashionable in those days. "It had been, as some maintain, among the favorite dishes of Charlemagne

* The linguistic history of "sauerkraut" (sourcrouit) in American English has been traced in Mitford M. Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms* (Chicago, ©1951), one-volume edition, page 1460. The earliest English-language reference noted by Mathews is from Leacock's play, "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776): "Don't leave me, and you shall have plenty of porter and sour-crouit." "Sauerkrauter," slang for a German, is reported from a Nevada newspaper of 1869. The phrase "to look sauerkraut at," i.e., to look at askance, is reported from Corcoran's *Pickings* (1846): "Here the Dutchman looked sourcrouit at the tall, thin gentleman in the seedy black suit."

⁸ Victor C. Dieffenbach, "Cabbage in the Culture of my Pennsylvania Dutch Forefathers," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, April 15, 1952.

⁹ Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America* (Stockholm, 1753). The German and English editions of this Swedish work circulated in Pennsylvania.

(Karl der Grosse), king of France, who died A.D. 814, and very likely was made by the Germans, of the days of *Attila*, king of the Huns, who died A.D. 453. Throughout Germany, it is served three or four times a week, during the winter."

The Scottish naturalist Alexander Wilson in his rhymed account of a "pedestrian journey to the Falls of Niagara" in 1804, frequently reprinted in the 19th Century as *The Foresters*, pays tribute to the Dutch absorption in sauerkraut.¹⁰ At a tavern on his way northward from Philadelphia Wilson shared the common table with a crowd of Dutch wagoners:

*Torrents of Dutch from every quarter came,
Pigs, calves, and saur-craut the important theme.*

And when he has crossed "fertile Bucks" to "Northampton's barren heights," he stays overnight at a Dutchman's farmhouse. For relaxation Wilson's Dutchman takes his almanac off the peg to read the weather prognostications and to determine the planting "signs," he partakes of a mug of cider, and retails witch stories. His wants are simple.

*All other joys for which he ever sighs
His dear-loved saur-craut or his pipe supplies.*

A New England lad is quoted in the *Independent Balance*, a humorous Philadelphia weekly, issue of December 6, 1820: "Wonder they don't have more gingerbread here—'spose they like sourcraut better."

The *Knickerbocker Magazine* in 1840 published a correspondent's description of the Schuylkill County coal regions in and around Pottsville. He makes the inevitable reference to sauerkraut. "All that is necessary to happiness and rosy health (I call to witness the nine hundred Dutch virgins of Schuylkill County) is to eat sour-kraut, and talk Dutch."¹¹

The *Pennsylvania Republican* of November 24, 1841, tells us that the town clock was removed from the court-house and put on one of the churches: "We now luckily have a regulator again supplied by which our good citizens can measure the flight of the fleeing hours with precision, know exactly when to ring the 'sour-kraut' bell."

The Lehigh County Poor-House Farm was reported in 1847 to have produced two hogsheds of "sowerkraut," and four barrels of applebutter (*Lehigh Register*, March 2, 1847).

The Lancaster *Inland Daily Times* of February 18, 1856, in speaking of containers of "saurkraut" for sale, tells us that the price was 2 to 4 cents a plate according to size. The same paper on May 5, 1856, tells us that "sour crout" was 3 cents for a dinner plate full.

Sauerkraut played its part even in the Civil War. Benjamin Bausman, editor of *The Guardian*, the family magazine of the Reformed Church, in his article on "Saur-Kraut and Speck," in the February, 1869, issue, tells us that "when General Lee took possession of Chambersburg on his way to Gettysburg, we happened to be a member of the Committee representing the town. Among the first things he demanded for his army was twenty-five barrels of Saur-Kraut. Of course, in the latter part of June the whole State could scarcely have furnished such a quantity of

the article. Scarcely had our Southern uninvited visitors crossed the border, e'er they were clamoring for this Pennsylvania dish."¹²

The *Valley Spirit* (Chambersburg) of November 22, 1865, referred to sauerkraut as "pickled manure"—one of the few uncomplimentary references in our files.

In speaking of the Maine woodsmen who came to Pennsylvania in the 1870's, George W. Huntley tells us: "They will all quit if they have to live on sauer-kraut, sow-belly and griddle cakes, after being raised on baked beans, codfish and brown bread." Which provided a problem for some of the Dutch cooks in the lumber camps.¹³

The *Bucks County Intelligencer* of December 26, 1885, in an article "The Sauerkraut Season," mentions that some sauerkraut had been "imported from Germany."

Our last "historical" item comes from 1894, from the Lancaster *Intelligencer* of March 14, 1894. There was a "Sour Kraut War" in Pottstown. Two merchants dropped the price. "Over 600 quarts have been sold in a day or two, and Saturday trade was so brisk that clerks were in kraut barrels up to their elbows all day."

SAUERKRAUT COMES INTO ITS OWN

In the post-Civil War era the lowly Dutch sauerkraut seems to have come into its own. The newspapers comment on the fact that sauerkraut has now socially "arrived."

The Reading *Daily Times* of October 31, 1865: "Sauer Kraut, years ago, was considered a dish for 'bleb[e]ians' only, but it has gradually worked its way forward, and is rapidly becoming fashionable among the 'patricians.'"

A longer item from the *York Daily* of October 1, 1872, announces the sauerkraut season and makes the same comment: "With the first crisp frost comes the season for sauerkraut making, a period in the year looked forward to with more than usual interest by a certain class of our fellow citizens. There was a time when to acknowledge a fondness for this dish was to be horribly unfashionable. But times have changed, and now, not to eat sauer kraut is to be lacking in one of the most fashionable accomplishments of the day."

In an article entitled "Saur-Kraut and Speck," which appeared in *The Guardian*, the Reformed Church family paper published in Philadelphia, in February, 1869, the editor (Benjamin Bausman) wrote, "The Germans are rapidly converting us into a cabbage-eating nation. It is not many years since this Teutonic dish was discarded by the bulk of would-be refined people, as unfit for their enjoyment. It was thought that none but rude emigrants and illiterate 'Dutch' country people would eat it. Now, if our large city hotels wish to have a crowded table they announce a Saur-Kraut dinner."

¹² "Editor's Drawer," *The Guardian* (Philadelphia), XX (1869), 67.

¹³ George William Huntley, *A Story of the Sinnamahone* (Williamsport, Pennsylvania, ©1936), pp. 122-123. This valuable book on the lumbering days in the West Branch country has several references to sauerkraut. It was evidently among the staples in those days when no fresh foods were available during the winter. "Dietetics were rules of diet unknown to the cooks of the 'Sinnamahone.' That branch of hygiene was never heard of by the natives. Their vocabulary contained no such words as protein and carbohydrate. However, they knew by experience that men could work or play better on certain kinds of food" (page 196). Sauerkraut was one of these. In those days, too, there was much more farming in Cameron County, to supply the lumber camps with food. "Corn, hay, and pumpkins were grown to feed horses and cattle; and potatoes, buckwheat and cabbage for feeding men. Sauerkraut was made in large quantities . . ." (page 146).

¹⁰ The poem first appeared in the *Portfolio*, Philadelphia's principal literary magazine, in 1806.

¹¹ He is less complimentary later on. In describing the mixed population of the coal regions, he writes: "The Scotch and Welsh mine; the Irish labor upon the rail-roads and canals; and the Dutch garden and farm. The Dutch girls usually turn themselves into village servants, healthy, awkward maids, and not very squeamish in their loves; loves which the tell-tale months often bring to the light; and peeping curiosity has once or twice discovered a murdered infant in the mine."

A final comment, this from the Lancaster *New Era* of December 23, 1878: "Fifteen years ago sauer kraut was generally regarded as a most indigestible and unwholesome article of diet, and many persons could as readily have been prevailed upon to eat oyster shells as that unsavory preparation of cabbage. But time and experience demonstrated that these were mistaken impressions. Well cured and well cooked sauer kraut is wholesome, nutritious and digestible, and instead of being tabooed, as formerly, it has become a favorite dish upon our most fashionable tables."

SAUERKRAUT IN QUAKER PENNSYLVANIA

Early in the 19th Century sauerkraut begins to be mentioned among the non-Dutch groups in Pennsylvania. By this time, if not earlier, the Quaker and the Scotch-Irishman had come to relish sauerkraut almost as much as did their Dutch neighbors.

From the unpublished diaries of Rebecca (Peirce) Rhoads of Green Street, Philadelphia, in the 1830's, come references to Quaker use of sauerkraut in rural Montgomery County as well as urban Philadelphia. On Seventh Day, Twelfth Month 14th, 1833, the diarist reported "cold & snow—the coldest day—like winter—made sassage—we have at this time a hog—a goose & tirkly—3 bushel of potatos & one of turnips—a *cittle of pickeled cabish*." And she adds: "am thankfull for the abundance—hope it may continue to be."

On Sixth Day, Second Month 27th, 1835, Rebecca again reports "snow quite deep—snowing farst [fast]—Anna at Bacons all night—Betsy Knight here to dinner—meete pye mince pye & custard & coffee—slays [sleighs] going quite smart—Zekiel *pickeled cabish*—sent back 14 sponge Kake." "Zekiel" was her brother-in-law Ezekiel Rhoads, a Montgomery County farmer who drove his wagon in to Philadelphia market, and often stayed overnight at his city relatives' house. This reference would seem to mean that "Zekiel" brought some sauerkraut from the country at this particular visit.

Sixth Day, Third Month 6th, 1835, was another cold day ("themomiter 12 degrees") and the Rhoads family had "sour crout for dinner—Susan Longstreth & Lydia here—Emly sewing carpet rags—Zekiel all night & breakfast."

It would appear from these references that "pickeled cabish" and "sour crout" are the same thing—"pickeled cabish" being the English term for the dish, "sour crout" the upcountry Pennsylvania loan-word borrowed from the Dutch.¹⁴

SOURKROUTDOM AND SOURKROUTSTADT

In the humorous 19th Century synonyms and bywords for Pennsylvania, sauerkraut takes first place for its most frequent use.¹⁵ There are many newspaper references to this usage.

The Philadelphia *Tickler* for December 9, 1807, has a humorous Dutch-English piece from Lancaster in which the writer says: "When arrived at Sour-crout-stadt . . ."

