



Fall 1989

# Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 39, No. 1

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## Recommended Citation

Long, Amos Jr.; Karlins, N. F.; Knapp, Vertie; and Parsons, William T., "Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 39, No. 1" (1989). *Pennsylvania Folklife Magazine*. 126.

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# Pennsylvania Dolllife

Autumn 1989

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION



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PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE,

Autumn 1989, Vol. 39, No. 1, published four times a year by Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Inc., P.O. Box 92, Collegeville, Pa. 19426. \$3.50 for single copies, Autumn, Winter & Spring. \$2.00 for Summer. Yearly subscription \$10.00. Back issues (v. 21-30), \$4.00 each; other P.O.R.

MSS AND PHOTOGRAPHS:

The Editor will be glad to consider MSS and photographs sent with a view to publication. When unsuitable, and if accompanied by return postage, care will be taken for their return, although no responsibility for their safety is assumed.

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Entered as second class matter at Collegeville, Pa.

ISSN 0031-4498

AUTUMN 1989, VOL. 39, NO. 1

## CONTENTS

- 2 An Overview of Travel and  
Transportation in Pennsylvania  
AMOS W. LONG, JR.
- 27 Floretta Emma Warfel: A Folk Artist  
in Embroidery Paint on Cloth  
N. F. KARLINS
- 30 Robacker, Earl F. and Ada F.: A Bibliography  
VERTIE KNAPP
- 37 The Modernizing Effect of the Marketplace on  
Old Order Society, 1727 to 1987  
WILLIAM T. PARSONS
- 47 Aldes un Neies (Old and New)

## CONTRIBUTORS

(Inside front cover)

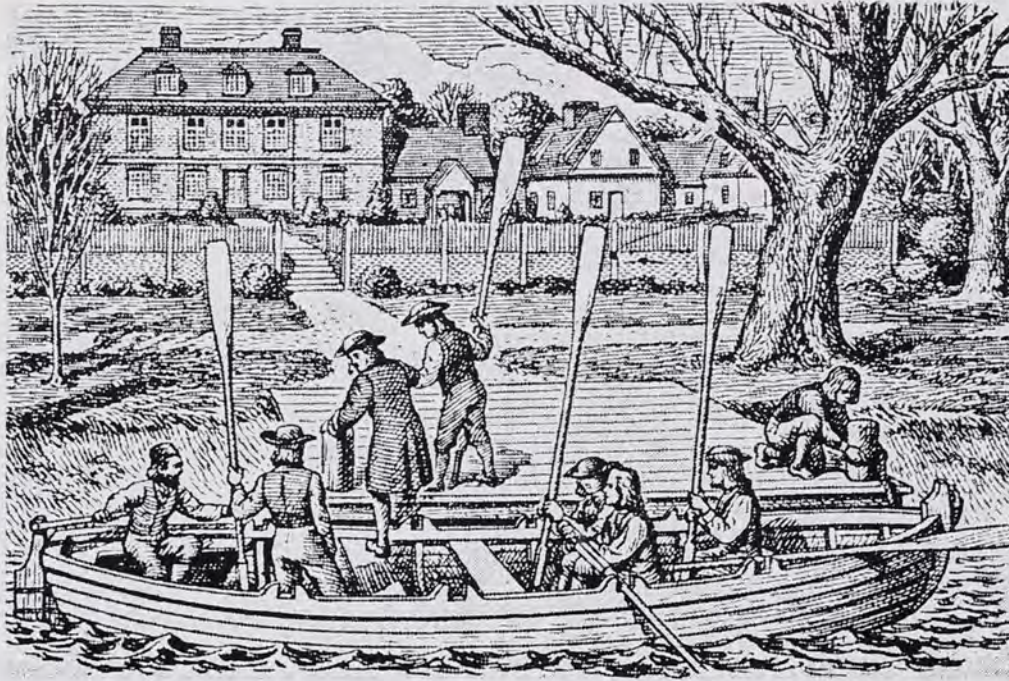
## COVER:

*Over the years there have been many changes in the ways in which we move goods and people. Canals, for example, became obsolete rather quickly, and the towpaths which remain are used today mainly for recreational purposes.*

*Layout and Special Photography*

WILLIAM K. MUNRO





*The early settlers in Pennsylvania used natural waterways as their chief means of transportation; this scene shows William Penn arriving at "Pennsbury," about 25 miles from Philadelphia by the Delaware River. (Drawing by Walter W. Calvert; copyright Farm Journal, Inc. All Calvert drawings reprinted by special permission.)*

## AN OVERVIEW OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

by Amos W. Long, Jr.

Great changes have occurred in America's transportation system, particularly since the first half of the nineteenth century: buffalo and Indian trails connecting major rivers, lakes, and streams evolved into our present-day system of roads, highways, and railroads. Since then, as now, the ability to move goods and people was essential to growth and progress, this article discusses some of those changes.

### **WATER AND WATER TRANSPORTATION**

The early settlers used natural waterways as their chief means of transportation (the Dutch and Swedes, for example, traveled mostly by water), so the rivers and their tributaries helped determine the location of most of the first settlements. Pennsylvania was extremely fortunate in this respect: the Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, and the Allegheny and their tributaries gave access to most of the province. The Delaware is the most navigable of all these rivers while the Susquehanna is

shallow, rocky, and full of rapids. And, although rather large flatboats loaded with heavy, bulky products could be floated during the spring months when the water was highest, it could not accommodate deep-draft, sea-going vessels. Had the Susquehanna been deeper and thus allowed larger vessels to penetrate further into the interior, this condition alone would have changed considerably the history and industrial development of the state.

River navigation was often a perilous business; there were turbulent rapids, suddenly-shifting channels, spring freshets, mud banks, and stray logs that ripped holes in a vessel's hull. Sailing craft were entirely at the mercy of the current, and rapids caused many boats to be hurled upon the rocks or sunk. Drownings were frequent, and many more narrowly escaped death. There was also danger from Indians and outlaws who would attack a solitary vessel or even a group of vessels and plunder and destroy at will.



Nevertheless, rivers handled most of the trade before canals and railroads were built.<sup>1</sup> Dugout and birchbark canoes similar to those used by the Indians were the earliest practical means of water transportation, with the latter, because of their light weight, being the most suitable for a long journey, especially when portage was necessary which it often was; many times canoes and their contents had to be carried between streams and around rapids. Canoes were also frequently made from red or white cedar when it was available, and although they floated more readily and lasted many years they were small, narrow, shallow, rounded below, and without a keel; this meant they were very unstable and there was a constant danger of capsizing. But canoes could carry as many as six people sitting on the bottom of the boat.

Tree trunks approximately twenty feet long and two or more feet in diameter were burned out or hollowed out with primitive tools to make dugout canoes. Cedar, juniper, chestnut, white oak, and tulip poplar were the preferred woods. Some of these dugouts were spacious enough to carry one hundred bushels of grain, and they were the major means of transportation for almost a century after the earliest settlements. But their passage was frequently hindered by dams, weirs, and baskets placed to catch fish. In fact, during the years between 1730 and 1740 there was open warfare and numerous court actions between farmers and river men.

Log rafts and timber floats were chiefly a way of getting timber to market, but some also carried livestock, lumber, shingles, pig iron, whiskey, hay, grain, potatoes, pork, beef, and other farm products. They were merely hundreds of logs or heavy planks chained or fastened together, and some of the larger rafts measured from seventy-five to one hundred feet in length and were fifteen to twenty-feet wide, with a crude cabin for the men who worked the long sweep which extended over the stern. They usually carried a crew of from two to eight men, depending on the size of the cargo and the length of the trip. Frequently logs were shed enroute which made conditions perilous for other vessels. When the raft reached its destination it was torn apart and the timber sold.

The barge was the speedboat of earlier times; it had masts and sails, a rudder, and a covered cabin for passengers. From thirty to seventy feet long, and seven to twelve feet wide, it traveled from two-and-one-half to five miles an hour downstream and two miles an hour upstream. The barge was a flatboat, and the flatboat in all its various forms was the simplest and speediest type of passenger and cargo craft. Often called a pole boat because it was guided and propelled upstream with poles, it varied in size from twenty to thirty feet in length and from three to five feet in width; many—like the barge—were larger. The river flatboat, the industrial canal boat, and the present-day barge all developed

from the punt which was commonly used on the farm pond in the summer and as a sled in the winter.

The Durham boat, named for the settlement in which it was built, was a flatboat approximately sixty feet long, eight feet wide, and two feet deep; its bow and stern were pointed, and a deck extended the entire length on each side. Durham boats did not have keels, but some were equipped with masts and sails. Their load capacity was twelve to fifteen tons which meant, when fully loaded, they could carry 150 barrels of flour or 600 bushels of grain when the water was high, and proportionately less when the water was low; when fully loaded, larger boats drew twenty to twenty-two inches of water. Smaller Durhams had less than a foot of draft and were easily navigated.

Durham boats were first used on the Delaware about the middle of the eighteenth century to float the products of the Durham iron furnace, located several miles south of Easton, to Philadelphia. (Later, similar vessels were used on the Schuylkill and Lehigh Rivers to transport grain, flour, and other bulky products; those on the Schuylkill were known as "Reading boats.") There were four to twelve crewmen depending on the size of the boat, but the usual number was five: one man at the stern to wield a long sweep which guided the vessel downstream; and, on each side, two men equipped with twelve-to-eighteen-foot-long ash or hickory "setting-poles," shod with iron spikes, for pushing the boat upstream. The two crewmen at the forward end would jam their poles into the mud of the river or lake bottom and walk to the stern on narrow runways, thus propelling the boat upstream. When drifting downstream they would occasionally use poles or oars which on the larger boats were up to eighteen feet long.

The enclosed flatboat, or ark, was used to transport freight and for family migrations; it was usually built in late winter or early spring of heavy, hewn planks two inches in width, with floors and sides held together with wooden pegs. The spaces between the timbers were packed with tar and pitch to make the craft watertight. Arks had flat bottoms and square fronts, and were very heavily constructed—many served as forts with holes in the walls for rifles to shoot through. Attached to the stern on each side of the ark was a thirty-foot-long oar, used for navigation; some also had a mast with two sails. The crew included a pilot, a steersman, and a bowman; usually there were two men at each oar for efficient operation. At one end of the vessel was a roofed cabin with fireplace for the crew or family; and at the other end was an enclosure for livestock. The ark was moored to the bank at night.

Enclosed flatboats were usually not as large as open rafts, but often measured from twenty to ninety feet long, from ten to twenty feet wide, and were up to six feet deep. When loaded they drew from three to five feet of water and had a capacity of sixty tons. They were





*Lebanon Tunnel on the Union Canal. When a boat reached this tunnel through Gravel Hill the mules were unhitched and led over the hill, while strong-armed men poled the boat through. (Drawing by Florence Starr Taylor; copyright Lebanon Steel Foundry.)*

used to transport coal, iron, lumber, gypsum, salt, flour, meat, beverages, and other bulky products; after arriving at their destination and disposing of their cargo they were sold for lumber. Arks were used extensively on the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, and Allegheny Rivers.

After 1800, keelboats or "broad beams" largely displaced flatboats and rafts until canals were established. As protection against submerged obstacles, they had a log keel which was the heaviest and lowest timber supporting the entire frame floor from stem to stern along the bottom. What the Conestoga wagon was to turnpike transportation, the keelboat was to the waterways. Slender and speedy, they had a light draft, were forty to eighty feet long, and seven to ten feet wide; and were pointed at both ends. Some had masts or sails—they were poled or sailed upstream. Keelboats were built and operated by professional river men; flatboats were built and used by farmers. The canal boat evolved from the keelboat.

