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## Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 43, No. 2

Susan Kalcik

Hilda Adam Kring


Regina Bendix

Mindy Brandt  
*Ursinus College*

Thomas E. Gallagher Jr.  
*Ursinus College*

*See next page for additional authors*

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**Authors**

Susan Kalcik, Hilda Adam Kring, Regina Bendix, Mindy Brandt, Thomas E. Gallagher Jr., Patricia Irvin Cooper, John I. Schwarz Jr., and Willard Wetzel





# Contributors

REGINA BENDIX, who received her Ph.D. in folklore from Indiana University, is an assistant professor of folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. She is currently working on a book-length study on the role of authenticity in German and American folkloristics.

MINDY BRANDT became interested in the Amish while doing her undergraduate work at Ursinus College in Collegeville, Pa. Now a graduate student at Temple University, she lives in Philadelphia.

PATRICIA IRVIN COOPER, a resident of Athens, Georgia, worked for Georgia's Historic Preservation Section doing county surveys and National Register nominations. Her most recent previous work appeared in *Material Culture*.

THOMAS E. GALLAGHER, who received his Ph.D. in anthropology from Temple University, is editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife* and assistant professor of anthropology at Ursinus College in Collegeville, Pa. He has been engaged in fieldwork among the Amish since 1976.

SUSAN KALČIK received her Master's Degree in English from Miami University of Ohio and did her graduate work in folklore at the University of Texas at Austin. Currently the archivist for the Folklife Division of the America's Industrial Heritage Project in Johnstown, Pa., her scholarly interests include American ethnicity, ethnicity and Catholicism, Slovak Americans, women and folklore, place and identity, and the heritage phenomenon.

HILDA ADAM KRING, Ph.D., author of *The Harmonists: A Folk-Cultural Approach*, is retired from the faculty of the Department of Literature and Communications Arts of Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. Now a full-time hospital volunteer, she still finds time to do scholarly work.

JOHN I. SCHWARZ, JR., Ph.D., recently retired from Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, where he held the rank of professor of music and served as department chairperson. A contributor to *The Musical Quarterly*, the English series of Garland Publishing's *The Symphony 1720-1840*, and the *Dictionary of American Hymnology*, he has also had several of his editions of music by Samuel Wesley (1766-1837) published by Novello and Company, England.





EDITOR:  
Thomas E. Gallagher, Jr.  
MANAGING EDITOR:  
Nancy K. Gaugler  
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Editorial correspondence:  
Nancy K. Gaugler  
P.O. Box 92,  
Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426  
Subscription, business correspondence:  
P.O. Box 92,  
Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426

Folk Festival correspondence:  
461 Vine Lane  
Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530  
Phone 215-683-8707  
800-447-9269

Folk Festival public relations:  
Hartmann Associates  
461 Vine Lane  
Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530  
Phone 215-683-5313

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### CONTRIBUTORS

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Layout and Special Photography  
WILLIAM K. MUNRO

### COVER:

*"At its seventy-fifth anniversary symposium, the National Park Service recommended exploring the possibility of establishing a national system of 'American heritage areas' or 'landscapes.'" Although the implementation of such a plan is far from certain, the America's Industrial Heritage Project, already underway, "might give us a glimpse into the future of the heritage industry in the United States. Now being used as a laboratory and prototype for the heritage-area concept and as a national model for community revitalization through cultural tourism, the [Project] encompasses nine counties in southwestern Pennsylvania . . ."*



# THE AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE PROJECT: A Model for Cultural Tourism

by Susan Kalčík

At its seventy-fifth anniversary symposium, the National Park Service recommended exploring the possibility of a national system of "American heritage areas" or "landscapes." This effort stemmed from increasing community pressure to preserve a kind of heritage that did not lend itself to the usual national park model.

The following description is from a draft of the concept paper from the project, formerly called Patchwork America. In it, heritage areas are roughly defined as places with whole and complex identities which include natural and cultural, humble and grandiose elements fused into distinctive regional cultures, the layers of which have accumulated over generations. They possess outstanding natural, scenic, and recreation resources linked by a common theme, or by a multiplicity of themes. The richest heritage areas are national symbols, representing the essence of American experience; they help define our national character. Not fossilized museums but lived in or living landscapes, they are dynamic but depict an essence of character identified in time and space. The *place-person* relation is the core of a cultural landscape.

Such a system of heritage areas would have multiple functions: to identify, save, protect, and use our heritage areas, as well as to give them national recognition; to preserve valued traditional ways of life; to pursue and enhance economic opportunities; to manage change and enhance the quality of life for residents; to protect natural, cultural, and scenic values; and to strengthen the economic, social, and educational use of natural and historic places.

The system would not involve federal land acquisition or traditional national parks. It is perceived as a holistic process; as a flexible system founded on local commitment and support, and on public-private partnerships and cooperation. Short-term federal assistance, both technical and financial, would be provided, but the planning process would be a grass-roots operation, with local stewardship by both state and local government the goal.

The process suggested in the draft involves securing from Congress legislative authority for a national policy; dividing the United States into significant landscape regions and identifying the resources in them; prioritizing

potential landscapes at the state and national levels; studying recommended landscapes to determine eligibility, and preparing management and use plans for the eligible areas; preparing action/management plans for designated heritage areas; and providing technical and financial support for up to ten years, after which the heritage landscapes would be expected to become self-sustaining. Congress, the Secretary of the Interior, the National Park Service, state governors and agencies, local governments, private groups and individuals, and special boards would all have a part in the process.<sup>1</sup>

The National Park Service prepared this concept paper on the American heritage area system as the basis for an extensive national public review and dialogue which took place in 1992; on the basis of it, the plan was rewritten. The current version was used by the Park Service to draft legislation to create a program of heritage areas. Several congressmen are also working on heritage-area bills. Meanwhile, after some sixty individuals and organizations attended a meeting sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Countryside Institute in February of 1993, a National Heritage Area Coalition, "a network of areas which are working to preserve, interpret, develop, and promote the resources of their special regional heritage," was developed. The Coalition helped arrange a conference on heritage areas held in Morgantown, West Virginia, in October of 1993, and is helping to arrange another to be held in Washington, D. C., in the spring of 1994. A subcommittee of the Coalition is working on a heritage areas policy.<sup>2</sup>

Since it represents a profound change in direction for the National Park Service, the review of the various legislative initiatives promises to be heated; it has already sparked a departmental and national debate about the proper job of that agency. Traditionalists, fearing the mix of economics and preservation in the plan, argue that cultural tourism will commercialize and cheapen the nation's park system. Supporters of the plan argue that diversification is necessary to the economic future of America, and suggest the Park Service can play a role in such diversification by embracing cultural tourism.



*The area in southwestern Pennsylvania encompassed by the America's Industrial Heritage Project*



## AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE PROJECT

If supporters of the plan win the debate, there is a project already underway which might give us a glimpse into the future of the heritage industry in the United States. Now being used as a laboratory and prototype for the heritage-area concept and as a national model for community revitalization through cultural tourism, the America's Industrial Heritage Project (AIHP), which encompasses nine counties in southwestern Pennsylvania, was initiated by local individuals and groups and the National Park Service, with the significant support of Congressman John Murtha.<sup>3</sup> The Project's major goals are to encourage the protection and enhancement of historic resources, and to use those resources as a focus for tourism and economic development initiatives. These resources involve the nationally significant industrial heritage of iron and steel, coal, and transportation (including railroads), and the associated labor and social history, especially of the many and varied ethnic groups that immigrated to the region to work in these industries.

The project began in 1985 with a National Park Service study of the nine-county region resulting in a reconnaissance survey of southwestern Pennsylvania's heritage resources. In 1986 an ad hoc commission to oversee the project was named, and in August of 1987 an action plan was written. On November 19, 1988, Public Law 100-698 was enacted, creating the Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission to manage the America's Industrial Heritage Project for its ten-year life span. Its twenty-one members, appointed from nominations made to the Secretary of the Interior, included two from the National Park Service, two representing the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (one from the state historical preservation office and one from the Department of Community affairs);

four from the regional tourism organization and four from the regional planning and development agency; and the remaining nine being the heads of the heritage committees which were next established in the participating counties. The Commission is assisted by a volunteer technical advisory group (formerly four such groups) that represent scholarly, transportation, tourism, and other business concerns.

Public Law 100-698 also designated the National Park Service as the lead federal agency. Headquarters for the project is in Holidaysburg, outside Altoona, where an office headed by a Park Service employee was set up. A few years later, when the project was scheduled to come more directly under the control of the Commission, staff was hired to replace most of the Park Service personnel. However, the senior Park Service staff member left the Service and was hired as executive director.

In addition, a second office, formerly named the Allegheny Highlands Heritage Center and now called the Technical Assistance Office of the America's Industrial Heritage Project, was set up in Johnstown. It was conceived as a center which would provide technical and professional support to the community in its efforts to participate in the project. The Center's staff includes archaeologists, historians, historical preservationists, and folklorists working for or through private contractors: the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; the National Park Service; the Historic American Building Survey and Historic American Engineering Record (both of the Interior Department); and the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission. The purpose of putting these professionals in one center was to maximize opportunities for them to work together on projects. The materials they collect will eventually reside in the America's Industrial Heritage Project's archives and research center planned for the Indiana University of Pennsylvania.





*Coal trains such as this have long been a familiar sight in the Allegheny Highlands. (All photographs courtesy of the Folklife Division of the AIHP and, unless otherwise noted, the photography is by James W. Harris)*

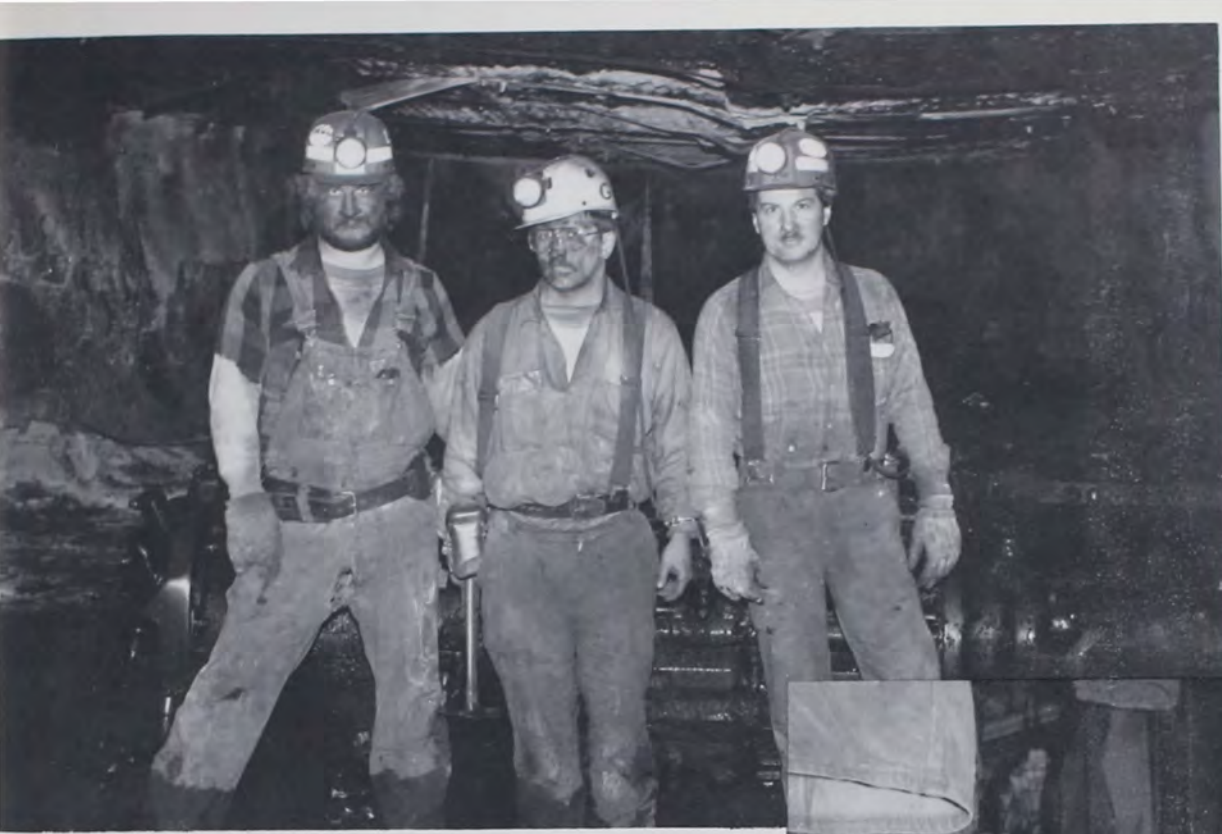
Key to the Project are regional cooperation which results in the formation of partnerships, and local support; both are necessary if the plan is to be coordinated regionally and implemented locally. The partners include: 1) the federal government, represented by the Department of Interior and the National Park Service, including some of its support centers, particularly the one in Denver; 2) the state government, represented by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission, the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, and the Pennsylvania Department of Education; 3) local government; 4) community organizations, groups, and institutions such as unions; 5) individuals; 6) the not-for-profit sector; 7) the business sector; 8) local scholars; and 9) politicians of every stripe. Another aspect of the partnership is the State Heritage Parks system, a parallel industrial heritage and cultural tourism system being built by the Commonwealth. The entire system is highly politicized in terms of the usual power politics and in terms of cultural politics.<sup>4</sup>

## THE REGION

The region delineated by the America's Industrial Heritage Project includes Bedford, Blair, Cambria, Fayette, Fulton, Huntingdon, Indiana, Somerset, and Westmoreland Counties in southwestern Pennsylvania, just east of Pittsburgh. The area has a significant industrial heritage of genuinely national historic value. A good deal of the development of steel technology, for example, took place in Johnstown where the rails and barbed wire that shaped the expansion of the nation were manufactured from the mid-1800s on. And much of the built environment is still available for tourists to see.

The population of the region is multi-ethnic: the original Scotch-Irish, German, English, and Welsh pioneers overlaid with Irish, southern and eastern Europeans, Lebanese, Jews, Mexicans, and southern African Americans who came to work in the mills and mines and on the railroads. Southwestern Pennsylvania is a microcosm of American





*Coal miners in Indiana County, Pa. The population of the region is multi-ethnic, for immigrants from many countries came to the area to work in the mills and mines and on the railroads.*

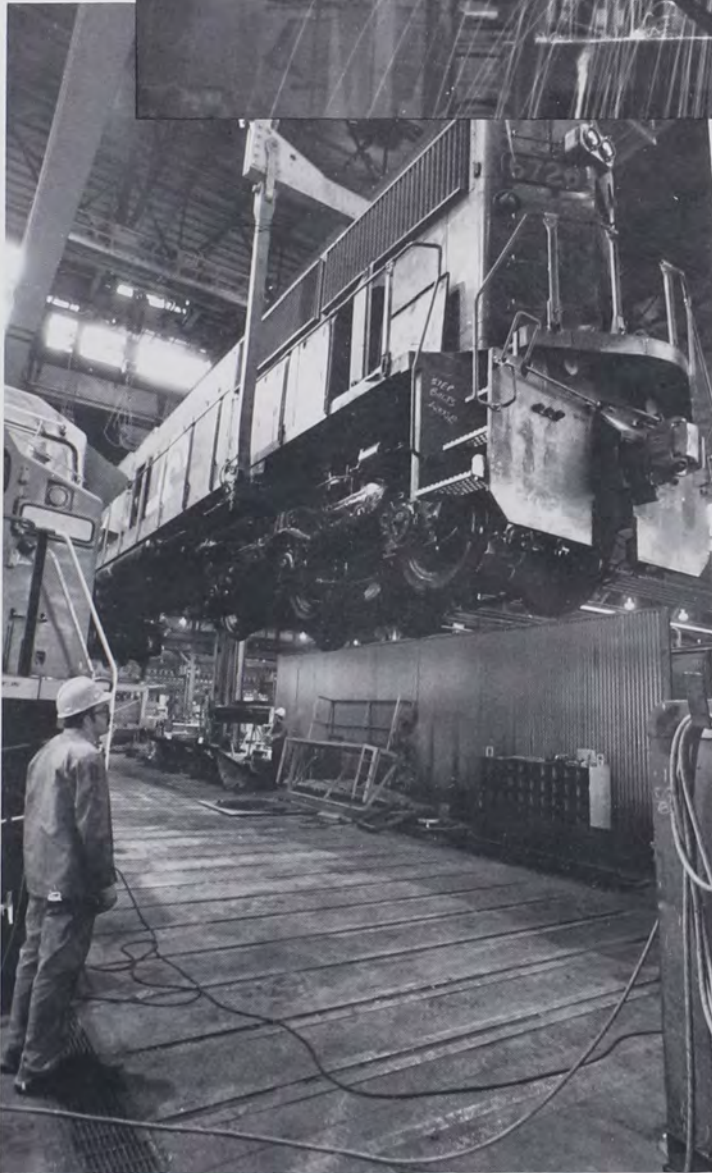
cultural pluralism in both rural and urban settings.

A region of beautiful scenery and great outdoor recreation opportunities, it is mostly rural with farms and small towns—including former coal patches and company towns—although there are some small cities such as Altoona, Greensburg, and Johnstown with their accompanying decaying inner cities and suburban sprawl. The Pennsylvania Turnpike runs through the region in the south, along a route that dates from Indian trails.

Despite its outward beauty and seeming peacefulness, this is a troubled region. Located in America's rust belt, it has been seriously affected by de-industrialization, especially in the coal, steel, and railroading industries which have been declining since the 1920s. When Bethlehem Steel, which once employed 20,000 workers in Johnstown, announced in the spring of 1992 that it was closing its operations in the city, the current 1,500 employees were threatened with the loss of their jobs if no buyers were found for all or part of the plant. Like smaller coal-patch towns whose identity—and very existence in some cases—depended upon the company that ran them, Johnstown was a company town. The town logo, which showed a mill with a smoking stack, was changed in recent years. The smoke was removed to indicate the steel industry's efforts to cut pollution, but the change serves just as well as a symbol of the death of steel and other heavy industry in the area.







*Conrail Shops in Altoona. The area's coal, steel and railroading industries have been declining since the 1920s. (Photographs by Barbara L. Moore)*

The problems resulting from the de-industrialization of the region include: 1) unemployment and under-employment; 2) unattractive economic alternatives such as garbage dumps, prisons, service jobs, strip mining, and development; 3) population displacement (the young especially move away to find jobs) and the loss of federal dollars which comes with a shrinking population; 4) an aging population (Pennsylvania has the second oldest population in the country); 5) an increase in hate group activity (the KKK, for example, is recruiting and active in the area); and 6) ecological problems and conservation issues such as acid mine runoff which pollutes water in the region, strip mining which ruins the landscape, and the loss of farmland to development.

In addition, the region suffers from problems common to rural areas in the United States such as a lack of adequate medical services and public transportation. And it shares





*Bar, Rod, and Wire Division, Bethlehem Steel Lower Works in Johnstown, where a good deal of the development of steel technology took place in the 19th century.*

problems common to the modern, urban world as well: a rising crime rate (crime increased one hundred percent in the past year); increased drug use; AIDS; child and spouse abuse; and cutbacks in services because of federal, state, county, and local budgetary difficulties. The annual conference on historic preservation held in Harrisburg, in late April, 1992, chose as its theme and motto, "Pennsylvania at Risk." But this threat is not limited to buildings of historic value. What is at risk, as well, in this part of the state is a place and a way of life.

In southwestern Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, there is a strong tie between identity and place, a tie that is not necessarily broken when people move away. Those remaining in the area have devised many strategies for maintaining a sense of place focused on the homes of former residents, or on the home place of their parents or grandparents. These strategies include family histories; reunions and homecomings for families, schools, churches, organizations and communities; organizations of retired people; and vernacular heritage organizations and projects such as archives, collections, museums, and monuments. It often seems to the fieldworker that the job of those who choose to stay behind or who return to the region (a not uncommon

phenomenon) is to preserve the old place, the home, for those who leave. Indeed, tourism research has revealed that the area's largest potential tourist market is comprised of people who have ties to the region.

The local papers are full of discussions about the region's identity and threats to it. One recent editorial arguing for the consolidation of local governments was entitled "Keep Our Identity—Or Keep Our Children." A series of letters to the editor appeared in the Johnstown *Tribune-Democrat* when the Conemaugh Valley Memorial Hospital (built with funds donated after the 1889 flood) changed its name to Conemaugh Hospital. Where, asked one writer, were "the Heritage Committee and the Historical Society" when this decision was made. In the same way, the implementation of a county-wide 911 system created resistance when it necessitated changing the redundant names of familiar streets.

Pennsylvanians still identify, to a large degree, with "old-fashioned" values, and an "old-fashioned" way of life; the state has been described as "culturally square." Johnstown's nickname is "The Friendly City," and it is remarkable, to a former Washington, D. C., resident, for its neighborliness. The governor of Pennsylvania, in a speech last year at Notre Dame College, said of his state: "[Here] it's still okay to be a Boy Scout or a Girl Scout. It's okay to say the Pledge of Allegiance at school. To like the *Reader's Digest* . . . It's still okay to take your family to church, just like your mom and dad took you." First Fridays are advertised in the Johnstown paper and grown men cross themselves at public meetings which, by the way, usually begin with a pledge of allegiance to the flag. And we are not always politically correct or worried about it. The Johnstown *Tribune-Democrat* carried an editorial last year entitled "Get Lost Berkeley, We honor Columbus."

The juxtaposition of its real and modern problems, and the referencing of a simpler time and way of life, bring into focus in the region marked out for the America's Industrial Heritage Project, a struggle between one version of America's past—perhaps America as we would like it to have been or be—threatened by America as we fear it is, or is becoming. This struggle is the *genesis* and the *issue* of the cultural heritage industry in this country. Can we use the past to solve problems in the present? What is our past? What version, whose version of the past do we use? Who makes that decision? How do we link the past to the present and the future? Who decides America's agenda for the present and future?

## THE FOLKLIFE DIVISION

Let me begin to answer these questions—and it is only a beginning—by describing the role the discipline of folklore plays in the America's Industrial Heritage Project. The Project's Technical Support Center in Johnstown includes a Folklife Division, funded by the Interior Department through the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission, the





*Slovak texts used by Josephine Zahornec at St. Stephens  
Slovak Catholic Church and School in Johnstown.*

latter staffed by folklorists Shalom Staub and Amy Skillman.

James Abrams, named director in 1989, essentially founded the program, creating and directing its specific philosophy, organization, and projects within the framework set up by the AIHP and the PHAC; I joined the Division as a fieldworker and archivist in May of 1990. A variety of scholars, some local, some professional folklorists, have worked on projects with the program. Until recently, Kathy Kimiecik was with the Division as the education specialist. Currently, Dan Pfeilstucker, a displaced coal miner, has joined the Division to set up the Adult Education Program, designed to train displaced workers for interpretive positions with the Project and at state heritage-park sites.

In addition to its own work, the Folklife Division directs the work of five documentation centers devoted to specific aspects of AIHP interests. These centers, set up in existing local institutions, are the Altoona Railroaders Museum; the Somerset Historical Center, which studies the impact of industrialization on agriculture; the Johnstown Area Heritage Association, which focuses on steel; Indiana University of Pennsylvania, which focuses on the coal industry; and the gender documentation center at Seton Hill College in Greensburg.