A Dutch-English humorous letter—signed "Fritz Kraut Holler"—appeared in the Sunbury *Workingmen's Advocate*, March 1, 1834.

The Lancaster *Inland Daily Times* of October 5, 1857, uses the phrase, "Even the greenest representative of Sour-krou-t-dom . . ."

During the Civil War Pennsylvanians were taunted with their predilection for sauerkraut. The Reading *Daily Times* for October 28, 1861, tells us that "when the advanced guard of our volunteers passed through Baltimore, in April last, they were hooted at by the secessionists and derisively

called 'Sour Crout stompers.'"

The Reading *Daily Times* in the years 1866-7 published a daily satire column entitled "The Club." One instalment was purportedly the memoirs of a person who "in consequence of very close application to business, entirely broken down in health," was told by his physician to find a "spot where I should find good mountain air, good water and plain diet." "After some inquiry, I took lodgings in the village of Krautville, formerly known as Krautstettle, which as you are doubtless aware, is at the base of the Blue Mountains, on the border of Berks and Schuylkill Counties, about . . . miles from Hamburg." Needless to say, Krautville is satirized as a typically Dutch town with Dutchified tastes and primitive education.¹⁶

A last item. The *York Daily* of October 29, 1892, reprints an item from the *Reading Times* which speaks of "The saur-kraut and schnitz-und-knepp editor of the York Daily. . . ."

If Reading could call York Dutch, it was a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

SAUERKRAUT AND PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS

The political satires which began to appear in the Pennsylvania press at the time of the first Dutch governors made plentiful use of sauerkraut to poke fun at the Dutch population.¹⁷ The fact that one of the "Dumb Dutch" had finally made it into the governor's seat—Simon Snyder was elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1808—called forth the magnificent satire, "An Essay on Dutch Cheese and Sour-krou-t," which appeared in the *Lancaster Journal* in 1816. We give it in full.

An Essay on Dutch Cheese and Sourkrou-t
Entitled

"The Wisdom of Solomon,"

"Exemplified by many strange remarks, selected from
Tom Thumb, Goody Two-Shoes and the
Death of Cock-Robin.

By

Newton the Second, Alias Simmy Schneider.

"Here lads and lasses, if you please,
Treat your hungry maws on *Cheese*;
Or, if ungrateful to your snout,
Dine, then on your Sourkrou-t."

¹⁴ This Quaker diary, in the author's collection of Pennsylvania Quakeriana, is one of the best sources for Quaker folklife in the first half of the 19th Century. Constant references to food, marketing, and costume, are made, where most of the available Quaker journals deal with the state of the diarist's soul. The acculturation process that was so much a part of early Pennsylvania life is seen also in the fact that Rebecca Rhoads mentions, several autumns, making "ponhors."

¹⁵ The simile "as Dutch as sauerkraut" applied to Pennsylvania and Pennsylvanians is of course a very old usage. The Dutch short story, "The Heiress of Rock Hollow," which appeared in *The Germantown Telegraph*, October 30, 1833, uses the phrase "as Dutch as krou-t." Mary Puterbaugh, the rural heroine, "was a girl of spirit; and although her father was as Dutch as krou-t, having emigrated to Ohio from the most inveterate and decided German spot in Pennsylvania, she proved herself a complete innovator on the customs of his ancestors." Mary "made the best smear-case and sour-krou-t that were to be had within half a week's ride, and could milk a cow in less time than any other lass in the country." "Krou-tvalleyford" was the name of this rural paradise, and the very name of Puterbaugh brought pleasant recollections to the author: "Boyhood, buttermilk and bonny-clabber: Dutch cheese, cabbage and sour-krou-t; quilting-parties, apple-cuttings, and corn-huskings; barnyards, pigs and poultry; twilight, cows, and milk-pails!" The story was republished in full in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, December, 1953.

¹⁶ *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, August, 1952.

¹⁷ We suggest this as a dissertation topic worthy of attention—the Dutch-English satires that were so much a part of political campaigns in the early 19th Century.

(*Recommendatory Extracts from the Edinburg Review.*)

"The production of Mr. Schneider, a gentleman descended from an ancient and honourable German family, whom we believe to be now Governor of Pennsylvania, a state in North America, contains ample proof of a discerning mind and of a comprehensive genius. We sincerely lament that he was so unfortunate in the choice of his subject. 'Tis, however, a maxim in the literary world, that an author who dignifies a vulgar theme, is truly an author. Mr. Schneider, in his preface, with a candour peculiar to himself, gives indeed a very plausible reason for his choice. His apology abounds with good sense, and, as we apprehend, predicated on facts, which it would be extremely unjust to withhold from the public. As the classical purity of his language can receive no embellishment from our feeble powers, we here give a part of his original preface, and the reader is permitted to draw his own conclusion:"—

"De peebles will dink it very queer als I, Governor von the sehdate von Pennsylvany, makes my wridings on sourkrount und cheese: aver dis nod ad dall querious; for I got more eggsperience bout such dings as most any boddy.

My daddy, used for dell me, wen I was liddel boy, "Simmy, you must ead cheese; for you see how your mammy und I did get do be such sensible peebles by it"—und he was, by shure, a very sensible man, und so was my mammy. As for mammy, she had a pig name for making sourgrout, und even wen I was liddle, I used for fetch gabbages von my grandadys garden—de oder boys went in de skool; aver I knowd someding better; I staid by mammy when she was saltin down de gabbages, und den I did larn all bout it, how she makd id, und so on.

"Beshure I am now de Governor von dis pig sehdate—aver how did I ged hear? Twas not mid ladin und such foolish dings what dey gall larnin: no—I makd up sour grout und some cheeses, und sended it round bout on de neabors; und dat did make me a pig name.

"I kant help making my moud grooked mit a laff, when I dink on dat Irishman—dat Binns:—he used for say when he gomd on our house, "Simon, how you smell like sourkrount!"—aver he was misdake; I used for garry doo oder dree sdink-kases in my boket, yust for a *ralish* now und den; und, somedimes, dey did make a loud smell, und de Irishman did dink it was sourkrount—ha! ha! ha!

"Mine friends—I would not make ub dis book, but my glark, Boilhoo, says, "de peebles dink als how I has no larnin ad dall;" so I must wride someding for make dem know better; und as I knowd more bout Dutch cheese und sourgrout as about any ding else, I dought I must make my *marks* (remarks we suppose) pon dat.

(*From the American Review*)

"With the opinion of the Edinburg critic we heartily coincide. We conceive the production of Mr. Schneider to be a work of genius; he has launched out into an unexplored ocean, in quest of undiscovered truth—with what success, we cannot, at present, stop to determine. To the lovers of science, in general, but more particularly to the contemplative philosopher, the book of Mr. Schneider will afford a delicious entertainment.

"It may be expected that we should give a few sketches of the author's life; but, we apprehend, the preface above quoted, is sufficient to excuse us from the invidious task. However, suffice it to say, Mr. Schneider is a human phenomenon. Without thumping his head, in the present fashionable manner, against the hard walls of a college—without subjecting himself to laborious study and "nightly vigils by the glimmering lamp"—without any other information than such as he collected from such *virtuous* friends as he has noticed in his preface, he has obtained an office of the first dignity in his native state; and if it had not been for the treachery of his own partizans, might have been hailed "Vice-President of America."¹⁸

In the Fall of 1817, when another Dutchman, General Hiester, was running against a Scotch-Irishman, William Findlay, for the governorship of Pennsylvania, the British traveler Henry Fearon reported hearing the following conversation in Philadelphia:

"I'll bet you fifty (dollars) on Hiester in Chestnut ward."

"What majority will you give him?"

"One-fourth."

"Give old Sour Kraut (Hiester) a hundred and thirty, and I'll take you."

And again: "You must be cautious in your majorities. We do not know how Beaver and Dauphin (the counties of Dauphin and Beaver) may turn out.—Mind! save yourselves.—If you find Billy (Finlay) going down, take up Sour Kraut (Hiester)."¹⁹ This from Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America* (London, 1818), pages 141–142.

A third example, this from the "reign" of a later Dutch governor.

In the winter of 1824, the *Reading Chronicle of the Times* reported that "'within the memory of our oldest inhabitants, Cabbage was never known to be so large and so abundant as in the present season. After much speculation on the cause of such a propitious event, the cabbage women have ascertained 'beyond the possibility of a doubt,' that it is entirely owing to the blessings attending the administration of a German governor!"

The editor adds, "If any one thinks this worth laughing at, they are welcome to enjoy it. I know not its author, as it was taken from the letter box, where such articles and erroneous marriages, without the attestations of the signatures of their authors, are frequently found and destroyed. If the author of the above meant to ridicule the Germans, we should observe, that we have seen Frenchmen, Irishmen and our native Yankees eat as heartily of Sour-crount, as ever they did of fricassee, potatoes or molasses. If this is not his meaning, the *wit* he displays is worth O."²⁰

The Dutch accents frequently heard, in fact increasingly heard in the halls of Senate and Assembly in the capitol at Harrisburg, called forth continuing jests like the following one entitled "Mr. Sauerkraut," which were, as they said in the 19th Century, "gazetted and regazetted" until all of Pennsylvania could have a laugh at the Dutch politicians.

Mr. Sauerkraut

Hon. Mr. Sauerkraut made a speech at Harrisburg, the other day, on the bill for making several new counties, which was short and sweet, and exactly to the purpose. The honorable gentleman said—

"Mr. Sbeager: I ish in vafor of tis pill, unt all oder pills vor ingreashin de numper of gounties in de zdate, ash I dings it ish de pesht way to ingrease de bobulation. I wotes yaw, den, Mr. Sbeager."

This "brief and eloquent speech," it is scarcely necessary to add, was received with shouts of applause, amid which the Hon. Mr. Sauerkraut, of old Berks, took his seat calmly, as if he had made only an ordinary effort.²⁰

The Reverend Matthias Sheeleigh, in 1871, in his *Ecclesiad*, a jubilee poem telling of Lutheran history in America, prophesied the end of the derision over "sauerkraut." In speaking of the old-fashioned virtues of Eastern Pennsylvania in its comfortable isolation from the rest of the world, the good parson wrote:

*Ev'n now, behold, the change is at the door—
The world agrees to mock the race no more;
Soon obsolete will be the classic touch
Of 'Sauer-kraut' and Pennsylvania Dutch!*

One final "political" reference to our subject. At the great Lehigh County Democratic Picnic in July, 1892, held

¹⁹ *Chronicle of the Times* (Reading, Pennsylvania), December 3, 1824.