The packet boat was a large barge or keelboat of light construction used for fast passenger service during the canal era of the nineteenth century. Equipped with masts and sails, it was also used for carrying freight and mail, and was usually pulled by three horses which were changed frequently. Packet boats were faster than regular canal boats which were normally smaller, and



*There were many busy days on the Union Canal before the railroad and motor truck began carrying the nation's freight. (Drawing by Florence Starr Taylor; copyright Lebanon Steel Foundry.)*

were towed by two horses or mules.<sup>2</sup>

It was the positive example of European canals and the success of the Erie Canal (completed in 1825, it linked New York City with the Great Lakes), coupled with the obvious limitations of turnpikes and natural waterways which spurred the state of Pennsylvania to invest more than thirty million dollars between 1825 and 1835 in an extensive system of public canals. Close to one thousand miles of canals—more than in any other state—were built to connect, supplement, and improve navigable natural watercourses. Canals on the main line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, 394 miles long, were twenty-eight feet wide at the bottom, forty feet wide at the water line, and four feet deep; locks were ninety feet long and fifteen to seventeen feet wide.<sup>3</sup> (Feeder or branch lines were narrower and shallower.) It took three-and-one-half days on the main line to travel between the two cities.

Since expense was the major factor in construction, most trunk or main line canals were built, maintained, and controlled by the state government; short feeder or branch canals were built with private capital. (Feeder lines helped enhance competition and encouraged trade and the development of natural resources by decreasing the cost of transportation within local areas.) A number of canals were built with money raised by lotteries similar to the lotteries used to raise funds for churches,





*Canal boat tied up at the foot of Penn Street in Reading, Pa. (Pennsylvania German Archives, Ursinus College.)*

schools, and bridges. One of these, the Union Canal, was completed in 1827 and connected the works of the Schuylkill Navigation Company at Reading on the Schuylkill to Middletown on the Susquehanna; here it connected with the Pennsylvania Canal to Pittsburgh. But, because of poor planning and lack of foresight, the Union was shallower and not as wide as most of the canals along the Schuylkill and Susquehanna; the cargo of their boats of sixty-tons burden had to be transferred to boats of twenty-five-tons burden in order to pass through the smaller waterway. To eliminate the problem and increase tonnage the Union was enlarged; but it was much too late to keep the company from bankruptcy. The canal was abandoned in 1885 after years of increasingly unprofitable operation.

Canals, like rivers, were used primarily for moving heavy, bulky cargo. Charges upstream were as much as double those of downstream, but the large Durham boats could carry many times the weight that a Conestoga wagon could. And they offered dependable and less-expensive transportation from Pennsylvania's anthracite region from which, until the canal era (1825-1850), small shipments of coal were moved by wagon or river boat. Canal boats were not competitive with stagecoaches since they were slower and mostly inoperative during the winter months.

But canal boats did carry passengers, and there may have been as many as thirty travelers on board the

ponderous barges or packets that moved through the winding ditches at a snail's pace. Usually a curtain separated the women's quarters from the men's, and eating and sleeping facilities, such as they had, were located in a long, drawing room-like area below deck; some boats had several tiers of narrow, shelf-like bunks on either side of the cabin. A tin basin and dipper to scoop water from the canal constituted the bathing facilities. Passengers also had to contend with bilge water, mosquitos, and stale air below deck.

But canal boat travel was rather peaceful, and passengers spent most of their time on deck, viewing the surrounding countryside. There were many interesting sights to be seen, particularly for those who enjoyed nature, with often spectacular shows of birds, animals, and flowers. During delays passengers might also walk along the towpath to get some exercise and help pass the time. There was usually a bar selling spirits on board also, to provide a different kind of diversion. There was none of the smoke and sparks and incessant noise that accompanied early railroad travel; merely the cries of the crewmen and the sound of the horn as boats passed through the canal, and the tinkling of bells on the horses or mules plodding along the towpath, pulling the vessel. When used on canals to tow larger boats to a natural body of water, these animals were sometimes rested in stalls in the stern until they were needed again, perhaps on another cross-country canal.





*Union Canal lock structure located west of Myerstown, Pa. (Photograph by Amos W. Long, Jr.)*



*A top view of this New Hope, Pa. canal bridge shows the slanting compression timbers with their covers to protect the joints from weather. (Photograph and caption information by Harry Stauffer.)*



*This bridge with queenposts and diagonal bracing crosses the Pennsylvania Canal in Bucks County, Pa. Its construction closely resembles a plan illustrated in **Dobson's Encyclopedia** (Phila., 1803). (Photograph and caption information by Harry Stauffer.)*



*The towpath continues to be a romantic part of the bridge and canal scene. Although no longer trod by donkeys, it still serves as an adequate thoroughfare for a leisurely stroll. (Harry Stauffer)*





*Primitive footbridge in Little Pittsburgh, Lancaster County, Pa. They are occasionally found today in rural areas, but are rare in comparison to their frequency a hundred years ago. (Harry Stauffer)*

The canal era was rather short lived, enjoying approximately a half century of prosperity that ended with the Civil War. As early as mid-century, railroads had demonstrated their superiority by providing freight service that was faster and cheaper and, for a brief time, canals connected with railroads were in operation. This came to an end because such systems could not compete with railroads alone. Incompetent management and graft also contributed to staggering losses in the publicly-owned canals, and resulted in the sale of the state's canal assets to the Pennsylvania Railroad. By 1850 not a mile of state-owned canal remained. Today, with few exceptions, abandoned canals are filled with stagnant water or nearly obliterated with vegetation. There are some still used for recreational purposes, and occasionally there are to be found the crumbling remains of locks or the partially rotted remains of a canal boat. But these are the only reminders of a system that, compared to rivers, highways, and railroads, played a minor role in the story of travel and transportation in Pennsylvania.

\* \* \*

The same waterways which served as the first arteries of commerce often impeded overland transportation. There were many times, for instance, when early foot travelers had to cross streams by balancing precariously on "Indian bridges"; tall trees cut so they fell and spanned the creek from bank to bank. Fords and ferries were also common, since few bridges were built before 1800. Small streams were readily fordable—as long as water did not reach the wagon box men and beasts would continue on to the further shore. But larger ones posed greater risks; indeed, some of the larger streams diverted travelers with teams and carts or wagons for several miles, until they found a place shallow enough to cross. Later, after routes had been well established, crude bridges were built.

Sometimes a skiff or scow carried travelers across larger bodies of water. Crossing by ferry was a hazardous venture, particularly when the waters abounded with floating ice or were extremely high because of spring rains. In later years privately owned ferries—which were few and crude—shuttled back and forth be-



tween river banks, and one could often hear the ferryman's hail as he rowed his unwieldy craft. The earliest river ferryboats were powered by horses driven around and around in the hold—while the passengers sat on the open deck above—cog and wheel and post making the necessary connections with the paddle wheel.<sup>4</sup>

Fording or ferrying across streams was not only difficult and dangerous, but slow; and bridges eventually began to replace both. Small streams, ditches, and gullies could be bridged with a culvert (although many of these were a nuisance, flooding roads in low-lying areas after heavy rains so that most were eventually replaced with bridges), but larger streams were a different matter. In Europe, because of established custom, greater economic resources and, in part, because of a scarcity of suitable timber, bridges were typically masonry; these were substantial but expensive to build. Obviously the earliest settlers, relatively few in number, with no accumulated resources, and involved in the desperate task of subduing the wilderness, had little or no time or money for this type of construction.

But as traffic increased after the Revolutionary War and time and money became available, among the first permanent bridges to be built in Pennsylvania were graceful, arched structures of fieldstone or, less frequently, of brick. These were masterpieces in masonry and were used to carry heavy loads on important and heavily-traveled roads. Most had one arch, those over larger streams had two or three arches; many had side and wing walls. Oftentimes early arches contained no mortar, and this allowed any moisture which seeped through the roadbed to find its way through the stone walls, preventing damage from the freezing and thawing of retained water. Some of these early bridges had wooden copings or roof coverings to protect the walls from moisture; fewer had stone copings. Many of the wooden copings were later replaced with concrete. Although properly constructed arches would endure indefinitely, the majority of nineteenth century arched bridges have been destroyed as a result of road widenings and improvements.

The nineteenth century also brought the wooden covered bridge, which saw its greatest popularity during this period. The construction of these bridges by self-taught engineers was distinctly an American development, and involved a radically new procedure. They were cheaper to build than stone arched bridges and, with some exceptions, bridges over larger streams were covered wooden ones, and most were constructed by corporations and turnpike companies authorized by legislation to collect tolls. Some of the plank bridges built over smaller streams were without a protective cover.

There were two major types of covered bridge construction: the sprung arch and the crisscross, or lattice; the latter was the later and more common type. Most wooden bridges had a single span; "double-barreled"

bridges—those with two driveways—had widths as great as twenty-two feet, and were usually separated by a center timber truss. This allowed two six-horse Conestoga wagons to pass through at the same time.

Some of these bridges had huge trusses that made a clear span length between abutments of one hundred to two hundred or more feet, with a longer truss and roof length. White pine, hemlock, or oak timbers up to sixty feet long and two feet square were used, and to supply lumber of such dimensions a tree had to be straight and of great girth. While the trusses were being assembled and erected the structure was supported on block work or trestles which were set about twenty feet apart; the greatest permissible span allowed for the stringpieces.

The heavy planked floors were laid on wooden stringers which rested on trestles standing in the bed of the stream. The floors and framework were protected from rain and snow by a wood-shingle roof and boarded sides. For unless there was protection from the elements, water from various forms of precipitation and dampness would seep into the joints and crevices and limit the number of years the bridge could be used. Weather boards were usually placed in a vertical position and, with the exception of some areas where Pennsylvania German custom prevailed, were not painted.

Covered wooden bridges measured from fifty to two hundred and fifty feet in length, with a few longer; some even up to five hundred feet long. The greatest load capacity on the largest was ten tons. These bridges required many months or, perhaps, more than a year, to build; and though the longer ones may have cost as much as \$150,000 (a phenomenal sum at the time), properly protected from moisture they served their purpose well. Some have been known to last more than a century.

Perhaps no other bridge is as picturesque as a covered one, and although a few of these remnants of earlier days are still to be found on less-frequently traveled country roads, most have disappeared and are now a matter of history. Some were accidentally or conveniently destroyed by fire, others were swept away by floods, and still others have fallen into decay and collapsed from excessive weight and wear; but the major reason for their premature obsolescence and disappearance was the introduction of gasoline-powered cars and trucks.

Satisfactory for the leisurely pace of horse-drawn vehicles, their narrow and restricted passageways did not provide the necessary clearance for high and bulky loads, so eventually they were razed and replaced with iron truss, steel, or concrete bridges. (Iron bridges came into use about the middle of the nineteenth century.) And so the thrill of adventure and the mystery and romance experienced upon entering the dark, arched entrance of an echoing covered bridge is seldom experienced anymore; most are long gone, victims of the onrushing automobile age.