The charge of the Folklife Division is to document, preserve, and help interpret various aspects of the industrial

and ethnic heritage of the Allegheny Highlands; to provide technical assistance; and to develop educational policy and programs. The Division focuses on the social and cultural histories—as well as the on-going expressive practices—that shape the experience and identity of groups within the region. These groups include labor unions, work crews, ethnic organizations, religious orders, families, and people living in the same geographic location.<sup>5</sup>

One of the Folklife Division's first major tasks was to conduct cultural surveys, done over two summers, which resulted in audio tapes, photographs, logs, and reports. Some fieldworkers addressed topics of special interest such as the preservation of farm life in areas threatened by development. The materials produced by these, and subsequent projects, serve as the foundation for an automated folklife information center, and will also become part of the larger America's Industrial Heritage Project Archives at Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

The Division also produced a variety of programs stemming from material and issues revealed in the surveys, including a video on life in the African American community of Johnstown; programs on labor and foodways for the National Folk Festival held in Johnstown in 1991 and 1992; a photo exhibit of contemporary life in the region; a photo exhibit on ethnicity and Catholicism prepared with the Altoona-Johnstown Diocese for the Columbus





*Sally Pastorek gives the toast at St. Stephens senior citizens celebration of the traditional Christmas Eve supper.*

Quincentenary; an oral history institute which trained students and teachers in oral history techniques and issues; and a tape of narratives for the Park Service's heritage tour route. The documentation centers have worked on their own collecting and projects, and this work is reflected in the programming of their host organizations including, for example, a vernacular architecture study to prepare an outdoor display at the Somerset Historical Museum.

But the work of the Folklife Division is not to commodify culture; not to merely produce raw materials to be shaped into marketable products by the America's Industrial Heritage Project and its various arms. Rather, an important segment of its work is to bring to bear the discipline of folklore's experience and theory on the whole Project's process as well as its products. Through the dedication of director James Abrams, the Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission and its staff have been receptive to some of this thinking.

In the beginning it was determined that the function of the Folklife Division would be to tell the "people story," and generally this was understood to mean we would collect oral histories. But the Division wanted project planners to understand that people were their responsibility too, and they did begin to see that they had left people out of the picture, sometimes literally. At the end of 1990, while preparing for a workshop in which each program reported on its year's work, our colleagues noticed that the difference between the folklorists' photography and theirs was that their slides of roads and buildings did not

include people, except occasionally to indicate scale. This reorientation toward the "people story" was reinforced when the tourism study revealed its importance by indicating that people come to see, learn about, and share the experiences of other people. It is significant that the America's Heritage Landscape Project stresses this people-location connection. Nonetheless, when the Folklife Division produced a heritage-route audio tape that followed the route with stories and descriptions of life along it told in the voices of the people living there, rather than by simply pointing out the interesting buildings along the way, it was a difficult concept to sell.

Another aspect of the refocusing on people is shifting the vision of them from resource to active participants in the Project. The Adult Education Project will train local individuals in skills they can use in cultural tourism. Hopefully, this will enable them to get jobs in the heritage industry, and also help local communities protect their own heritage.

A second area in which the Folklife Division has been active is in overcoming the bias toward the tangible, or built, environment in heritage projects which are approached from public history models; in other words, to integrate historical preservation with cultural conservation. This involves difficult concepts and processes such as examining the presentation norms of local groups to plan culturally appropriate interpretation and presentation venues. One sign of success is the addition of a cultural and curatorial grant and loan program, suggested by director James





*Pierogi maker at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Johnstown. With the Altoona-Johnstown Diocese, the Folklife Division of the AIHP produced a photo exhibit on ethnicity and Catholicism for the Columbus Quincentenary.*

Abrams, to parallel the AIHP's historical and preservation grant and loan program. Only individuals or groups with a building eligible for or listed on the National Register of Historic Places can qualify to apply to the latter.

Another of the Folklife Division's jobs is to assist with the Project's overall interpretive plan, and to review interpretive plans for various individual Project programs. This means more than correcting dates and names; it means adding to the depth and complexity of viewpoints included in heritage interpretation, and broadening the understanding of who are "authorities" on heritage interpretation. The challenge is to "defamiliarize" the story; to make people look anew at the familiar or expected. This is an ongoing struggle, for the models the Project is used to tend to simplify the story rather than to complicate it; they tend to downplay conflict, and to objectify people by making them one dimensional or stereotypical.

The Folklife Division has happily embraced the notion of partnerships as a familiar concept, and in the context of the America's Industrial Heritage Project has worked

to add new partners to the mix, especially the hidden or invisible and the disempowered and disenfranchised such as women and minority groups. This means not only telling their stories, but including their perspectives and concerns as well in the overall planning of the Project. Often the Division finds itself in the role of cultural broker between communities and the bureaucracy of the AIHP. The latter is used to dealing with community representatives such as historical societies and business people who tend to represent their own interests as those of the community. But the Folklife Division asks whose heritage and whose story is being presented, and how can that story be broadened? How can everyone affected be persuaded to participate in designing the project? Something as simple as holding a meeting in a church hall instead of the local art museum, for example, can affect who attends and participates.

Another major concern and emphasis of the Folklife Division is to tie the subject matter of heritage projects—the past—to the present. Focusing on the past alone ghettoizes the experience and people of the region. Nick



*An African American in his living room decorated with memorabilia and family mementoes. Those who remain in the region (or return to it) often preserve the old place, the home, for those who leave.*  
(Barbara L. Moore)



Molnar, president of District 2, United Mine Workers of America, told us he was reluctant to get involved with the Project at first because it seemed to him it was saying that coal mining and coal miners are dead issues in the area, and to him and his fellow union members they most certainly are not. One way to tie the past and present together is to involve the public in a dialogue about the meaning of their past.

The Folklife Division also works to keep up an ongoing critique of process and product in the America's Industrial Heritage Project, and to convince it and the National Park Service that they should have staff folklorists and legislation to protect intangible aspects of culture. Finally, and often overlooked in the urgency of cultural politics, the Folklife Division seeks to take advantage of a great opportunity for ongoing, long-term, in-depth collection and analysis of folklore and folklife, especially as affected by change and the heritage process itself.

\* \* \*

It is not possible to predict whether or not the American Heritage Landscape Area system will become a reality. But one reality is inescapable. The heritage movement in Pennsylvania, in the United States, and worldwide is a response to common situations and problems, economic and cultural. It is one strategy for dealing with change, and with the kinds of change taking place in the world today. As David Lowenthal pointed out in his keynote address at the Pennsylvania Heritage Parks Conference held in Altoona in May of 1992, heritage is an important force because it brings us together and defines us. I am convinced that the heritage movement will take some national form, and that the discipline of folklore can be instrumental in shaping that form.

At its worst, a heritage system could be mere foolish nostalgia for a time that never was; a cynical marketing device for a program that creates low-paying service jobs and syphons real dollars into corporate pockets; or a way

to escape hard truths and difficult decisions and action. It could be a program in which one powerful group creates the artificial identity most marketable to tourists and imposes it on a region, or selects one version of America's multiplicity of pasts and uses it to set the agenda for her future.

At its best, however, a genuinely democratic heritage movement could help us as individuals and as a nation to evaluate the past in terms of the present; it could help us to see where we have been, so that we can decide where we are going. At its best, an American heritage landscape program could be one part of a response from federal, state, and local governments addressing real economic and cultural needs in this country. At its best, the heritage movement can broaden the authority to design the past, and add new voices to a real dialogue about our heritage, its symbols, and our identity.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Patchwork America: A Partnership Approach to Cultural Conservation, Historic Preservation, Natural Areas Protection and Economic Development in America's Special Places. NPS Director's Task Force American Heritage Areas Concept Paper-Draft, circa 1991-92.

<sup>2</sup>Personal correspondence from Clare Novak of the National Heritage Areas Coalition, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

<sup>3</sup>Democrat, 12th Pennsylvania Congressional District.

<sup>4</sup>Public Law 100-698-Nov. 19, 1988: Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission, Establishment. Patten, Gerald D, "Cultural Landscapes: The Intent and the Tenor of the Times," in CRM, Volume 14, No. 6, 1991: pp. 1 & 3. Bennet, John, et al, "The America's Industrial Heritage Project," Partnerships in Parks & Preservation Conference Proceedings, Sept. 9-12, 1991: 69-71. Penndustry, Volume 3, No. 2, Winter, 1992. The Heritage Partnership Challenges: A Preservation Strategy That Works, 1993, Railroaders Memorial Museum. Comprehensive Management Plan for the Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission, U. S. Dept. of the Interior, December, 1992.

<sup>5</sup>Much of the rest of this article is based on personal experience, conversations with Director, James Abrams, the Program Description of the Folklife Division and the following: James Abrams and Kathy Kimiecik, "America's Industrial Heritage Project," in New York Folklore Newsletter, March, 1992: 4 & 5, 10. Unpublished paper by James Abrams on Core and Shadow Concepts delivered at Pennsylvania Heritage Parks Program Conference in Altoona, May 4, 1992. David Lowenthal, "Holistic Heritage: Promises and Problems for Pennsylvania," keynote address delivered at the same conference and published by Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission, Harrisburg, 1993.



# THE HARMONISTS ARE WAITING FOR YOU

by Hilda Adam Kring



*Feast Hall, Old Economy*

There are two towns in central western Pennsylvania—Harmony and Old Economy Village—that were the first and third homes of the Harmonists. These were followers of George Rapp (better known as Father Rapp), who came to America from Germany in search of religious freedom in 1804.

In that year they settled in Harmony, Butler County, thirty miles north of Pittsburgh. They had their official beginning with the signing of the Articles of Association on February 15, 1805. They were called Harmonists because of their Biblically inspired lifestyle: “And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.”<sup>1</sup>

For economic and religious reasons, Rapp and his followers left Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1815, for their second home, also called Harmony (but now named New Harmony), built on the banks of the Wabash River in southwestern Indiana. In 1825, they moved back to Pennsylvania, making Economy (now called “Old Economy”) their third and final home. By 1905 only a few believers remained, and the Society was dissolved, its property being acquired by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (the sale was not finalized until 1916). Nearly fifty years would pass before the State realized what a treasure and memorial it now possessed.

\* \* \*

Both Harmony and Old Economy welcome visitors, and—eschewing the usual tourist “attractions” and kitsch—





*Baker House, Old Economy*

offer the opportunity to experience a unique environment: the quiet villages of a 19th-century religious group. In addition to activities such as weaving, hat making, printing, and so forth, that are usually seen in historic villages, you can see in the museums here evidences of their award-winning silk industry, a first for communal groups in America. You may have an interpreter or you may wander the grounds alone, thinking about these people who became celibate because Jesus was celibate.

You will find in these Harmonist towns the religious and cultural legacy of a people who believed they should pray and work (*"Ora et Labora"*). Their standards were strict: slovenly work was a capital sin, and their buildings were built to last, even though they were chiliasts, believing firmly that Christ would come again in their lifetimes.

In Harmony you will find a small village where life is lived among and in buildings constructed between 1804 and 1814. Housed in one of these is the Harmony Museum, which commemorates not only the Harmonists, but also the later Mennonites and Lutherans. Featured above its entrance is a carving of the Virgin Sophia, the Harmonists' personification of wisdom, by Frederick Rapp, Father Rapp's adopted son. Nearby is the Harmony Cemetery, famous for its revolving stone gate of unique design. One hundred Harmonists are buried in this cemetery, but the only headstone found here marks the grave of Father Rapp's natural son, Johann. Its presence is a mystery since the

Harmonists did not believe in headstones; there are none in the Old Economy Cemetery.

Old Economy, found in Ambridge, is an outdoor museum of seventeen buildings standing exactly where they were erected. Not reconstructed, but simply maintained just as they were built in 1825 when the Harmonists returned from their second home in Indiana, these structures include a feast hall; a store; shops for tailors, milliners, cobblers, cabinetmakers, and so forth; and a log dwelling house. After showing an introductory film, interpreters dressed like Harmonists guide visitors around the complex, which also includes a garden and a grotto.

\* \* \*

Born in Iptingen in 1757, George Rapp had struggled with the established Lutheran Church and had a born-again experience. A weaver, Rapp's job kept him in Iptingen, where he held religious services in houses with other protesters attending. As long as they paid their taxes the state did not appear to be concerned, but the Lutheran Church gave them much trouble, so Rapp and his followers began to look for a refuge. They first thought of eastern Europe, but wars intervened so they considered Louisiana. Because of the Louisiana Purchase, however, George Rapp decided on the Ohio-Pennsylvania area. In planning the move there was only one certainty: they would *not* settle with other German dissenters, for Father Rapp had his own convictions.





*Doctor's office and shops in Old Economy*

In 1803 George Rapp set out with son Johann and friends Dr. P. F. C. Haller and Dr. Christoph Müller to find a suitable location for a new community. After first looking at an area in eastern Ohio, Rapp finally decided on a site in western Pennsylvania. (Haller did not remain with the Harmonists, but founded his own community, "Blooming Grove," in Lycoming County.) Frederick Reichert—George Rapp's soon-to-be-adopted son, had been left behind in Germany, and it was he who arranged transportation to America for Father Rapp's followers. A genius at organization, Frederick was to become the great designer and businessman of the Harmonist Society.

From the beginning, Rapp had between 450 and 500 followers whom he had known in Germany. The accounted number was never exact, moving up to 1200, dropping to 800 and then 327 as they moved from Germany to Harmony, Pennsylvania, to Harmony, Indiana, and, finally, to Economy, Pennsylvania.

While communal groups generally dissolve all family units, the Harmonists kept the household in their initial Pennsylvania settlement. When they moved to Indiana, though, they built a three-story dormitory with women housed on one side of the hall and men on the other. But this arrangement apparently lacked the family warmth the group wished to maintain, so when they moved back to Pennsylvania in 1825 the family again became a "household," with children, as they took in orphans.

The "brothers" and "sisters" of the community were called by their first names, even by the children.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, the household consisted of five or six members, but there could be as few as two, or as many as eight. Each house was known by the name of the appointed head of it. If the "head" left the Society, died, or for some practical reason was moved to another dwelling, the house took the name of the new senior member.

Such rearrangements of households were made constantly because of the aged and helpless, who were always carefully tended and nursed. A few of the Harmonists were bedridden for twenty or thirty years, and their lives were remarkable examples of patient Christian endurance.<sup>3</sup> It seems reasonable that through the course of years such patients would have had several different nurses, and thus several different household arrangements.

In all three of their communities the Harmonists' agricultural and business pursuits in wine and beer making, and in wool, silk, and cotton fabrics, flourished. As already noted, the first two settlements lasted ten years each. Harmony (1805–1815) is the smallest of the museum-communities; New Harmony, Indiana (1815–1825) is quite large; Economy (1825–1905) saw the growth, power, and decline of the Society. The Harmonists left their first two settlements for more suitable locations, but the moves did not disturb them because, like Revelation's "Woman in the Wilderness," they thought of themselves as being chased





*Cemetery in Harmony, Pa.*

three times by a dragon—from Germany; from Butler County; from Indiana. Economy would become their heavenly stewardship.

Gertrude Rapp, the woman who became the Harmonists' first lady (and whom I call the Harmony Society Abbess), was a part of all three of their American communities. It is in Harmony where her cradle stood; in New Harmony where she received much of her education; and in Economy where she wielded much of her power and influence. The daughter of Johann and Johanna Rapp, Gertrude quickly became the delight of Grandfather Rapp and all the Harmonists. Fluent in English and French as well as German, she also learned to play the piano and organ, did needlework, and made wax flowers. When visitors came to the Great House, it was she who was the hostess—a hostess renowned for her ginger cookies and wine.

In addition to being charming, Gertrude Rapp was assertive and decisive, qualities evidenced when, at age twenty-two, she was appointed head of the silk industry started at Economy. By 1853, the business (which produced ribbons, handkerchiefs, vesting fabrics, dress silks, figured and plain satins, and silk velvets) closed down, not because of her management, but because Congress refused to take action on the protective tariff question. Indeed, her supervision at Economy was such that praises were sung about her as late as 1922—seventeen years after the Harmony Society had become a memory:

A page from a strange romance—  
The face,  
The form,  
The soul<sup>d</sup>  
of Gertrude Rapp

\* \* \*

Although hymns played an important role in the devotional life of the Harmonists, the authors of those found in their hymnal remain anonymous. It is assumed that George and Frederick Rapp and another member of the Society, one Jacob Henrici, composed most of them, but since the Harmonist belief in common ownership and self-denial was all embracing, it follows that no personal glory was expected from authorship. Composing was a sacramental act of private devotion showing much spiritual passion, and among the hymns they wrote were many lauding brotherhood, harmony, and the Virgin Sophia. An especially interesting one pertains to the rose, one of the most important symbols of the Harmonists.

The rose was first used by the Harmonists in a symbolic way in 1822. In that year, as a result of a dream of George Rapp's, a two-story brick church was built in Harmony, Indiana. Its doorway was carved stone capped by a cornice terminating in a gable, in the panel of which was a rose carved by Frederick Rapp. It was gilded and had the Luther translation of Micah 4:8: "Unto thee shall come the golden





*Silk ribbon and fabric made in Old Economy*



*The golden rose carved on a newel post in Old Economy*



rose, the first dominion.” In choosing to emphasize the *golden rose*, Rapp had his mysticism, as well as his Lutheranism, to guide him. In hymn and prayer, the rose is the Divine Word made incarnate. The Rose of Sharon from the Song of Solomon became a symbol of Christ when allegorically considered, and the image is given added significance in a passage in Isaiah which says that the age of the spirit is the time when Israel shall rejoice and “blossom as the rose.”

Speaking of mysticism, the influence of German mystic Jakob Böhme (or Boehme) on Father Rapp should not be overlooked. It is apparent in the *Destiny of Man*, a work attributed to Rapp; in the Harmonist use of the Virgin Sophia; and in the significance they placed in the symbolism of the rose. One authority on Pennsylvania folk art says that “Boehme elevated the Lily and the Rose into metaphysical and historical categories, and he frequently speaks of the ‘time of the lily’ for this is the Lily which shall bring man full knowledge; and the lily-rose which originates in God’s own tree. With Boehme the Lily and the Rose were inter-changeable.”<sup>5</sup>

The rose in outline resembles a wheel or a circle; it represents a unity or perfection. In true religious spirit and tradition, one finds the golden rose used as the trademark of the Harmonists in Harmony, Indiana; it appears on some of their flatirons; on the Society’s one and only tombstone, found in the cemetery at Harmony, Pennsylvania; on the

newel posts of the Great House in Economy, and in the grotto there as well. The Harmonists also sang a religious folk song about the rose, with the significant fact about that being their alteration of the final line of the chorus. The original reads:

Freut euch des Lebens  
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht  
Pflicket die rose  
Eh sie verblüht

[Enjoy life  
While the lamp still glows  
Pluck the rose  
Before it withers]

But the Harmonists changed the last line to: “Die nie verblüht”<sup>6</sup> (“Which will never wither”). Obviously they believed the “Rose” would always be with them.

Taken as he was with mysticism and tradition, Father Rapp must have known about the German tradition of Prince Anhalt’s labyrinth, constructed with hedges, rocks, trees, streams, and caverns. (Life was no easy path!) It was, perhaps, the inspiration for the Harmonists’ own labyrinths which also had symbolic significance for these garden-loving people. The Harmonists, using no permanent symmetry, used a wild river-privet in their hedgerows,





*Two symbols of the Harmonists—the Virgin Sophia and the lily—carved above a doorway in Harmony, Pa.*



*The symbolic golden rose carved by Frederick Rapp above the door of the church in New Harmony, Indiana*

together with flowering trees and shrubs, and some thorn trees fittingly symbolic of the thorny paths of life.<sup>7</sup> On Sundays, the Harmonists would wander about the labyrinths, experiencing the reality that life is beset with difficulties and that the labyrinth terminates at the same point from which it starts—man's beginning and his end.

The grottos built by the Harmonists were also rich with symbolic meaning. Standing in the middle of the labyrinths, they were rough on the outside but beautiful inside, thus showing clearly that outward appearances mean nothing; that it is that which is within—the soul—that is everything. In Indiana the Harmonist grotto had a blind door; one had to push on the wall to find the entrance. In Old Economy Village the door is a bent bark, showing that as the tree is bent, so will it grow.

\* \* \*

Much has been written about the Society's decision to become a celibate community; critics say the Harmonists brought about their own demise when Father Rapp introduced the idea in 1807. Actually, this is not so: celibate monastic orders have endured for hundreds of years, but of course these orders accept newcomers. Saying that newcomers did not fully understand or accept Harmonist tenets (particularly their sense of chiliasm and communal ownership) and so would cause discord and trouble, after 1832 Father Rapp refused to accept them. In that year one "Count Proli," an opportunist-outcast from Germany, caused

dissension within the group and left with over two hundred members, hoping to receive one hundred thousand dollars from the Society.

George Rapp's understanding of celibacy was based on Christ's own celibacy, and on I Corinthians 7:1, 7, 8, 32; and Matthew 18:12:

- . . . It is good for a man not to touch a woman.
- . . . For I would that all men were even as I am myself . . .
- . . . I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I . . .
- . . . He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord.
- . . . and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

Moreover, he clung to his chiliastic beliefs so firmly that when he died at age eighty-nine on August 7, 1847, he said: "If I did not think Christ would come again during my lifetime, I would think this is my last hour."

With Father Rapp's death the strong, charismatic leadership was gone, but the ideals continued under such men as Romelius Langenbacher (known as Baker) and Jacob





*The grotto at Old Economy*

*Statue of Harmony at Old Economy*



Henrici. With the membership getting older, however, farming and woolen-mill work were reduced or given over to German hirelings, and investments were made in oil, coal, land, and railroads. There was no standing still in their holy experiment, although they were now embarked on the slow decline which led to the dissolution of the Society in 1905.

\* \* \*

There is a story which says Father Rapp thought that "all persuasions were like flowers and that the Heavenly Father liked a varied bouquet [*sic*]." <sup>8</sup>The Harmonist "flower" has been preserved in their unique communities. For the tourist who asks where a monument to these people can be found, the answer is inscribed on a plaque mounted on the door of the Great House in Old Economy Village: "Monument? Look all about you. It is everywhere."

A visit to Harmony and Old Economy Village, then, is a chance to experience cultural tourism at its best.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Holy Bible, King James Version, Acts 4:32.  
<sup>2</sup>John S. Duss, *The Harmonists* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1943), p. 29.  
<sup>3</sup>Aaron Williams, *The Harmony Society* (Pittsburgh, 1866), p. 116.  
<sup>4</sup>Harrison D. Mason, "Gertrude Rapp of Old Economy"—a poem, 1922 (pamphlet published at Old Economy, n.d.).  
<sup>5</sup>John S. Stoudt, *Pennsylvania Folk-Art* (Allentown, Pa., 1948), p. 44.  
<sup>6</sup>Gerda C. Schmidt, "Hymns, Intrinsic Aspect of Communal Life," unpublished paper, Old Economy, Pa.  
<sup>7</sup>Ross F. Lockridge, *The Labyrinth* (New Harmony: New Harmony Memorial Commission, 1941), p. 34.  
<sup>8</sup>Hilda Adam Kring, *The Harmonists: A Folk-Cultural Approach* (Metuchen, N.J., 1973), p. 172.