²⁰ *The Courier* (Lebanon, Pennsylvania), March 4, 1848.

¹⁸ *Lancaster Journal*, November 30, 1816.

at Chapman's Station, the menu included beef, veal, and pork, "last year's sausage," potatoes, *sauerkraut*, dried corn, pickles, salad, pies and cakes. As the reporter remarked, "It was fare which one does not often get in mid-summer, and it was doubtless as a tribute to the fact that such solemn quiet reigned during this dinner hour."²¹

One thing we can be sure of, and that is that the Republicans must have served sauerkraut too in Pennsylvania Dutchdom.

SAUERKRAUT AND TURKEY

It appears that in the early part of the 19th Century, for Christmas or New Year's dinner, "turkey and sauerkraut" were served. This custom seems to have been most widespread in Central Pennsylvania and the adjoining "Dutch" parts of Western Maryland.²²

The historical evidence for the custom is as follows:

The earliest reference comes from the Carlisle *Spirit of the Times*, on January 19, 1819, in a humorous Dutch-English sketch: "When him and de qwack doctor Mealy kame back from eating roast durkies and sourkrout on krismas dey made a bargin."

In humorous vein the York *Gazette* of December 31, 1822, reporting on the recently held meeting of a fictitious Society of Bachelors, quotes their solemn resolution, "Resolved that we celebrate Christmas in social meditation, feats upon Gnepp Dompfknooodle, Oyer unt Schnitzs, and not like every inconsiderate fool involve ourselves in difficulty to obtain 'Turkey & Sourerout.'"²³

The *Valley Spirit* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania) of January 23, 1856, reports the custom from Western Maryland: "We dined on Sunday last with M. W. Houser, 'mine host' of the Hagerstown Hotel, on 'sauer krou't' and Turkey."

The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of December 25, 1847, advertises oysters, sausages and "sourkraut."

The Harrisburg *Daily Telegraph* of December 24, 1857, announces that for "Christmas Luncheon," "Col. Waterbury of the 'Brady' will serve up . . . sour-krou't and pork, roast-goose . . ." and other delicacies. Christmas lunch in Reading in 1860 also offered "Venison, rabbit, saur-kraut and other delicacies of the season," which "will be served up in a style to suit the veriest epicure" (*The Daily Leader*, Reading, December 25, 1860).²⁴

SAUERKRAUT AND NEW YEAR'S

New Year's Day is a favorite Sauerkraut Day in the Pennsylvania calendar.

Edna Eby Heller, cookery editor of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, began her New Year's article, January 1, 1954, with these words: "Happy New Year to all! Have you started the year aright? What? you forgot to eat sauerkraut on New Year's Day? Shame on you. What a Dutchman! Here's hoping that in spite of your forgetfulness, you will have good luck anyway."

²¹ Don Yoder, "Sell iss Bissness." (*That's Business*), *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, August 25, 1949. Congressman "Billy" Sowden gave an amusing Pennsylvania Dutch address on the occasion which the article reprints.

²² At the meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society which was held at Waynesboro, Franklin County, on the Maryland border, in the 1940's, turkey and sauerkraut was served at the society banquet, as typical of the Franklin County area.

²³ For more of these resolutions, see *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, December, 1952.

²⁴ For the full discussion of the "turkey and sauerkraut" custom, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study* (Kutztown, Pennsylvania, 1959), pp. 97-98.

There are several folk beliefs relating to this aspect of the sauerkraut cult. Sauerkraut is eaten on New Year's for good luck, good health, and fortune. "Eat sauerkraut on New Year's Day to keep well the rest of the year"—from Mrs. Lilly Hyle, Rexmont, Pennsylvania. ". . . if people eat Sauer Kraut on New Year's Day they become rich"—from J. S. Greiner, Route 3, Elizabethtown.

A common explanation as to why Pennsylvanians today eat turkey on Christmas and pork (with sauerkraut) on New Year's Day is that pork symbolizes the "forward look" of the turn of the year. A fowl scratches backwards—a pig roots forward! This, we fear, is a 20th Century rationalization, and ranks with the "academic" attribution of the lowly "shoo-fly" pie to the French *choufleur*.

There are a few references to Sauerkraut at New Year's from the 19th Century. They would appear to be associated with the Christmas-New Year's custom of feasting on sauerkraut. One of the earliest of these references comes from Norristown, where sauerkraut was featured on New Year's Day, 1861: "Saur Kraut lunches were the order of the day at the different lager beer saloons" (*Norristown National Defender*, January 1, 1861).

In the 20th Century it is a widespread custom. In Central Pennsylvania the custom is so common that pork and sauerkraut advertisements appear in the commercial columns of the newspapers throughout the dying days of December. One such ad, from the *Altoona Mirror* of December 27, 1960, emanating from "Pielmeiers' Market," Corner 1st Ave. and 15th St., urges readers to "Follow the Tradition For New Year's Day," by serving "Sauerkraut and Pork," and adds the bid for confidence—"We make our own kraut." On December 29, 1960, the "Endress Market" advertised "Sauerkraut—Our Own Make! It's Truly Delicious! Serve It for Your New Year's Dinner." In the same issue of the *Mirror*, the "Sanitary Market" informs the readers that "Blocher's Fresh Dressed Pork will guarantee the success of your New Year's dinner," while "Honsaker Bros." advertises "Pork for New Year's—Spare ribs, loin and ham cuts, shoulder cuts, tenderloin, sausage." It was obvious that Altoona was preparing for New Year's in the (more or less) traditional Dutch fashion.

SAUERKRAUT SUPPERS IN PENNSYLVANIA CHURCHES

In Eastern and Central Pennsylvania there is a custom for Protestant congregations to hold an annual "Sauerkraut Supper." While the day has not been admitted into the ecclesiastical calendar, we can point to the spread of the custom from the "Dutch" churches to the Anglo-American churches such as the Methodists and even the Episcopalians. Another evidence of the silent cultural victory won by sauerkraut in Pennsylvania history.

Among the Dutch churches it appears that sauerkraut was very early sanctified by its use at church festivals. At the centennial of the Old Stone Church at Kreidersville, Northampton County, in 1871, two old ladies, we are told, prepared a table in the style of olden time. "The eatables were all appropriate to the olden time idea. There were sour-krou't and speck, unpeeled potatoes, apple-butter, smear-kase, rye bread &c, served upon pewter plates, dished out with pewter spoons, coffee in tin cups, no table cloth, and knives and forks to correspond with the ancient appearance of the rest of the table."²⁵

²⁵ *Reformed Church Messenger*, October 11, 1871.



Central Pennsylvania stores advertise sauerkraut and pork for New Year's Day. Examples from Altoona Mirror, December 27 and December 29, 1960.

When the late Lawrence E. Bair, in the early days of his ministry in the Reformed Church, organized Salem Reformed Church at Shamokin in the Coal Regions in 1912, he found himself with a congregation of enthusiastic young people, most of them of Dutch background, from Mahantongo and elsewhere. "We laid entirely too much stress," he tells us, "on the social side of church life. We had too many church suppers. A representative of the American Bible Society presented his cause to the congregation one Sunday morning. He had a keen sense of smell and took me to task for keeping a barrel of sauerkraut in the basement of the church. He called my attention to the fact that the Bible urges us to come before the Lord with sweet incense, and that we were really insulting the Almighty with the smell of sauerkraut. There is more point to the criticism than I was, at the time, willing to admit."²⁰

²⁰ Lawrence E. Bair, "Twenty-five Years in the Christian Ministry," *Bulletin Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States*, VII (1936), 38.

An example of the 20th Century Church Sauerkraut Supper comes from the bulletin of St. Luke's Evangelical and Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1952: "SAUERKRAUT SUPPER to be held on Wed., Feb. 13th, from 5:00 P.M. on. All members of the Parish and their friends are urged to attend to help make this event a real success. There will be something else provided for those who do not like Sauerkraut. Adults 85c, Children 50c." While it is difficult to imagine a member of a Pennsylvania E and R Church "who does not like Sauerkraut," this reference to the sauerkraut supper custom can be duplicated many fold by references from Pennsylvania newspapers in the 1950's.

SAUERKRAUT IN THE NOVEL

There were scores of local-color novels produced about 19th Century Pennsylvania. Many of them refer to sauerkraut as a typical, and favorite Pennsylvania dish.

One example must here suffice. John Richter Jones' novel, *The Quaker Soldier: Or, The British in Philadelphia. An Historical Novel* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brother, ©1858), describes a meal taken during the Revolution by some Virginia officers who stop at a Pennsylvania farmhouse in the Dutch Country. Sauerkraut was—naturally—on the menu: "In the centre of the 'board,' which was without table-cloth, but scoured exceedingly white, smoked, on a huge pewter platter, a pyramid of sour-craut, covering up, as subsequent events manifested, for not a glimpse now appeared, a piece of amazingly fat pork. Smaller dishes of vegetables and sauces and pickles flanked this 'piece de resistance': a great loaf of bread graced one corner, a brown pitcher of cider another" (page 438).

FOLK-RHYMES ON SAUERKRAUT

Sauerkraut is a popular theme in the dialect folk-rhymes. The most common of these is

*Sourgrout oon shpeck
Dreibt alla sarya veck*

("Sauerkraut and pork drives all cares away")

This appears in A. R. Horne's collection of Dutch proverbs, in Mathews and Hungerford, *History of Lehigh and Carbon Counties*, 1884, page 25.

Others are the following:

Sourgrout oon shpeck

Mocht de weiver dick oon fett

(Sauerkraut and pork make the women big and fat)—from Mahantongo.

Sourgrout oon schweitser kais

Mocht de Deitscha deifel bais

(Sauerkraut and pork make the Dutch fighting mad)—from Steve Hartman, Reinholds, Lancaster County.