*The bridge pictures and caption information on this and the following three pages are from the Pennsylvania German Archives of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. They (and the other, individually identified Stauffer pictures found elsewhere in this article) were taken in the mid-1950s by Harry Stauffer, the author of "The Trail of the Stone Arched Bridges in Berks County" (The Pennsylvania Dutchman, Spring, 1957).*



*The elliptical shape of the arch and the very thin support in the center of this bridge mark it as a very unusual one. It is no longer used.*

*The clean lines and symmetry of this Lehigh County bridge are outstanding.*



*This half-circle stone arch bridge is near Columbia, Pa. Many bridges of this type were built for small railroads in the mid-nineteenth century.*





*Franklin County, Pa. also has stone arch bridges. This one is located on the Warm Spring Road, between Chambersburg and Williamson.*

*The greatest stone arch bridge in Pennsylvania crosses the Perkiomen Creek at Collegeville. This multiple-arch giant was built in the 1790s and is still in daily use, carrying a large volume of traffic.*



*This simple bridge with stringers and crosspieces is quite easily built, is inexpensive, and is more than adequate for use on farm lanes or in fields. (The bridge floor is certainly a unique location for a pump.) It is located near New Providence, Pa.*





*The piers for this old covered bridge at Slackwater (near Millersville), Pa. have withstood the ravages of nature for 114 years. This is one of the few covered bridges on which automobiles can pass, but it is a close shave. The bridge does not appear decrepit, but it has been declared unsafe and will be dismantled.*



*This single-span covered bridge is located between Downingtown and West Chester. The facade is typical of Pennsylvania bridges of the mid-nineteenth century.*





*The unique lighting of the interior of this covered bridge is due to the fact that its roof was blown off by a wind-storm. It is located between Strasburg and Paradise in Lancaster County.*



*This iron-and-wood monstrosity crosses a creek near Ephrata, Pa. The huge iron arch resembles the wooden ones that were used in the construction of covered bridges. The plate indicates the style was patented in 1869; the bridge was built the same year.*



## OVERLAND TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Buffalo seeking the easiest and most direct routes for their migrations were the first trailblazers, and their trails influenced the routes of travel and trade of both Indians and Europeans. Some of the first overland routes pushing westward into Pennsylvania and connecting its major rivers were opened by the buffalo and the Indian. (Among these routes were the National Pike, the William Penn and Lincoln Highways, and the course of the Pennsylvania Railroad across the Allegheny Mountains.)

Many of these original trails were so narrow they had to be traveled in single file, on foot or on horseback. As settlement in the New World progressed and the frontier moved westward, they were widened and improved for the benefit of horsemen and pack animals, but flooded areas or fallen trees still sometimes required travelers to seek alternate paths through the wilderness. Later, these same routes—many neighborhood trails—were widened enough to accommodate wagons.

Indian settlements were usually located beside, or on the forks of, a river or stream and were connected by trails. Trappers and traders were among the first to make use of Indian trails as they ventured beyond the frontier into the wilderness, and many of the major trails followed the courses of the great river systems. If new trails or connecting trails beyond the frontier were deemed necessary, several days might have been required to cut through the woods.

Since travel was costly and dangerous until the mid-eighteenth century, it was undertaken only when necessary; pleasure trips were practically unknown, and relatively few people ventured more than fifty miles from home—their interests and travel were limited to a small area usually within the surrounding townships. Practically all travel was by foot, on horseback, or by water; relatively few enjoyed the luxury of a wagon or carriage.

For distant travel men generally journeyed on horseback armed with a pistol or sword. A large blanket was folded and placed beneath the saddle which was also used for sleeping. Children were seated on a pillow placed in front of the saddle, and women rode behind, on a pillion which consisted of pads or a cushion attached to the rear of the saddle and strapped to the horse. (Side-saddles came into use about the middle of the nineteenth century.) When several people traveled together on a long journey, each would alternately ride and walk. High horse blocks, used for mounting and dismounting, were a necessity and usually a part of each household.

Horses carried freight as well as people, and during the last half of the eighteenth century packhorse trains crowded the main routes westward; large caravans may have included as many as a hundred horses and were frequently a cooperative neighborhood enterprise. It was an expensive form of transportation, and it was not

unusual for the cost of getting goods to market to match or exceed that of producing them. Nevertheless, farm products and other necessities and items of trade were brought to villages and towns on packhorses. And, grain was carried to the mill in large sacks (holding two or three bushels) placed on packsaddles. Large wallets and panniers of food—typically bread, meat, and cheese—furnished provisions for the travelers, while bags of feed were taken along for the horses. (Some of the feed was left at convenient stages on the way for the return trip.) At night, after feeding, the horses were hobbled until the morning.

Packhorse trains were attended by at least two men, and usually consisted of a dozen or more horses in single file, each tethered to the packsaddle of the animal ahead. The lead horse was mounted or attended by the captain, while one or more men followed in the rear with a watchful eye on the horses and their packs, to make sure they did not come loose. Frequently, a collar with one or more bells ornamented the necks of the horses, whose average load was about two hundred pounds. The era of the packhorse ended with the approach of the nineteenth century, when more roads were built and existing roads were widened, leading to the greater use of wagons.

\* \* \*

Road carts began to replace packhorses as soon as passageways permitted, and by the mid-eighteenth century, wagons—though clumsy and cumbersome—were replacing sleds and ox-drawn carts.<sup>5</sup> Many of these early carts and wagons had solid wheels made from a cross section of a large log, and the wagons had sideboards six or eight inches high, wheels with wide tracks, and wooden axles with iron skeins on the spindles. The wagon tongue extended several feet beyond the horses which were hitched to the wagon by iron trace and tongue chains.

Until the time of canals, the lack of navigable waterways in most areas of the commonwealth meant increased demand for wagons, and wagon making was a vital industry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even as late as “1870 there were over 1400 carriage and wagon makers in Pennsylvania.”<sup>6</sup> Gettysburg at one time was the center of the wagon-making industry, and the Studebaker family (of wagon *and* automobile fame), among others, worked here.

The early heavy, crude four-wheeled farm wagons varied slightly in size, but were similar in design. They were the prototype of the Conestoga, the greatest of all American wagons. Conestoga wagons were a product of Lancaster County, and were skillfully designed and constructed with pride by local blacksmiths and wheelwrights. They began to appear when Pennsylvania German pioneer farmers had excess produce to sell (they were also called Dutch wagons). But whether an awk-



ward early model or the more graceful Conestoga, Pennsylvania wagons were designed and built to meet the needs of frontier travel, and the materials used in their construction had to be nearly indestructible.<sup>7</sup> Wagon frames were made from carefully selected white oak, well seasoned and free of knots; gum wood was used for the hubs; poplar for the body; and hickory for the axle-trees and single-trees.

Conestoga wagons had slanted ends (which allowed the load to shift toward the middle of the wagon, rather than against the end gates), and the wagon bed was longer—sixteen or more feet in length—and deeper than on other wagons. The wagon body sagged low in the middle, and because the resulting graceful curve gave a boat-like appearance, they were frequently referred to as “ships of inland commerce” and “prairie schooners.” Their front and rear wheels were not separated too widely, but the rear wheels were larger, with a diameter of from five-and-one-half to six feet. The wheel rims were several inches wide and an inch thick.

Conestogas had a canvas top, supported over an arched arrangement of six to twelve curved hickory saplings which were slanted upward and projected over the wagon body. Homespun linen or hemp canvas was hooped and drawn tightly over the arched area and tied with ropes; there was an overhang in the front and rear to help protect against rain and dust. Each carried a metal toolbox, a bucket or two, a tarbox and a feedbox, and a wagon jack.

These immense freighter wagons were drawn by teams of from four to eight (but generally six) draft horses, each of which stood from sixteen to seventeen hands high, and weighed as much as sixteen hundred pounds.<sup>8</sup> Fleets of these wagons—with their off-white canvas tops; their black ironwork; and with their bodies usually painted a brilliant blue and their wheels, running gear, and sideboards a vivid red—were an interesting and patriotic sight as they passed by on the road.

And, from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, long processions of these wagons could be seen along the entire length of certain roads; particularly the turnpikes. It was not uncommon, for example, to see from twelve to thirty—and on occasion, one hundred or more—wagons enroute to Philadelphia; it has been reported that by 1775, Conestoga wagons made more than ten thousand trips annually to that city.<sup>9</sup> The number of Conestoga wagons increased yearly from 1790 until the peak of the wagoning era during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Not surprising, for unless goods were floated to market these great wagons were the only practical means of transporting freight from port cities to the frontier (those which crossed the Alleghenies were known as “Pitt teams”), and from the interior to markets in the East.

The wagons traveled from twelve to twenty miles a day, and conveyed great quantities of grain, flour,

glass, pottery, linen, sugar, salt, tobacco, flaxseed, whiskey, cider, fruit, charcoal, iron ore, pig iron, and other goods to and from market. But even though such wagons could haul from three to five tons in weight, and as many as thirty barrels of flour, transportation charges were still costly.

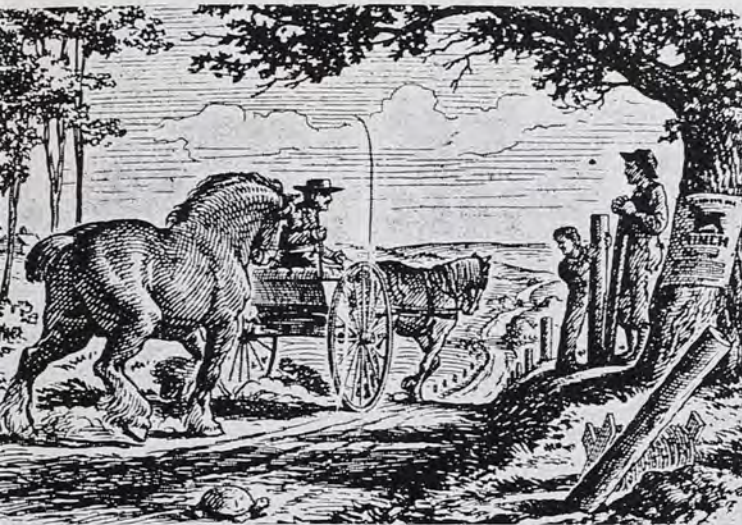
In addition to freight, teamsters carried several days supply of feed—particularly during the cold months when the horses could not be unhitched to graze along the way—and other equipment such as chains, axes, shovels, tar, grease, oil, horseshoes, nails, and harness parts. The number and amount of personal provisions, including food and sleeping gear, depended mostly upon the route and the frugality of the individual. It was said of the Germans, for instance, that they “load their wagon and furnish themselves with beasts and provender for the journey. The wagon is their bed, their inn, their everything.”<sup>10</sup>

Conestoga wagoners usually prided themselves on their virility, and were generally a hard, tough lot; they had to be, because it was rough and arduous work. They traveled together not only for company, but also for mutual assistance on bad roads, and as protection against thieves. Robbery attempts were frequent, and many wagoners (and other travelers) preferred not to travel alone, or to travel after dark. Drivers and their companions camped along the road in good weather, and stopped at an inn or tavern (particularly those catering mostly to wagoners) before darkness overtook them during inclement or extremely cold weather. Many slept on the tavern floor near the fire after having had a meal and their limit of drinks; except for the removal of their outer coats, most never undressed to sleep during the entire time of the journey.

Usually the best of care was given to horses and wagons, although there were, of course, merciless drivers and mistreated animals. Bear skins were used to partially cover the horses in winter, and wagons were frequently driven onto planks to keep the wheels from freezing into the ground when they were not in use. Farm horses were used to supplement the regular teams during certain seasons of the year when the need arose, and otherwise when freight costs were high enough to justify such an action. But whether farm horses or the more usual large draft horses, the team, hitched in pairs, was directed with a single rein attached to the side of the bit of the lead animal. A short jerk was the signal for the team to turn right; a long pull signaled left; horses were trained to turn right at the command of “gee,” and left at the command of “haw.”