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# THE QUEST FOR AUTHENTICITY IN TOURISM AND FOLKLIFE STUDIES

by Regina Bendix



**COLD SHUDDERS IN MEIRINGEN**  
A visit to the world's first authentic replica of his front room at 221b, Baker Street is a hair raiser. Have a nice day!

The promise of seeing, touching, or experiencing authenticity has come to be almost a *sine qua non* of touristic promotion.<sup>1</sup> A French advertisement from the summer of 1992 reads: "Tahiti and its islands—authentic, fascinating and unforgettable."<sup>2</sup> The brochure for the Sherlock Holmes Museum in the Swiss Alps invites us for "a visit to the world's first authentic replica of [Holmes's] front room at 221b Baker Street."<sup>3</sup> And an advertiser for luggage urges us to buy a bag that "for your comfort, we imagined ... in the most authentic tradition."<sup>4</sup>

These are just the extremes of commodified authenticity offered by tourism promoters who can embrace anything from cultural experience to travel attire as a potential locus of authenticity. There are many ways in which tourism and authenticity get linked, as for example, in the judgments of travel journalists. Their message is not simply to further essentialize the authentic in its cultural, geographic and material representation—they also participate in the discourse of the cognoscenti, those who know how to discern the real thing from the fake. A *New York Times* journalist set apart one Spanish town from other potential destinations by describing it "as a *living* village and not a 'restoration of an authentic Spanish town.'"<sup>5</sup>

The "facade versus the real thing" dichotomy also speaks from the following passage: "The smart people don't go to Santa Fe just for Santa Fe itself. Local residents, some of whom refer ironically to their outrageously successful town as 'The Adobe Boutique,' will tell you that there's very little of the real New Mexico in the countless shops and galleries, or in the trendy restaurants. To get a taste of the authentic Southwest you've got to hit the road."<sup>6</sup>

Lastly, there are texts which build the bridge to the central concern of this exploration, the linkage between tourism, authenticity, and folklore and folklife scholars in their role as students and analysts of culture. We get the blunt connection between the study of culture and its marketing in an excerpt from an airline magazine article on Australia, where *AAT King's Bushtucker Barbecue Moonlight Tour* is rated as a "surprisingly informative," "more mass-market tour" that offers "the authenticity of anthro-tourism."<sup>7</sup> More reflective is a piece from Berkeley's *East Bay Express*, subtitled "In our quest for the authentic experience, are we destroying the paradise we seek?" After describing a harrowing boat journey in Indonesia where natives and tourists vomited in joint travel nausea, the author formulates her motivation for travel: "The traveler in me lives for these kinds of conquests. It's part of a romantic vision of myself as a rugged pioneer, an explorer

*Brochure courtesy of the Swiss National Tourist Office, New York, N.Y.*



through untamed roads" (emphasis added).<sup>8</sup> She juxtaposes the traveler's motivations with travel's impact on those visited, and fully acknowledges the cultural dilemmas that remain hidden from the temporary visitor. But then she suggests that despite her recognition of the tourism problem, her desires would ultimately overcome such qualms. Tourism is ultimately an egoistic endeavor, she argues, and one cannot expect that the tourist contributes to the solution of this very complex problem by staying at home.<sup>9</sup>

"Authentic" comes from the Greek, and literally means "made by one's own hand" and original; in medieval usage the term was monopolized by the law and by the church.<sup>10</sup> With the onset of Enlightenment thought, sacred authentic communion increasingly made way for efforts to find and delimit an individual, self-determined authenticity.<sup>11</sup> With meanings such as genuine, reliable, or trustworthy, the term was used to probe the sincerity of civilized interaction.

Such probing occurred not out of the blue: the colonial encounter with exotic Others who appeared to live in bliss, unencumbered by the trappings of Western upper-class culture, offered a desirable contrast; they seemed to live in a stage where the natural and the self were in tune with each other, not jarred by what Jean-Jacques Rousseau had called "the wound of reflection." Travel reports, whether fictional or real, were then intimately linked to the early discourse on authenticity, and consequently tourism, like authenticity, is an essential key to understanding modernity.

Folklorists working to document and preserve expressive culture have intersected with this preoccupation in many ways. The political philosopher Marshall Berman has called authenticity, and the ideal of unalienated selfhood it stands for, "a leitmotif in Western culture since early in the eighteenth century."<sup>12</sup> Seeking to attain this ideal can be a mere mental or spiritual effort, such as in the Romantic poets' celebration and imitation of folk song and poetry, but often it entails physical travel in an attempt to recover the true self in alien surroundings. Thus the German poet Johann Wolfgang Goethe wrote enthusiastically from Rome in 1787: "I am doing very well, I find my way back into myself and begin to differentiate what is authentically me and what is alien to me."<sup>13</sup>

At heart, authenticity is a way of *experiencing or being*.<sup>14</sup> However, it is hard for us humans to grasp something merely mental or experiential as a value, and thus we search for symbols or objectifications of the authentic.<sup>15</sup> But as soon as we create material representations of authenticity, they are subject to the principles of the market, demanding scales of lesser and higher value. The disciplines of folklore and folklife have been intimately linked to both the cultural objectification of authenticity and its touristic application, and I want to provide now some excerpts of this complex historical interrelationship.

## TRAVELERS, SCHOLARS, AND TOURISTS

Far into the 19th century, travel constituted a holistic ideal which combined education with self-discovery. However, with the emergence of disciplines concerned with the study of cultures, we can observe an increasing differentiation between travel for research purposes and self-serving travel. As early as 1869, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, the first German to write something akin to a fieldwork manual, described the fieldworker as a "lonesome hiker trained in his art," implying the difference between the mere tourist gaze and methodically founded research.<sup>16</sup> As ethnographic professionalization proceeded, the urge for semi-sacred experiences of authenticity in the encounter with the folk or the Other was increasingly suppressed. Reaching for recognition as a scientific endeavor, scholars sought a material representation of authenticity, be this in texts or in artifacts. The greater the need grew to emphasize the special status of scientific fieldwork, the more the traveling tourist was fashioned into a dilettante—even an obstruction—inasmuch as intrepid tourists were increasingly considered as agents spoiling the authenticity of pristine primitive cultures. This does not mean that the craving for authentic encounter and flight from self-alienation did not exist anymore for scholars, but it was rarely articulated in writing until the big turnabout in fieldwork reporting of the late 1970s which suddenly permitted the experiential component to gain the upper hand.

In touristic travel, however, the search for authenticity, often laced with religious overtones, remained unabashedly manifest. There is, for instance, the testimony of one Alfred Miell who in 1863 booked a trip to Switzerland with Thomas Cook. Upon encountering Mont Blanc, Miell wrote in his diary: "Completely overwhelmed by the grandeur and majesty of the king of mountains, the thought passed through my head: '... Is it possible to face ... Montblanc and not feel that one is an immortal being?' The powerful mountain glances with an eye and speaks with a voice that seems to awaken the soul from a deep slumber."<sup>17</sup>

The turn-of-the-century traveler Felix Speiser sought such experience not in nature, but in the encounter with the foreign cultural—but the vocabulary of authenticity is remarkably similar in its invocation of religiously tinted imagery: "No one with a taste for such things will be able not to feel the sacredness of the moment when he encounters for the first time the unadulterated natural human. Like a hiker enters the depth of the primeval forest with pious shudder, so we stand ... at the [gate] of a sanctuary ... when for the first time a dark, naked human appears in front of us."<sup>18</sup>

But the "authentic" adventure of a loner like Speiser attracted imitation, for travel, too, was and is, of course, subject to market constraints, and a hierarchy of touristically reachable authenticity experiences emerged in the 19th century. Travel guides became a means to teach more



and more travelers where to find the real thing. This profusion logically reduced the authenticity of that which was described in such guides, and, by the 1860s, guidebooks were considered the emblem of a tourist, revealing him to be the opposite of everything native, authentic, and spontaneous. To combat this "bad kind of tourist," John Ruskin, for example, devised an alternative guide, in an effort to direct the "better" tourist to the "more authentic" cultural values.<sup>19</sup> Only a few contemporaries recognized that the prescribed authenticity experience—whether this be by Ruskin or Baedeker—turned into an imitation.

#### TOURISM AS A FIELD OF CULTURAL STUDY

It is not an accident that tourism became an acceptable topic for social scientific study only about thirty years ago, nor is it surprising that this coincides with the beginnings of the fakelore and folklorismus discussions respectively in American and European folkloristics. In the endless efforts to circumscribe the boundaries of folklore, the dichotomy genuine versus spurious runs like a red thread through the history of the field. What was not realized was that what was—often arbitrarily—labeled "most authentic" would automatically be subject to greater market pressures which in turn would endanger its authenticity.<sup>20</sup> Correspondingly, folklorists, like anthropologists, at best engaged in tourism *critique*; it took major paradigm changes in the social sciences all through the 1960s and 1970s, to recognize that tourism itself was an intrinsic part of the modern human condition that warranted understanding.

As folklore and folklife scholars have become increasingly aware of the authenticity dilemma, two areas in the study of tourism have begun to bear fruit. The first concerns "touristic goods" or souvenirs, the second concerns the nature of touristic experience. To authenticate that experience, travelers need trophies, and what used to be called souvenirs and is now referred to as "tourist art" is arguably one of the most powerful arenas for the study of cultural commodification. What we label "folk art" used to be one of the primary souvenirs. Often cheap on the local value scale but treasured by the buyer for its ability to represent regional provenience, mass-produced copies of folk art easily turned into a prime example of what Walter Benjamin termed "the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction."

The commodification of native art is so rampant that the Australian government, for example, appointed a parliamentary research commission to delineate rules and regulations for the production and sale of aboriginal art.<sup>21</sup> And the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization has struggled for nearly twenty years to articulate international policies on cultural ownership,<sup>22</sup> although such efforts would seem to lag behind international realities. Furthermore, they are adding fuel to the

legal dimensions of the authenticity problem in their efforts to narrow the definition of what is authentic. Deirdre Evans-Pritchard<sup>23</sup> has documented this for the Native American jewelry market in Santa Fe, Karen Duffek and others for the Northwest Coast.<sup>24</sup>

While students of folk art at first deplored the "degradation" of what to them had been treasures of authenticity, we have begun to understand the far more complex transcultural values and value discrepancies that govern what Nelson Graburn has playfully called "the arts of the fourth world."<sup>25</sup> Authenticity here is determined quite differently from the kinds of criteria applied in the classical art market where, until recently, value was determined on the basis of documentable proof of a single artist's authorship of a given piece (i.e., using the old meaning of authenticity—"made by one's own hand"). Authenticity in the tourist-art market can be derived from a variety of contextual clues: bought in a particular place, made by a person from that culture, reminiscent of a particular historical tradition, and reminding one of an experience. As Susan Stewart argued, authenticity does not reside in the object, as much as in the narrative that the new owner can weave around it.<sup>26</sup>

This brings us back to the larger issue of touristic experience. Tourism continues to be one way in which people from all walks of life attempt to regain a version of the believed-to-be-lost authenticity—be this in the encounter with new cultures, or in testing the limits of the self in all kinds of sports and adventure tourism. Dean MacCannell has characterized the tourist's ever more refined efforts to penetrate the proscenium as futile: the tour of kitchens in Paris is ultimately as inauthentic as eating in the restaurant. The back alleys have been prepared for touristic consumption as much as the Champs Élysées. Hence to MacCannell, the quest for authenticity is doomed.

Less philosophical and less devastating is Erik Cohen's insight which to me is also closer to the "truth" or to the realities of social interaction.<sup>27</sup> To Cohen, authenticity is a socially constructed concept, and hence its social connotations are negotiable. Authenticity is then *not an absolute* entity, but *emergent*. Furthermore, different kinds of tourists are going to look for different levels of authenticity with which they will be satisfied. In Cohen's scheme of authenticity seekers, the more alienated from modernity an individual is, the more intensive will be the search for authenticity. The most extreme category, the existential tourist—and Cohen counts cultural researchers in that group—has relatively few members. There are less extreme seekers who willingly engage in the game of authenticity production along with their hosts, and there are scores of recreational tourists for whom authenticity is not an issue at all. The purist quest for authenticity must then be recognized as an endeavor ultimately reserved for the privileged.



## CONCLUSIONS

What I have tried to outline are parallels or points of convergence in the study of culture, the rise of tourism, and the critique of and increasing reflexivity of both enterprises. The two have not only arisen out of the same Enlightenment ideals, but they have also jointly fostered and sharpened what we have come to understand as authenticity. Some of the puzzles folklorists have come to face with regard to the authenticity question may be able to be addressed fruitfully through a twin examination of field and the touristic enterprise—as has happened in some of the work of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett,<sup>28</sup> Barbara Babcock,<sup>29</sup> and Deirdre Evans-Pritchard.<sup>30</sup>

One has to add, however, that while we may be able

to recognize the negotiable quality of authenticity in the realm of material representation, there are no easy solutions to quench the thirst for finding authentic *experience*. There is a mix of spiritual and individualistic desire for unmediated authenticity (perhaps only Western) humans carry around with them, and some attempt to satiate it with travel. The German travel journalist Aurel Schmidt proposed the invention of a new kind of travel, which he called "trips to on-the-road"; endeavors which would avoid the deflating experience of reaching a long-desired destination. To counteract the doubts and the pain that the reflexive recognition of one's inability to truly reach the authentic bring about, one has to construct a new technique of travel: "The goal of [a journey] can then only consist in avoiding [reaching] it."<sup>31</sup>

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>This paper was prepared for the conference "Issues in Cultural Tourism," Johnstown, Pennsylvania, April 17, 1993. All translations from the German are my own.

<sup>2</sup>"Authentique, fascinant, et inoubliable" from *Animan* (a European bi-monthly publication comparable in scope to *Natural History* in the United States), May-June 1992, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup>Brochure from Meiringen, Switzerland, summer 1991.

<sup>4</sup>Advertisement from February, 1992; emphasis in the ad.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted after Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1976), p. 96.

<sup>6</sup>New York Times, Sunday, Nov. 8, 1992, p. xx15.

<sup>7</sup>Stephen Fenichell, "Uluru—Gem of the Australian Northern Territories," *Hemispheres* (October, 1992), p. 92.

<sup>8</sup>Jody Weverka, "Wish You Weren't Here," *Express: East Bay's Free Weekly*, vol. 24, no. 28 (April 24, 1992), p. 16.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup>For an excellent study on authenticity in the sacred commodities' market see Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in Arjun Appadurai, Hrsg., *The Social Life of Things* (Phila., 1986).

<sup>11</sup>See Richard Handler, "Authenticity," *Anthropology Today* 2 (1), 1986; and Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (London, 1974).

<sup>12</sup>Marshall Berman, *The Politics of Authenticity* (New York, 1972) p. ix.

<sup>13</sup>Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Reisen. Goethes Werke in 10 Bänden*, vol. 9, Hrsg. Peter Boerner (Zurich, 1962), p. 445.

<sup>14</sup>The philosophical discourse on authenticity in the 20th century, with central protagonists such as Martin Heidegger and John Paul Sartre, received its sharpest rejection in Theodor Adorno's, *The Jargon of Authenticity*, trans. by Kurt Tarnowski and Frederic Will (Evanston, 1973); the present discussion sides with Adorno's scepticism.

<sup>15</sup>See Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison, 1988), for a discussion of "cultural objectifications."

<sup>16</sup>Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Wanderbuch* (Stuttgart, 1869), p. 6.

<sup>17</sup>Georg Luck, *Eine Schweizer Reise. Das Tagebuch des Alfred Miell aus Salisbury* (Bern, 1982), p. 76.

<sup>18</sup>Felix Speiser, *Südsee, Urwald, Kannibalen. Reise-Eindrücke aus den Neuen Hebriden* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 25.

<sup>19</sup>James M. Buzard, "Forster's Trespasses: Tourism and Cultural Politics," *Twentieth Century Literature*, 34, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup>Hermann Bausinger, "Zur Kritik der Folklorismuskritik," ed. H. Bausinger et al., *Populus Revisus, Volksleben* vol. 14, pp. 61-72 (Tübingen, 1966); a translation appeared in J. Dow and H. Lixfeld, *German Volkskunde* (Bloomington, 1986).

<sup>21</sup>1989. *The Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Industry*, Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Report of the Review Committee (Canberra, 1989).

<sup>22</sup>"The Effects of Tourism on Socio-Cultural Values," *Annals of Tourism Research* (UNESCO, 1976), 4, pp. 74-105.

<sup>23</sup>Deirdre Evans-Pritchard, "The Portal Case: Authenticity, Tourism, Tradition, and the Law," *Journal of American Folklore*, (1987), 100:287-296.

<sup>24</sup>Karen Duffek, "'Authenticity' and the Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market," *BC [British Columbia] Studies* (1983), no. 57, pp. 99-111.

<sup>25</sup>Nelson H. H. Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," in *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, ed. N.H.H. Graburn (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 1-3.

<sup>26</sup>Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, 1984) pp. 134, 136.

<sup>27</sup>MacCannell, *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup>Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* (1988), 15: 371-386.

<sup>29</sup>Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Authenticity and Authority in the Representation of Culture," in *Kulturkontakt—Kulturkonflikt. Notizen*, eds. I. -M. Greverus et al. (Frankfurt, 1988), vol. 28, pp. 59-70; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Mistaken Dichotomies," *Journal of American Folklore* (1988), 101: 140-155.

<sup>30</sup>Barbara Babcock, "Mudwomen and Whitemen: A Meditation on Pueblo Potteries and the Politics of Representation," in *Material Culture of Gender/The Gender of Material Culture*, ed. Katharine Martinez and Kenneth Ames (New York, 1991).

<sup>31</sup>Evans-Pritchard, pp. 287-296.

<sup>32</sup>Aurel Schmidt, *Wege nach unterwegs: Das Ende des Reisens* (Zürich, 1992), p. 14.



# TOURISM AND THE OLD ORDER AMISH

by Mindy Brandt  
and Thomas E. Gallagher

*A rare attempt to capitalize on the sizeable Amish community in the Dover, Delaware, area.*



In Lancaster County, one of the major tourist areas in the United States, the scenery is exquisite. From numerous vantage points along the hills that separate the wide valleys below, you can look down on the many well-kept farms spreading in a continuous patchwork as far as the eye can see. In addition to being beautiful, the county is also conveniently located within a day's journey of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and a number of smaller urban areas. This makes it possible for sightseers to enjoy the slower pace of this largely agrarian community—a peaceful contrast to the bustling urban and suburban life that many come from—without returning home exhausted. But neither its well-kept farms nor its location is the major reason for Lancaster County's popularity. Without a doubt, what attracts most people to it are the Old Order Amish, whose traditional lifestyle the visitors have heard about and want to see for themselves.

Although the Amish and their traditional lifestyle are the primary interest of tourists, they are only part of the equation: without the promotion of the tourist industry, they may not have become as popular a group as they now are. That the Lancaster County Amish have been selected by the tourist industry to capitalize on is evident, for although they are not the only Plain group in the county, they are the primary group that is promoted. Occasionally there is mention of the Old Order Mennonites, the Old Order River Brethren, or the Plain members of the Church of the Brethren, but, overall, not much press coverage is given to these groups. Then, too, many Amish settlements in other parts of the United States are virtually untouched by tourism. In Dover, Delaware, for instance, there is one restaurant which uses a Pennsylvania-German theme to attract business. In front of the building is a twelve-foot-tall statue of an Amish-looking man. He has a beard, a

broad-brimmed hat, and suspenders, but his shirt is a bright red, which is clearly not an Amish color. Other than this one restaurant, however, the only indications that there are Amish in Delaware are a few signs warning of carriage traffic, and hitching posts at some of the stores where the Amish shop.

As can be seen in the curiosity generated by the re-enactments of Civil War battles, and in the popularity of historic restorations such as Colonial Williamsburg, there is a significant interest in the past in the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that Americans would be attracted to living historical communities such as those of the Amish, although such interest has not always been positive. Indeed, for much of this century the Amish were seen as an eccentric group, rather than as a community to be admired. In 1910, for instance, a pamphlet, "Seeing Lancaster County from a Trolley Window,"<sup>1</sup> was sold by the Conestoga Traction Company of Lancaster County. The pamphlet provided information on one city and eight county tours which sightseers could follow on their own. The idea was to encourage travel on the trolley lines of Lancaster, and the tour information emphasized the wonderful scenery and the beautiful farms. The Amish were mentioned, but almost as an afterthought. Sightseers were told that on one of the county tours they would pass "through the borders of the Amish section with its quaint characteristic customs, dress, and colors on buildings." And if the traveler was interested, "at the Amish school house near Soudersburg one may see the children of these primitive people in their unique uniforms!"<sup>2</sup> The Amish clearly were not the highlight of the tour, but merely an oddity.

By the 1950s, tourism in Lancaster County focusing on the Amish was beginning to blossom. In 1954 there was a public celebration of the 200th anniversary of the found-





Many tourists may not realize that “hex” signs—widely associated with the Pennsylvania Germans—have no part in the life or culture of Lancaster County’s Plain religious sects.

ing of the town of Intercourse, a village in the heart of the Amish settlement. Press coverage, something the Amish eschew, played a significant part in the packaging of the Amish as a group to see.<sup>3</sup>

Tourism concentrating on the Amish and their unique lifestyle was little more than an idea in the early 1950s. As is true with many ideas, it might have died as quickly as it was conceived. Predicting which enterprises will seize the imagination of the American public and which will wither is an impossible task, but the relationship between tourism and the Amish of Lancaster County was an entrepreneurial inspiration that did not merely work, but flourished. By 1965, two million tourists were descending on Lancaster County each year.<sup>4</sup> By 1974, the numbers had increased to over three million,<sup>5</sup> and by 1993 had exploded to over five million.<sup>6</sup>

Each tourist-industry enterprise in Lancaster County is unique, yet all of these establishments can arguably be divided into one of two major types: secular or religious. Arguably, the secular businesses are primarily interested in earning a profit, whereas the religious establishments promote the Amish as wonderful models of good Christian living. If, however, you ask those working in the industry why they are selling the Amish they would present a different story. They would tell you that they want to inform tourists about these wonderful people and provide a brief insight into their lives. These two purposes are not necessarily contradictory. The people we spoke to all seem to be genuinely interested in the Amish, reasonably knowledgeable, and happy to be employed doing a job they enjoy.

The Amish are an easy group to market even though



they would rather be left alone. Because they are traditional in appearance, it is easy to promote them as a society that lives in the present but which maintains a connection to bygone centuries. And because it is their traditionalism that attracts tourists, this is the aspect of the Amish that the tourist industry emphasizes.

For our research into the operations of the Lancaster County tourist industry we visited a variety of attractions, including a house that had been the home of an Amish family before it was purchased for conversion into a tourist site several decades ago. We visited this house twice, the first time only as observers, but during the second visit asking a variety of questions throughout the tour, while at the same time being careful not to be disruptive. As we entered the building we were greeted by a cashier who asked us if we were interested in the tour. We told her that we were, purchased our tickets, and were told that there would be a forty-five minute wait. Even so, one of the advantages of taking the tour in the middle of the winter was that when we did begin, our group was small.