Sourgrout oon shpeck

Dreibt de hecka aveck

(Sauerkraut and pork drives thorns away)—Pennsylvania Folklife Society, File 9-23.

De mawd shtait hous

Oon greisht: 'Meer hen sourgrout'

(The hired girl stands outside and yells: 'We have sauerkraut')

Seilebdawg ess ich ken sourgrout mai

Foom sourgrout doot mei leib so vai

(I'll never eat sauerkraut again in my born days—my body aches from sauerkraut!)—from Mrs. Ida Reed of the Millbacher Kupp in Lebanon County,

December 27, 1954, recorded by Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker.

At least two English couplets have achieved folk-rhyme status in the Dutch Country. The first of these is

*Where was Moses when the lights went out?
Down in the cellar eating sauerkraut.*

(*The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, June 23, 1949)

The second comes from Anna Buehler, of Reading, who writes, "Here is a little verse we used to say over sixty years ago. We would climb on the chair and recite:

*Here I stand stiff and stout,
With my belly full of sauergraut.*

(Pennsylvania Folklife Society, File 33-7.)

SAUERKRAUT AND THE PENNSYLVANIA MUSE

With sauerkraut's hold on Pennsylvania's stomach went sauerkraut's attempted flights into the realm of poesy. At least the local poets found "sauerkraut" an easy rhyme and good for laughs in both 19th and 20th Centuries. Let us look at some scattered examples, most of them culled from the Pennsylvania press.

A lump of fat pork,
And plenty of work,
Corn cakes and pone, and saur kraut plenty;
We were not discontent,
And ear'd not a cent,
For pound-cakes and jellies so dainty.
—Poem "Grandmother's Days," by Martin
Heathcote, *Glen Rock Item*, November 23, 1877.

For rations dey give salty pork
I dinks dat was a great sell.
I petter likes de sour krout
De switzer-kaise un pretzel.
—Dutch-English poem on the Civil War, Lancaster
Sunday News, February 18, 1934.

D. K. Noell, writing in the *York Gazette* of June 30, 1895, of early schools and teachers, tells of Schoolmaster McDermond, a good-natured old Irishman, of whom the boys of other schools used to sing:

McDermond's pigs are in the pen,
And can't get out till now and then;
And when they're out they skelp about,
And hunt up all the sourkraut.

Dutch Marriage

You broomish now, you goot man dare
Vat shtands upon de vloer,
To hab dish voman vor your vife,
And lub her ebermore;
To feed her vell mit sour krout,
Pears, puttermilk and chees,
And in all tings to lend your aid,
Dat vill promote her ease.

—From the *Norristown Republican*,
September 17, 1857, first verse of four.

Sauerkraut could also be purchased, along with Dutch antiques and household goods, at the public sales of the Dutch Country. The poem, "Pennsylvania Dutch Sale," by Mary Wright of Lititz, Lancaster County, contains the lines:

*A pottie chair, a hank of yarn,
A rug that's half worn out;
A lamp, washstand, an old dough tray,
A jar of sauerkraut.*

More Fancy Poetry

And I, too, well remember
How you hung upon my neck;
The last, last time I kissed you
You'd been eating kraut and speck.

—From the *Easton Free Press*
—*Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, September 8, 1877.

And, best of all, an anonymous limerick with which we shall close:

There was a young Damsel from Reading,
Who used cabbage leaves for her bedding;
When the bed was worn out,
She ate it for kraut,
This herbivorous Damsel from Reading.
—Manuscript folklore collection,
Pottsville Free Public Library.

"LIBERTY CABBAGE" (1918)

When the war hysteria of 1918 attempted to rechristen sauerkraut into "Liberty Cabbage," the recalcitrant Dutchman Charles Calvin Ziegler (1854-1930), the Brush Valley poet, wrote the following lines of protest:

"Liberty Cabbage"

"Liberty Cabbage" now's the name,
But the thing remains the same.
Has it not the old aroma?
Is not "Liberty" a misnomer?
Why discard the name as hellish
When the thing itself you relish?
You may flout it and may scold—
No name fits it like the old.

When applied to Sauer Kraut,
Liberty, beyond a doubt,
Loses something of her halo.
Should this little bit of reason
Be adjudged an act of treason
You may thrust me into jail O,
But in spite of all your pains,
Sauer Kraut it still remains.²⁷

"SOURGROUT LIZZ" AND "SAUERKRAUT SAL"

Among the amusing figures who appear in the little world of dialect and Dutch-English literature are two gals of tremendous frame—and fame—both of which, the poets aver, they owe to their indulgence in sauerkraut. We will introduce these Dutch heroines. First the dialect one—SOURGROUT LIZZ. And then the Dutch-English one—SAUERKRAUT SAL.²⁸

Sourgrout Lizz

*Het deer sei laiva kairt foon da Sourgrout Lizz?
Se voar gaboara droona ins Keefolters viss.
Sex foos tsvai hut se shtrimp-feesich gnessa,
So groass iss se varra foom sourgrout fressa.
Foon marriets free bis shpoat in da nocht
Hut de Lizz ols eera sourgrout gmocht.
Des grout des voar vichtich oon deihenkers seess,
De shoold voar de Lizz hut es gshtompt mid da fees.*

²⁷ Charles Calvin Ziegler, *Drauss un Deheem, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, I (1936), 62. Ziegler also wrote a lengthy Dutch poem entitled "Sauerkraut" (1877), which ends with the thought of running home from the little red schoolhouse to have sauerkraut for dinner:
Noh dhun ich darrick Dreck un Schnee
In's klee roth Schulhaus widder geh,
Un rush heem Mittags mit 'me Shout
Ze esse Schpeck un Sauerkraut.

*Im ma hilsna tsoover hut se gshtompt oon gabawda,
In da bree room gadoppt bis ivver de wawda.
Es voara tsivver mit sourgrout gons darrich es hous—
Im keller, in da kommer, bis tsoom doch-lawda nous.*

*De leit de sin kooma bei geil oon tsoo lawfa,
Oosht far da Lizz eera sourgrout kawfa.
Mit sei-shpeck gakucht voar des net tsoo beeda,
Oon dail leit hen's ga-yoost far gronkheit farheeda.*

*Far road-lawfa oon parrabla hen se es roa gfressa,
Far kullie oon raidla hen se de bree ous-gmessa,
Far so ivverous shtuft iss mar heit in da noad—
Ovver vos kon mar doo? De Lizz iss now doad.*

—Johnny Brendel, Reinholds.

Sauer Kraut Sal

Did youens ever hear about Sauer Kraut Sal?
Her Pop vass a butcher and I vass her pal
She vass long up and down and fat in the middle
Because she et Sauer Kraut rite from the griddle!
It always vass Sauer Kraut—gae mere duch rouse!
Imm keller, imm schpicher—un all roundt the
house!
It stood tsuzvvers und tsuzvvers full all nice and sweet
Because Sauer Kraut Sal stumped it down viss her
feet!
But Oy Yoy! vass it goot, made viss pick's feet and
schpeck—
When you et it the bree vould run rite down your
neck!
The bauvverers vould come from miles out aroundt
To Sauer Kraut Sal's house—vhy you'd be
ferschtoundt!
When you saw all the buckeys and carryalls tied
The gauls to the hitching post her house outside!
The boys brung their sveethearts to give them a treat
To Sal's greftich Sauer Kraut made viss her feet!
After mom had her bass at the end of the veek
And pop and the kits vashed and combed nice and
sleek
They grottled the buckey in, vot vass hitched to the
horse
And drove down to Sal's house for Sauer Kraut
of course!
And there they vould meet all their friends from the
shtodt
And lots of their freindschoft that they almost
forgot.
The house vass so full the kits vaited their turn
Till pop had his Sauer Kraut und mom had hern!
And always Sal valked aroundt und made schpöss
viss a few
And brung in the Shooflies and Epple Boy, too.
Oy Yoy! you should see all the stuff that they et!
Sometimes there vass schunkafliesch und
gabrotdteny oyer yet!
Then besides Sal vould cook those goot old Dutch
Nepp
That's now vonderful goot and gives you the pep!
You soak up the Nepp in the Sauer Kraut chuiice
The kits go for it—like the picks vere let loose!

²⁹Have we here a budding Paul-Bunyan-like tradition?
At least both the figures are localized in Lancaster County.

It makes nosing out how far you may roam
The best place in the worldt is Sal's Sauer Kraut
Home!
Where you set 'roundt the old fashioned table, by heck
Und et yourself full viss Sauer Kraut und Schpeck!
—Cora Grumbling, of Manheim, Pennsylvania.³⁰

But the dialect poets of the Dutch Country waxed eloquent over the cult of sauerkraut.³⁰ The many poems in praise of sauerkraut—almost love-songs, they appear—reminde one of Heinz Kloss' statement that the Pennsylvania Dutch, like the French, created an *Esskultur* all their own. At least where else was the poet's harp moved to sing of sauerkraut?

One of the most famous of these hymns of praise to sauerkraut appeared in the Allentown *Friedensbote* of December 7, 1887. It is entitled "Sauerkraut," and was signed "Sauerkrautmichel" (Sauerkraut Mike).

SAUERKRAUT

*Ich wees net, wie's mit Annere is,
Un geb ah net viel drum;
Dehl Leut is immer alles grad,
Un annere alles krumm.
Die Zwiwle gleiche dehl gar net,
Dehl hen en annerer Sinn
Un mahne, 's wär ken Koscht recht gut,
Mitaus viel Zwiwle drin.*

*Geb mir en Schüssel Sauerkraut,
Mit rechte fettem Speck,
Un wann ich dem net "Justice" duh,
Dann schmeiss mich in der Dreck!
Ich wees recht gut, wie noch en Buh,
Un draus im Bungert ich
Hab Humleneschter g'schtarrt, ball blind
Mit Dutzend Hummelstich.*

*Wann's Horn emol geblose hot,
So kraeftig un so laut,
Es erscht was ich gewunnert hab,
War: "Hen sie Sauerkraut?"
Un wann sie sell als g'hatte hen,
Dann war mei Leib so dick,
Wann's Mittagesse drunna war,
Dass ich als schier verschtick!*

*Es macht nix aus, wie viel die Leut
Die Pudding un die Pei
Als gute Sache sehne ah,
Ich bin net in der Rai!
Geb mir en Schüssel Sauerkraut,
Recht fett gekocht, un du
Magscht esse was du immer witt,
Ich sag dir nix dazu.*

*Ich wees recht gut en Owed schö,
Schun ziemlich lang zurüch,
En Samstag Owed in der Ern,
Net weit von uns'rer Krick—
Die Betz un ich hen lange Zeit
Ken Wort mitnanner g'schwätzt,
Un ich hab mich just korz davor
Dort uf en Riegel g'setzt.*

³⁰From the *Manheim Sentinel*, 1951, reprinted in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, April 15, 1951.