Some of the horses wore a flat iron hoop hung with from three to eight (but usually four) brass, bronze or iron bells. Especially esteemed by the wagoners for their tonal qualities, these chiming bells were very effective in warning of the approach of a Conestoga. A full set of bells was also an indication of a wagoner's ability to be



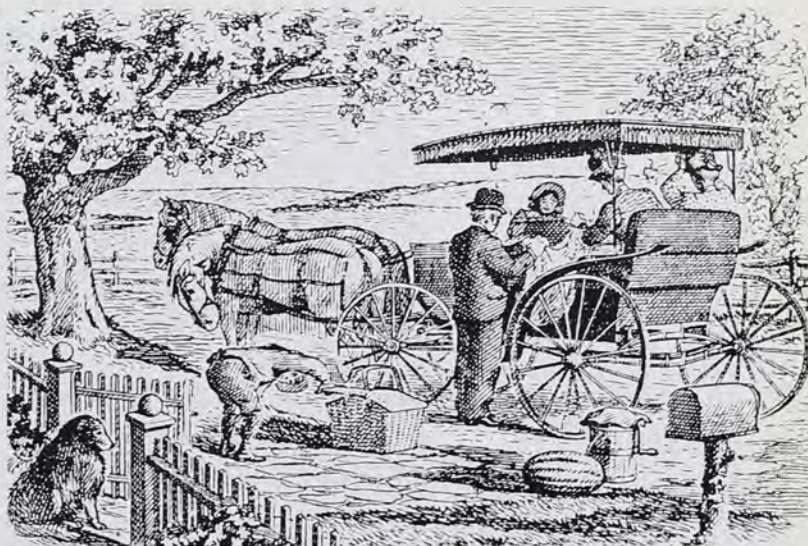


*The stallion operator who traveled from place to place in a road cart was once a familiar figure on country roads. Posters advertising the good points of stallions and giving places and terms of service were everywhere; it was the heyday of the horse. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

self-sufficient, for a missing bell showed he had paid a price to another teamster for help or rescue; a humiliating experience.

But there were usually no bells on the saddle horse or left-wheel horse which the wagoner rode when he was not sitting on the "lazy board" or walking beside the wagon. When sitting on the left rear horse, the driver could reach all the horses with the whip. The so-called lazy board—a white oak board that slid out from beneath the left side of the wagon between the front and rear wheels—was strong enough to support the driver's weight, and from it he could operate the brake. Wagoners drove on the right side of the road, and as more Conestoga's crowded the highways lesser vehicles (everything but stagecoaches, which generally had the right-of-way) and travelers on horseback also started driving and passing on the right.

A caravan of Conestoga wagons pulled by teams of well-groomed, gaily-decorated draft horses with chiming bells was an impressive sight, but the construction of canal and railroad systems brought an end to wagon transportation in Pennsylvania by the middle of the nineteenth century. Because of the loss of a profitable market for horses, as well as the loss of a supplemental source of income from hauling, farmers especially objected bitterly to the coming of the railroad. Nevertheless, just as the packhorse had earlier given way to the wagon, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century the old order had again given way to the new, and not only drivers, but blacksmiths, wheelwrights, inn-



*Off on a picnic in a new split-hickory surrey. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

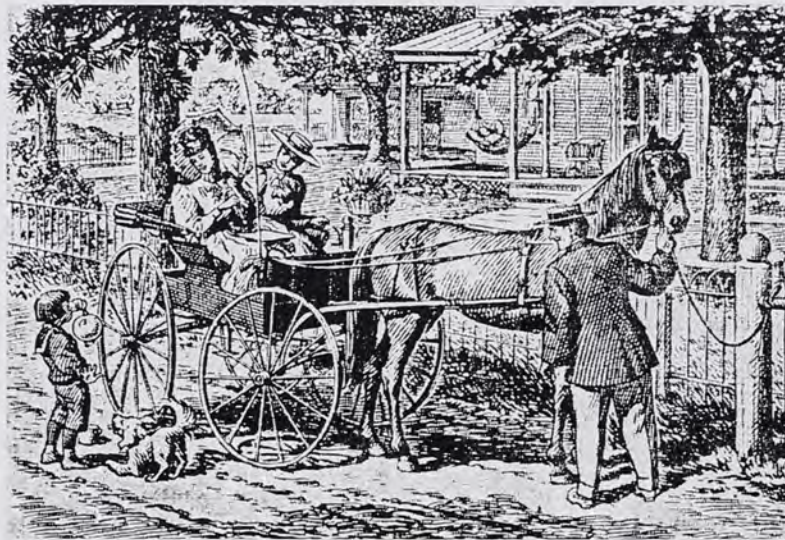
keepers, hostlers, and others had to find another way to make a living.<sup>11</sup>

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Stagecoaches began to make regular runs between the larger towns and cities about the middle of the eighteenth century, and by the end of that century there were regular lines of stagecoaches, mail coaches, and light wagons in operation throughout the settled portions of Pennsylvania. They provided an effective means of transportation for about one hundred years, until the railroad began to supplant them. At the height of the stagecoach era, it was not uncommon for a dozen or more coaches to travel in continuous procession on the national roads. Some early editions of almanacs list the old stage routes with the various tavern stops and the distances between them. These almanac listings were to travelers of the stagecoach era what the railroad timetable became to a later age.

Before the era of the four-wheeled coach, vehicles with two wheels, called gigs, were used. They were a light, open carriage pulled by one horse. The larger coaches hung equally balanced between front and rear springs, wheels rocking back and forth with straining timbers and creaking noises. They had a light roof supported by eight slender pillars, four on each side. Leather curtains suspended from the roof covered the openings on each side, and a third curtain in the rear could be rolled up or lowered at the pleasure of the passengers. The entrance was on the side or in front,





*Taking a ride in the family buggy. (Walter W. Calvert, Farm Journal.)*

over the driver's bench. There were no backs to the seats to support travelers on trips over poorly-constructed roads. Coaches could normally seat nine adult passengers inside, but the actual number was determined by distance, the nature of the trip, and whether or not the vehicle carried mail or freight. Any additional passengers were seated outside next to the driver.<sup>12</sup>

Four horses were commonly used to pull the larger post or mail stages except in spring and winter when, because of road conditions, six horses were used. Relays of fresh horses were supplied at intervals of from twelve to eighteen miles. The average distance traveled was between twenty-five and forty miles a day depending upon the load, the weather conditions, and the season of the year. (There were fewer and less-regular runs in the coldest months.) The standard speed averaged approximately ten miles an hour, so the journey between Philadelphia and Lancaster, for example, could usually be completed in one day. Rates charged during the height of the era varied from four to eight cents a mile depending on the length of the trip and the type of coach (mail coaches traveled fastest, so rates were higher) and, except for the wealthy, few could afford to patronize the stages. Baggage was limited to from ten to fourteen pounds (an additional fee was charged for excess), and since no storage space was provided, each passenger was expected to stow his things under his seat or legs.

Stagecoach drivers were usually selected with great care, for they had to be able, prudent men, since the

safety of the coach and passengers was dependent entirely on their good judgment, and because they were often entrusted with important missions and valuable parcels. On the accommodation stage—which stopped whenever a passenger hailed the vehicle—the driver was usually familiar with his patrons and, for a small fee, would also carry mail and parcels to be delivered between cities and towns on his route; a type of express system. In general, the accommodation stage, pulled by two horses, was patronized mostly by those going only a short distance; a sleigh was frequently substituted when the ground was covered with deep snow and travel by stage was impractical or impossible.

Aside from being slow and quite expensive, stage travel was often a formidable, far-from-comfortable experience, even in the larger mail coaches. Particularly during bad weather it often meant both physical and nervous torture. When it was rainy, wet and muddy clothes and shoes were common, as was the experience of having to walk up steep hills, or having to use fence rails to help the driver extricate the coach from the mud. In cold weather, passengers were nearly frozen and roadways were drifted with snow and frequently blocked for weeks. Wind, too, could be a problem, and stories have been told of violent gales which caused coaches to be blown over, severely injuring passengers. Even in clement weather there were many instances of progress being impeded by tangled harnesses, broken poles, breakdowns, and overturned carriages.



In the case of a breakdown or overturned coach in severe weather, enough wood was gathered to start a fire and to keep it burning; it supplied light and heat while the driver or a volunteer from among the passengers went to summon help at a nearby house or tavern. The remaining passengers helped pass the time by telling stories until rescuers, on foot or on horseback, arrived on the scene. Then, after what probably seemed like a long period of time, the half-frozen travelers and the team of the ill-fated coach were finally taken to a welcoming home or inn. Drivers and passengers also sought the shelter of an inn if traveling conditions became so severe that they were simply unable to proceed toward their destination. But no matter what brought them, rural families and innkeepers and their wives usually knew how to comfort guests arriving with empty stomachs and fussing or sulking over their misfortunes. Their hunger satisfied by a hot meal (and with, perhaps, their bodies further warmed by a hot toddy), the stranded travelers proceeded to make themselves as comfortable as possible until they were able to resume their journey.

But whether scheduled or unscheduled, the arrival and departure of a stagecoach always caused a great deal of excitement. The sound of the driver's long horn echoing through the countryside not only announced the coach's approach and alerted hostlers to be ready with fresh horses, it was also the signal for crowds to gather in hopes of hearing the latest news. And, since there was extreme competition among the rival stagecoach lines, there were often races on the turnpikes and national roads when weather conditions were ideal. These, too, generated a great deal of interest, and as coaches and steeds dashed by there were often individuals and groups—particularly at taverns and other public places—around to cheer them on.

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Stagecoaches, too, were put out of business by the railroads, and Pennsylvania became a pioneer in railroad construction as privately-owned tramroads began to be built in the early nineteenth century. These were forerunners of the railroads, and were used to haul coal, iron, stone, and other industrial products over short feeder lines to canals.

Early railroads consisted of single track lines with no operational signals, no automatic switches, no telegraph service, and no time schedules. Early passenger cars were similar in design to the stagecoach, but larger, with four wheels and a side entrance door; some also had a potbellied stove for heat. The driver rode on an elevated seat on the front of the car, and there was seating for approximately sixteen passengers, some inside and some outside (on the top) of the car. It was not possible to pass from one coach to another while the train was in

motion, and there were numerous reports of outside passengers who lost their grip or balance and fell under the wheels.

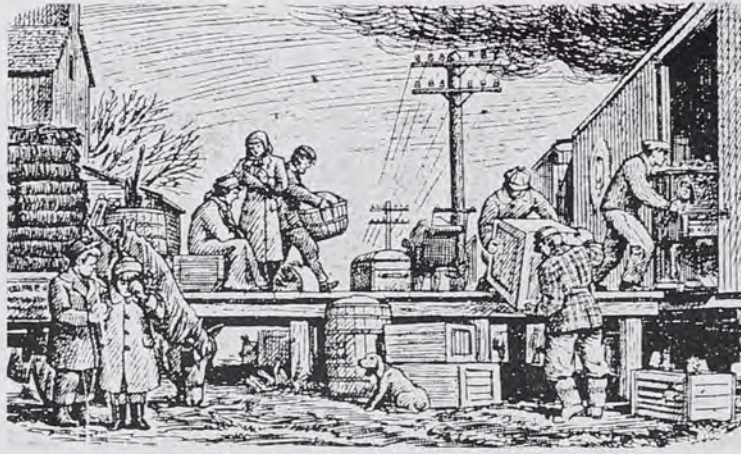
These early cars traveled over wooden rails four inches square and reinforced with a strip of iron plate fastened on top. This strip often came loose, forcing the engineer to stop until repairs could be made. Before the introduction of the locomotive, the cars were drawn by horses (usually two, and changed every ten to fifteen miles) traveling tandem between the rails. The space between the rails was filled with broken stone, and this caused great difficulty when the stone came in contact with the train wheels.

When two trains were traveling on the same track in opposite directions, one had to move onto a siding track or turnout to allow the other to pass. Located at convenient intervals, these turnouts had halfway posts between them. The train passing the halfway post first had the right of way, so the other train had to hitch its horses to the rear of its cars and return to the last turnout passed. In order to prevent collisions at a curve, the brakeman frequently ran an ample distance ahead of his waiting train and flagged down the oncoming train. Train speed was controlled to some extent by the constantly varying grade of the roadbed, but mainly by the desires of the driver. Horse-drawn freight cars traveled about two-and-one-half miles an hour, whereas passenger cars were expected to average eight miles an hour in order to compete with stagecoach travel on turnpikes.