We soon found that since the tour house has been maintained just as it was when its last Amish owners moved away, it reflects Amish life as it was lived in the 1950s, even though there have been many changes in the Amish lifestyle since then. We also found that the guides follow a fairly predictable script, although they do alter their prepared statements and are capable of briefly digressing from their program in order to answer questions from the customers. The tour began in the parlor. A very simple room with white walls, it had a number of gray benches placed neatly around it. The plainness of our surroundings was intensified by the dreariness of the gray, overcast day, which provided only weak illumination for the room. We had been instructed to enter the room quickly, to sit on the benches and to wait while the guide checked to be sure that everyone who had paid for the tour was present. Only then did she start her presentation. Once she began, we were quickly overwhelmed with information. First, she provided us with background information on the house



## CALENDAR OF EVENTS

### ORGANIZATIONS

#### A

**AFRO - AMERICAN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL MUSEUM** 701 Arch St., Philadelphia (215/574-0381). Exhibition, "Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews," Jan. 7-March 13, 1994.

**AMERICAN SWEDISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM** 1900 Pattison Ave., Phila. (215/389-1776). Royal Artists of Sweden, March 13, 2 p.m.-4 p.m.

#### B

**BERMAN MUSEUM OF ART** Ursinus College, Main Street, Collegeville (610/489-4111, ext. 2354). 125th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of Ursinus College, May 25-Sept. 11, Tues.-Fri., 10 a.m.-4 p.m., Sat. and Sun. 12-4:30 p.m. Artifacts, photographs, and illustrations focusing on the college's 125-year history.

**BUCKS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MERCER MUSEUM** 84 South Pine St., Doylestown (215/345-0210). 21st Annual Folk Fest of Authentic Early American Crafts, May 14, 10 a.m.-6 p.m., May 15, 10 a.m.-5 p.m. (rain or shine). One hundred skilled artisans, special demonstrations, folk music. Adults \$7, 9-17 \$5, under 8 free (admission includes entrance to Mercer Museum).

#### C

**CHADDS FORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY** Box 27, Chadds Ford (215/388-7376). John Chads House, Barns-Brinton House, and The Barn open weekends, 12-6 p.m., May through Sept. Guided tours of the 18th-century restorations; domestic arts demonstrations; special display at The Barn.

**CHAMBERSBURG AREA COUNCIL FOR THE ARTS** 427 E. Queen St., Chambersburg (717/264-6883). First Annual Cumberland Valley Art/Film Festival, May 1, 11 a.m.-6 p.m., Kerrstown Square & The Capitol Theatre, juried art and craft vendors coupled with a day long film festival of Laurel and Hardy classics.

**CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY** 225 N. High St., West Chester (215/692-4800). Exhibition through May, "Presenting Your Past: A Centennial Celebration," celebrates 100 years of collecting by the Society and records the interests of the past. 12th Annual Antiques Show, March 19, 11 a.m.-8 p.m., March 20, 11 a.m.-5 p.m., at Hollinger Field House, West Chester University, \$8. "The Evolution and Classification of the Pennsylvania Barn," illustrated lecture by author-scholar Dr. Robert Ensminger, April 13, 7:30 p.m. Admission \$3 (members free). Tour of Anselma Mill, May 22, 2 p.m. Tour (of an 18th-century mill that is nearly the last of a kind designed by inventor Oliver Evans) is led by mill expert Stephen Kindig. Free--call Society for directions.

#### D

**DANIEL BOONE HOMESTEAD** R.D. 2, Birdsboro (215/582-4900). Charter Day, March 13, 12-5 p.m. Open house, tours, living history; free.

**DEMUTH FOUNDATION** 114 E. King St., Lancaster (717/392-6766). Demuth Garden Tour, June 11, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., June 12, 11 a.m.-6 p.m., \$10, good for both days. Covers eight private Lancaster city and county gardens plus Conestoga House and the Demuth Foundation; self-guided.

#### E

**ECKLEY MINERS' VILLAGE** R.D. 2, Weatherly (717/636-2070). Charter Day, March 13, 12-5 p.m. State-wide activities to celebrate the granting of the charter of Penna. to William Penn, admission to all state historic sites is free. Tour guides will show the village to the public.

**EPHRATA CLOISTER** 632 W. Main St., Ephrata (717/733-4811). Charter Day, March 13, 12-5 p.m., free. Craft demonstrations, tours of 18th century dwellings, Cloister Chorus in Meetinghouse at 1:30, 2:30, and 3:30.

#### F

**FORT HUNTER MANSION AND PARK** 5300 N. Front St., Harrisburg (717/599-5751). May Day, May 1, 1-4 p.m. Spring celebration of opening of the 1994 season. Plant sale--Harrisburg Civic Garden Center.



**FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD** Farmington (412/329-5512). Old Pike Days, May 21, 22, 10:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Craftspeople and costumed guides will celebrate America's first federally built road, the National Road. Fort Necessity Memorial Monday, July 3, 3:00 p.m. Special program to remember those who fought and died here on July 3, 1754.

## G

**GENERAL JOHN BURROWS HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTOURSVILLE** Montoursville. 5th Annual Antiques Show, March 5, 10 a.m.-6 p.m., March 6, 12-5 p.m., at the McCall Middle School, Willow St., Montoursville; refreshments served. Admission \$2.25.

## H

**HARMONIE ASSOCIATES, OLD ECONOMY VILLAGE** 14th & Church Sts., Ambridge (412/266-1803). Visiting hours Tues.-Sun. 12-5 p.m. Call for information about special events or daily tours.

**HECKLER PLAINS FOLKLIFE SOCIETY** 474 Main St., Harleysville (215/822-7422). Herb Festival at the Heckler Plains Farmstead, 237 Landis Rd., Lower Salford Township, May 13, 10 a.m.-2 p.m. Sale of herb plants, annuals and perennials, garden tours, herbal crafts and beverages.

**HISTORIC HARMONY** Main & Mercer Sts., Harmony (412/452-7341). Harmony Museum visiting hours: Sun., Mon., Wed., Fri., 1-4 p.m., group tours by appointment.

**HISTORIC WAYNESBOROUGH** 2049 Waynesborough Rd., Paoli (215/647-1779). Spring Opening, March 20, 1 p.m.-4 p.m. Tour of historic house and wine and cheese reception, \$7.50 per person.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BERKS COUNTY** 940 Centre Ave., Reading (215/375-4375). Local history classes, May 4, 11, 18, 25; call for information.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE BLAIRSVILLE AREA** 116 E. Campbell St., Blairsville (412/459-0580). Monthly meetings first Wed. of each month, 7 p.m., Blairsville Community Center Building, N. Stewart St., open to the public. Annual celebration each May during National Historic Preservation Week, call for information.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA** 1300 Locust St., Phila. (215/732-6200). Ongoing exhibition: "Finding Philadelphia's Past: Visions and Revisions"; "Crossroads: Center City Philadelphia," Jan. 21-July 23, 1994. Open Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays & Saturdays 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Wednesdays 1 p.m.-9 p.m. Admission-adults \$2.50, seniors & ages 6-18 \$1.50, under 6 free. Admission to museum and historical research center is \$5 for adults, \$2 for students with valid I.D.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF YORK COUNTY MUSEUM** 250 E. Market St., York (717/848-1587). Exhibits through March 31, 1994: "Street of Shops"; "York 250 Years: A Retrospective"; "Grandfather's Clock"; "An Exhibition of Fraktur"; "Transportation Gallery"; "On Paper Canvas and Wood: York County Artists 1800-1945." Mon.-Sat. 9 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun. 1 p.m.-4 p.m. Admission fee.

## L

**LANDIS VALLEY MUSEUM** Rt. 272/Oregon Pike, Lancaster (717/569-0401). Landis Valley Fair, June 4, 5, non-commercial, old-fashioned event with hands-on activities: animals, craft demonstrations, hearty country food, music, entertainment, major Pennsylvania-Dutch complex. Adults \$7, 60+ \$6, 6-17 \$5, under 5 free. Institute of Pennsylvania Rural Life and Culture, June 21-24, over 18 workshops/seminars on early Penna. arts and crafts. \$190 (members \$171) plus materials fees; pre-registration and pre-payment required, call for catalogue.

## M

**MIDDLETOWN AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** 20 N. Catherine St., Middletown (717/944-3420). 19th Annual Colonial Arts & Crafts Fair, June 11, 10 a.m.-6 p.m., June 12, 12-6 p.m., at Hoffer Park, 120 juried craftspeople, colonial-type foods, entertainment, prizes.

**MOORE COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN** 20th St. & The Parkway, Philadelphia (215/568-4515). "Elijah Pierce, Woodcarver," Goldie Paley Gallery, Jan. 14-March 27, 1994, exhibition of the work of an African American barber (1892-1984) known as the "preacher in wood."

## N

**NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY** 55 North Fifth St., Philadelphia (215/923-3812). "Face to Face: Photographs by Don Camp and Lawrence Salzman," Jan. 7-March 13, the artistic visions of two Philadelphia photographers--one black and one Jewish--that features personal photographic documentaries of Black-Jewish relationships.



## P

**PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH FOLK CULTURE SOCIETY** Lenhartsville (215/867-6705). Museum open beginning April 9 (10 a.m.-4 p.m.), April 10 (1-4 p.m.), weekends only, April and May, May 30-Sept. 5, open daily Mon.-Sat. 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun. 1-5 p.m., school tours available on request April-May, Sept.-October.

**PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY** 461 Vine Lane, Kutztown (610/683-8707). Kutztown Folk Festival, July 2-10, 9 a.m.-7 p.m., rain or shine, adults \$8, children under 12 \$4, parking on grounds, \$2 per car. Folk arts and crafts, antiques, farmers market, food and drink, music and entertainment, quilt contest and sale. Call or write for brochure.

**PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART** 26th St. & Benjamin Franklin Parkway (215/684-7860). *Ten African-American Quilters*, February-March, 1994, Tuesday-Sunday 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Wed. until 8:45 p.m. Adults \$6, seniors, students with I.D. and children \$3. Free admission Sundays until 1 p.m. *Community Fabric: African American Quilts and Folk Art*, Feb. 13-April 10. *Drawing Albums & Print Portfolios: Early Collectors in Philadelphia*, April 24-June 19. *Crucible of Good Intentions: The Eastern State Penitentiary at Fairmount*, July 17-Sept. 11.

## R

**RACHEL CARSON HOMESTEAD** 613 Marion Ave., Springdale (412/274-5459). Birthplace and childhood home of renowned author and naturalist, open for tours Saturdays and Sundays, 10 a.m.-4 p.m. through November, adults \$2.50, students \$1.

**RENFREW MUSEUM & PARK** 1010 E. Main St., Waynesboro (717/762-4723). Springfest Weekend, April 23, 24, 10 a.m.-4 p.m. Museum opens for the season with festivities featuring craft demonstrations, musical entertainment, and special activities. Scherenschnitting Workshop, May 21, 9 a.m.-12 noon, fee to cover materials. Pennsylvania German Symposium, June 5, 10 a.m.-4 p.m., fee, call for information.

## S

**SALTSBURG AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** Saltsburg (412/639-9826). Canal Days, June 4, 9 a.m.-4 p.m., June 5, 12-3 p.m., at the Rebecca B. Hadden Stone House Museum; artifacts of canal era plus many items of local interest from the early 1800s.

**SOMERSET HISTORICAL CENTER** R.D. 2 (4 miles north of Somerset on Rt. 985), Somerset (814/445-6077). "Sugarin' Off," April 24, 1-4:30 p.m. Celebrates the close of the maple season in southwestern Penna., lore of maple syrup and sugar making. Fiber Day, June 5, 12-5 p.m. Exhibit of regional antique quilts, seminar on how to document old quilts, and demonstrations of historic methods of processing plant and animal fibers.

## U

**UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, INDIANA UNIV. OF PENNA.** Sutton Hall, Indiana (412/357-2500). "Dolls of the 1900s," March 15-April 10; "Nancy Crow: Work in Transition-Contemporary Quilts," April 12-May 14. Tues.-Fri. 11 a.m.-4 p.m., Thurs. 7 p.m.-9 p.m. also, weekends 1 p.m.-4 p.m.

## W

**WARREN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY** 210 Fourth Ave., Warren (814/723-1795). Annual Meeting at the Warren County Courthouse, March 15, at 7 p.m., Brent Glass, Executive Director of Penna. Historical and Museum Commission, speaker.

**WARRIOR RUN-FORT FREELAND HERITAGE SOCIETY** Turbotville (717/649-5363). Strawberry Festival, June 12, at the Historic Warrior Run Church, no admission charge.

**WESTMORELAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY** 951 Old Salem Rd., Greensburg (412/836-1800). Old Hanna's Town (3 miles north of Greensburg, between Rts. 119 and 819), reconstructed courthouse, jail, fort and storage building, Klingensmith House, and archaeological site, open Memorial Day-Labor Day, daily except Monday. Flea-tique at Old Hanna's Town, May 1, June 12, Aug. 14, Sept. 11, 9 a.m.-5 p.m., \$1 parking fee. "Lamb to Loom Spin-In" at Old Hanna's Town, May 15, story of wool with demonstrations and displays.

**WESTMORELAND MUSEUM OF ART** 221 N. Main St., Greensburg (412/837-1500). "Valley of Work: Scenes of Industry," March 19-May 8, paintings, drawings, and prints of the Industrial Revolution. Tues.-Sat., 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun. 1 p.m.-5 p.m., no admission charge.

**WYOMING COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY** Tunkhannock (717/836-5303). 17th Annual Arts and Crafts Fair, June 9, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., at Wyoming County Fairgrounds on Rt. 6, 1 mile west of Meshoppen. Demonstrations, entertainment, over 100 craftspersons, free parking.



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Heckler Plains Folklife Society  
Historic Harmony  
Historic Waynesborough  
Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Culture Society  
Rachel Carson Homestead

### **Ursinus College**

Berman Museum of Art





itself, followed by a brief and perfunctory explication of the history of the Amish, followed by a quick look at their lifestyle. She explained how, in the 17th century, under the leadership of a Mennonite bishop, Jacob Amman, a small group of Mennonites broke away, forming the Amish. Shortly after this division, during the 18th century, they began leaving Europe and moving to America in search of religious freedom. The complexity of the actual events leading to the division were glossed over; nonetheless, everyone seemed quite satisfied with her brief overview.

After these introductory remarks we were encouraged to look at the room in which we were sitting. We were told that the Amish hold their church services in their homes rather than in meetinghouses, and that the benches we were sitting on were intended for use during the church service. We received no explanation about why they worship in their homes, but we did learn that because they do, they must have a large space since the congregation can number 250 people or more. This space is needed only once or twice a year, so they have designed their homes with walls that can be removed. Thus the room we were sitting in was usually two rooms—the parlor and the master bedroom. The walls had been taken down, large pieces of furniture moved upstairs, and benches put in place.

Next, we were led out of the parlor and into the kitchen, a large room with a massive wooden table in the center and a wood-burning stove for heating and cooking along one of the walls. There was a couch in one of the corners of the room, the only piece of upholstered furniture in the entire house. The kitchen, we were told, is the center of the Amish home and if you are lucky enough to be invited to visit an Amish family, this is where you will be entertained. The kitchen is the only room that is heated in the winter, and it is the only room that has a light over the table, so all homework is done at the kitchen table. The kitchen is also where clothes are sewn and where some of the canning takes place, although some of that is done in the summer kitchen as well. It was pointed out that food—especially the sharing of food—is extremely important to the Amish. The family sits down together, says grace together before the meal, and afterward as well, before anyone can leave the table. We were shown the

sink, and told the Amish have water coming into their house either through gravity-feed or a hand pump.

On the way to our next destination, the second-floor bedrooms, we were asked to stop momentarily at the bottom of the stairs so that our guide could show us that the steps were hinged, and could be lifted to expose small storage areas. At the top of the stairs we entered the girls' bedroom. The decor was very austere. The walls were white, just as they were in the parlor, and the furnishings were limited to a bed, a dresser, and a wash basin. While common in our bedrooms, closets are generally not found in Amish bedrooms, although this fact was never mentioned by our guide. Not having closets, the Amish generally hang their clothing on wall hooks, and this house does have such hooks, although they were not being used. Rather, the dresses of Amish women were mounted on the walls much like pictures, thus permitting our guide to discuss changes such as fastening garments with buttons as very young girls do, to using straight pins for fastening from adolescence on. The display also permitted a discussion of the change in the color of a young woman's *Kapp* (from black to white) that takes place when she marries, and changes in the style and color of her apron (from white to the same color as her dress).

The boys' room was equally austere and a bit darker, having only one window, whereas the girls' room had two. Our guide moved over near the bed, noting that it is different than the beds we are familiar with. With that she picked up the mattress to expose interlacing ropes beneath it, explaining that these, rather than springs, are used for support. Before that bit of information was digested, she shifted to clothing. Just as with women's clothing men's clothing styles remain very similar throughout life. Young boys do still wear dresses as infants, but then adopt trousers similar to those worn by the adult males. Similar to navy trousers, these have a flap in the front which buttons on the sides. The trousers are held up by suspenders since the Amish never use belts, and from the earliest years, boys wear a broad-brimmed hat when they are outside. When boys turn sixteen they are able to begin courting, and receive their first courting buggy, one without a top. The guide also noted that the Amish practice adult baptism and





do not have to be baptized until they want to get married. Many of the young men who have not been baptized, therefore, may drive cars, turn up the brims of their hats, and do other things that a baptized member would not do, although such behavior is certainly not encouraged.

The last room was set up as the parents' bedroom. We had been told earlier that the parents generally have a bedroom on the first floor and we were told this again, but since the parents' bedroom downstairs was set up for church services, this room took its place. The fireplace in this room was boarded up since the amount of energy wasted out of the chimney is not worth the amount of heat generated in the room.

It was obvious from the tour we took that the information presented by the guide was accurate if her intention was to describe the Amish as they were forty years ago. If, on the other hand, her goal was to inform us about the lifestyle of the Amish today, then her data was incorrect. As a result of the tour we wanted to discover whether the old information was the result of our guide's ignorance or was simply a case of presenting what she thought the tourists wanted to hear. We suspected that she knew more current information, and we decided to explore this idea by asking a few questions about the Amish during a second tour. Determined not to be disruptive, we limited ourselves to asking only one question per room, and we did not pursue any of our questions beyond the initial answer we were given. Our suspicion was that the guides would be knowledgeable about how the Amish live today, but probably would be less informed about what their lifestyle means to them.

Our second tour confirmed our suspicions. Today, in the kitchen of a typical Amish home, you will not find a wood-burning cook stove. Instead, you will find a wood-burning stove for heating during the winter, and a gas stove for cooking which is used year round and which runs on propane. You will also find a refrigerator which, because electricity is not permitted, also uses propane as its energy source. Since there was no refrigerator in this kitchen, we asked whether the Amish use refrigerators today. "In their summer kitchen," the guide replied, "I'll show you."

We were immediately led into the summer kitchen

which is located in a shed attached to the main house behind the kitchen. The summer kitchen was used for canning and cooking during hot weather in order to keep the heat out of the main house. Going to the summer kitchen was a change in the tour since we had not been taken there during our first trip, and it seemed we were taken there on this second trip only as a response to our question. We were told that "Here they do a lot with running water. Spring water keeps things quite cool." She added that the Amish do use a lot of propane. "I asked [an Amishman] why they are allowed to use that and not electricity, [and] . . . he said, 'It isn't that we object to things, we're just choosy what we select. Bottled gas does nothing more than make it easier for the women, but if we put electricity in our homes . . . our whole lifestyle will change. . . .'"

In the girls' bedroom, we looked at the dress hanging on the wall, commenting that the fabric looked like polyester and asking if they were permitted to use manmade fibers. "Yes," the guide replied, "it is polyester. They love that because they used to have all organdy and I don't think any of you are old enough to know how hard it is to keep organdy from wrinkling. Now they have polyester, they wash it, hang it up and it looks lovely."

When we arrived in the parents' bedroom, someone else on the tour noticed that the parents' bed was different. The beds in the children's rooms had been rope beds, and this bed had a box spring instead. The guide responded, "This was a rope [bed] and was changed to show that the Amish do use mattresses. Young Amish [today] would not pay the price for a rope bed. . . ." The guide was suggesting that the Amish are practical in this way, and that they recognize this practicality in themselves. This is also one of the main explanations one can find for changes that occur in Amish life. It is important to understand that this is only one of the explanations for changes that take place, but it is an important issue.

We received a very different response when we asked a question that required an insight into meaning. When we were sitting in the parlor listening to the overview of Amish life and were told that the Amish hold their church services in their homes, we asked the guide why the Amish do this.



She responded somewhat equivocally, "Their home is their church, their religion is in their homes, they teach that and their home is their religion."

Our initial suspicions were confirmed: To our questions concerning visible behavior, our guide's responses were correct, even though she tried to spend as little time as possible on issues of change, and returned as quickly as possible to her traditional program. For our question about the *meaning* that church services in the home have for the Amish, her response made no sense whatsoever, suggesting that she could not answer that question. It was clear that she knows how Amish life is different today than it was in the past, and in response to questions about these changes she explained that her information comes from visiting Amish families she knows. On one occasion, she even spoke about attending an Amish wedding, and described some of the events she saw. We would not have questioned her assertion about visiting Amish families under any circumstance, but her recounting of her visits made it quite obvious that she did, in fact, have the experiences she claimed. What is important to consider, however, is why she would ignore the present in order to describe what the Amish were like some time ago, allowing visitors to assume that the tour describes the Amish as they are today.

At least one of the reasons she did this was quite clear. She seemed to be giving the tourists the information that she—and those who ran the attraction—thought the majority of visitors wanted to hear. And they may be right. Those who speak about the Amish frequently run into disgruntled listeners when they talk about these Plain people. Listeners are often horrified by the changes discussed. So many are disappointed. What they would like is that the Amish would conform to their preconceived notions about them.

Clearly, neither all of those involved in the tourist industry in Lancaster County, nor all of the tourists who visit there, fit into a single mold. Each tourist and each attraction is different, but still there are some generalizations that can be made. The tourist industry ranges from the secular, which seems to be primarily concerned with making money, to the religious, which wants visitors to recognize in the Amish a Christian group who are living according to the tenets of the New Testament. Those who operate the secular attractions are more likely to dwell on the Amish as a traditional people, whereas those attractions with a religious emphasis will make a stronger effort to portray the Amish as they are today. Tourists also vary widely, from those who have a real interest but are not dedicated to understanding who the Amish truly are, to those who are really seeking a better understanding of Amish beliefs and practices.

Along with these wide variations are some significant constants. Judging from the tourists we have spoken to, it seems clear that the majority are truly interested in seeing the Amish and learning about them. The problem is that

they are unprepared for seeing beyond their own preconceptions. As a result, despite the very different goals of the secular-oriented and the religious-oriented attractions, the results tend to be virtually identical. Visitors leave Lancaster County with an even stronger belief that the Amish are not only a traditional, but an unchanging, society, no matter what their experience has been.