³⁰Louise A. Weitzel's dialect poem, "Sauer Kraut," appeared in 'S Pennsylvawisch Deitsch Eck, *The Morning Call* (Allentown, Pennsylvania), for October 5, 1935.

*Uf emol kummt sie newa bei
 Un frogt mich ziemlich laut;
 "Sag' Fränk! Du gleichst mich nimme nau,
 Gleichst du noch Sauerkraut?"
 Sell hot mich wieder ufgeweckt,
 Un gar net lang dernoh
 Hen ich un sie en Mätsch gemacht,
 Un ich bin winners froh!*

*Nau gleich ich ewe immer fort
 Mei Sauerkraut un Speck,
 Un werd's ah gleiche bis sie mich
 Vergrave in der Dreck!
 Un wann in sel're bess're Welt
 Noh gesse werd, look out!
 Es erscht Ding was ich forder dort
 Is Speck un Sauerkraut!*

The Moravian poetess of Lititz, Lancaster County—Louise Weitzel—has also lauded Sauerkraut in verse. Her often reprinted poem "Sauer Kraut" begins:

*Ihr möcht juscht schwetze was ihr wet
 Fun wege Esserei,
 Wie Turkeys, Ente, Hinkel, Gans,
 Fun Pumpkin un Mince Pie.
 'S gebt ke Gemüs wie Sauer Kraut,
 'S dut net, ich bleib debei!*

Another verse comments on Esau's sale of his birthright for some "lentil soup." Foolish Esau! For Sauerkraut, yes; for lentil soup, no! Other verses begin: "Nemmt all die fancy Sache weck" (Take all the fancy things away), and "Juscht geb mer blanty 'Sauer Kraut" (Just give me plenty of Sauerkraut)—Louise's wants were simple, if sauerkraut were available. And the last verse tells us that the poetess will continue faithful to the end:

*Un wann ich nix me esse kann
 Un alles is ferbei,
 Es ich noch a wenig Sauer Kraut
 Un sag der Welt good-bye.
 Bis zu mei'm letschte Augeblik
 Bleib ich mei'm Freund getreu.
 'S gebt ke Gemüs wie Sauer Kraut,
 'S dut net, ich bleib debei!*

Tilghman K. Laufer (1858–1920), dialect poet of Monroe County, has left a "New Year Wish" in which he wishes his readers "a shtenner full of sauerkraut" as well as other Dutch delicacies:

NEW YEAR WISH

*Ich wünsch dir'n schaines, neues yahr,
 Un fiel so sach mitnonner;
 Ganoonk foon ponhaus, schnitz un gnep,
 Un waarsht g'shpiced mit kayanner.*

*Foon sour-kraut en shtenner foll,
 So goot wie onnera yahre;
 Un os die Mommy's kocht wie shoonsht,
 Mit sey-fees, shpeck, un ohre.³¹*

John Birmelin has several references to sauerkraut in his more recent poems.³² One of them, in his lines "Der Septem-ber," has a reference to the "old method" of preparation:

³¹ *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, January 1, 1953, the first two verses of four.

³² "The Later Poems of John Birmelin," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XVI (1951). See "An der Allentowner Fair" (p. 125) and "Der September" (p. 28).

*Un Sauergraut watt eigemacht
 In Schtenner un in Fesser;
 Die Deitsche schtampe 's mit de Fiess,
 Sell macht 's noch viele besser.*

On another occasion he describes a visit to the Allentown Fair, where sauerkraut is always served. It was advertised as "home-made," but the poet's wife didn't think too highly of it:

*Noh gehn mer nei fer Sauergraut,
 Sie saagge 's waer heemgemacht;
 Mei Aldi hot's emoll versucht,
 Noh hot sie yuscht gelacht.*

SAUERKRAUT AND THE FOLKSONG TRADITION

If there are poems in praise of sauerkraut in the Dutch Country, there are likewise several folksongs with the sauerkraut theme.

One of these, now lost, is described by D. F. Binkley, of Calgary, Alberta, in his sketches of "Life with Grandfather." "Grandfather" in this case was Henry Binkley, a native of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, who went west to Stark County, Ohio, with his parents in the 1830's.

One of grandfather's favorite pastimes was to take me on his lap during an evening and sing Dutch songs, of which he knew some numbers, bouncing me up and down during the recital. The only one that I can recall, in part, was the favorite Sauer Kraut song, accompanied by motions, back and forth, for the slicing, up and over, for the dumping in the barrel of the slaw, shaking in the salt, and then the stomping down.

The words were all in Dutch-English, little of which I can recall, and there were two or three verses, the first of which was something like this: "We make um from der Roses, und we stomp mit de feet." I wonder if anyone can recall the rest of this Sauer Kraut song.

My mother, who was not of the Dutch background, and knew little of the Dutch *modus operandi*, once asked grandfather if it were true that "they tramped the kraut in the barrel with their feet." Whereupon he told of the Sauer Kraut making parties of his youth, when the neighbors would gather in to assist, sitting in a circle around the big kraut barrel, cleaning and slicing the cabbage, and singing songs. One lively young fellow, well scrubbed, and prepared in advance with clean clothes and socks, would jump into the barrel and tramp the slaw down as it was dumped in, and it was then that the Sauer Kraut song had its inning.³³

The folksong "Oonser Deitscha Breeder," as sung in the Mahantongo area of Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties, Pennsylvania, goes through the days of the week, and tells what the Dutchman ate on each day. Sunday was "Drinking Day" (*Souf-dawg*), Monday featured "Boiled Cabbage" (*Veissgrout*), Tuesday green beans (*Greena boona*), Wednesday sauerkraut, Thursday was "turnip-day" (*Reeva-dawg*), Friday was fish-day, Saturday was pay-day, and Sunday was again *Souf-dawg*. The song of course reflects the emigrant German tradition of the 19th Century rather than the native Pennsylvania Dutch culture, but was popular in the second half of the 19th Century.³⁴

³³ D. F. Binkley, "Life with Grandfather," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, February 15, 1954.

³⁴ Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder, *Songs along the Mahantongo* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1951), pp. 165–169. Another version, called "Alta Deitscha Brieder," as recorded by Albert G. Stahl from Harry Oels of Alburts, Pennsylvania, appeared in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, October, 1953. In this version Sunday is *Souf-dawg* and Monday is *Katzeyammer*, and the Sauerkraut does not arrive until Thursday, preceded by *Panna Kucha* on Wednesday and succeeded by *Fisch-dawg* on Friday. A similar version entitled *Katzeyammer* (Jitters Day) was recorded by George Korson in 1957 in Schuylkill County and included in his *Black Rock: Mining Folklore of the Pennsylvania Dutch* (Baltimore, ©1960), pp. 370–372.

SAUERKRAUT SONG

If you will on-ly list-en to how I shpeak a-bout, I'm going to tell you how to—
 make dot sau - er-kraut, Sau-er - kraut is made of leaves, and leaves when it's full,
 CHORUS
 But of that lit - tle flow'r - we call it cab-bage rose. Sau-er-kraut is bul-ly, — I
 (Spoken)
 tell you it is fine! Be - cause I ought to know - for why? I eat him all the time.
 Hett ich sau-er-kraut, hett ich sau-er-kraut! Five cuts you know, for we like it so!
 Hett ich sau-er-kraut, hett ich sau-er-kraut! On-ly five cents one pie!

THE SAUERKRAUT SONG—Recorded at Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, in 1951, by Don Yoder from Willy Brown, Mahantongo Valley folk-singer. The song was popular in the 1890's and circulated widely in print and orally at that time. This is the second version of the song to appear in print, with the music, in the context of 20th Century folklore scholarship. The other printed version (with an entirely different tune) was recorded in 1957 from William Sholley at Pine Grove, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. For the Pine Grove version, see George Korson, *Black Rock: Mining Folklore of the Pennsylvania Dutch* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), pages 373–375. Another version, without music, appears in our text, as recorded in Nova Scotia. Still another Pennsylvania version of the song is being sung by the Dutch Pageant Group led by Paul R. Wieand, at the 1961 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival.

Sauerkraut Song (Berks County)

If you will only listen to what I speak about,
 I's going to tell you how to make that sourkrout.
 Now sourkrout ain't made of leather as any one
 supposes,
 But of that little flower which they call that cabbage
 roses.
 Now when that cabbage begins to grow as nice as
 it can be,
 We take it and cut it up, no bigger than a pea.
 And we put it in a barrel and we shump [it] mit
 our feet,
 And we shump and we shtump to make it nice and
 shveet.
 Now when that cabbage begins to shmell and can't
 shmell any shmeller,
 We take it out of that barrel that's way down in the
 cellar.
 And we put it in a kettle mit shpeck and when it
 begins to boil,
 So help me, leever gracious! you can shmell it around
 for fifty thousand miles.³⁵

Sauerkraut Chorus (Berks County)

Sour grout is bully,
 I know dot it is fine.
 I dink I ought to know dot
 Because I eat it all the time.³⁶

Sauerkraut Song (Nova Scotia)

The Lunenburg Dutch of Nova Scotia, who have a folk culture which in many respects parallels the Pennsylvania culture, have turned up with a version of the Sauerkraut Song, as follows:

Now if you've only listen to phwat ye spake about
 I'm going for to toll ye how to make that sauerkraut,
 The kraut is not made of leather as effery one supposes
 But off that little plant what they call the cabbage
 roses.

Chorus

Sauerkraut is bully, I toll you it is fine,
 Me thinks me ought to know 'em for me eats 'em
 all the time.