One of the aggravations of early railroading was the indiscriminate use of the tracks by individuals and businesses that built private sidings along the line in order to get their products to market. And, for a time, the tracks were used simultaneously for horse- and steam-driven cars, causing accidents, collisions, delays, and other complications which led to much contention between the rival groups. But horsepower was eventually replaced entirely by steam power and these problems disappeared, as did the stagecoach-type car with its seating on the top; it was abandoned because smoke and sparks from the engine made it practically impossible for passengers to ride outside in comfort. The new cars pulled by steam locomotives were larger than the old ones, had double seats on each side of a central aisle, and were entered at either end.

Early locomotives carried a supply of wood and barrels of water on a flatcar behind the engine; this was followed by several passenger cars. Since there were no headlights, trains did not run after dark. The earliest American "iron horse" came into use during the 1830s; it burned wood, was about twelve feet long with a tall smokestack, and traveled ten to fifteen miles an hour. In that same decade, Philadelphia's Baldwin Locomotive Works tested its first engine (Old Ironsides), and built its first dependable one (the Lancaster). By mid-century Baldwin locomotives were being





*Loading a freight car; by the latter half of the nineteenth century, railroads had clearly demonstrated their superiority over the competition and began to replace wagon and water transportation in commerce. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

used by many railroads, and it was at this time that steam completely replaced horsepower. Then, too, a standard-gauge track was adopted; wood ties and iron and steel rails replaced stone sills and wooden rails; and additional tracks were laid and others relaid with crossties and T-rails.

Wood was the only fuel used by early locomotives, and it was used well into the last third of the nineteenth century. Farmers from the countryside around the railroad found it profitable, particularly during their slow seasons, to supply cordwood cut in four-foot lengths. Trains had to take on fuel and water at various locations along their route, and often these stops were made near an inn so that passengers and crew could relieve and refresh themselves at the same time. Later, when coal replaced wood, loaded fuel cars made such stops unnecessary.

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The earliest railroad of any significance in Pennsylvania was the Philadelphia and Columbia (later renamed the Pennsylvania Railroad) which began operation in 1834 and was chartered in 1846; it authorized construction of a line between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, with branch lines to Erie, Blairsville, and Uniontown. It was among the first railroads to have a second track.

In 1839, the Philadelphia Reading Railroad (better known as the Reading) completed its line connecting the two cities; it became, by the middle of the nineteenth century when the industry was beginning its most rapid period of growth, one of the leading railroads in the state and nation. It passed through the rich agricultural regions of the Lebanon Valley, and transported large quantities of anthracite coal from the mines to the north. This new accessibility reduced the cost, which increased demand and led to the widespread use of an-

thracite for fuel.

The Reading also became an important passenger line, and its "Queen of the Valley" was well-known and well-patronized. Other significant lines included the Lehigh Valley Railroad which connected Allentown, Bethlehem, and Easton with areas to the east; and the Cumberland Valley Railroad which crossed the Susquehanna and connected Harrisburg and the Pennsylvania Canal (it was the first railroad to use a sleeping car).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century railroads clearly demonstrated their superiority over the competition, and began to replace wagon and water transportation in commerce. Railroads became easier and more comfortable to use, quicker, cheaper, and available in all seasons. Moreover, they were a benefit to both industry and agriculture. Lower distribution costs had a favorable effect on the price and availability of goods; and perishable products could be sent to more distant markets with less spoilage, while livestock lost less weight than by droving. As a result, subsistence farming was replaced by more specialized, commercial methods, and rural life was improved.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century there were approximately 5,000 miles of railroad in Pennsylvania, servicing practically all sections of the state. Over the years numerous short, independent lines had come into being (in the state and in the country as a whole), only to later be absorbed by, or consolidated into, larger systems. This helped to simplify freight charge assessments and eliminated or reduced delays in making connections. (Before 1850, train arrival and departure times were a matter of conjecture.) Indeed, because of marked reductions in freight rates, the better use of equipment and materials, and the expansion of trunk lines, railroads were able to reduce competition from other common carriers still further.



As they grew in popular favor and turnpike and canal travel and transportation declined, railroads became the subject of political and popular protest at mass meetings. Early railroads met with opposition from farmers and those who had vested interests in the corporate-owned turnpikes and canals. Wagon and stagecoach owners and drivers; blacksmiths; wheelwrights; horse breeders and dealers; harness makers; innkeepers; road and boat crews; and others who were beneficiaries of turnpike and canal systems were opposed to the new form of transportation. The expansion of the railroad system was gradual, however, and did not cause immediate or large-scale disruption to canal and turnpike interests, but allowed them time to adjust.

Still, the railroads were viewed by many as a nuisance which disturbed peace and quiet. Trains frightened horses on roads near the tracks; it was not uncommon for crew and passengers to have to push the locomotive to get it started; and horses had to be kept at intervals along the line in the event of engine breakdowns. Locomotives discharged large quantities of smoke and sparks which burned holes in clothes and caused skin burns to passengers and employees. They also started numerous fires in the countryside along the line, particularly in brushy or forested areas, in hay fields and stacks, and in fields of ripened grain. Even coaches on the train and buildings near the tracks were frequently ignited, and houses, taverns, barns, stables, and other outbuildings were destroyed. The soot and carbon from the smoke also caused consternation among property owners and those who lived close to the railroad.

Railroads were also the cause of much livestock being killed or injured, since rights of way were not fenced off much before the middle of the century. Although farmers were not compensated at first for lost animals, later the railroads found it expedient to see that they were. But not only was the animal killed or injured, the locomotives, too, frequently needed repair; so in order to prevent or lessen damage to animals and machines, a scoop or shovel-type device was attached to the front of the locomotive; it lifted and tossed the animal to one side. Another source of grievance among farmers that should be mentioned were preferential freight rates accorded to western competitors.

But the heyday of the railroad passed as had that of turnpikes and canals. And, although "in 1940 Pennsylvania had ninety-one railroads, of which eighteen were trunk lines, and about 11,000 miles of track,"<sup>13</sup> their financial condition had changed. Few were paying dividends and many others were facing bankruptcy. This situation was caused by the Depression years, by high indebtedness, and by reduced traffic due to competition from, and replacement by, other forms of transportation including motor vehicles, airplanes, and pipelines. Like the systems they replaced, they began to struggle for survival and, since 1950, with the decreasing number

and amount of government subsidies, the number of railroads, trunk lines, and track mileage have been considerably reduced.

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The need for wheeled vehicles and roadways developed slowly in colonial Pennsylvania since, as already mentioned, most of the early sparse and thinly-populated settlements were located on waterways; and it was easier and cheaper to use these waterways for travel and transportation than to build roads through the heavily wooded countryside. Indeed, many of the early roads led to nearby creeks or rivers so that heavy, bulky products could be shipped by water. Later, as travel between settlements necessitated it, animal paths and Indian trails were widened to ten feet across. These were not graded or surfaced, however; but merely cleared of obstructions as they wound through the shade of tall trees. Many were in such poor condition that a horseman with a light load could not travel any great distance in one day, and travel with carts was even more difficult and impractical.

The English were among the first settlers in Pennsylvania to give much attention to opening roads, and the greatest incentive for doing so in the colonial era was when, in some areas, the courts ordered that convenient passage be made between towns, and stipulated that each person make good and passable ways as far as his land reached, from neighbor to neighbor.<sup>14</sup> But these roads, at best, were narrow and rough, for even after the trees were cut down and rolled away, and the brush cleaned and a roadway established, stumps remained to obstruct passage. Nor were they certain to be kept open (an important piece of equipment for any wagoner was an axe to help clear away fallen trees and broken limbs which blocked the roads) or to remain in the same location. A property owner with land adjoining it could cultivate or fence in the road as he so desired. Then too, many settlers had already fenced their land and would not willingly permit fields to be bisected; consequently, most early roads were very crooked because they paralleled fence lines, followed the contour of the fields, and crossed streams where they could be forded. Following the contour of the land also meant that roads were not level because there were few, if any, cuts or fills.

The course of a roadway might also be changed because of the condition of the road and the season of the year. In order to bypass low areas in wet weather, fence panels were temporarily removed and other routes established across fields on higher ground. Most of the time roads were a succession of holes, and conditions were especially bad in the spring and in other rainy periods when mud abounded and was the cause of many problems. In extremely bad sections, or in low, swampy





*Driving cattle to market was often a time consuming and hazardous business in the days before good roads or railroads were the norm. Muddy or icy roads often delayed the trip for days or weeks. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

areas, corduroy roads were built by placing heavy logs, several feet apart, lengthwise in the roadbed, and covering these with smaller logs, ten to twelve feet in length, placed horizontally against each other on top. Although corduroy roads were very rough to travel over, they did support heavy loads in low areas.

As crude as these early roads were, they did enable settlements to be established farther west, and as the number of settlements and the amount of traffic westward increased, local governments were compelled to build roads. Under the authority of the Duke of York, Pennsylvania's governor and provincial council were authorized to build and maintain highways, and the first major road constructed was the King's Highway, built in 1677 from New Castle toward Chester and the present site of Philadelphia. (All such early roads laid out by order of the provincial council were known as "King's Highways.") Other roads and highways—which were to be straight and commodious for travelers—were laid out by order of county courts after 1700 under an act passed that year.<sup>15</sup> This road law of 1700 also required compulsory road work (not to exceed six days annually) under the direction of a road overseer for all able-bodied men on the tax rolls. Under such conditions little more than necessary construction and temporary repairs were accomplished.

As inland settlements grew, more roads were built to and from Philadelphia. Among the earliest of these were the Queen's Path opened toward Chester in 1708; the Old York Road toward York, begun in 1711; and the Old Conestoga Road toward Lancaster, begun in 1721. Except for in the Cumberland Valley, roads west of the Susquehanna River were constructed after the mid-eighteenth century. Forbes Road from Bedford

(Raystown) toward Pittsburgh, the main route across the mountains, was built in 1758. By the time of the French and Indian War (1754-63), most of the settlements south of the mountains were connected by roads, and dozens of villages all had roads linking them to the outside. By the middle of the eighteenth century, many of the roads within a one hundred mile radius of Philadelphia were in fair condition and able to accommodate the wagons traveling to and from the city.

In 1762 the General Assembly of Pennsylvania authorized county and township governments to employ men to work on the roads, but many individuals continued to exercise their option to earn their road tax by working on the roads, a practice which continued into the twentieth century; (it was finally abolished by the General Assembly in 1911). This resulted in little or no improvement in road conditions, for usually repairs were done at a time most convenient for the individual, rather than when urgency required them. Also under the 1762 law, responsibility for road conditions shifted to a township supervisor of roads who was elected by the people.<sup>16</sup>

Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, traveled through the province in 1748 and wrote: "The roads are good or bad according to the condition of the ground. In a sandy soil the roads are dry and good; but in a clayey one they are bad. The people here are very careless in repairing them. If a rivulet is not very big, they do not make a bridge over it, and travellers may get over as best they can. Therefore many people are in danger of being drowned in places where the water has risen by a heavy rain. When a tree falls across the road it is seldom cut off to keep the road clear but the people go around it. . . ."<sup>17</sup>





*Clearing the road; heavy snow caused many problems on rural roads and it was not unusual for snow to drift in huge banks, filling in low-lying areas and completely covering vehicles. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

Government policy was largely to blame for the poor condition of the roads. Local governments were responsible for constructing and maintaining roads, but had no power to levy and collect road taxes. Efforts to fulfill their obligations varied considerably among townships, but because of a lack of funds, or simply because of little or no inclination to do so, many failed to build and maintain good roads. So, many roads were in wretched condition, were hazardous and frequently impassable, resulting in much delay and danger to travelers. Wagon wheels sank into the mud and had to be pried out, and in other places there were protruding stones, large holes, and deep gullies caused by heavy rains.