In the case of the Amish, these distortions are probably helpful. The Amish as a community would prefer to be left alone, and in one sense, tourist misconceptions about them afford them some separation and isolation. The sociologist Roy Buck has argued that by having the tourist industry concentrated in a few locations the Amish are left alone more than they would be if people searched the countryside for real Amish.<sup>7</sup> There may be some truth in this argument, but in communities where there is no tourist industry, there is often little interest in the Amish. And we agree with Donald Kraybill that tourism "may actually help to bolster their cultural identity."<sup>8</sup> But even if this is the case, if tourism does keep many tourists from inundating the Amish themselves, and even if tourism has bolstered their cultural identity, it still exploits them against their will.

The Amish experience presents an interesting dilemma for cultural tourism. In any type of tourism there are three main elements: the attraction, the presenters, and the tourists. The attraction can be a site such as a historic building, a museum, or a natural wonder; a reenactment such as a Civil War battle; a traditional event such as an Oktoberfest or a Christmas display; or a group of people such as the Amish. The presenters may be entrepreneurs intending to make money, or interested people who wish to share their own enthusiasm with others. The tourists may want to learn, or they may only want to be entertained. Everyone enters this three-way transaction with preconceptions and personal interests. If the tourists are not happy with the information they are given, they will not come back.

The dilemma seems to be that those involved in tourism in general, and in cultural tourism in particular, must understand that they are in the business not only to educate, but to entertain as well. Are these compatible ends?

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>H.W. Kriebel, "Seeing Lancaster County from a Trolley Window," 1910.

<sup>2</sup>Roy Buck, "Bloodless Theatre: Images of the Old Order Amish in Tourism Literature." *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 2(July) 1979:2-11.

<sup>3</sup>Donald Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989:228.

<sup>4</sup>Donald Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989:228.

<sup>5</sup>Roy Buck, "Boundary Maintenance Revisited: Tourist Experience in an Old Order Amish Community." *Rural Sociology* 43(Summer)1978:222.

<sup>6</sup>John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, fourth edition, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993:315.

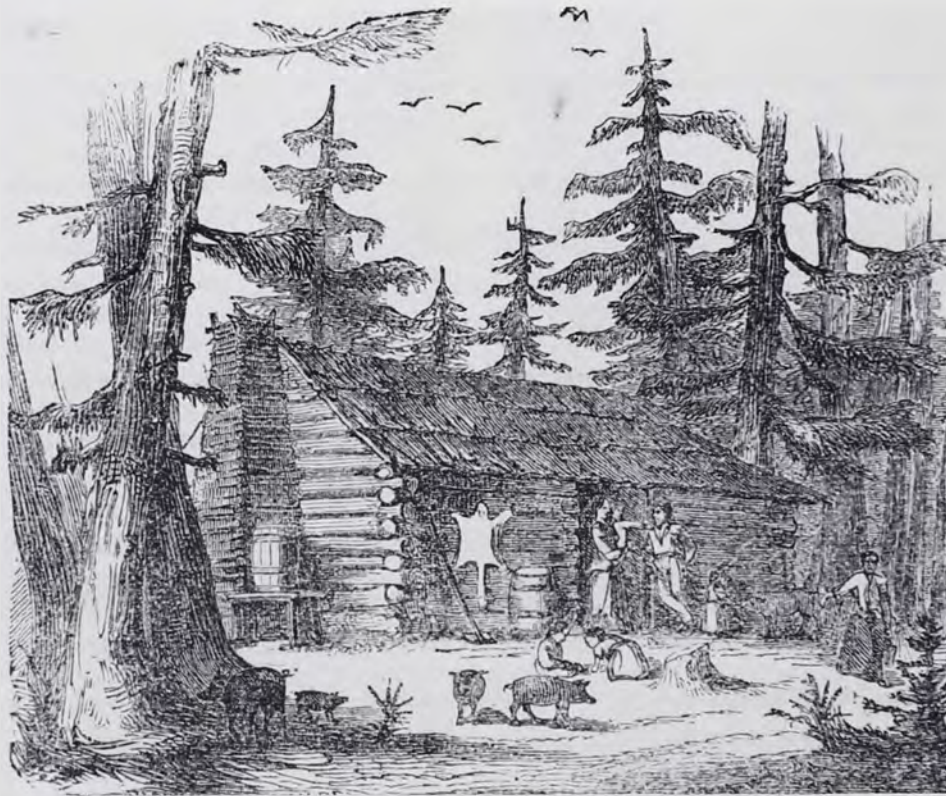
<sup>7</sup>Roy Buck, "Boundary Maintenance Revisited: Tourist Experience in an Old Order Amish Community." *Rural Sociology*, 43(summer)1978.

<sup>8</sup>Donald Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989:227.



# THE LOG CABIN: Notes on its Structure and Dissemination

by Patricia Irvin Cooper



*Fig. 1. A cabin in eastern North Carolina, from Frederick Law Olmstead, A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States (New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856), p. 349. While the dogtrot plan is rare for a cabin, the construction is typical.*

Much has been written about the log cabin. This paper focuses on the structural features that made it the best first shelter in the forest; on its sources and early adoption by non-log builders as shown by records and implied by the cabin's distribution; and on the effect of some early migrations on its distribution.

## CABIN AND HOUSE

Nineteenth-century writers from log-building regions of the United States differentiated between the round-log cabin and the hewn-log house.<sup>1</sup> Srygley, recording the recollections of T.W. Caskey of central Tennessee, writes of round-log "houses" and "cabins," but distinguished these from

the "hewed-log house" with rafters.<sup>2</sup> The distinction is essential, although the hewn-log aspect does not apply to the lowlands, that is to the southern Coastal Plain and much of the Gulf Coast region, where seasoned round logs, the ends trimmed, were used for houses.

The rough, hopefully temporary cabin of the forest frontier and first settlement was defined by its saddle-notched, green, round logs and its low-pitched, purlin roof (Figs. 1, 2). It was usually a single pen, windowless, with at most a half loft. There was sometimes a hearth on the dirt floor and smoke holes near the ridge, but more often a cribwork chimney (a chimney made of logs or sticks laid up as in the cabin and well-clayed), even in rock-strewn





*Fig. 2. Cabin in east Georgia, from Basil Hall, Forty Etchings from Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida in North America in 1827 and 1828 (Edinburgh, 1829), Plate XXII. Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.*

country. Though such a chimney can be destroyed in a heavy storm, there was no roof overhang to protect it. With wooden hinge and latch, the whole dwelling could be built without nails or hardware.

Log houses were built of seasoned logs and were set off the ground on rocks or, on the rockless southern Coastal Plain, on trunk sections or wedges of heart pine. They were floored (if only with split-log puncheons), had studded, weatherboarded upper gables and rafter roofs as in framed houses; and had chimneys of stone or brick, or, on the southern Coastal Plain, of heavily clayed log or stick cribwork. These were neater than the log cabin's chimney, and were also usually sheltered against heavy rains by an

overhanging (cantilevered) roof.

The log cabin's simple log work and nailless purlin roof made it perfect for the frontier. Logs of diminishing length were laid up to the ridge at the gables; a ridgepole and pole purlins were laid from end-to-end of the structure. An end log cut longer than the rest extended beyond the long sides at eave height on each corner in order to support the "butting pole" that lay parallel to the eaves. This pole, along with purlins and ridgepole, supplied the framework for a low-pitched roof on which rived roof boards or shingles could be laid, weighted against the wind by poles lying from top to bottom on the roof, jammed against the butting pole, and by rocks; or by horizontal poles spaced





*Fig. 3. A cabin-house from Anderson Co., Tenn., combining a cabin's hallmark purlin roof, typical dirt floor and low, one-story form with hewn logs (here V-notched), as in log houses. Now at the Museum of Appalachia, Norris, Tenn. (PIC, 1990).*

apart by "knees."<sup>3</sup>

The whole edifice could be built by two men (provided they could handle the weight of the log) with only axes and, if possible, a froe for riving roof boards. A cabin required no hewn logs, no hewn or sawn joists and rafters, no sawn and planed boards for floors, stairs, or upper gables, and no iron for hardware or nails. Log houses were far more labor-intensive, and more expensive because of their iron. Some early houses had cabin features such as ladders to the loft, and hybrid forms—for example, hewn-log cabin-houses with purlin roofs that eliminated hand- or mill-sawn rafters—were built well into the 19th century, especially in the mountains (Figs. 3, 4).

Prospering and fortunate families, replacing the cabin within a decade with a log house, relegated the former to kitchen or shed. For many families, however, the progression was never possible. Our perception of rural poverty is hopelessly skewed toward optimism by the cabin's disappearance from the landscape. Set directly on the ground or close to it, cabins could not last. Slave cabins have likewise vanished; it appears that in many parts of the South, inland of the coastal zone, they were of log.

#### **SOURCE AND DISTRIBUTION**

The cabin came from New Sweden.<sup>4</sup> (The log house has a more complicated history involving stronger Anglo,





*Fig. 4. The cabin-house from Anderson Co., Tenn., showing its chimney with stone base and stick-and-clay shaft. Windows and an overhanging roof, atypical of cabins, are used in this combined form. Museum of Appalachia, Norris Tenn. (PIC, 1990).*

German, and Swiss influences.<sup>5</sup>) New Sweden was founded after a Dutchman (the Dutch based their new world claims on Henry Hudson's 1609 voyage of exploration) received a charter which allowed him to set up a company headed by Swedes and Dutchmen. Then, sailing up the Delaware, fifty Swedes established the new colony in 1638, on the site of present-day Wilmington. Later, Finns joined the settlement, and one ancestor of the cabin was undoubtedly the Finnish *pirtti*, with its gable entrance, unmortared stone, chimneyless corner fireplace, and smoke hole.<sup>6</sup> Although the Swedes came from a more settled and better-housed life than did the Finns, the cabin may owe something to the Swedes as well, for they managed to build expedit-

iously during the several years before the first Finns arrived in New Sweden.

The cabin, with its saddle-notched round logs, purlin roof, and cribwork chimney, was essentially the same everywhere, though some were large and had improvements such as a puncheon floor. Descriptions and drawings hardly varied, whether given for western Pennsylvania, Ohio, bluegrass Tennessee, Missouri, the eastern Carolina pine forest; or wiregrass Georgia.<sup>7</sup> A possible regional variation is that the graziers of the sparsely settled southern Coastal Plain (particularly the sandy outer plain, inland of the non-log building coastal zone), appear to have used smaller logs in both cabin and house than did settlers



elsewhere. Although cultural causes cannot be dismissed, one reason may have been that less neighborly help and horsepower were available there than in the more densely settled regions. Such help is often mentioned by early writers.<sup>8</sup>

The universal distribution of the cabin on frontiers west and south of Pennsylvania, and to a lesser extent north of it, implies that it became known very early to colonists both on the Delaware littoral and farther inland. It was carried on all the migration routes: southward on the Coastal Plain from the Delaware settlements; southwestward from the Delaware and especially from interior southeast Pennsylvania to the interior South via the Great Valley route; and westward to western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley states. It appears that by ca. 1730, when migration on the Great Valley (Valley of Virginia) route began, the cabin had penetrated to the farthest reaches of Pennsylvania settlement. The Scotch-Irish, who were directed to the colony's western frontier, were apparently there able to pick up some skills in log building before moving out to the southwest and west. Rhineland Germans also acquired log-building skills.

The further implication is that instead of fading from the scene in the face of massive English immigration beginning in 1681, New Sweden's log-building techniques entered into the newcomers' range of vernacular building. The cabin's dispersal from New Sweden began very early, about 1654, when the first Swedes and Finns made their way to Maryland. They established settlements on the south side of Elk River at the head of the bay, and on Sassafras River on the Eastern Shore, subsequently moving into other counties.<sup>9</sup> Thus log building was established in the upper Chesapeake. Forty years later, Elk River still had a Swedish-speaking settlement.<sup>10</sup>

It has been proposed that Finns and Swede-Finns scattered to all the frontiers, carrying the cabin with them.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, it is clear that colonists from non-log building cultures, when exposed to log building on the Delaware, early learned to use and adapt it for both cabin and house. This is hardly surprising, given the cabin's simplicity of concept and technique. The cabin was Anglicized, for example, in chimney and door placement.

What has been overlooked or misunderstood is the British colonists' willingness to use the new concept. Quaker records, however, establish that they began to use log buildings (very probably both round- and hewn-log) in the 1680s, the first decade of settlement in Penn's colony. They probably first hired Swede-Finns (like the Swede Lasse Cock who built a log jail for the English in Philadelphia before 1685<sup>12</sup>), then British carpenters mastered the skills themselves. From published records alone, we know of at least ten log meetinghouses and churches built between 1686 and 1724: for Dutch Quakers in Germantown (1686); for English Quakers (1687, 1708, 1711, 1715, 1718, 1724); and for Welsh Quakers (1700), Baptists (1703), and Episcopalians (1708). These were in the region embraced

by New Castle County, Delaware; Cecil County, Maryland; and Delaware, Chester, and Montgomery Counties in Pennsylvania.<sup>13</sup> It cannot be doubted that English and Welsh moving from the region carried cabin and log house building practices with them in migration.

(It will be noted that the majority of these log meetinghouses and churches were built before any appreciable influence of German-language log builders entered the picture, as the first small band of Swiss Mennonites did not arrive in Lancaster County (Pequea) until 1710. For its first thirty years, Germantown was a village of Dutch Mennonites and Quakers.<sup>14</sup>)

There is no physical evidence of the early log structures in the Chesapeake area, nor of their earth-fast and framed contemporaries, but they provided to the English in Maryland and Virginia some exposure to log building, an exposure that also occurred through trade with New Sweden. The existence of log houses is, in fact, documented in records of Charles County, in southern Maryland, in the 1660s.<sup>15</sup>

There was a general movement of people southward on the Coastal Plain beginning in the 1650s; in addition to Swedes and Finns leaving New Sweden, Virginians moved to the Albemarle Sound area of North Carolina in search of fresh land, a migration soon joined by Marylanders.<sup>16</sup> Thus Chesapeake log building, remounting to New Sweden, is probably linked to the log houses (cabins?) Byrd reported in Albemarle in 1728.<sup>17</sup>

Migration on the Coastal Plain undoubtedly carried Anglicized Swede-Finn log building even farther south. In the 1730s and 1740s, Pennsylvanians and Welsh Baptists from New Castle County, Delaware, came down to South Carolina's Queensboro Township and to Welsh Neck on the PeeDee River, respectively.<sup>18</sup> (Queensboro was also a destination of direct immigration by the Scotch-Irish.)

## SWEDES AND FINNS

As for the Swedes and Finns whose legacy is a major element in our log-building heritage, if there was at all a Finnish majority in New Sweden as has been proposed,<sup>19</sup> it was very slender. In 1655, the Dutch took New Sweden by force, but they controlled it for less than a decade. The English, unhappy with another power owning territory between their New England and Southern colonies, seized all the land between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers from the Dutch in 1664. The Swedes who left after the Dutch conquest numbered only thirty-seven officers and officials; the soldiers stayed.<sup>20</sup> Farmers and women also remained, and families increased. More Swedes and Finns came in 1663, and finally, 140 Finns came via Holland in 1664, after the English conquest.<sup>21</sup> Peter Stubbins Craig estimates that at the end of Swedish rule in 1655-56, the population of New Sweden was forty-five percent Swedish, forty-five percent Finnish, and ten percent other—Frisian, north German, Dutch.<sup>22</sup>

Enough work has now been done so that we have a very close idea of the ethnic make-up of the settlements



of New Sweden. Through Swedish embarkation and other records, Craig has traced the families of the two Swedish churches, attended by both Swedes and Finns, as recorded in the corrected church census of 1693: the (log) Wicaco church in Philadelphia which served Chester and Philadelphia Counties in Pennsylvania, and Gloucester and Burlington Counties in New Jersey; and the (log) Cranehook church, located between Wilmington and New Castle, which served New Castle County in Delaware and the settlements at Elk River, Maryland (Cecil County), and Penn's Neck, New Jersey (Salem County). Thus Swedish and Finnish families that had moved across the Delaware to New Jersey were nonetheless recorded.<sup>23</sup> (A few had moved too far away, for example to Maurice River, New Jersey, and Sassafras River, Maryland, to be served by these churches.)

Craig's research shows that in Pennsylvania north of the Chester Creek (formerly Upland Creek), the Swedish and Finnish population ca. 1693 was more than ninety percent Swedish; Upland (Chester) itself was Swedish. South of Upland there was a stronger Finnish element: Finland and Marcus Hook were Finnish, and New Castle County had a Finnish majority. Gloucester and Burlington Counties were predominately Swedish, while Penn's Neck (Churchtown) in Salem County, was Finnish, and Raccoon (Swedesboro) in the same county was mixed but with Swedes predominating, as they did in nearby Repaupo. By the early 18th century, the two groups had melded with many intermarriages.<sup>25</sup> In 1790, Swede-Finns still constituted ten to fourteen percent of the population in New Jersey's Gloucester, Salem, and Cumberland Counties; and eight percent in Burlington and Cape May Counties.<sup>26</sup>

The cabin's incomparable suitability for the wilderness brought it from the shores of New Sweden to successive American frontiers, and, finally, to its present role as a symbol of our past.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>George R. Gilmer, *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees and the Author* (New York: 1855; Baltimore: Genealogical Reprint Company, 1970), pp. 65, 101, 125, 181; Donald A. Hutslar, *The Log Architecture of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1972, 1977), pp. 32–34.

<sup>2</sup>F. D. Srygley, *Seventy Years in Dixie. Recollections and Sayings of T. W. Caskey and Others*. (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Publishing Co., 1893), pp. 133–143. Srygley is also quoted, in part, in Eugene M. Wilson, *Alabama Folk Houses* (Montgomery: Alabama Historical Commission, 1975), pp. 5, 9.

<sup>3</sup>Srygley, pp. 133–135; Wilson, pp. 5, 8, 9; Hutslar, facing p. i.

<sup>4</sup>Harold D. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (1939; Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), pp. 163–185; Terry G. Jordan, *American Log Buildings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 148; Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 135–178.

<sup>5</sup>Patricia Irvin Cooper, "Some Misconceptions in American Log-Building Studies," in *Material Culture*, vol. 23 (1991), no. 2, pp. 43–61.

<sup>6</sup>Jordan and Kaups, pp. 43, 45.

<sup>7</sup>Jordan and Kaups, p. 181; Hutslar, facing p. i, pp. 32, 35–36; Srygley, pp. 127–138; Howard Wight Marshall, *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), p. 40; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: 1856) p. 349; Basil Hall, *Forty Etchings from Sketches made with the Camera Lucida, in North America, in 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh: 1829), Pl. XXII.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Hutslar, pp. 35–36; Srygley, pp. 127–131. Srygley records T. W. Caskey's recollection, from Maury Co., Tenn., of neighbors not only working together but also using huge logs that endangered the safety and well-being of all the men.

<sup>9</sup>George Ely Russell, "The Swedish Settlement in Maryland, 1654," in *The American Genealogist*, vol. 54 (1978), no. 4, pp. 203–210; Peter Stebbins Craig, personal communication, Dec. 1990.

<sup>10</sup>The Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Philadelphia: 1835), pp. 57, 63–64.

<sup>11</sup>Jordan and Kaups, pp. 233–246.

<sup>12</sup>John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*. 2 vols. (Philadelphia: 1830, 1857), vol. I, pp. 300–301.

<sup>13</sup>Cooper, pp. 50–53. The date of the log Friends meetinghouse in Cecil Co., Maryland (pp. 50–51) should read 1708. The reference is on p. 19 of *Quaker Roots* (Kennett Square, Pa. 19348: Western Quarterly Meeting, P.O. Box 693, 1980). The entry for the publication by Birmingham Friends (p. 56) should read 1990, published in West Chester, Pa.

<sup>14</sup>C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Norristown, Pa: Pennsylvania German Society, 1929), pp. 123–129, 149–151; William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Immigration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania: Swarthmore College, 1935), pp. 178–188.

<sup>15</sup>*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 53: *Charles County Court Proceedings, 1658–1666* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1936), pp. 232, 357, 381, 382. I am indebted to Dell Upton and to Garry Wheeler Stone for this reference.

<sup>16</sup>Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933; New York: Peter Smith, 1941), vol. 1, pp. 42, 44–45, 88.

<sup>17</sup>William Byrd, *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University, 1966), p. 206. It cannot be shown whether the structures were cabins or houses; the former is more likely. That they were of horizontal notched logs is shown by Byrd's reference to log wharves at Norfolk "bound fast together by cross pieces notches into them, according to the architecture of the log houses of North Carolina (p. 174). The buildings were covered with large shingles hung upon pegs.

<sup>18</sup>Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina 1729–1765* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1940), pp. 89–93.

<sup>19</sup>Jordan and Kaups, p. 56.

<sup>20</sup>Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, 2 vols. (1911; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), vol. II, p. 615; John Romeyn Brodhead, comp., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; procured in Holland, England and France*. (Albany: 1853–1887), vol. III, p. 343.

<sup>21</sup>Johnson, vol. II, p. 652, n. 17; p. 670.

<sup>22</sup>Peter Stebbins Craig, personal communication, May 1993.

<sup>23</sup>Peter Stebbins Craig, "The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware," published in installments in *Swedish American Genealogist*, vol. IX (1989), no. 1, no. 3; vol. X (1990), no. 1, no. 3; vol. XI (1991), no. 1. Information on the original census, stored in Swedish archives, and on the area served by the churches is found in vol. IX, no. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Craig, personal communication, June, 1991.

<sup>25</sup>Craig, personal communication, June, 1991.

<sup>26</sup>Peter O. Wacker, *Land and People, a Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey: Origins and Settlement Patterns* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1975), pp. 170–171.



ON THE MAKING OF  
*DIE UNION CHORAL HARMONIE* (1833):  
Evidence from Henry C. Eyer's Working Papers

by John I. Schwarz, Jr.