2. The cabbages are growing so nice as it could be,
 We take 'em out and cut 'em up the bigger as a pea,
 Me put 'em in a barrel and me stamp 'em with me
 feet,
 And we stamp and we stamp for to make 'em nice
 and sweet. Cho.

3. Me put in plenty of salt so nice, don't put in no
 snuff,
 Nor any cayenne pepper nor any of that stuff,
 Me put 'em in the cellar till it begins to smell,
 So help me Christ me thinks it nice, the Dutchman
 like it well. Cho.

³⁶ From Mrs. Allen Blatt, Route 1, Bernville, Pennsylvania. She writes, "Now here is one verse of that Sour Krout Song. I never heard more of it. This is how it goes." Actually, of course, this quatrain is the chorus of the song given directly above.

³⁵ From Laura Miller, Reading, Pennsylvania.

4. When the sauerkraut begins to smell and it can't
smell no smeller
We take it from the barrel that's way down in the
cellar,
Me put him in the kettle and it begins to boil,
So help me we can smell her round for 40,000 miles.
Cho.³⁷

The Sauerkraut Boat (Nova Scotia)

A second sauerkraut song, dealing with a "sauerkraut boat"—of which of course we have no parallel in Pennsylvania—has turned up in Nova Scotia. It has three verses, as sung at Tancook, N. S.

I've just arrived from Tancook
And the folks they are all well,
We have a load of sauerkraut
Which we would like to sell.
We're laying up to Silver's wharf
In the schooner *Pauline Young*,
The summer we go sword fishing,
In the spring we bring our dung.

2. Come down into the morning,
With three dollars in your hand,
I'll sell you a barrel of sauerkraut,
The finest in the land.
Our sauerkraut is lovely,
Our cabbage they are fine,
Your people ought to know it
For you eat it all the time.

3. Before I leave the city
I'll tell you how it's made,
The cabbage is cut up fine
And in the barrel it's laid,
We off with our high toppers
And in the barrel we jump
And with our naked feet
Oh, we smash down the lumps.

Helen Creighton adds the explanatory note, "The singer used to get 5 cents a half barrel for tramping kraut. The men at Tancook were very clean and washed their feet so thoroughly before tramping that the skin was almost scraped off. As children they enjoyed it, but it was hard work. Later they tramped with well cleansed rubber boots, and the next stage was a pounder with a handle. Then they put a weight on the pounder and a rock on the barrel head." And she concludes, "Methods of making kraut are becoming more modern all the time."³⁸

SAUERKRAUT IN THE MEDICAL WORLD

A story told by the late H. Wayne Gruber, of Reading, Pennsylvania, deals with sauerkraut in the medical world.

"Once a blacksmith got sick with typhoid fever, and, of course, a doctor was summoned. He had been very sick, but before long was recovering. One day when the doctor was there and had examined him, he found that he was very, very much better and it seemed like a miracle to him. Looking at the patient, he asked him what had happened, what he had done or whether he ate something that he was so much better. The patient hesitated and then said, 'Ei,

de fraw hut sour-grout gakucht oon hut noa in da shtoar gai missa, oon ich hop des sourgrout garucha oon voar hoongerich. Ich bin noa roonar in de kich oon hop mich dick sott gessa mit sourgrout' (Well, the wife made sauerkraut and then had to go to the store, and I smelled the sauerkraut and was hungry. I came downstairs to the kitchen and filled myself up on sauerkraut).

"The doctor always had a notebook, so when something out of the ordinary happened he jotted it down in his book. He got his book and wrote in, '*Sourgrout goot far typhoid fever*' (Sauerkraut good for typhoid fever).

"It happened not long after that a tailor was sick with typhoid fever and he also was his patient. He treated him the same as he had the blacksmith until he had him in about the same condition as the blacksmith was when he ate sauerkraut, when he told the tailor to eat his fill of sauerkraut.

"The tailor obeyed his orders and partook of plenty of sauerkraut, but to the surprise of the doctor soon died. The doctor got out his notebook and wrote in it, '*Sourgrout goot far typhoid fever far en blackshmitt, ovver doat tsoom shneider*' (Sauerkraut good for typhoid fever for a blacksmith, but death to a tailor).³⁹

SAUERKRAUT, THE ZODIAC,
AND THE CHURCH YEAR

There is in the Dutch Country a great deal of lore about making sauerkraut. It must be made at the right time in the farmer's year—else it will turn out unfit to eat.

One of the most common folk beliefs about the preparation of this delicacy is the belief that "sourkraut made in the sign of Pisces will become watery"—"*Sauergraut in Fisch eigemacht waert wassrich*"—recorded by Edwin M. Fogel from Eastern Pennsylvania.⁴⁰

Russell W. Gilbert is more specific: "'Pisces' is a good sign for cucumbers: '*Wammer lange un glatte Gummere hawwe will, blantz mer sie im Fisch*.' (To have long and smooth cucumbers plant them in Pisces.) In this sign, things tend to become slippery and slimy. Just try to make sauerkraut at this time, and you will notice how your product will slip down with greater ease than endless, entangled strands of spaghetti for a real Italian."⁴¹

A second period to avoid in making sauerkraut is St. Gall's Day (*Gallusdawg, Galladawg*)—October 16th in the Church Calendar. On September 21, 1954, Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker collected this folk belief from Mrs. Kathryn Richard, of Fredericksburg, Lebanon County. Her grandmother used to say if one made sauerkraut on this day (*oof Gollusdawg*) it would not be any good. From Ida Fry, aged 90, of Fry's Mill, Lancaster County, Dr. Shoemaker collected the belief, October 27, 1955, "that if sauerkraut was made on Galladawg it would become bitter." The folk-reasoning here is the confusion between Gall the saint and the physiological "gall."

Fogel also records the belief—"In der Gallewoch (*Der sechzehnt Oktober*) daerf mer ken sauerkraut einmache, es waert bitter"—"If sauerkraut is made during the week of Gallus, it will be bitter."⁴²

³⁹ Pennsylvania Folklife Society Files. Another "medical" item is given in Fogel: "To cure indigestion in a cow give her some mackerel or sauerkraut" (p. 176, No. 847).

⁴⁰ Fogel, p. 245, No. 1267. See also p. 187, No. 904, which says the sauerkraut will become *shleimich* (slimy).

⁴¹ "The Almanac in Pennsylvania German Homes," *'S Pennsylvawnsch Deitsch Eck, The Morning Call* (Allentown, Pennsylvania), January 15, 1944.

⁴² Fogel, p. 192, No. 939.

³⁷ Helen Creighton, *Folklore of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1950), p. 83.

³⁸ Creighton, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

THE SAUERKRAUT JESTS

And now, a few jests on the sauerkraut cult. The first two appeared in the 19th Century Pennsylvania press, the last was recorded in the 20th Century.

Dutch Versus Irish

"Ah!" said a Dutchman, "ov oll te shell fishes in te wort, zour krout ish te pest mit em oll!"

"Och, ye fool," replied Pat, "it's nothing to be kimpared to a maley peratie!"

—From the *Germantown Telegraph*,
September 21, 1842.

It All Depends on One's Upbringing

An old plain looking, and plain spoken Dutch farmer, from the vicinity of Heidelberg, in pursuit of dinner the other day, dropped in at a restaurant. Taking a seat along side of a dandyissimo sort of a fellow—all perfume, moustaches and shirt collar—our honest Dutchman ordered up his dinner.

"What will it be, sir?" asked the waiter.

"You corned beef, hey?" says Dutchy.

"Yes."

"You got sourkraut, too, hey?"

"Oh, yes."

"Vell, give me some both."

Off started white apron on a keen jump, and presently returned with the desired fodder. The sourkraut was smoking hot, and sent forth its peculiar flavor, evidently satisfactory to the Dutchman's nasal organ, and *vice versa* to that dandy friend, and Dutchy was about commencing an attack upon it, when he exclaimed.

"I-a-say, my friend, a-are you going to eat that stuff?"

Dutchy turned slowly around, and looking at his interrogator with astonishment, says he:

"Eat it, vy of course, I eats it."

"Well," said the dandy, "I-a-would as lief devour a plate of guano!"

"Ah, vell," replied Dutchy, pitching into the sourkraut with an evident relish, "dat depends altogeder on how you vas prought up."

Dandy looked kinder caved in, and we left with the opinion that Dutchy was one ahead.

—From the *Gettysburg Sentinel*, November 2, 1857.

Mose Dissinger Stays to Dinner

The sainted Rev. Moses Dissinger came to my Grandparents' home on a Monday at 11 a.m. one time.

Grandmother, busy with her washing, informed Mose that he was welcome to stay for dinner but that she was sorry she had nothing to offer but sour kraut and speck.

Said Mose, "*Ainich epper doss sour-grout net gleicht, sutt gor nix hovva oon der Mose bleibt far middawg*" (Anyone that does not like sauerkraut shouldn't have anything and Mose is going to stay for dinner).⁴³

CONCLUSION

We close our dissertation with our favorite sauerkraut poem. It appeared in the 1840's in the Easton newspapers. When reprinted in 1869 in *The Guardian*, the editor of that Reformed Church family magazine said of it, "In this kraut-eating season, we feel assured that our readers will read the following poem with a peculiar relish. It is from the facile pen of our friend and whilom instructor, Prof. T. C. Porter, formerly of Franklin and Marshall College, and now of Lafayette College. For this pleasing tribute to the national and oft-reviled dish of the fatherland, he will hereafter be held in grateful remembrance around many a steaming pile of Saur-Kraut and Speck."⁴⁴

⁴³ Harvey H. Hartman, "Jests and Legends from Upper Bucks," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, September 1, 1950.

⁴⁴ "Editor's Drawer," *The Guardian* (Philadelphia), XX (1869), 67-68.