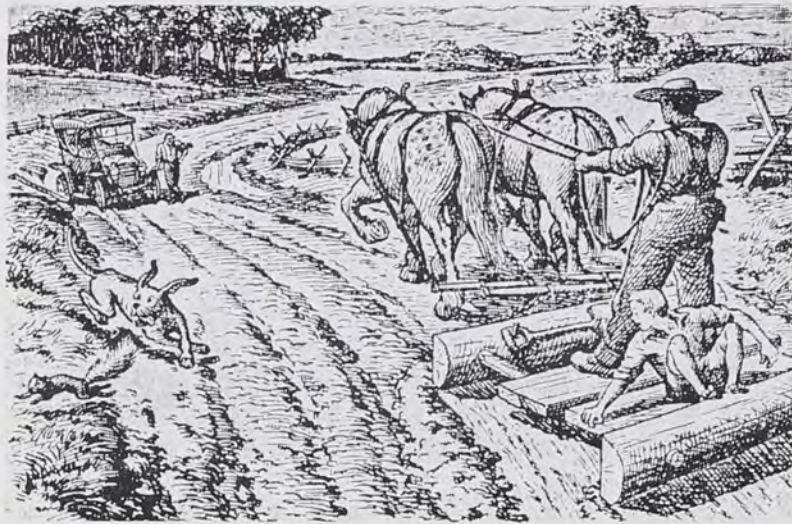
Among the greatest hindrances to travel on the early roads and turnpikes during the winter months were ice and heavy snow which caused many problems and interrupted travel and mail delivery for days or weeks. Drivers and occupants of wagons and coaches were frequently forced to abandon their vehicles on the road and seek shelter at a nearby inn or farmhouse. It was not unusual for snow to drift in huge banks and fill in low-lying areas and completely cover the vehicles so they were not able to be found for days or even weeks after the storm had ceased.

Wet and thawing seasons were especially bad for long distance travel. It was not uncommon for horses to sink to the knees in mud; or for wagons to be stalled for half a day or more; some teamsters were detained for days. During the winter months wagons sometimes froze fast in the ruts and could not be moved for weeks or until there was a thaw.

If the roads were made higher in the center to provide sufficient drainage, they were passable most of the year, so teams were used to plow the road and scrape the soil into a ridge at the center; unfortunately, it would be eroded by the next good rainfall. And, stones gathered from nearby fields were hauled in wagons with sideboards to fill in holes and gullies. Limestone, flint, granite, slate, and gravel were also used along with other road-making materials from local areas. Large gullies were often bridged with a layer of straight poles covered with suitable material. Equipment used for road work included wagons, stone boats, scrapers, plows, and picks and shovels supplied by the laborers. A split-log drag was also used on dirt roads. Near the middle of the nineteenth century much attention was given to the construction of plank roads (two-inch planks placed horizontally on logs laid vertically along the ground) because they were thought to be efficient and inexpensive to build. However, maintenance costs proved to be excessive because of loosened, broken, or rotted planks, and this type of road construction was soon abandoned.

Some roads were used more by non-residents passing through than by those who lived within the township, and so there developed a need and a demand for provincial or state aid. This was particularly true if the road had a specific purpose such as for trade or military use. "Before the Revolution the cost of freight by wagon for fifty miles was more than that by boat for the three thousand miles across the Atlantic,"<sup>18</sup> and this high cost of overland transportation made it profitable to make things at home or to purchase them locally when possi-





*A split-log drag was often used to level dirt roads.  
(Walter W. Calvert, **Farm Journal**.)*

ble. Following the Revolution, travel continued to increase, and many main roads in the more heavily settled areas were widened and graded, and more roads were built west of the Susquehanna. Beginning in 1784, the state government began to aid local governments with road construction and maintenance, and this move was prompted by a desire to increase trade between Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other larger cities and rural areas within the surrounding counties of Pennsylvania. But when the state did help to finance construction it still was not responsible for maintenance, except perhaps in areas of sparse population which received appropriations for repairs; road control remained with the local authorities.

\* \* \*

The turnpike era, 1790-1830, was a period of great activity in road construction in Pennsylvania, and was brought about, in part, by the demand for better roads so that more and fresher produce could be transported to urban markets at lower cost. It was a time when the state not only chartered companies to build turnpikes, but also subscribed to their stock. (During the same period, rivers and lakes were being connected by canals built under government direction.) At the height of turnpike building state aid for roads dwindled, and it ceased entirely by the middle of the century.

Certain construction details and maintenance specifications relating to width, grade, ditching, and surfacing of the proposed roadway as prescribed by legislation had to be met before a company was given a charter. The turnpikes—so-called because of the bar or

gate suspended across the road to stop the traveler until the toll was paid—varied in width from four to six rods, but were merely graded dirt roadways with toll stations every few miles. The right of way for later-constructed tollroads varied from thirty-three to fifty feet in width. Eighteen to twenty-five feet of the bed width was covered with crushed and compacted gravel or stone to a sufficient depth (usually from nine to fifteen inches) laid on a foundation of larger stones (five to eight inches in diameter) with a surfacing of stone dust, pulverized gravel, or coarse sand to bind the materials. This was to secure a solid foundation with higher construction in the center than at the ends. Natural soil or sod surrounded on both sides. As traffic and time demanded, the operators of road companies were empowered to increase their width.

On April 9, 1792, the Pennsylvania General Assembly passed an act incorporating the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company, the first such enterprise of its kind. The construction of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike was among the greatest accomplishments in road building during the eighteenth century. It was the first paved road in America, and measured sixty-two miles in length and twenty-four feet in width. And even though it was widely frowned upon by the public at large—and particularly by the wagoners who were most affected—its success led to the construction of numerous other turnpikes, for this new state policy transferred what had been considered an exclusively governmental function and responsibility to private enterprise.

After 1832 few new charters were being granted ex-



*The Womelsdorf, Pa., toll-gate. According to the caption on the back of this picture from the Pennsylvania German Archives at Ursinus College, one Harry Anspach collected tolls here.*



cept for the construction of feeder roads to connect existing turnpikes, but by that time Pennsylvania had chartered 220 turnpikes, and approximately 3000 miles of road had been built or were planned for construction. Some toll roads were only a few miles long, while others were more than one hundred miles in length;<sup>19</sup> most were located in the more populous areas of southeastern Pennsylvania, and they helped serve the needs of villagers and farmers in the Dutch country in an era when agriculture was changing from subsistence to commercial farming. Such roads increased the value of farms and houses, and helped make travel easier and more satisfying in rural areas, even though only main routes were involved.

Strict rules had to be adhered to when traveling on most toll roads. Wheels were required to be a certain minimum breadth (wagons with wider wheels were given reduced rates), and there was a limit to the weight of, and the number of animals used to draw, conveyances. Drivers were expected to keep to the right side of the road, and fines and costs were imposed for improper passing or for obstructing the road. Tolls were levied by the directors of the companies to keep the roads in order, and it was also their responsibility to place mile-stones along the road and erect signboards at intersections.

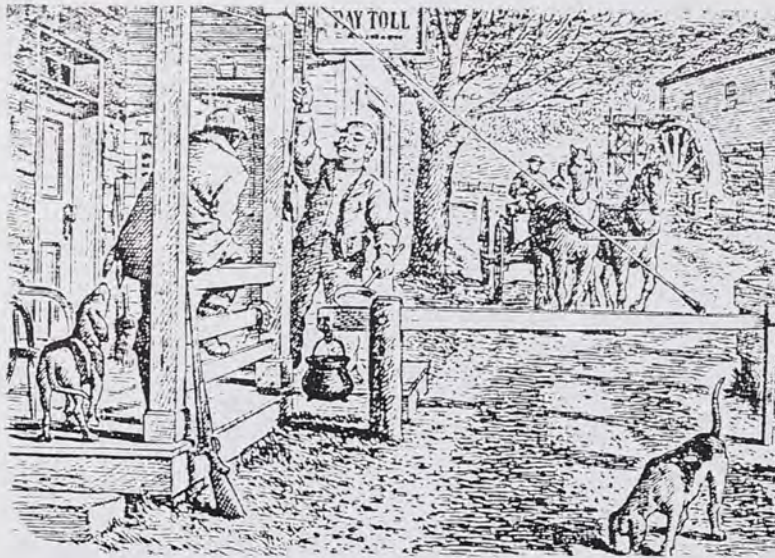
Some toll roads proved to be outstanding successes, paying annual dividends of as much as ten per cent on capital stock invested, while others were failures from the beginning. The main source of turnpike revenue was from long distance traffic, and local users were the strongest protesters against paying. In an effort to appease the opposition, certain travelers, such as those traveling to attend funerals or public worship, were exempted from the payment of tolls. And travel involved in the operation of a farm, including trips to and from the mill and between adjoining farms, was also exempt.

Tolls were paid for a specified distance, usually ten miles between stations on the longer roads, and anyone who refused to pay was not allowed to use the road.

Toll rates varied, but generally the average cost was two cents a mile for passengers (one-half cent per mile for those between six and twelve years of age), and up to two cents a mile for baggage. Freight was charged at the rate of one thousand pounds per mile, usually from five mills to two cents per mile.<sup>20</sup> On a five mile section of one turnpike the toll for a wagon (loaded or empty) was twelve cents, with proportionate rates for carts; for every score of sheep, four cents; for every score of hogs, six cents; for every score of cattle, twelve cents; for every horse or mule, laden or unladen, with his rider or leader, three cents; and for every cart or wagon, the wheels of which did not exceed four inches in breadth, four cents for each horse drawing the same.<sup>21</sup>

Many tollgates were left open after a certain hour at night, because the relatively few who passed through after ten o'clock would not warrant keeping someone on duty after that hour. But in some instances the gatekeeper closed the gate, hung a lantern on it, and retired, perhaps to be disturbed several times during the night. And oftentimes he would not be the only one to be disturbed, for drivers did not feel kindly toward those who collected tolls for night passage. Actually, the collection of tolls was a constant cause for irritation, and schemes of all kinds were used to avoid paying them. In many cases the revenues received were hardly sufficient to pay the toll collector, much less maintain the road. And speaking of toll collectors, it should be noted that they could be housed in several different ways: In many instances the office was located at an inn; or frequently a family dwelling located adjacent to the turnpike also served as a tollhouse; and at other times toll collectors worked in a small, separate structure conveniently located beside the road.





*Tollhouses and tollgates were once a common sight in Pennsylvania, but toll roads were put out of business by canals, railroads, and public highways. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

Although tollhouses and tollgates were a common sight in Pennsylvania until World War I, turnpike construction declined rapidly during and after the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the result of competition from canals and railroads. This period also brought about the abandonment of more miles of turnpike than were being constructed, and after this time even trunk-line turnpikes had insufficient revenues to keep the roads in repair and were abandoned. (The only exceptions to the decline were feeder lines to canals and railroads constructed by private interests.) Some of the major turnpikes were abandoned and sold after a century of service; the last portion of the Lancaster Pike was sold in 1899. Most were taken over by state or local governments and maintained with public funds.

### LATER ROAD LAWS

The road law of 1836 was in effect until near the close of the century. It empowered county court justices to appoint road supervisors for each township. These supervisors could levy and collect taxes up to two mills of assessed valuation on real estate. (Citizens continued to be able to earn their road taxes by working on the roads at the rate of \$1.50 a day.) In 1887 the General Assembly passed a bill which authorized supervisors to purchase road equipment in an amount not to exceed twenty-five percent of the road tax. Another act provided that "Any person liable to road tax, who shall transplant to the side of the public highway, on his own premises, any fruit, shade trees or forest trees, of suitable size, shall be allowed . . . in abatement of his road tax, one dollar for every four trees set out."<sup>22</sup> First allowed in 1879, this practice was discontinued after 1900 because the trees interfered with telephone and electric service, were a hindrance in harvesting crops in adjacent fields, and also tended to keep roads in poorer condition during the winter months.