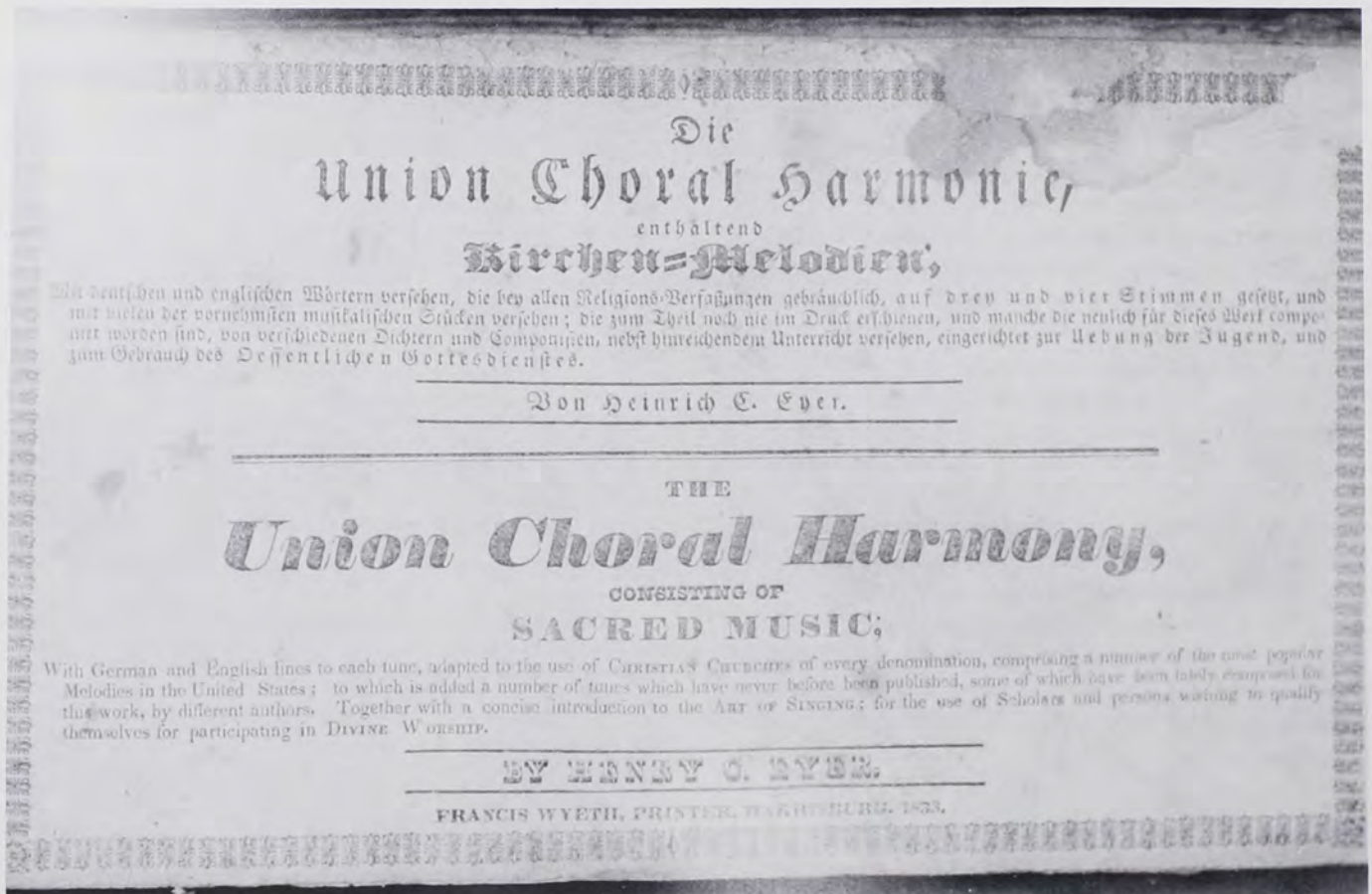


Fig. 1. Title page of Henry C. Eyer's *Die Union Choral Harmonie* (1833)

The Pennsylvania-German bilingual tunebook *Die Union Choral Harmonie* was published in three different editions, the first bearing the copyright date 1833, the second 1836, and the third 1839. The collections were compiled by Henry C. Eyer (1797-1879), a gentleman-farmer, businessman, public servant, and organist/choirmaster who resided in Selinsgrove, Union County, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> All three collections enjoyed a number of printings. Those bearing the 1833 and 1836 copyright dates were made by Francis Wyeth of Harrisburg; the 1839 edition was stereotyped by John Fagan of Philadelphia and then printed by John Vancourt and later the Schaefer and Koradi firm of that city, so that Henry's last collection was available to the public through at least 1853.<sup>2</sup>

Eyer's 1833 edition of *Die Union Choral Harmonie* (Fig. 1), the principal subject of this study, took its place among a large number of tunebooks which were published for German-Americans through the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, even a select list of titles—naming only those books which, like Eyer's, were actually printed in Pennsylvania, which employed the German language (or were bilingual), and used the shaped-note system<sup>3</sup>—proves to be imposing. It includes, by short title, Johannes Rothbaust's *Geistliche Ton-Kunst*, which was printed in Hanover in 1807; Joseph Doll's *Der leichte Unterricht, von der Vocal Music*, out of Harrisburg in 1810, and then 1814 and 1821, and with a second volume in 1815; Isaac Gerhart and Johann F. Eyer's *Choral Harmonie*, Harrisburg, 1818



and 1822; Johannes Rothbaust's *Die Franklin Harmonie*, Harrisburg, 1821, and its reprint under the English title *The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor*, Chambersburg, 1830; and Michael Bentz's *Die Neue Harmonie*, Gettysburg, 1827. Bearing dates later than Henry Eyer's 1836 and 1839 editions, which certainly belong to this group, and rather signaling the end of this Pennsylvania epoch, were Thomas R. Weber's *The Pennsylvania Choral Harmony*, Allentown, 1844, and S.M. Musselman's *Die Neue Choral Harmonie*, Harrisburg, 1844.

These tunebooks, having a common place of origin, language, and notational system, were similar in other ways as well. First, they were similar in their general layout. Having been modeled after tunebooks created earlier for use in English-speaking churches, they contained three basic sections. The opening section included theoretical material dealing with reading pitches and rhythms; the second section consisted of simple settings of chorales and hymns—in the earlier, English-language models this section would have contained Psalms and hymns—these arranged generally for three or four voice parts; and the third section contained more complicated musical forms (fuging tunes and anthems, for example) which would have been of particular interest to the singers in choirs and singing schools.<sup>4</sup>

Second, while the layout just described suggests a bias toward the use of the book by choirs and students in singing schools, all the tunebooks cited contained music (the chorales and hymns I just mentioned) which could be sung by congregations in services of worship;<sup>5</sup> this was made clear in the full title of each collection by such expressions as "vornehmsten Kirchen-Melodien," or "Church Music," or "Sacred Music." Significantly, endorsements offered by knowledgeable and recognized individuals—organists, pastors, and synod officials, for example—were included in each book to praise the compiler's choice of sacred music selections. By examining the endorsers' credentials or church affiliations it was generally possible to ascertain which denominations were served best by the music in the collection. Michael Bentz's *Die Neue Harmonie*, for example, printed in Gettysburg, contained endorsements from the organists of both the Lutheran and the Reformed churches in nearby York, and from officials representing the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania and the Zion Classis of the Evangelical Reformed Church.

Actually, compilers were moving against the tide in offering this congregational music for, as history tells us, through roughly 1850 congregations were singing from *hymnals* (word books) which, except in rare instances, contained no music. Accompaniments for the congregational singing, certainly those heard in a typical Lutheran or Moravian service, were provided by an organist reading from a *chorale book*, that is, a music book which contained traditional chorale and hymn melodies with bass lines, to which the trained organist would add the notes necessary to fill out the harmonies. These tunebooks, on the other hand, offered the advantage of having the features of the

hymnal and the chorale book combined. They offered both the words *and* music of favorite and traditional chorales and hymns under one cover; and, while the music was typically laid out as a choral score, each melody was printed directly above its bass line so that the organist had at his disposal essentially the same directive notation as was given in a chorale book.

Third, these tunebooks shared the common intention of offering sacred music which would appeal to all Protestant German congregations; "useable by all religious denominations" was the boast that appeared on the title-pages most often. As it turned out, some individual books were less representative than their authors claimed, and most gave greatest attention to the needs of the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Nevertheless, the collective contents of the tunebooks in the select list above included representative works from every recognized religious movement and poetic style in the European history of Protestant German hymnody; which is to say that the compilers, as a group, had a good grasp on their heritage.

Favorite texts by Martin Luther, Johann Heerman, Johann Rist, Nicolaus Herman, Bartholomäus Ringwaldt, and a host of other Lutheran poets were printed, with their traditional tunes, in great number. Hymns by Joachim Neander, the greatest of the Reformed writers, and works by Friederich Adolphe Lampe and others were offered. The Pietist tradition was represented by August Herman Francke, Gerhard Tersteegen and others, and Paul Gerhardt and Johann Franck are but two of the poets of the Mystic bent which were present. The Rationalist poetic style was represented by Christian Furchtegott Gellert and Balthasar Munter, among others. On occasion, hymn texts by Adam Reissner of the Schwenkfelder denomination, Heinrich George Neuss of the Brethren, Paul Eber of the Moravians, and F. Ulr Erhard of the Mennonites appeared.<sup>6</sup>

Fourth, and finally, these tunebooks generally contained some musical settings (fuging tunes, anthems, hymns, and once in a while a Psalm) which were lifted, along with their English texts when a bilingual tunebook was in the making, from the Anglo-American repertory. The music was composed by Englishmen such as Martin Madan and William Knapp, and by American composers such as William Billings, Daniel Read, and Timothy Swan. The English texts were written by Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, and others of near-equal stature. Most of these borrowed Anglo-American pieces were popular selections which had appeared in tunebooks printed to support the New England singing school movement which began in the 1720s, was wonderfully vital through the century, and was on the wane in 1820—just as singing schools were attracting the interest of the Germans in Pennsylvania. Still others had appeared in tunebooks printed farther down the coast: in New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for example.

The task of selecting and arranging the materials for these tunebooks was imposing; some of the collections contained more than two hundred compositions. The work challenged each compiler's knowledge of 1) his own sacred



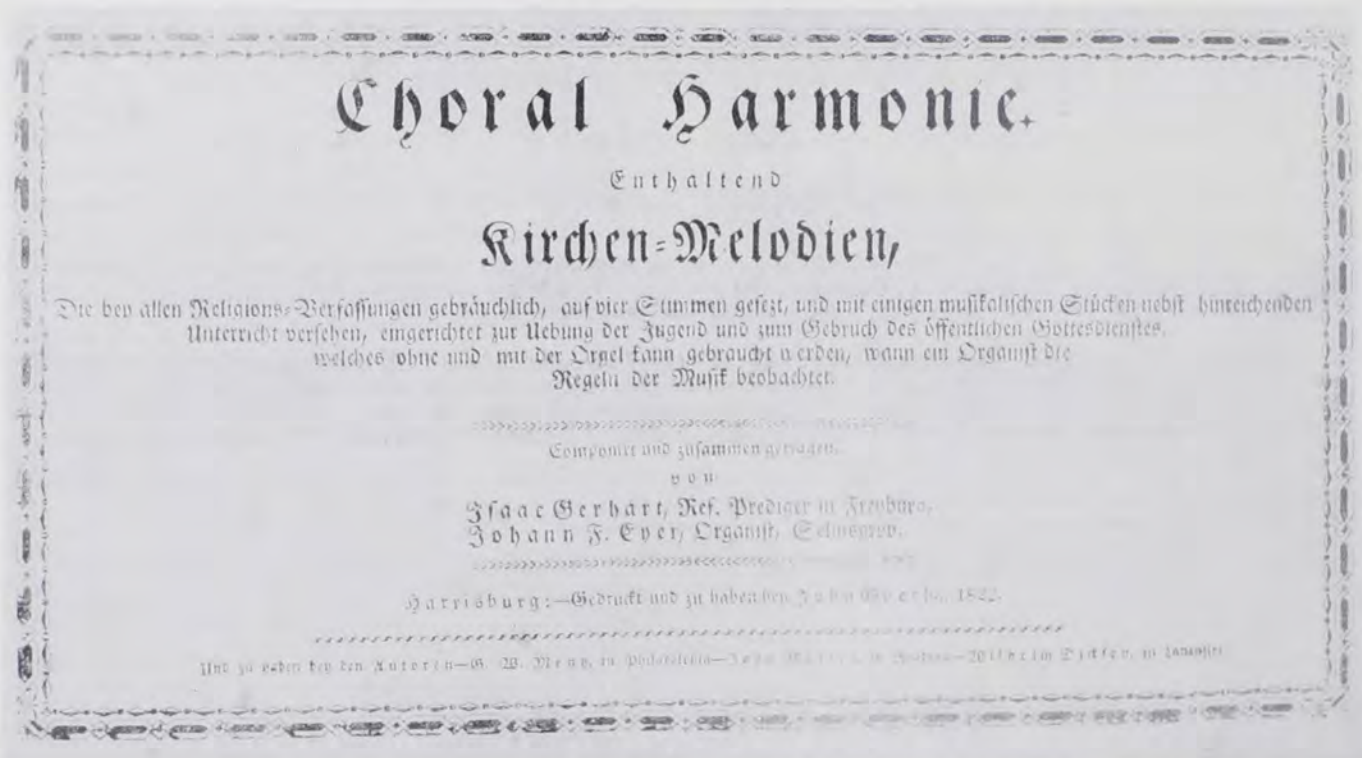


Fig. 2. Title page of Isaac Gerhart's and Johann F. Eyer's Choral Harmonie (1822)

music traditions and heritage, and those of others; 2) the existent repertory in both the German and Anglo-American categories; and 3) the general principles and practices of music. (Given the fact that the typical Pennsylvania-German compiler was neither a theologian nor a professional musician, we must marvel at even the partial successes.) Moreover, in those cases where the compilers elected to produce a bilingual tunebook,<sup>7</sup> the labor of the venture more than doubled for, to cite but one specific problem, the rhythm of the English texts (originals and translations) did not easily conform to melodies composed to the rhythm of the German language; conversely, German texts did not easily conform to the melodies found in selections borrowed from the Anglo-American repertory. Adjustments were required in almost every case. All these challenges notwithstanding, it was the case that by using some newly composed selections, and borrowing others from a variety of sources and traditions—some they took intact, some they rearranged, still others they created by pairing melody from here with a text from there—each compiler produced a tunebook collection which he hoped would enjoy healthy sales.

Until recently little evidence existed to document how compilers handled this organizational process. Then, in 1991, working papers created and gathered by Henry C. Eyer while preparing his 1833 edition of *Die Union Choral*

*Harmonie*, emerged from the recesses of a private collection;<sup>8</sup> and, while they are neither complete<sup>9</sup> nor free of occasional errors or changes of heart, they are nevertheless both enlightening and engaging. They substantiate that a large number of works from the 1822 edition of *Choral Harmonie*, the German-language tunebook by the Reverend Isaac Gerhart (1788-1865) and Henry's father Johann Frederick (1770-1827), provided Henry with the core of his collection. Moreover, they identify still other publications Henry felt to be popular, and therefore worthy, sources of material; they reveal how he organized and controlled the array of materials he mustered for inclusion in his own collection; and, perhaps most interestingly, they occasionally allow us to participate, even now, in Henry Eyer's very personal deliberations as he came upon and then worked around particular problems.

The "working papers" consist of six separate items: three individual sheets of manuscript music score; one small sheet containing a German rendering of the four stanzas of Reginald Heber's FROM GREENLAND'S ICY MOUNTAINS; Eyer's preliminary "register," this being one large sheet of pencil-lined paper, folded, containing the titles and sources (by author and page number) of selections Eyer wished to include in his first (1833) collection; and, finally, a working copy of that 1822 edition of Gerhart and Eyer's *Choral Harmonie* (see title page in Fig. 2), this





Fig. 3. Page 54 of Henry Eyer's working copy of Choral Harmonie (1822)

with many paste-ins containing mostly the English texts which the printer was to lay in under the German texts of those selections Henry intended to carry into his own bilingual collection.

### THE 1822 WORKING-COPY BOOK

The presence of a copy of *Choral Harmonie* among these working papers is not surprising since this publication, undoubtedly, was the inspiration for Henry's efforts in the tunebook production business. In fact, Henry publicly acknowledged his debt to this collection, saying in the preface of his own first book that

The "Choral Harmony" published by Eyer and Gerhart, has been used by him [Henry] several years while engaged in teaching Sacred Music, and has become a standard work in the German language, wherever it has been introduced. The high estimation in which the work is held ... has induced the editor to make an attempt to improve upon it, by making arrangements for the publication of the present work.

To make the connection between his book and his father's even stronger, Henry went on to say that his *Die Union Choral Harmonie* "contains a Selection of all the choice pieces from the 'Choral Harmony' ... to which is added a great number of melodies copied from the best authors,

with many new pieces which have never before appeared in print."

Henry, of course, used the working-copy book in a very interesting way. Since he evidently decided early on to use a large number of selections from this collection, which offered only German texts for 172 of the 181 pieces which were printed, he found it most expedient to simply paste English texts into a copy of the book itself. Figure 3 shows two examples which appear on page 54 of Henry's working copy: a paste-in containing the English text "Life is the time to serve the Lord" is attached in the right margin and falls atop BRIDGEWATER and another, containing the text "In thy great name, O lord, we come," falls atop STANDISH.<sup>10</sup> Visible too, is Henry Eyer's addition of the composer's name (Edson) and the meter (L.M.) to the BRIDGEWATER score, and the meter (C.M.) to STANDISH. Henry added the meter information to almost every borrowed score, and also a tune title when it was absent, and the composer's name whenever it was known to him.

Henry recorded in this working-copy book adjustments of other types as well. On a few occasions he changed just one or two German words, meticulously pasting the tiny replacement(s) here and there over the printed text (Fig. 4). Several other pages show pitch changes made in pencil, and a canon melody (page 33) was completely eliminated from consideration by an "X" which was penciled in over the full score. In the case of "Ach Gott erhor





Fig. 4. Page 37 of Henry Eyer's working copy of *Choral Harmonie* (1822)

mein Feufzen" (page 116), Eyer inked in the title LAMENTATION, pasted in his English text, crossed out the printed German text with pencil, and added the direction "German words from this Book page 43" to the paste-in. The printer followed all these alterations/directions when the 1833 book was prepared.

At the same time, decisions made in this working-copy book were not always final. In a few cases Henry pasted in words—indeed, sometimes both English and German—and then did not use the selection at all. This was the case with KREUZ-LIED (page 127), FEVERSHAM (46), HANOVER (85), NEW JAHR'S LIED (86), BATH (98), BLESSED SAVIOUR (101), and SEATON (118). In two rare instances, AYLESBURY (95) and NEWTON (117), Henry pasted in English texts which were then replaced in the final stages of setting the type. In the case of AYLESBURY, the pasted-in text of "The lord my shepherd is," by Isaac Watts, was replaced by the same poet's "O blessed souls are they." In NEWTON, the text "Let differing nations join" was replaced by "Come sound his praise abroad" (Watts).

More remains to be said about the specific works Henry took from *Choral Harmonie*, but what should be said now is that he used the working copy itself in a very efficient manner. Henry altered in one way or another 130 of the 181 scores in the book, and each was executed with sufficient clarity of detail and intention so as to allow the altered score to serve as a guide when typesetting began

on Henry's own book. At this moment there is no reason to believe the working-copy book was not used in precisely this way.

#### EYER'S PRELIMINARY "REGISTER"

A very different and, in some respects, more important perspective on Eyer's intentions and work methods emerges from the manuscript "register" in these working papers. This is a relatively large sheet, 39.5 x 30.2 cm., which it seems Eyer folded so as to create two leaves, *i.e.*, four page surfaces. Figure 5 shows page 1. This page, and pages 2 and 4 as well, contains two lists, each in a three-column layout. Each list offers, in Eyer's mostly ink script, information related to the selections he initially intended to include in his collection. The title of the selection is given in the first column; the source of that selection, identified most often by the initial of the author's last name, appears in the second column; and the page number in that source in which the selection could be found is written in the third column. Henry worked neatly in the first stage of this register's development; later, when second thoughts prompted an addition or deletion, his script became careless, and his emendations were made in pencil as well as ink.

Henry grouped the titles by meter. The Long Meter title list and Common Meter list, running side by side, begin on page 1 and extend approximately halfway down through



Long M.	Book Page	Common M.	Book Page
New Sabbath	B. 42	Twenty fourth	Sabb. 27
Shaking (copy from Simon B.)	H. 74	Maravian hymn (M/B. 2d)	H. 11
Alphiston	R. 37	Medfield, long (M/B. 1st)	R. 55
Newry	B. 39	Wilmington	R. 51
German hymn	R. 41	Swings	B. 20
Fattville (copy)	-	Sixty	R. 60
Brookfield S.W. (copy from H. 187)	H. 57	Manchester	R. 17
Transport S.W. (copy from H. 187)	R. 107	Warwick	R. 11
Exhortation (copy from H. 187)	R. 126	Wattle street	R. 13
Williamstown (copy from H. 187)	M. 31	Bath Chapel	R. 16
Delight Eyes Book	-	St. Martins	R. 28
Adlestid's 2d	R.	J. novak's praise	R. 74
Thurston 2d	R.	China (S.W. 3rd R.)	R. 100
Rupia 2d	R.	Rochester	B. 23
Portugal 2d	R.	Irish (S.W. Walsal B. 18)	R. 115
Woodham 2d	R.	Communion (S.W. B. 12)	R. 62
Old on Science 2d	R.	Virginia	R. 63
Bath 2d	R.	Millford Eyes Book	-
Hanover 2d	R.	Rainbow 2d	R.
Invitation 2d	R. 70	Liberty 2d	R.
Voice of nature 2d	R. 68	Northfield 2d	R.
Greenwich 2d	R. 59	W. Masscut 2d	R.
Timesbury 2d	R.	Winter 2d	R.
Gilgal 2d	R.	Hymnouth 2d	R.
Malinda 2d	R.	Mear 2d	R.
Old 100. 2d	R.	Spiritual victory 2d	R.
Weimar 2d	R.	Bedford 2d	R.
Funeral thought 2d	R.	New Jerusalem 2d	R.
HALLOWEEN	R. 127	Chaugoe 2d	R.
New Year (copy)	-	Sunday 2d	R.
		Pleasant valley 2d	R.

Fig. 5. Page 1 of Henry Eyer's manuscript "register."

page 2; page 3 is blank for the most part;<sup>11</sup> and page 4 contains the Particular Meter and Short Meter lists—they also run side by side—and the anthems as well. A total of 157 titles are listed on the three pages, all but seven written in ink. However, ten titles, specifically MILES LANE, WALSAL, CLIFFORD, CARR'S LANE, TRANSPORT, HANOVER, PICKERING, DAMASCUS, SILENT DEVOTION and DAVID'S LAMENTATION appear twice. The first three of these were initially jotted down in the lower-left corner of page 2 in pencil, rather as a reminder that they were available and worthy of consideration, and then they were written again, in a formal manner, in ink, in the appropriate metrical group and with source and page citations. In the case of TRANSPORT, Eyer inadvertently entered it a second time in the Long Meter list, and crossed it out after recognizing his error. The remaining six works were simply assigned to the wrong meter group to begin with, requiring that they

be crossed out and listed again in the correct place. For example, Eyer had at first included the Billings work, DAVID'S LAMENTATION, in the Particular Meter list; it was later crossed out and removed to the Anthem section. In another, unusual situation, two different titles came to represent the same composition: a manuscript that will be discussed later makes it clear that Eyer changed the name of one of his own creations and, of course, both titles made their way onto the work sheet. ISLE OF LOVE was listed first, but it was crossed out sometime later and the new title, HARMITAGE, was squeezed into the list immediately below. Summarily, only 146 really different compositions are represented by the titles on this working paper.<sup>12</sup>

It is important to note that on this work sheet Eyer gives very little attention to selections from the chorale repertory; it contains only six works, EVENING HYMN, FUNERAL THOUGHT, MEAR, NASHVILLE, OLD HUNDRED, and WEIMAR, which Eyer,



by his own indexing, viewed as legitimate chorales. That is, his completed book came to include an index which drew attention to seventy-five chorales and all these selections—including the six titles I just cited—were listed, by first-line incipits, in German, in the rear of the book under the heading *Register von Choral-Melodien*.<sup>13</sup> Seventy of the chorales listed were carried from his father's 1822 compilation and the remaining five, specifically NASHVILLE, ZION CHURCH, FREEBURG, DIANNA and SCHINDEL, were found elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> The historical/traditional importance of most of the chorales Henry Eyer selected is reinforced by their appearance earlier in two other significant American publications: in the *Erbauliche Lieder Sammlung zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den vereinigten evangelisch lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-America* of 1786 (and that of 1814), which was the first synodical hymnal in America, and the *Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* which, upon its appearance in 1813, supplied the traditional music for the texts in that hymnal.<sup>15</sup> Sixty-five of Henry's seventy-five chorale texts appeared in that hymnal and fifty-eight of his chorale tunes appeared in the chorale book. Incidentally, this body of works would have been of personal as well as commercial importance to Henry for he was raised in the Lutheran tradition. He was a member of the Sharon Union Lutheran and Reformed Church in Selinsgrove in his early years—his father was the first organist to serve this congregation—and, from 1843 on, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in that community. In fact, Henry's tunebooks were probably used by the members of these congregations, but no evidence seems to exist to confirm this.