LINES ON A HEAD OF CABBAGE

By Thomas Conrad Porter

Let frog-devouring France and beef-fed Bull
Disdain thee, Cabbage, when their mouths are full;
Let lazy Neapolitan discard
Who eats his macaroni by the yard;
And Chinese gourmand think that dish the best,
Which savors of the swallow's gluey nest,
Or, brought from distant ocean isles, prefer
The relish of the costly biche-de-mer;
Let Abyssinian cut the quivering flesh
From the live heifer and consume it fresh,
While alpine monk esteems the slimy snail
Above the juice of saur-kraut or kale;
Let Paddy whistle at the very thought
Of big potatoes boiling in the pot,
And Yankee tell, with rapture in his eye,
The varied virtues of the pumpkin-pie,
But as for me, sprung from Teutonic blood,
Give me the Cabbage as the choicest food.

O far-famed Saur-Kraut! deprived of thee,
The treasures rifled from the land and sea
Were heaps of trash and dainties on the boards
Of prodigal Lucullus, or the hoards
Of which renowned Apicius could boast
Detestably insipid; and the host
That followed Epicurus at the best
Mere common swine unpampered and unblest.

Had but the gods, on old Olympus' brow,
Caught thy sweet odor wafted from below,
Loathing as bitter their celestial bread,
They all in haste to Germany had fled.

What gave the fierce Barbarian strength to wield
His ponderous weapon on the battle-field,
When from the north his brawny right arm hurled
A bolt of vengeance o'er the Roman world?
Thy hidden power, O matchless Cabbage, thine,
Dweller upon the Danube and the Rhine.

Ye vain philosophers of titled worth,
Go to this lowly denizen of earth,
And read a lesson from his furrowed leaves;
Their words are truth: that volume ne'er deceives.

Castles and monuments have passed away,
Pillars and temples crumbled to decay,
Leaving no trace behind them to proclaim
To after ages their possessor's fame,
But on his brow unfading yet appears
The gathered wisdom of six thousand years.

I love thine honest countenance, old friend,
My earliest mem'ries with thy history blend,
And Hollow Eve, free to the wile and plot
Of youthful cunning cannot be forgot,
The merry shout, the ringing laugh and cheer
Still and will ever linger in mine ear.

May never he who slanders thy good name
Have his recorded on the scroll of fame,
May he ne'er taste thee, whose proud looks despise,
But Time increase thy honor as he flies.

COLLECTANA

Edited by ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

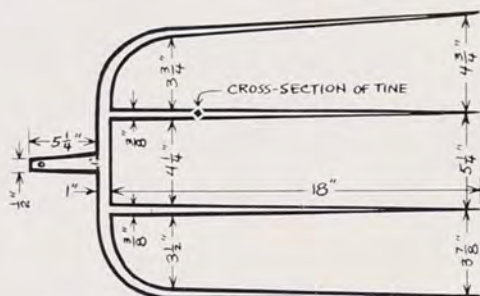
LEAVES FOR ANIMAL BEDDING

By ALAN G. KEYSER

In Montgomery and Bucks Counties the use of leaves for bedding animals was quite common in the past. This practice is now almost gone, there being only one farmer in this area who to my knowledge any longer beds his horse with leaves, and this only with the leaves which fall from the trees in his yard. There is a barn at Worcester, Montgomery County, which has leaves stored in it for use as bedding, for the six to eight pigs on the farm. With this present limited use of leaves there is on the other hand no limited number of people who remember when either they or their parents used them in this manner.

When leaves were used on most farms it was the rule to bed the horses with leaves. The reason was it was easier to manure the stables when leaves were used than it was when they used straw. With cows on some farms the story was different, however; the first day they bedded the stable with rye straw and the next day with leaves. This was to facilitate easier cleaning of stables with a *misch hock*.¹ On other farms, however, leaves were used on the bottom and straw on the top because some cows liked to eat leaves. On

A leaf fork
(lawb-govel)
from Lucon,
Montgomery
County, Pa.



still other farms leaves were used separately in bedding cows. In the last case I find that they started using the leaves as soon as they were raked and only after all were used did they bed with straw.

The gathering or harvesting of leaves was accomplished by raking them onto piles in the wood lots which nearly every farm had. Those farmers who had no wood lot on their property raked in the woods of other farmers who had more leaves than they needed. I am told that there were groups from as many as four different farms in the same woods raking at the same time. The raking of leaves was, in most cases, done on the first nice day after all the trees were bare. This was because the horses would not stand still on a cold windy day, and also who can rake leaves onto a pile on a windy day? Now, the tools that were used

were wooden hand rakes (*lawb govel*),² a body wagon with a board frame about two feet high on the body sides or in other cases a sixteen foot hay body was used and then a one foot board was used on top of the hay body. All leaves were tramped down tightly to allow for the loading of more leaves. The wagons were piled round full and then taken home to unload the leaves into a straw shed or some other outbuilding until used. From Schuylkill County we get this tradition: "The leaves were gathered and thrown into the wagon box and stamped down tight by the boys. When the box was filled, then we began to fill bags to lay on top of the already loaded wagon. One boy would put his two feet into a bag and tamp it full with the leaves that other boys brought to him. This had to be done from a sitting or reclining position. When the bags were all filled, they were thrown upon the wagon load and tied securely with ropes."³ The late Rev. Henry M. Johnson of Creamery, Montgomery County, told me that when he was young he and his brothers used to have to go to their father's wood lot to rake leaves and he commented "we hated it like fire." In raking leaves in a woods there were many dead branches and twigs in the leaves which had fallen from the trees. My grandfather tells me that when they raked leaves in his father's woods they threw all dead wood up to the nearest tree, and Jake Gotwals, a neighboring farmer, came around and gathered it up for fire wood.

Farmers not having enough leaves of their own or not having a wood lot of their own purchased leaves. The earliest record of this we have is on "Horning 19ten, 1835," William Z. Gottshalk received, "Vor zwey lat laab, 37 1/2 cents."⁴ The best record of this is at the Lower Skippack Mennonite Church, Skippack Township, Montgomery County, where they sold leaves from 1859 to 1917.⁵ The price from 1888 to 1917 was at one dollar per every sixteen foot hay body load hauled out; prior to 1888 there is no record as to the price per load. In those fifty-nine years they sold \$113.86 worth of leaves to more than thirty farmers. What a difference between then and the present time! In years gone by people had to pay to take the leaves away and now we must pay someone to take them away to be wasted and burned.

¹ Manure hook used in cleaning cow stables.

² The earliest reference to a leaf fork is in Henry C. Mercer, *Tools of the Nation Maker* (Doylestown, 1897), p. 6, no. 20.

³ John Butz Bowman, "Pastimes of My Youth," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Spring 1959 (Vol. X, No. 1), p. 44.

⁴ Account book of William Z. Gottshalk, weaver and shoemaker of Skippack and Perkiomen Township, Montgomery County, in the private library of C. G. Kulp, Jr.

⁵ From the Journal of the trustees of the Lower Skippack Mennonite Church.

FIELD NOTES ON SCHUYLKILL COUNTY FOLKLIFE

By CHRIST GEIGER

[These skillfully collected field notes on Schuylkill County folklife by the late Christ Geiger were done under the WPA administration. The Geiger manuscripts, now in the Pottsville Free Library, constitute the major source of folklore materials in George Korson's recent volume, *Black Rock, Mining Folklore of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. EDITOR.]

Informant: William Shomper, 80, Tower City, 11/28/39.

The men-folks and older boys would, every so often, go into the adjoining pine forests and collect a large quantity of pine-knots from decayed fallen pine trees. On getting their supply home they would split these knots lengthwise into comparatively thin slivers. These slivers would then be bound into bundles and wrapped quite tight to prevent burning too freely. These bundles, one at a time, would then be stuck onto a green stick, conveniently placed by the fireplace, so placed so that the smoke would find quick and easy egress from the room. This bundle of knots made a fair light by which to do household work after dark.

Informant: John Henry Shollenberger, 86, Valley View, 8/11/39.

Smoking was a common custom among the middle-aged and elderly women of the early days. They confined themselves solely to pipes. One of these old ladies had a habit of always begging her tobacco, although well able financially to buy her own. A certain younger woman was her usual victim. Tiring of this nuisance, the younger one decided to do something about it. So on the old lady's next request for a 'pipeful' the old grimy clay pipe first got about a half teaspoonful of gun powder, and then a nice topping of tobacco. All went well until a spark reached the powder, when with a dull thud the bowl was broken into bits. The younger one, knowing, ignored the noise, and the older one, suspecting she was the goat, likewise let it pass without comment. Never after was a pipeful again borrowed from this source.

Informant: Charles Milton Kaufman, 75-80, Tower City, 8/23/39.

He recalls as a boy that during a thunderstorm all members of his family would congregate in one room, but nary a word of conversation was permitted. If the storm occurred at meal time, the family remained seated, but refrained from eating, simply sitting motionless and in absolute quiet, until the storm passed.

Informant: Frank Stein, 76, Stein's Mill, 7/12/39.

One of the early ancestors of this family, it is related, was a blacksmith by trade, and at times he was called upon to shoe some very wild tempered horses, and at such times a certain fear possessed him for his own safety. A friend to whom the smithy confided his dread and who claimed to have some power, somewhat out of the ordinary, promised him help. Shortly after, he came to the shop and gave the blacksmith a piece of paper on which he had written three or four lines of apparently meaningless words, and explained their use. In due time, a particularly mean and vicious horse was brought in to be shod. The smith, remembering his friend's paper of words, decided to try them out and discover their value, if any. Following instructions, he

commenced reading the words as written, all the while walking around the horse, to the right. Upon completing the message, as written, he had to read it backwards, and finish it that way within the three rounds of the horse. It is related, in good faith, that this animal became as a lamb, in gentleness, and was shod without further adieu. When completed, he had been instructed to be sure to walk around the animal toward the left, again reading the words as written, and then backwards, within the three rounds. When the entire procedure was over, the animal became as wild and ornery as ever, but the smithy had succeeded in finishing his job, with no injury to himself or beast.

Informant: William Shomper, 80, Tower City, 12/5/39.

To preserve smoked meats in summer time they would remove them from their cold weather storage, either smoke-house or cellar, and put them in the feed bins in the barns, where they would be buried in the rye, wheat, barley or corn. These grains acted as insulation during warm weather, and made an effectual screen protection against contamination by flies and insects.

Informant: Wilson Shadle, 83, Valley View, 3/5/40.