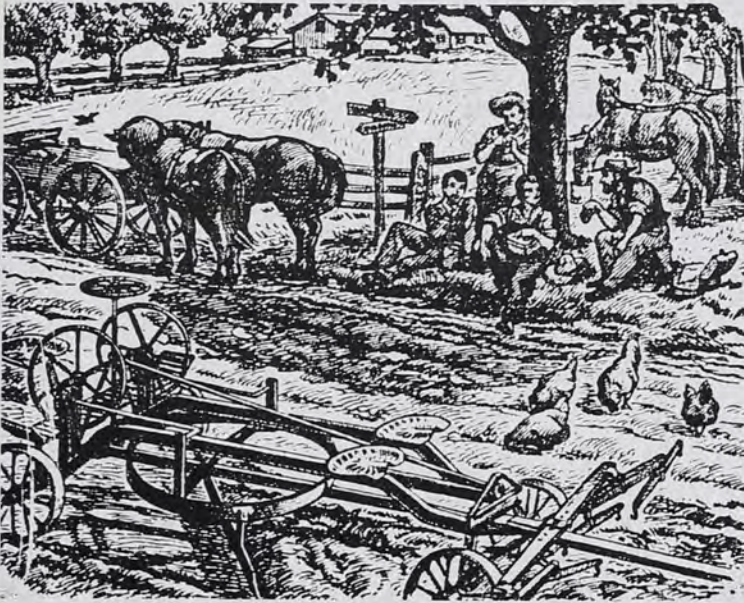
The Sproul-Roberts Act in 1903 did much to lead to

better roads in Pennsylvania by providing competent supervision and state aid. The Act also created a Department of Public Highways, headed by a commissioner, and appropriated funds to be distributed over a period of six years among local governments in proportion to road mileage. Under the Act, county and township commissioners could request that the department plan, establish standards for, and supervise construction of all major highways in local districts, which were then assessed for one-third of the cost, with two-thirds being paid by the state. Another Act, in 1905, changed the apportionment formula, with the state now being charged three-quarters of the costs; it also stipulated that state aid funds could only be used for hard-surfaced roads. In the same year the General Assembly required all motor vehicle operators to pay a license fee into a fund to be used for road construction and maintenance.

Based on the need for good roads to get farm products to market, the Jones Earth Road Act of 1911 provided for the construction of township dirt roads with state funds and under State Highway Department supervision. And, under the Sproul Road Act of 1911, the state assumed responsibility for the construction and maintenance of nearly ten thousand miles of main highways connecting principal cities; made provision to purchase all the toll roads (most of which were located in the southeastern part of the state) which comprised the state highway system; and made a complete survey of *all* roads which became the basis of our present state highway system. Another Act, in 1913, provided that all money received from motor vehicle licenses be used exclusively by the highway department; previously, these receipts had gone into the general fund.<sup>23</sup>

Under the Sproul-Sadler Act of 1919, roads were classified as either primary or secondary, with the state assuming responsibility for reconstruction and maintenance of the former, and counties and townships responsibility for the latter. (Because of a lack of state





*Farmers often exercised their option to earn their road taxes by working on the roads. Under this system, little more than necessary construction and temporary repairs were accomplished. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)*

funds and the high cost of maintenance, there has been a movement in Pennsylvania to return to local governments many of the roads for which the state had assumed responsibility.) In order to help keep law and order in rural areas the State Police Force was organized in 1905 by an Act of the General Assembly; it was combined with the State Highway Patrol (which was assigned a specified area or territory and was on call in emergencies) in 1923.

In July, 1916, the United States Congress enacted federal aid—to be matched by state appropriations—for the construction of rural post roads. And, in 1921, an Act of Congress established a federal highway system to include not more than seven percent of the state's total mileage; it gave Pennsylvania several million dollars annually for the program. In addition to federal aid, local road taxes, and motor license revenues, funds for road construction and improvements were derived from operator license fees, a gasoline tax, and bond issues.

It was the introduction of the automobile, of course, which increased the demand for better roads.<sup>24</sup> Prior to 1900 few roads had a hard surface, and only a small percentage of all roads were in fair-to-good condition. As a result, merchandise being transported any distance frequently spoiled because of delay, or was damaged because of the rough surface of the roads. The lack of good roads in the latter half of the nineteenth century was due in part to archaic road laws; to the fact that responsibility for building and maintenance rested with local government agencies who frequently did not provide adequate supervision; and to the rapid development of railroads, which by the middle of the century had demonstrated their superiority over other kinds of long distance transportation.

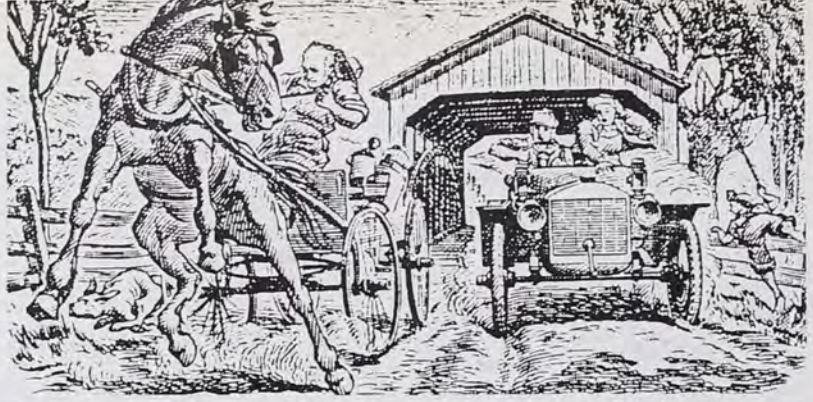
The coming of the automobile,<sup>25</sup> however, created a need for good highways, and concrete and macadam be-

gan replacing dirt roads. But the automobile was not readily accepted by the generally conservative rural population; the noisy contraptions frequently caused farmers' horses and mules to stampede and, as a result, in 1903 the General Assembly set the speed limit at twenty miles per hour, and required the automobile driver to pull to the side of the road and stop when signaled to do so by the driver of a horse-drawn vehicle. In 1915 less than ten percent of the rural population owned automobiles, and dirt roads were still preferred in country areas, for it was more difficult for horses to get a foothold on smooth surfaces, which meant they could not pull as heavy a load. Thus rural residents often frowned upon the high cost of establishing hard, smooth-surfaced roads, when dirt roads in most instances served them just as well or better. By 1920, though, automobile ownership had risen to better than seventy percent, and by 1940 nearly every family had a car; this again increased the demand for better rural roads.

Initially there were many potential buyers who had doubts about how practical and economical the automobile was compared to the horse. Then there were questions concerning solid versus pneumatic tires; two cycle engines versus four cycle engines; and the gasoline engine as compared to the steam engine. There are those readers who may recall measuring the gas supply with a ruler; straining the gasoline through a chamois skin; setting the hand levers properly for spark and throttle before hand cranking to start the automobile; and then having to sit on seats supported by uncomfortable hard springs. Broken arms and wrists were a common occurrence, the result of hand cranking and having to stop several times to repair the clincher tires on longer-than-average journeys. But these and other problems and difficulties did little to dim the enthusiasm of early automobile owners and drivers.



Most rural residents initially considered the automobile a nuisance; it was the introduction of the Model T Ford which caused many to change their minds. (Walter W. Calvert, *Farm Journal*.)



The automobile that convinced many to sell their horses was the Model T Ford, introduced in 1908, which seemingly met most of the specifications of interested buyers. It was designed for family use; was quite dependable; affordable; lasted ten or more years; traveled at a speed of fifteen miles per hour; was light enough to be lifted; and seldom got stuck in mud or snow. It was sought after by businessmen, by professional men, and by farmers, who used it to haul products to and from market and to perform many chores in less time than had previously been possible.<sup>26</sup> Trucks, too, became an important means of transporting products to market—both local and long distance. In fact, by 1925 the motor truck had become a potential rival of the railroad freight car, especially for short hauls of perishable products.

Although much embittered at first by the introduction of automobiles and the consequent demand for more and better highways, rural residents often found that the resulting reduction in drayage costs and the increased value of the land adjacent to the improved roads frequently more than compensated for their construction. Country folks profited, too, from advertising fees as, near the end of the nineteenth century, large billboards and signs painted on barns began to mar the landscape. Much of this type of advertising was within the control of the farmer and other rural landowners who received compensation for the privilege.<sup>27</sup>

So, in many ways—both good and bad—the automobile affected rural living. It broadened the social, economic, and intellectual prospects of those who lived outside of cities and towns; and it helped to reduce isolationism and provincialism. It did, in fact, revolutionize rural life.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>As a result, numerous cities on the rivers developed into important ports.

<sup>2</sup>Steamboats and schooners were of little use in eastern Pennsylvania where the rivers are not navigable and have too many falls. Produce could be transported less expensively on flatboats.

<sup>3</sup>Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1950), p. 267.

<sup>4</sup>Marion Nicholl Rawson, *Little Old Mills* (N.Y., 1935), p. 88.

<sup>5</sup>From the mid-nineteenth century, horse-drawn vehicles—buggies, carriages, surreys, backboards, and spring wagons—were the most exclusive method of travel until after the first decade of the twentieth century.

<sup>6</sup>Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1955), p. 322.

<sup>7</sup>Even so, there was enormous wear on the wagons and horses. Oxen were frequently used to pull the wagons when the roads were wet.

<sup>8</sup>They were black, bay, and dappled gray; their harnesses were black.

<sup>9</sup>Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (N.Y., 1952), p. 226.

<sup>10</sup>Fletcher, 1640-1840, p. 259; Lewis Evans, "A Brief Account of Pennsylvania," 1753, Files of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture.

<sup>11</sup>The Old Order Amish continue to use horse and wagon or buggy because the use of the automobile is prohibited by the church. The married couples use an enclosed buggy open only in front. They are similarly constructed and painted gray, black or brown, the color determined by the branch of the Amish church to which they belong. The unmarried use topless buggies, highly polished, driven by spirited, fine looking, well groomed horses.

<sup>12</sup>Sleighs were frequently used during periods of heavy snow and ice. They took the form of an oblong box constructed of rough boards. Some had a roof covering of muslin. Narrow cross boards served as seats without support. Although such travel was far from comfortable, such sleds could be moved rapidly over snow-covered roads and fields which were firmly packed. Although every effort is made to use secondary roads in their travel, they are to be seen along the heavily traveled highways. In winter sleighs replace the wagons and buggies.

<sup>13</sup>After the period of the American Revolution some of the better coaches were handsomely and artistically painted and ornamented. They were lined inside with leather or a soft silk plush with spring-cushioned seats.

<sup>14</sup>Fletcher, 1840-1940, p. 320.

<sup>15</sup>Records of the Court at New Castle on Delaware 1676-1681, 45-47; "Records of the Court at Upland in Pennsylvania," Historical Society of Pennsylvania *Memoirs* VII 1860, p. 118; Fletcher, 1640-1840, p. 246.

<sup>16</sup>Duke of York's Laws 1676-1682 and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania 1682-1700 (Harrisburg, Pa., 1879), pp. 95, 157, 295; Pennsylvania Colonial Records, First Series, I, 107; Fletcher, 1640-1840, pp. 246-247; Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series, George E. Reed, ed., 1900-1902, I, 107.

<sup>17</sup>Fletcher, 1640-1840, p. 249; Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania 1682-1809, II, 69.