On this work sheet, though, Henry was undoubtedly thinking in terms of that broad consumer market he wished to tap—those “Christian Churches of every denomination.” As a consequence, he is preoccupied here with genres (hymns, fusing tunes, anthems, etc.), texts, and tunes which lay beyond the chorale repertory, and he reached out to a variety of Anglo-American and German-American sources to get them.

In identifying the sources of these selections Henry C. Eyer referred to nine collections.<sup>16</sup> The 1822 edition of *Choral Harmonie*, which Henry identified as “Eyer's Book,” was cited most often; he ascribed fifty-three titles to this very accessible source, most of the time not bothering to include the page number. However, once the accuracy of Eyer's work was challenged the figure fifty-three lost its integrity, and it proved to be somewhat misleading in respect to the repertory it represented. First of all, the verification process revealed one title (DAMASCUS) which was incorrectly ascribed to *Choral Harmonie*, and another (BLOOMSBURG) which should have been credited to that source. It also came to light that Henry dropped a number of the correctly ascribed pieces sometime before his book went to print and, as will be discussed further below, that he ultimately used compositions from the 1822 compilation which were not listed on this work sheet. After taking all

these circumstances into account, the number of selections other than chorales which Henry carried over from his father's book was determined to be fifty-one.<sup>17</sup>

Eyer drew from three other Pennsylvania-German collections as well (and all three were mentioned in the select list I offered at the outset of this study). Eighteen selections named on the work sheet were to be taken from the *Die Neue Harmonie ... von Michael Bentz, York, Penn.* This now-scarce, bilingual book was printed by Henry C. Neinstedt in Gettysburg in 1827 and was the only collection Bentz released. Nineteen selections were clearly marked to be extracted from John Rothbaust's very popular, bilingual compilation of 1830, *The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor ... Second and Improved Edition*. In point of fact, after working around several attribution errors and omitted source citations, a total of twenty-four selections were found to trace to this particular book which was printed by Henry Ruby in Chambersburg. Finally, Joseph Doll's *Leichter Unterricht in der Vokal Musik*, printed by John Wyeth of Harrisburg in 1821, was given as the source of two pieces (CONFIRMATION and NASHVILLE), though the second citation proved to be incorrect.

Since each of these three Pennsylvania-German compilations contained a different assembly of pieces from the German heritage, they certainly offered Henry the opportunity to see, examine, and select from an array of pieces. In all probability, though, their more important benefit lay in showing him which selections from the Anglo-American repertory were included in each collection—their presence, of course, being a signal that the selections had achieved popularity among the Germans in the geographic area these collections represented.

Five English-language tunebooks were given as sources and, not surprisingly, John Wyeth's works were among them. Wyeth's first (1810) *Repository of Sacred Music* was a landmark publication in that it signaled the beginning of the singing school movement in Pennsylvania; and his *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second*, of 1813, was a landmark publication in respect to its contents—it was the first English-language tunebook to include Southern folk hymns along with standard selections from the New England repertory. These new folk hymns, which were stimulated into existence when the great evangelical movement of the nineteenth century spread across the south, were tapped by compilers working in the south, and by Henry Eyer, who was attempting to create a collection of broad appeal for singing schools, choirs, and congregations in Pennsylvania. On Henry's special “register,” Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music ... Second Edition*, 1811, was given as the source of eleven pieces, and his *Repository ... Part Second*, 1820, was identified as the source of four others. All the citations but one, LINGHAM, were found to be correct.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of EVENING SHADE, Eyer referred to its source with the abbreviation “St. J.” The book proved to be *The American Harmonist ...* a compilation which appeared



just once; it was authored by Stephen St. John and printed by William Greer in Harrisburg in 1821. The source of three other selections, STERLING, MORAVIAN HYMN, and MEDFIELD, was identified by the abbreviations "Has" or "H." Eyer was referring here to the *Musica Sacra: or Springfield and Utica Collections United ...* which was authored by Thomas Hastings and Solomon Warriner. Editions of this very popular title out of the state of New York were issued on an almost annual basis from 1818 into the early 1830s. The page numbers attached to the three selections on Eyer's work sheet match the locations of those selections in the eighth, revised edition of *Musica Sacra*, which was released from the print shop of William Williams in Utica in 1829.

The fifth English-language source Henry cited—he referred to it as "Dyer" on his work sheet—proved to be the most interesting verification challenge of this study. Five titles on the worksheet, specifically LUTON, ANTICIPATION, CARR'S LANE, PICKERING, and DAMASCUS, are ascribed to a Dyer collection, and all have been found on the precise page Henry specified in the "Third Edition, Improved and Enlarged" of Samuel Dyer's *A New Selection of Sacred Music ...* which was printed by J. Robinson in Baltimore in 1825. However, the music and English text of yet another selection listed on the worksheet, PEBMARSH, for which Henry named no source at all, has also been traced to Dyer's third edition (page 84). And beyond that, two titles which appeared twice on the work sheet show some link to the very same book: MILES LANE, ascribed to Bentz in the Common Meter list, and WALSAL, having no source specified but employing music that appeared in the Rothbaust book, were found in Dyer's third edition (the former on page 73, the latter on page 114) with exactly the same music and English text.<sup>19</sup> Given these circumstances, and that CARR'S LANE and PICKERING were eventually scratched from this work list, Henry Eyer seems to have been more casual in his dealings with Dyer's collection than with the others.

While the information Eyer provided in these ascriptions was severely abbreviated, it was nevertheless very effective in making his desires clear. When he specified that a selection was to be found in one of the English-language sources, the use of the music and English text given for that piece was implied, and Eyer identified, in a smaller hand under or behind the title, where the German text to be used with that selection would be found. For example, under the title AMITY, which was to be taken in its entirety from page 94 of Wyeth's *Repository . . .*, Second Edition, 1811, Eyer wrote "G[erman] Words from Bentz - 104." On the other hand, when the selection was to be taken from a Pennsylvania-German tunebook other than his father's (where Henry had pasted in the English texts he desired), then the music and German text were to be taken as a matter of course, and the English text as well unless one from some other source was specified. In the case of AMERICA, for example, Eyer stipulated that the music and

German text were to be taken from that selection as it was printed in the Bentz book, and the English text was to be taken from AMERICA as it was presented in Wyeth's *Repository ...* Second Edition, 1811.

When the title represented a newly composed work, Henry wrote the word "Copy," most often in parentheses, immediately behind the title. The word appears on the work sheet behind eleven titles: CARROLLTON, NEW HARMONY, HARRISBURG, POTTSVILLE, NEW YEAR, WANDERING THOUGHT, and MOUNT AIRY (this entry given fully in pencil), these being pieces his father composed; HERMITAGE, SELINGSGROVE, and SILENT DEVOTION, Henry's own pieces; and BROTHERLY LOVE, a selection of undetermined authorship.<sup>20</sup> Now while all the compositions just named were printed in the 1833 collection, Henry's pieces are the only works represented in manuscript form among the working papers now being discussed. On the other hand, manuscripts are available for two selections which were not named on the work sheet but which were printed with the other newly composed pieces. The first gives the text and music for SUNBURY, composed by the Reverend Johann Peter Schindel (1787-1853) of Sunbury, Pennsylvania, and the second gives the same for CHARLOTTE, a work of unknown authorship. Both manuscripts will be discussed below.

The last observation that must be made about this important work sheet concerns its notational features. That is, the majority of titles listed are preceded by accounting marks which take three forms: an "X", the standard check mark (✓), and the dot—and all these appear to have been written on the work sheet in the latter stages of deliberation about the collection's contents. The largest number of titles, 118 to be precise, were preceded by a penciled "X," and some of these are visible in Figure 5. Now since all but one (SWEET HOME) of the works so marked were used in the 1833 collection, I believe the marks were made by Eyer to identify those selections which, after considerable thought, remained worthy of inclusion in his collection. This interpretation is reinforced by what will now be said about the dot.

The dot, always in ink, was written in front of twenty-five titles and seems to have been Eyer's signal that the works so marked should be dropped from consideration. The dot appeared with seven pieces which, in fact, were not used in 1833; and in all the remaining instances the mark was superseded (written over) by a penciled "X" which brought the selection back into favor and use.

The common checkmark, being always in ink, was used only with the anthem titles. It appeared before nine of the eleven titles Eyer listed but, since some of the pieces bearing this mark were used in 1833 and some were not, its precise meaning can not be explained. What is clear in this section of the work sheet, though, is that Henry Eyer was indecisive about his final selection of anthems. In fact, only five of the eleven titles he listed came to be included in his 1833 collection; he used only DAVID'S LAMENTATION, DENMARK, CLARMONT [*sic*], EASTER ANTHEM





Fig. 6. Manuscript copy of *SUNBURY* by the Reverend J.P. Schindel.

and NEW YORK from a list which also contained FAREWELL ANTHEM, CREATION, PILGRIM'S FAREWELL, VESPER HYMN, STRIKE THE CYMBAL, and FROM GREENLAND'S ICY MOUNTAINS, the latter work having been incorrectly placed there to begin with.

Regarding Eyer's indecisiveness, calculations found on another of the work sheets suggest the nature of the dilemma Henry felt he faced and, in turn, help us understand his solution. On the backside of the manuscript containing Schindel's *SUNBURY* Henry wrote a list which contained nine anthem titles with numbers, first "N York 3 1/2"; then "Clarmont 3 1/2; Easter A. 2 1/2; Denmark 2 1/2; Farewell A. 3 1/2; Pilgrims F. 2; Greenland 1; Strike the C 3;" and "Davids L. 1." Written below the numbers, which represent the number of pages required for the printing of each anthem, is the sum of twenty-two. Under this sum Eyer then wrote "129," this indicating, apparently, the number of pages Eyer thought had already accumulated with the other selections. Finally, he tallied the figures 22 and 129 to create the sum "151." In these calculations Henry obviously was attempting to determine the number of pages of music his collection would have if all nine anthems were

used. Now since Henry's 1833 collection came to include only 142 pages of printed music, it would appear that he felt the number 151 to be excessive, and that he achieved the lower and more desirable figure by simply reducing the number of anthems he offered to five.

### THE MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS

The pages containing music score, and the small sheet bearing the text of Heber's piece too, appear to have been written on portions of sheets of the large 39.5 x 30.2 cm size mentioned earlier, and all are in Eyer's own hand. The smallest manuscript, seen in Figure 6, measures 10.5 x 33.7 cm. It contains the score for *SUNBURY*, a three-voice composition with a single stanza of text in German and English written between the lower two voice parts. The attribution "Revd J.P. Schindel" [sic] is given in the upper right-hand margin of the sheet (and one is puzzled by Eyer's error in spelling for Schindel was a close friend). The back side of this sheet contains those important anthem page-figure calculations which were just discussed.

The largest manuscript music score, a portion of which appears in Figure 7, measures 29 x 30.2 cm. It contains,

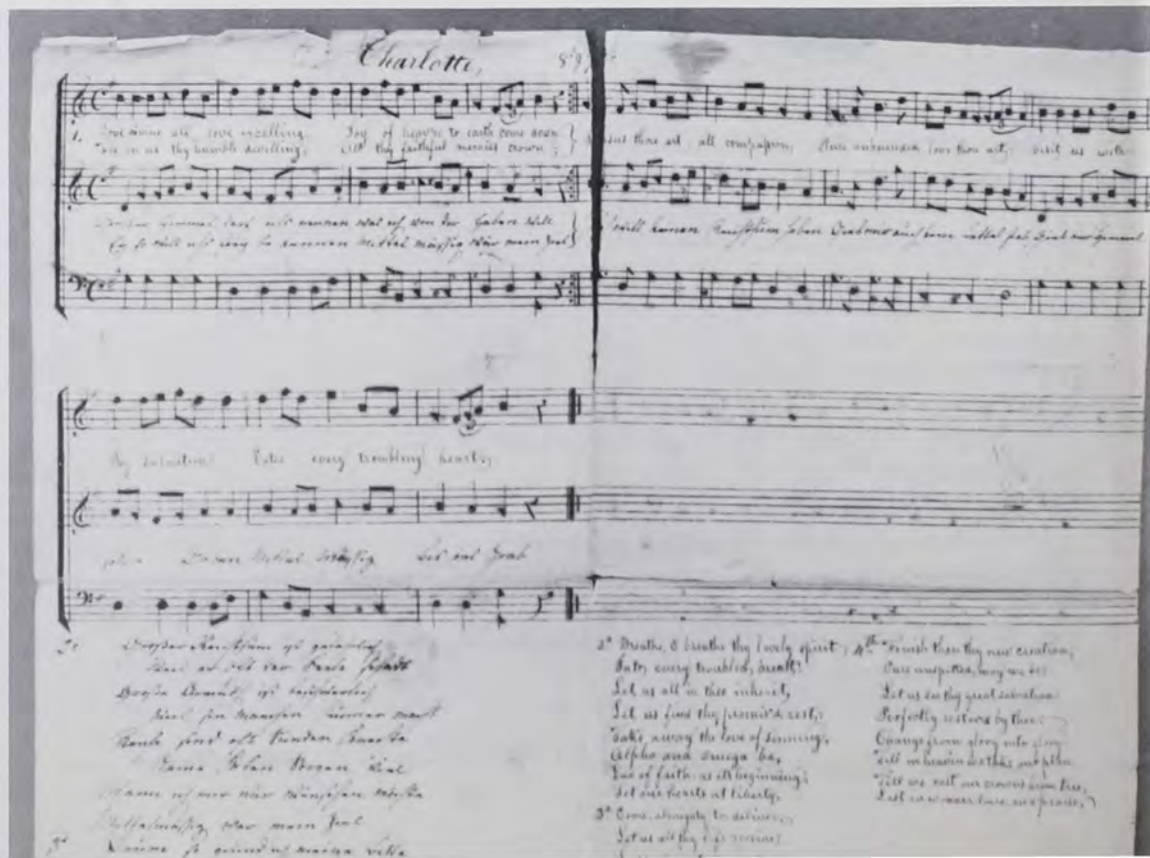


Fig. 7. Manuscript copy of *CHARLOTTE*, author unknown.



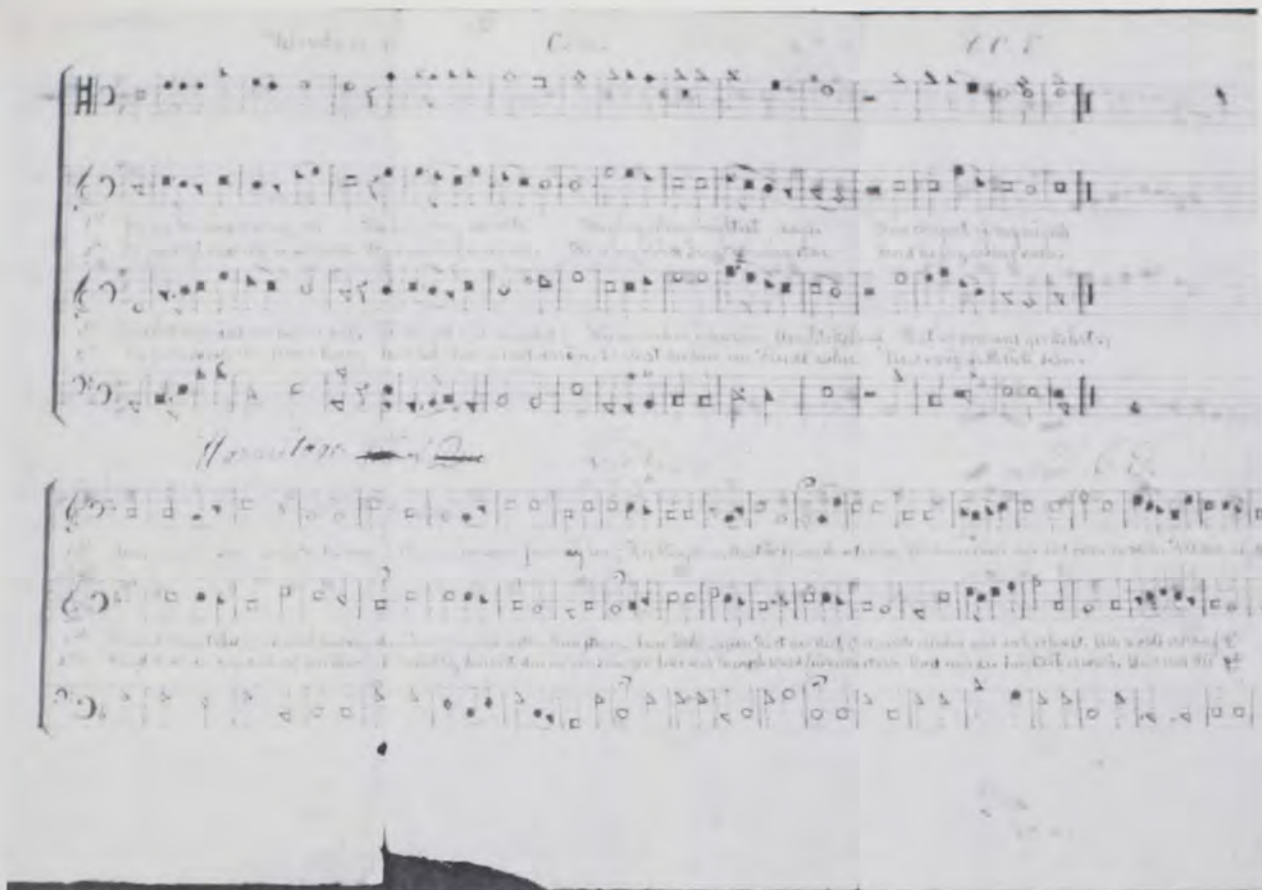


Fig. 8. Manuscript copy of SELINGROVE and HERMITAGE by Henry C. Eyer.

on one face only, the score of CHARLOTTE, a three-voice selection wherein the first stanza of English text is written between the middle and upper voice parts, while the German is laid between the middle and lower. Two additional stanzas of the German text and two of the English fill up the lower half of the page. While this manuscript is quite clearly in Eyer's own hand, he takes no credit for the music or the German text. (The English text is Charles Wesley's "Love Divine, All Love Excelling.") In any case, CHARLOTTE came to appear on page 127 of the 1833 collection.

Beyond the mystery attaching to its authorship, CHARLOTTE is important in being one of sixteen non-chorale compositions which were not named on Eyer's work sheet but which nevertheless came to be included in his collection. Eight of these compositions were drawn from the 1822 book: Henry borrowed BRUDERLIEBE—he changed this title to BAND OF LOVE—BERLIN, HOTHAM, JOYFUL SOUND, MAJESTY, SUNDAY—he changed this title to SABBATH—THANKSGIVING, AND WHITSUNTIDE. Of course English texts were found pasted in the 1822 working-copy book atop these works, just as was the case with the pieces Eyer did name on his large work sheet. As for the remaining eight works of the unlisted group, the CHARLOTTE and SUNBURY pieces discussed earlier account for two, and then there was WEST HANOVER, which came to be identified in the 1833 collection as another original composition by Johann Frederick Eyer. Finally, Henry used FEDUCIA, FROOME, HOME, SAVANNAH, and TOWANDA, which he borrowed from the

English-language and other Pennsylvania-German collections which were identified above.

The remaining music manuscript measures 20.1 x 30.2 cm. Here Eyer does give himself credit for authoring the music and the English and German texts of the three selections which the sheet contains. His initials (HCE) appear to the right of the title SELINGROVE, and of HERMITAGE, two pieces which were notated on one facing (see Fig. 8), and to the right of SILENT DEVOTION, which consumes all the space on the back side. In the case of his SELINGROVE, a four-voice piece, Eyer laid in two stanzas of English text between the alto and tenor parts, and two stanzas of German between the tenor and bass parts. In preparing this score Henry fell into step with his father who, when notating four-voice works, always set the soprano part in the C (alto) clef; indeed, Henry held to this outdated practice until preparations for his 1839 book began.

For HERMITAGE, a three-voice piece, one stanza of English text was placed between the middle and upper parts and two stanzas of German were laid between the middle and bottom parts. The manuscript indicates that the title initially applied to HERMITAGE was ISLE OF LOVE (Figure 8, bottom). This was rather boldly lined out in ink sometime after the score was completed and the title HARMITAGE was added in ink with a much less delicate script. The change from "A" in HARMITAGE to "E" in HERMITAGE was made in pencil at a still later date, though certainly before the printer began his work.



With SILENT DEVOTION, another three-voice composition, Henry placed the first stanza of English text between the middle and bottom parts, and the second stanza of English text under the bottom part. In contrast to the other two scores, no German text is offered here, although a translation of the hymn text that was offered, "As down in the sunken retreats of the ocean," did appear over the English words when the 1833 collection was released. In addition, this score shows a footnoted correction: Eyer erred in the soprano's third measure of the second brace; his attempt to repair the damage led only to further damage, and so he wrote out a correct version of the measure in the lower, left-hand corner of the page.

### THE HEBER HYMN TEXT

The last and smallest of the manuscript working papers measures 21 x 14.6 cm. Under the title FROM GREENLAND'S ICY MOUNTAINS, which is given in English, Eyer has written in a very neat ink script a translation, in German, of Reginald Heber's hymn text. Interestingly, Eyer specified on his large, "register" work sheet that the German words for this selection were to be taken from page 170 of the Rothbaust book, and Eyer has surely complied with that direction both on this working paper and in his printed collection of 1833. But he has gone several steps beyond that: this work sheet, and the subsequent printed version too, offer four stanzas of Heber's text while Rothbaust's printing contained only stanza 1 and the second half of stanza 2. Even more notable is that, while Eyer took the full measure of German text Rothbaust offered, he did not take the musical setting that accompanied it; Eyer's 1833 compilation shows Heber's text mated with a four-part setting of its more traditional partner, Lowell Mason's MISSIONARY HYMN.<sup>25</sup>

The information which emerges from an examination of the minute, explicit details of these working papers is important in its own special way; at the very least it makes us aware of the variety of problems and the minutiae Henry Eyer and every other compiler was obliged to control. At the same time, images and perspectives of larger proportions can also be developed from this information. First, there is no contesting the fact that Gerhart's and Johann Frederick Eyer's *Choral Harmonie* provided Henry with the core material for his own *Die Union Choral Harmonie*; 121 of the 214 pieces in his collection were borrowed from the earlier book. And, given the fact that Henry drew upon collections which dated as late as 1830 (Rothbaust's *The Franklin Harmony*), we can conclude that Henry did not begin serious organizational work on his first book until after Rothbaust's 1830 book reached the public's hands.