He often had occasion to visit older folks and noted the way they lighted their kitchens, the only room that could boast of any artificial light. That additional light, when there was need beyond that of the fireplace light, was had after this fashion. On one side wall of the fireplace, and sometimes on both, a slant hole had been drilled into the stone to a depth of about three inches, and about one inch in diameter. About twelve inches above this slant hole, a small flue opened into the wall and connected into the main chimney of the fireplace. A small metal conductor hung from and connected with this flue, just about where the smoke from the one pine knot burning in the lower slant hole would strike; thus to be picked up and passed on up the main chimney. This side wall fireplace lighting effect was called a *kee-effel*.

EATING WAGER

By VICTOR C. DIEFFENBACH

Years ago it was customary to have all kinds of wagers throughout the rural sections of the Dutch Country. Usually such a gathering would be held at a hotel, the crossroad smithy, and one I heard tell of was held in a limekiln.

In the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect they were called *metsha* (matches). I want to tell of an eating wager (*fress-metsh*) held in Myerstown years ago, at what is called the Old Bahney House.

I do not know who the one fellow was; but the other of them was Sykes Gingerich of Lebanon. Anyway, these two fellows were the contenders in a *fress-metsh* that started one morning and ran well into the afternoon.

Twelve o'clock came and they had devoured an enormous amount of victuals. When one of the farmers started to go home to feed his livestock he met another farmer on his way in to town for the afternoon session. "How does it stand?" asked the other farmer.

"Oh, not so bad," said the one on his way home. "It's a bit lopsided right now. Gingerich is three dozen oysters, four yards of sausage and half a calf ahead of the other feller. But the other chap has had seven dozen hard-boiled eggs, six balls of cheese, a gallon of tripe and seventeen

mince pies more than Gingerich! If they keep it up all afternoon it's going to be *real* lopsided."

And that way it went, on and on; finally when Gingerich saw that his opponent had a maw like an elephant, he stopped eating, looked over at him and said, "Look here, you; you're big. And you have a stomach and guts like an elephant. You've eaten a lot—how much more you can eat I don't know. But this I do know and *you* cannot do it. I can. I bet you one hundred dollars that I am going to eat a bale of hay right now on top of all the other stuff." Right then and there Gingerich slammed a hundred-dollar bill on the bar and said to the other fellow: "Are you game?"

"Yes, I'm game," he said. "I can't eat a bale of hay and neither can you!"

Then Gingerich got up and walked over to Pete Bashore's livery stable, followed by this other fellow and the whole crowd. Gingerich went and got a whole bale of hay, swept the pavement clean, fluffed up the hay and put a match to it. When it had burned up he swept up the ashes and put them in a bowl, added pepper, salt and vinegar to them and thus ate up the bale of hay with a spoon!

And that's how Gingerich won the hundred bucks and the *fress-metsh* that day.

POWWOW DOCTORS

By RICHARD SHANER

Today in the Dutch Country the number of Powwow Doctors has decreased with the advancement of the country medical doctor. There still exist a few of them but they are not known to the public for fear of ridicule and censure. Most of the members of the ecclesiastical underground are located in the hinterland of the Dutch but there are still a few who operate in the cities. Due to the early influence of the Dutch, powwowing has spread to the western part of Pennsylvania where it still exists. The main difference in the western hinterland is that there each neighbor specializes in curing one thing such as stopping bleeding, or headaches. Besides the full time Powwow Doctor, there are older Dutch families who have members that powwow only for the local family. There is more to learning how to powwow than just reading one of the powwow books. Traditionally this great art can not be passed on to a person of the same sex, but has to be passed or taught to a person of the opposite sex or it will not work.

There are many cases in the ecclesiastical underground which tell of the struggles between the Hex Doctor and Powwow Doctor and of the spells and sickness cast on persons by vengeful persons or witches. In one case which happened about fifteen years ago in Berks County a young boy was hexed by a witch so that he would become very sick and die. At the insistence of the grandmother the parents went to see a "Brauch" or Powwow Doctor in Emmaus, in Lehigh County. When they arrived, the doctor without hearing a word from them, told the parents why they came to him and what the nature of the boy's sickness was. Naturally the parents were pleased to find such a powerful person who undoubtedly could cure their son. The Powwow Doctor told the parents that the child was hexed by someone in that locality, he then told them how to break the spell and avenge the witch. First they had to make a wooden figure of the witch, and then drive a nail into the

figure but not the heart or the witch would die. After driving the nail into a figure the father had made upon arriving home from Emmaus, the father buried the figure as he was instructed. Within three days the son showed an improvement and one of their neighbors received a broken leg, the same leg which the nail was driven into on the wooden figure. Thus, the son lived and the witch suffered a broken leg for her meanness.

The Hex Doctors of the Dutch hinterland were not too popular and derived most of their income from hexing persons whom others wanted to revenge. The Hex Doctor's house was always one to detour around for it was believed that if you went too close he would torment you. Since the people were very reluctant to come to the Hex Doctor, he would have to go out on his own to see if someone could use his assistance. There are several stories about cattle who could not be moved until the local Hex Doctor was asked for help, and usually the noble doctor was in the neighborhood already. One of the most interesting Hex Doctors of Berks County was "Doc" Sterner who lived high in the mountains above Kutztown. Whenever business was poor he and his assistant would get in his old touring car and drive down to Kutztown to see what business they could find. Working his way from Kutztown into the Pocono Mountains Doc Sterner would usually manage to return home with enough meat and foodstuffs to last for another month. Of the tales that were often told about the doctor, was the tale that he had as many women as he wanted. The men in the area considered him to have a supernatural hold over women and could compel them to come to him.

WHEELBARROW LORE

By VICTOR C. DIEFFENBACH

Wheelbarrows have been used for a lot of various purposes—none more gruesome, however, than the use I heard my forebears tell about.

After the end of the Civil War a lot of the soldiers when they came home were infected with smallpox. Even if they themselves did not have the pox, their clothes and accoutrements carried the germs of the disease.

In Rehrersburg, a small town in the northwestern part of Berks County, there were about a dozen victims of the dreaded disease. Folks were not allowed to hold a funeral and were also denied the services of an undertaker. An old man who lived all alone volunteered to bury the deceased in a suitable manner for a certain sum of money. He made crude boxes, put a corpse in each and nailed down the lid; then he placed the coffin crosswise on his wheelbarrow and trundled it down the alley to the cemetery, to a grave that he had previously dug.

One day, coming down with his improvised hearse, he saw by the position of the sun that it was noon. So he left the wheelbarrow in the alley back of his house and went in for a bite to eat. By the time he came back to resume his labor, a couple of big dogs had thrown the coffin to the ground, split the boards, and were busy devouring the corpse. He chased off the dogs, replaced the corpse in the box, and finished his task.

While some folks profess to be shocked when hearing of these crude obsequies, it was just about all they could do under the circumstances.

THE FESTIVAL AND ITS SPONSORSHIP

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit educational organization. All proceeds from the festival are applied to the society's year-round research program.

Purpose of the Folklife Society is three-fold: Collecting the lore of the Commonwealth; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public both in this country and abroad.

The publication program of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society includes a quarterly periodical, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, and an annual volume. Membership in the society—quarterly plus annual volume—is \$10.00; subscription to *Pennsylvania Folklife* ONLY is \$4.00.



As its annual volume for 1961, the Pennsylvania Folklife Society has published

Pennsylvania Spirituals

By Dr. Don Yoder

(Publication date: July 1, 1961)

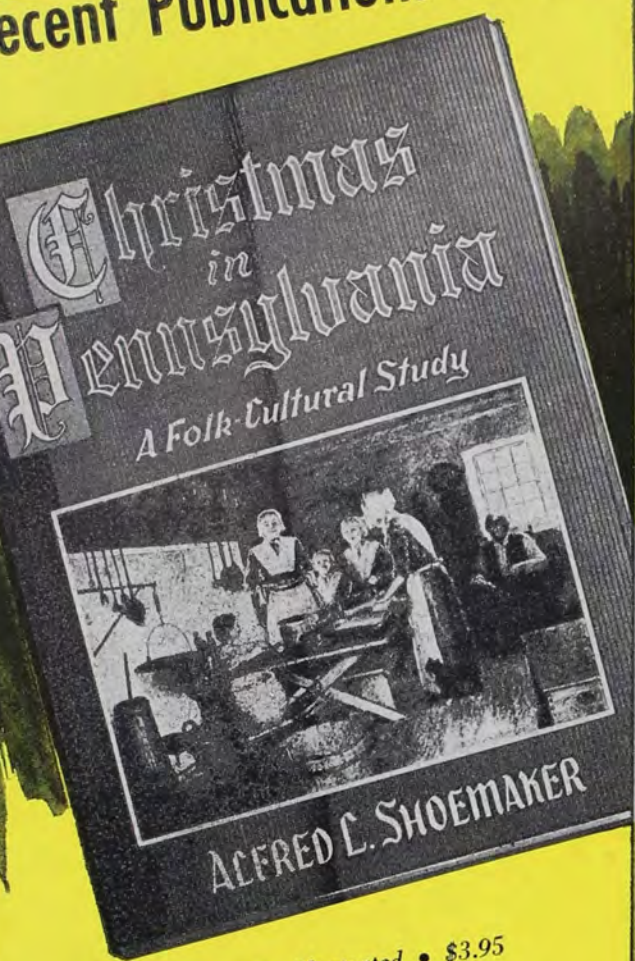
Price to non-members: \$7.50

This new volume on American folk music is the first full-length study of Pennsylvania's rich living tradition of camp-meeting ("bush-meeting") and revival songs. Presented are 150 traditional Dutch religious folksongs, with music, dialect texts and full translations, plus complete historical and sociological background of the songs, the camp-meetings out of which they grew, and the impact of the revivalist type of religion on Dutch Pennsylvania in the past century and a half. The book is a contribution to American folklore studies, the nation's religious history, and Pennsylvania Dutch research.

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524 pages

Something of the spirit of the Dutch Country and of early America is presented as the camp-meetings and folkways of Pennsylvania's Shouting Evangelicals and United Brethren and Church of God (Winebrennerian) people are described, in rich historical detail, from contemporary diaries, travelers' accounts, and other early Americana.



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