As for the sources Eyer tapped, the cultural and geographic diversity they represented allow one to argue that Henry was a knowledgeable and imaginative compiler. The Bentz, Rothbaust, and Doll publications, along with his father's *Choral Harmonie*, surely provided him with the important core of selections necessary for meeting the

needs of the various German enclaves in the southeastern quadrant of the Commonwealth. The Wyeth, Hastings-Warriner, and Dyer collections, on the other hand, provided English-language materials which offered diversity in style (the folk idiom and the cultivated style) and represented a rather wide geographic spectrum of tastes. The Hastings-Warriner collection, it should be recalled, emerged from Utica, this situated in a rural portion of New York State some 225 miles north and east of Selinsgrove. Dyer's work, on the other hand, emerged from more cosmopolitan environs; his collections were printed first in New York City, later in Philadelphia, and still later in Baltimore. Significantly, Dyer chose not to let the urbane character of his publication go unnoticed, boldly stating in his *A New Selection* title that the collection contained nearly all the popular melodies which were standard "in the principal Cities in the United States."

Other consequences of Eyer's work with these sources are less visible. First, they allowed Henry to muster a large number of popular pieces of all the genres (hymns, fusing tunes, anthems, etc.) with relative ease. His collection certainly stepped beyond the proportions of the 1822 core book by his father and Gerhart; Henry offered 214 pieces while his father and Gerhart offered 181. Second, the additional thirty-three pieces being distributed rather proportionately among the various types, raised the individual genre totals to levels which made the collection enticing to all the parties—congregations, choirs and singing schools—which used tunebooks. An analysis of the selections in both books shows that while the earlier book contained 145 works of very plain chorale- or hymn-type settings, twenty-nine fusing tunes, three set pieces, two anthems, and two small canons, Henry's 1833 compilation contained 168 selections of the plain type, plus thirty-seven fusing tunes, four set pieces and five anthems.

A somewhat startling statistic emerges as these musical types in Henry's collection are examined more closely. The number of musical settings which are of Anglo-American origin far exceeds (in fact, is almost double) that number of works which have roots in the broad history of German hymnody. This is an absolute reversal of the circumstance which prevailed in his father's book and of that we would expect to find in a Pennsylvania-German tunebook. Interestingly enough, the shift in emphasis traces not to the additional New England fusing tunes and anthems; many of those, after all, were already in the 1822 core book. Rather, it traces to the shorter and simpler types where we now find many more hymns, these with musical settings which are rooted in English-language church traditions. The numbers seem to substantiate the fact that Henry Eyer was directing his collection at Methodist and Baptist and Presbyterian congregations across the Commonwealth as well as at his German kin.

In view of this situation, Henry Eyer's perceptive selection of English-language hymns offers no surprises. The new pieces and his paste-ins as well abound in original



texts by Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, James Allen, Alexander Pope, Joseph Stennet, Philip Doddridge, and others, and in texts which are best labeled as familiar translations of favorite traditional German hymns.<sup>25</sup> Most of these authors and translators had already won public favor in the New England collections, and the Southern collections such as had been released by 1830, and they came to be represented again in the Baptist, Evangelical, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Reformed hymnals released in the 1840s and 50s.

A particularly strong signal of Eyer's success in selecting works of broad appeal is that thirty-four of the Anglo-American works he incorporated into his collection are cited in Crawford's *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*. Then too, thirty-two of the selections he took from the German-language heritage are among the forty most popular works which were printed in Pennsylvania-German tunebooks released in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

In conclusion, it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that the working papers just discussed were used by the Francis Wyeth firm to construct the first printed edition of *Die Union Choral Harmonie*. Notwithstanding the fact that decisions to add and delete were made after Eyer completed these work sheets, and that corrections were required here and there, the papers contained more than

enough clean and ready information to keep the typesetters busy as Eyer, working with Francis Wyeth, made the final adjustments on the collection. The scores of the newly composed works, certainly those I described earlier and probably the still-missing items as well, were generally complete. And while a working paper listing Eyer's choice of chorales is not now available and may never have been, the scores for the seventy chorales which were to be taken from the father's 1822 book were available, complete with Henry's laboriously prepared paste-ins containing the English texts. This was true for the fifty-one non-chorale selections which were to be carried over as well. And finally, having leaned rather heavily on the discrepancies which appeared in Eyer's large "register," it seems only fair to offer the reminder that most of the information given on that working paper was truly correct, and therefore ready to guide the typesetters in their work.

One always hopes that the missing papers which relate to Eyer's work still survive and will one day emerge to fill in the gaps in our knowledge about the man's efforts. But even in their present number, the papers now at hand offer invaluable insights into the challenging business of organizing a tunebook. Moreover, they offer a wonderful sketch of a Pennsylvania citizen, Henry C. Eyer, who, we find, possessed both astute business skills and a very considerable knowledge of the field of hymnody.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>In 1855 this large county was divided into two smaller county units, Union and Snyder, with Selinsgrove falling in the Snyder County portion. Most of the biographical information about Henry and the Eyer family is now found in collections maintained by the Snyder County Historical Society, Middleburg, Pa.

<sup>2</sup>A. McElroy's *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory ... Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Occupations, Places of Business ... besides other useful information* (Philadelphia: Isaac Ashmead & Co.), for the years 1849 through 1853 indicate that Ernest Schafer and Rudolph Koradi did not advertise themselves as a firm until 1853. Consequently, their printings of Henry Eyer's last collection, which were identified as the 12th and 13th, could not have been made earlier than 1853.

<sup>3</sup>The parameters given here have been set with several purposes in mind. The list which results gives the reader a sense of the publishing activity which took place in the State in behalf of the Commonwealth's German-speaking people. Moreover, it identifies those publications with which Eyer competed most directly and introduces some of the collections from which he borrowed material. Finally, the list shows that there was considerable interest among the Pennsylvania-Germans, in rural areas in particular, in the shaped-note system of music notation.

A brief but important historical observation about the shaped-note system is called for here. Rothbaust's *Geistliche Ton-Kunst* (1807) was the first German tunebook to use this type of notation but the notes were entered by hand. Doll's *Der leichte Unterricht, von der Vocal Musik* (1810), printed by the John Wyeth firm in Harrisburg, was the first German tunebook to employ moveable, shaped-note type. It seems that John Wyeth, who compiled several of his own very successful English-language, shaped-note tunebooks, two of which play a rather significant role in this study, copied a four-shape note system which was introduced in Albany, New York, in 1798 by William Smith and William Little in their *The Easy Instructor*. More importantly, Wyeth used the system in quite a number of the publications in my select Pennsylvania-German

list; in Joseph Doll's edition of 1810, of course, but also those of 1814 and 1821, and his second collection of 1815; in the two editions by Isaac Gerhart and Johann F. Eyer; and also in Rothbaust's 1821 collection, and in doing so he created a trend that was continued by other printers in the Bentz, Henry C. Eyer, Weber, and Musselman tunebooks.

<sup>4</sup>The first German language tunebook patterned after this model was Adam Arnold's *Geistliche Ton-Kunst*; it was published in Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1803. Edward C. Wolf, in his "Lutheran Hymnody and Music Published in America 1700-1850, A Descriptive Bibliography," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, Vol. 50, Winter, 1977, p. 177, tells us that Arnold's tunebook contained many pages of standard German chorales and thirty pages of "New England-style hymnody and fusing tunes—the earliest known printed examples of such in German." Arnold's general layout was then copied and brought into Pennsylvania by Johannes Rothbaust in his own *Geistliche Ton-Kunst*, which was printed in Hanover in 1807.

<sup>5</sup>It seems appropriate here to offer the reminder that tunebooks were first created in the early eighteenth century to improve the quality of congregational singing. The compilers envisioned that singing-school participants would carry their new music-reading skills into the service of worship and lead the congregation in the correct renditions of the music. Records held by the Snyder County Historical Society suggest that the Rev. Isaac Gerhart and Johann F. Eyer embarked upon the publication of the first edition (1818) of *Choral-Harmonie* with that very same vision in mind.

<sup>6</sup>When dealing with the authorship of the texts and tunes which constitute these traditional German hymns, two particular reference tools invariably come into play. The first is Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt*, 6 vols. (Gütersloh, 1889-1893). The second is John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology Setting Forth the Origins of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations*, an unabridged and unaltered republication of



the second and last revised edition of June, 1907, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1957). This work was first published in 1892.

These compilers included Rothbaust, Henry C. Eyer, Bentz, Weber, and Musselman, whose tunebooks were printed in 1830 and later. These men were no doubt responding to the greater use of English they witnessed in the public institutions of their own German communities. For example, records maintained by the Snyder County Historical Society indicate that English replaced German in the schools in Selinsgrove (Pa.), where compiler Henry C. Eyer made his home, in the year 1826. Not surprisingly, Eyer's *Die Union Choral Harmonie* of 1833, and also the editions which followed, were bilingual. At the same time, we should not forget that by producing bilingual tunebooks the compilers were pulling people of purely English-speaking backgrounds into their consumer market.

<sup>8</sup>I am indebted to my friend and Sonneck Society colleague Dr. Walter L. Powell who happened upon these materials in 1991 at a public auction, recognized their importance, and saw that they made their way safely into my hands.

<sup>9</sup>At the very least, the manuscripts of several original selections which both Henry and his father composed, and which were included in the 1833 collection, are not among the papers now at hand. There is also reason to believe that a work sheet containing Henry's choice of chorales existed but is now missing.

<sup>10</sup>These paste-ins were written in ink in Henry's own very neat script. Each was attached with an orange-colored sealing wax, two drops being placed in the margin, either in front of or behind the selection that was to receive the text. All but a few of the 125 Henry inserted remain firmly attached today. Those which became detached over the years now seem to be missing.

<sup>11</sup>Eyer, at some point, penciled in on two quadrants of this page what surely are verso and recto numbers of leaves of this music book he was preparing. The numbers, running successively as they do from 133 to 144 in the lower-left quadrant, and from 133 to 141 in the upper-right, suggest that Eyer was making rough calculations about the number of pages which were accumulating as his work on the collection progressed.

<sup>12</sup>This deletion business comes into perspective faster when approached head-on: sixteen titles listed on this important work sheet were lined out: ten by ink strokes and six by pencil. The appearance of DAVID'S LAMENTATION, CARR'S LANE, PICKERING, HANOVER, SILENT DEVOTION, DAMASCUS, and FROM GREENLAND'S ICY MOUNTAINS in incorrect metrical groups account for seven line-outs (all the titles but the last were written again in the correct group); the repetition of the title TRANSPORT in the Long Meter list explains another; the penciled remark "not good" behind the lined-out title BATH suggests a reason for the ninth; and Eyer's change of title (ISLE OF LOVE to HARMITAGE) precipitated the tenth instance. As for the remaining six instances, no explanation other than a simple change of mind can be offered.

<sup>13</sup>It is the presence of this special register in Eyer's book and the general absence of chorale titles on this important work sheet which lead me to believe that the chorales were listed on yet another working paper, one that is now missing.

<sup>14</sup>Two important observations beg to be made here. First, seventy-two of the chorales Eyer listed in his index were quite legitimate; each mated a traditional chorale melody with a traditional chorale text. In the remaining three instances though, DIANNA, NASHVILLE and SCHINDEL, this was not the case: the traditional chorale texts were mated with melodies of much more modern character. Second, in at least five instances in his completed collection Eyer used a single choral text in two different settings: in one setting it was paired with the traditional chorale melody and in the other it was paired with a melody of more modern vintage. This was the case with the "Du unbegreiflich höchtes gut" text which was set both with the traditional chorale tune FUNERAL THOUGHT and in another setting with NEW SABBATH, the music composed by Dr. Edward Miller; with "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich," which was mated with the chorale tune MEAR, and again with VIRGINIA, the music of Oliver Brownson; with "Wie gross ist des Allmächt'gen güte," which was set with the chorale tune NORTHUMBERLAND, and also with BERLIN, composer unidentified; with "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," this paired with the chorale tune CENTRE, and then with the GERMAN HYMN by Pleyel; and, finally, with the "Gott des Himmels und der Erden," which was set with the chorale tune ANTWERP and also with CONFIRMATION, a livelier setting of unknown authorship that Eyer had borrowed from Doll's *Leichter Unterricht* of 1810. In his special index, Eyer directed the reader only to the settings which used the chorale tune.

<sup>15</sup>The full title of the hymnal is *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in dem vereinigten evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America, gesammelt, eingerichtet und zum Druck befördert durch die gesammelten Glieder des hiesigen vereinigten evangelisch-lutherischen Ministeriums*. 1. Aufl. (Germantown: Liebert und Billmeter, 1786). The chorale book's full title is *Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord Amerika. Auf Ansuchen des deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Ministeriums, herausgegeben von der Corporation der St. Michaelis- und Zions-Gemeine in Philadelphia*. (Philadelphia: gedruckt bey Conrad Zentler und Georg Blake, 1813).

<sup>16</sup>A list containing a full bibliographic citation for each of these nine tunebooks appears at the end of this study as an Appendix.

<sup>17</sup>While there may be some merit in offering a list of all these titles, the thrust of Henry Eyer's efforts in selecting his repertory is characterized more succinctly by the observation that twenty-one of these fifty-one selections can be found in Richard Crawford, Editor, *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, Vols. XI and XII of the Recent Research in American Music Series (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc. 1984), which discusses the 101 Anglo-American selections most often printed in America between 1698 and 1810. Eyer, of course, was reaching out for selections of established popularity. Incidentally, since these twenty-one selections were being taken from *Choral Harmonie*, the observation puts Gerhart's and Johann Frederick Eyer's knowledge of the Anglo-American repertory in a good light as well.

<sup>18</sup>LINGHAM was the only incorrect ascription in a group of Anglo-American pieces which included the generally familiar titles BROOKFIELD, IRISH, ENFIELD, AMHERST, TRANSPORT, MORETON, CHINA, COMMUNION, ASHLEY, and AMITY, from Wyeth's 1811 publication, and WILLIAMSTOWN, 148th — Eyer changed the name to COMPLICATION—FAREWELL ANTHEM, and PILGRIM'S FAREWELL, from Wyeth's 1820 book. Eyer was particularly perceptive in this choice of works: the first four listed above appear in Crawford's *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody* (see endnote 17), and three of the pieces named above represent that more-challenging genre, the fuging tune.

<sup>19</sup>Some of these titles appeared in earlier and later editions as well, sometimes on the very same page. However, only the third edition contained all these works, and on the correct page.

<sup>20</sup>This work will float on a sea of confusion until the original manuscript surfaces. The title BROTHERLY LOVE does not appear in the 1833 collection but the title BAND OF LOVE does, and both titles may very well represent the same piece. At the same time, BAND OF LOVE most assuredly is the BRUDERLIEBE which Gerhart and Johann Frederick had in their 1822 book. It is possible that the three titles represent the same selection but, since BRUDERLIEBE was in print in 1822, we must then say that Henry was confused when he wrote the word "Copy" behind BROTHERLY LOVE on his work sheet.

<sup>21</sup>Actually, one of these selections was listed on Henry's work sheet but with a different title. (See note 20 above.) His list included the name BROTHERLY LOVE — this was given in German (BRUDERLIEBE) in the 1822 book—but then the title BAND OF LOVE appeared when Henry's compilation was finally printed. If, in fact, the three titles represent the same selection, then it is more correct to say that fifteen unlisted compositions made their way into the book.

<sup>22</sup>This hymn text has been seen in *The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book: Being "The Plymouth Collection" enlarged, and adapted to the use of Baptist Churches* (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1858), 206. The hymn is credited there to "Moore," allowing us to surmise that the German translation that appeared in Eyer's completed 1833 book was by Henry himself.

<sup>23</sup>Lowell Mason's work first reached the public in 1824 in a setting for solo voice with accompaniment. His choir version seems to have appeared about 1832.

<sup>24</sup>Utica held only village status when the eighth edition of the *Music Sacra* was printed; it was not incorporated as a city until 1832. The U.S. Census Report for the year 1830, one year after the eighth edition was released, gives Utica's population as 8,323.

<sup>25</sup>When the dust settled on Henry's work with his first compilation, he had retained the nine English texts which were present in the 1822 book and added 188 more. Forty-four of all these texts were by Isaac Watts and ten were by Charles Wesley.

<sup>26</sup>Edward C. Wolf, "The 'Top 40' Pennsylvania-German Hymn Tunes," *Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society*, Vol. 18/1984/1.



## APPENDIX

### Principal Sources of *Die Union Choral Harmonie* (1833) Contents

Bentz, Michael. *Die Neue Harmonie, oder eine neue Sammlung von Kirchen-Musik*; enthaltend viele Musikalische-Stücke und Kirchen-Melodien, welche noch nie im Druck erschienen, und manche die neulich für dieses Werk componiert worden sind; zusammengetragen aus den berühmtesten Autoren neuer Zeit, nebst hinlänglichem Unterricht für Singschulen. York, Penn: Henry C. Neinstedt, Printer [1827 copyright].

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## IN MEMORIAM:

### Paul R. Wieand, A True Artist



Harry H. Reichard and Paul Wieand (right) in costume as Asseba and Sabina.

In his eight decades, Paul Wieand probably forgot more about the Pennsylvania German culture than most of us will ever know! What is more, he made major contributions in many different fields, and did all of his great variety of work with outstanding quality. He displayed an incredible amount of energy, and gave us dialect plays, folklife pageants, paintings, ceramics, translations, books, block prints, a Pennsylvania German "Greitzweg Schtor" (the store at the village crossroads), a sense of the importance of collecting, preserving, and portraying "roots," and a great sense of humor to go with a sunny disposition.

My earliest recollection of Paul is of being on stage with his Folklore "Drupp" (Group), when I was six years old. I sensed that my parents and siblings really enjoyed the folklore pageants as a major activity in their lives. When I was a youngster, there was an appearance in Madison Square Garden on German Day at the World's Fair. There were Pennsylvania Folk Festivals at places such as Bucknell University. There were Pennsylvania Dutch Days at Hershey Park and the Labor Day "Lattwarick" (apple butter) Parties at Dorney Park. Often I would hear Paul describe himself to the large audiences as a "portrayer" of the Pennsylvania German culture. Much earlier than most of the rest of us, Paul Wieand recognized and acted upon the importance of preserving, collecting, and *portraying* our language, our culture, and our folklore. In the mid-1930s he organized his Paul R. Wieand Pennsylvania German Folklore Group, which is still continuing, believed to be the oldest such continuing organization.

In the writing, producing and directing of dialect plays and pageants, Paul was a stickler for detail and authenticity. I recall that in one of his plays, for instance, he emphasized

that "Even though most people in the audience will not be able to notice it, the calendar on the wall must be of the year in which the play is set." In all of his work perhaps the uppermost consideration was *that it be authentic*. Always, at all costs, he would resist the temptation to commercialize by yielding to the dramatic and the popular at the expense of what truly was the reality of our background and history.

Also prior to when most of us sensed it, Paul recognized the need to make his presentations in a bilingual setting. In his many pageants, portraying such aspects of Pennsylvania German folk culture as Harvest Home in the churches, funerals, summer picnics, the observance of Christmas and Easter, and carpet rag parties, he would ask one of the members of his group to serve as what he called an "interpreter," to explain to non-dialect speaking persons what was being portrayed in the dialect. I was sometimes privileged to be called upon to be one of these interpreters, when I was not participating as a "fiddler" for the square dances. In using such "interpreters" long before most of us sensed the need, Paul recognized another important aspect of his passion for "preserving, collecting, and portraying" the story of our roots.

Not the least of his major contributions to Pennsylvania German folklife and folklore was his serving as Sabina in the popular Allentown radio program entitled *Asseba un Sabina*. Teaming with Dr. Harry Hess Reichard, professor of German at Muhlenberg College, who portrayed Asseba, Paul Wieand endeared himself to countless persons whose Sunday ritual included telling their pastors to preach sermons short enough that they could hurry home from church "to catch Asseba and Sabina." Combined with the delightful scriptwriting of the Rev. Clarence Rahn, the team of Dr.





*Paul Wieand directing a traditional children's game—"Blinda-Meisel" (Blind Mice)—at the Kutztown Folk Festival.*

Harry Hess Reichard and Paul R. Wieand presented a truly classic series of entertaining dialect programs. Only now are his radio programs and dialect plays being given the scholarly study they deserve, largely through the work of Dr. William Fetterman.

Less well known but equally significant were some of the other aspects of Paul's life and work. In addition to his painting, his block printing, his teaching, his writing and producing of plays and folklife pageants, and his being half of the team that presented years of popular dialect radio broadcasts, Paul R. Wieand loved flowers, did outstanding flower arranging, and gave years of leadership to a garden club. His interest in the herbs used by the Pennsylvania Germans led him to write a book on this subject. In my experience as an adopted member of the Lenni Lenape Wolf Clan, this is a subject of great excitement for me, especially as it has to do with the relationship between the indigenous Americans and the early Pennsylvania German settlers. Paul sensed the importance of this subject and did some writing in this field. Some of you may remember his use of blue balsam tea at the Jordan Groundhog Lodge of which he was an organizer and officer for many years.

Another of Paul's major works was the editing of *South Whitehall Then and Now*, the 1976 Bicentennial History of his native township. In the introduction of this book dedicated to his wife, Mabel (Schraden) Wieand, Paul Wieand tells us something of his feeling about the importance of history and of the driving force of his life: "This

history book was written to commemorate the determined efforts of our forefathers and to try to leave to our children and children's children a bit of reminder of how we lived in the past . . . , in the form of a historical record of yesteryear and today, so that the people of tomorrow will benefit."

Paul R. Wieand thought of himself as an artist, an artist who expressed his "art" with excellence and quality in a variety of forms. Of his philosophy of life he once wrote: "In my life's work I guess I really was *a true artist*. I had a system. In painting, an artist arranges his ideas on canvas, using a plan of organization. So it was with my life's work. I also believe God put me here on earth for a purpose. You should make good use of your time."

Paul R. Wieand made excellent use of his time here on earth. The forms of his expression of art were diverse, entertaining, informative—an exciting way of portraying our Pennsylvania German folklife and roots:

*Paul, du hoscht so fiel Sache so arrig, arrig gut geduh.*

*Nau iss es unser Zeit fer so Sache selwert zu duh.*

(Paul, you have done so many things so very, very well. Now it is our time to do such things ourselves.)

Willard Wetzel,  
Pastor, Zion's Stone United Church of Christ  
Northampton, Pennsylvania  
Managing Editor and Secretary, *The Pennsylvania German Society*



45th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

**KUTZTOWN**

BETWEEN ALLENTOWN & READING, PA.

**FOLK  
FESTIVAL**

July 2 - July 10  
1994

DAYTIME GATHERINGS  
STARTING AT 9a.m. TO 5p.m.

## The Festival and its Sponsorship

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



FOR THE FOLK FESTIVAL BROCHURE WRITE TO:

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