<sup>18</sup>Adolph B. Benson, editor, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (N.Y., 1937), p. 222.

<sup>19</sup>Klees, p. 223.

<sup>20</sup>Fletcher, 1640-1840, p. 256.

<sup>21</sup>Julius Friedrich Sachse, "The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside between Philadelphia and Lancaster," in *The Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, Vol. 22 (1915) p. 67.

<sup>22</sup>Fletcher, 1640-1840, p. 257.

<sup>23</sup>Fletcher, 1840-1940, p. 527; 1879, Public Law, 47, No. 44.

<sup>24</sup>It should also be mentioned that Governor Martin Brumbaugh designated a "Good Roads Day" in 1915 when individual and community efforts were made to improve local dirt roads.

<sup>25</sup>Bicyclists, too, were clamoring for better road surfaces.

<sup>26</sup>Before the advent of motor vehicles and good roads, the electric trolley car provided transportation into and from the countryside, and between communities in rural districts. Such trolley lines radiated from or between larger centers of population and carried freight and express in addition to passengers.

<sup>27</sup>The automobile also gave rural people more freedom of choice about what they would purchase and where.

<sup>28</sup>In recent years this practice has become more closely regulated and, in many instances prohibited. Road signs and billboards in many areas of the state have been replaced with shrubbery, flowering trees, flowers, and grass. Crown vetch has been used with much success in areas where other grasses will not grow; it helps eliminate soil erosion and runoff.



# FLORETTA EMMA WARFEL: A Folk Artist in Embroidery Paint on Cloth

by N.F. Karlins



*On the Swing; painted area approximately 20 1/4 " x 41". Ball point pen and embroidery paint on purple cloth.*

Floretta Emma Adams Warfel is a self-taught artist who uses not canvas and oils, but cloth and embroidery paint. Her vivid landscapes are inhabited by farmers and their families, their livestock, cars, and pets. The rolling hills of northeastern Pennsylvania serve as a backdrop with the sun, billowy clouds, and birds overhead. Having lived on a farm for many years, she has pleasurable memories of farm life and now fulfills her wish to return by creating distinctively-peopled landscapes.<sup>1</sup>

Her bold-colored paints are often matched by the colors of the fabrics that serve as her canvases. She has painted on purple, crimson, dark green, light and dark blue, and on pink, as well as white cloth. She deftly plays off darks against lights for the maximum dramatic effect. Her compositions are always balanced, and the paintings are permeated with a sense of well-being.

Mrs. Warfel can best be described as a folk artist, a self-taught artist, who works outside the artistic mainstream. Folk art is the catch-all term for a large and growing body of high-quality art that has been called "naïve," "outsider," and "popular," and which includes art by the mentally ill. It is the best known designation for non-academic art, even though some anthropologists prefer a more narrow definition.

Like many other self-taught artists, Mrs. Warfel started working later in life than most academically trained professionals, and used skills acquired in her daily life to develop her calling as a professional artist. She made her first work in embroidery paint when she was in her mid-40s, building upon needleworking skills that had evolved over many years. She is less concerned with artistic conventions than academic painters, because she has never taken art lessons or visited museums or galleries. She has never had to learn to abandon traditional media, as only the most rudimentary art materials were available to her.

Mrs. Warfel is not alone in employing unconventional media out of necessity and, like many other folk artists, has learned to put her uncommon materials to good use. For example, Pennsylvania folk artist Justin McCarthy used abandoned bathroom tiles and Formica for some of his oils, while Jack Savitsky, another Pennsylvanian, often has executed drawings on the back of cardboard boxes that once held corn flakes or soap powder.

Mrs. Warfel's work is related by theme to both landscape painting and memory painting. There are folk and non-folk artists who create nostalgic paintings, but there are so many of the former that they constitute a large sub-category among folk artists in general. Further, Mrs. Warfel is among a large and important group of twentieth-century female memory painters, a group which includes Queena Stovall, Fannie Lou Spelce, Clara Williamson, Clementine Hunter, Mattie Lou O'Kelly, and Anna Robinson Moses, better known as "Grandma Moses" (1860-1961).

The start of Floretta Emma Warfel's career as a painter most closely parallels that of Grandma Moses. Grandma Moses began by making paintings in embroidery, but gave them up because of arthritis and switched to oils. Her early oil paintings look very similar to her yarn paintings. Mrs. Warfel learned to contrast colors from piecing and appliqueing quilts, and to make outline drawings by embroidering designs upon them. However, the paintings of these two talented women are very different. They have distinctive artistic personalities, and the *Zeitgeist* of the periods in which they work are also very different.

And, while Grandma Moses relied on clippings from magazines and print sources for parts of many of her compositions, Mrs. Warfel combines landscape motifs from nature that she sees when driving through Pennsylvania with her family, along with her own memories





*Posies and Horses; painted area approximately 16¼" x 42". Ball point pen and embroidery paint on blue cloth.*



*The Bridge; painted area approximately 22" x 23⅞". Ball point pen and embroidery paint on white cloth.*

of farm life, and only occasionally adds motifs from photographs in *National Geographic* or other magazines. Mrs. Warfel's paintings, although they contain less varied rural activities than Grandma Moses's, are clearly rooted in farm living. What makes her paintings so outstanding is her unerring sense of flat pattern and design, and her sensitive use of broad areas of color. In addition to her peopled landscapes, Mrs. Warfel has also created a few historical works, some patriotic designs, and paintings based on the Bible.

Mrs. Warfel is now 73 and constantly busy. She is thin, of medium height, spunky, and unwilling to give up heavy drags on ever-present cigarettes as she talks on the phone or to visitors. Still living in northern Pennsylvania, near the New York state border, she shares a house with several relatives, a companion, Elwood Dennis, and an assortment of animals — cats, birds, guinea pigs, and a rabbit. Depending on her mood, she may work on a painting in embroidery paint, stitch a pieced and embroidered quilt, crochet or braid a rug, knit an afghan, sew clothes, or make a cloth doll.

She was born on April 5, 1916, in Dushore, Pa. Her mother, Grace Mullinex, a homemaker, and her father, Frank Adams, a logger, were both from the Jenningsville area of Wyoming County, Pennsylvania. Floretta Emma Adams was the fourth child in a family of seven girls and three boys, and was named after her maternal grandmother, Floretta Taylor; her mother taught her to sew and quilt when she was very young. The family usually made their home in company houses built by the logging mills where her father worked. They moved frequently, but always within or nearby the northeastern part of Pennsylvania, where the artist still resides.

She has said that she was "brought up on the Pilgrims Holiness religion. I could recite the Bible before I could read."<sup>2</sup> She can still repeat rhymes that condense Biblical stories into a few lines. Beside taking her own

religion seriously, she is sensitive to the religion of others, and this can be seen in her paintings. Once having had Amish neighbors, she sometimes portrays them in their distinctive dress in her paintings.

Floretta Emma Adams liked school and went through first, second, and third grade in one year at Turrell Hill, Pa., the first of many schools that she remembers attending because of her father working at several different mills. Others were Blakeley's Private School, and public schools at Neath and Sylvaria in Pennsylvania, and at Nichols, just across the border in New York.

She was a seventh grader in Nichols when class members were asked to make drawings of their homes. Hers elicited special praise. She was sixteen, and that drawing was the first artwork that she can recall making. Even then she was not a copier but combined memory and imagination to create her composition.

Her formal education ended before the end of that school year, when she left school to marry the town's blacksmith, Grover Warfel. In April, 1932, Grover Warfel was talking to her father when Floretta approached them. She vividly remembers him whistling at her, much to her anger and dismay. During the next five months he was ardent enough to make her forgive him, and they were married on September 19, 1932.

At sixteen, the new Mrs. Warfel took charge of the farm that her husband rented outside of Rome, Pennsylvania, about twelve miles away, and assumed responsibility for rearing his four sons from two previous marriages. Each weekday morning Grover Warfel drove his Dodge touring car to his blacksmith shop in Nichols, leaving his new wife to oversee the milking of twenty-one cows, mornings and evenings, and to tend to the chickens, a vegetable garden, and sometimes the corn fields. She liked her hard-working life. Her sewing skills helped her to provide clothing and quilts for her stepchildren and, later, for the five boys and five girls that





*Flowers on the Path; painted area approximately 28" x 33½". Ball point pen and embroidery paint on cloth.*



*Rooms—Mountain Rest; painted area approximately 20½" x 32¾". Ball point pen and embroidery paint on white cloth.*

she and her husband would have.

Her days on the farm with her family came to an abrupt halt when the owner of the farm sold it in the late 1930s. The Warfels moved to a rented house in Battle Creek, Pa., and then to another in Diamond Valley near Rome, Pa. Mrs. Warfel missed the farm, but was too busy raising her children to dwell on it for long.

After thirteen years of married life, her husband's death on August 9, 1946, left her the sole parent of thirteen children with the fourteenth on the way. She reluctantly moved in with one of her sisters in Owego, New York, not far away. Although she had thought of joining the U.S. Armed Forces, having so many young children to care for forced her to give up the idea and to accept public assistance.

From the late 1940s, Floretta Emma Warfel rented houses in Pennsylvania for her family — twice near Rome, at Spring Hill near Laceyville, near Hazelton, and in Millville, where she lived for a time in the home of one of her step-sons. For the last four years, she has lived in a small town near the New York border.

Mrs. Warfel had ample opportunities to make clothes, quilts, rugs, and dolls for her large family, but she did not make her second drawing until the late 1930s or 1940s when her eldest son requested a drawing of Roy Rogers, his favorite television hero. Her son gave her a photograph from a magazine of Roy Rogers standing by his horse, and Mrs. Warfel drew it and colored it with crayons.

Although she had embroidered figures on quilts, she did not make other drawings per se until 1962. A friend of hers showed her a painting that she had made with embroidery paint on cloth. Mrs. Warfel tried to do the same thing with a brush, as her friend had suggested. Once she discovered that using the tip of the paint tube gave her more control, she became comfortable with these unorthodox painting materials and began to produce a body of work with them.

She begins by selecting a new or, more often, used piece of cloth as her canvas. In showing her paintings, she has remarked: "I use anything I can to paint on. This one was a pillow case. And that one there was a skirt of mine. It was one of those big flared skirts. I have to use what's at hand, I learned that a long time ago."<sup>3</sup> Sometimes she does her painting on cloth given to her by neighbors, who save unwanted or unusable pieces for her.

Mrs. Warfel sketches some rough outlines of hills and figures in ball point pen, then nails the cloth to a board support, and paints it with embroidery paint directly from the tube. Using a board support forces her to paint her larger works in sections. Once the painting is complete, she irons the colors to increase their durability. Since 1962, she has completed between two hundred and three hundred paintings on cloth. To this must be added an unknown number of quilts, clothes, rugs, and dolls, many still in use and highly prized by her family.

Mrs. Warfel's work was shown at the Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences in Binghamton, New York, in 1985, and the Center has acquired some of her paintings, but her work deserves more recognition. She considers herself a hillbilly and has always wished to return to farm living, saying simply "I love hillbillies and farming." By becoming an artist, she has been able to return to farm life — her own brand of farm life in embroidery paint on cloth.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>The information contained in this article is based on a personal interview with Ms. Warfel by the author on October 21, 1988, and several telephone interviews conducted between November, 1988, and January, 1989 unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup>Catherine Schwoeffermann, "Floretta Warfle(sic): Painter, Quilter, and Braided Rug Maker," *Folk Artists of the Southern Tier* (Binghamton, NY: Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences, 1985) N. pg.

<sup>3</sup>Schwoeffermann.



# ROBACKER, EARL F. AND ADA F.: A Bibliography

by Vertie Knapp



*Earl F. and Ada F. Robacker.*

Earl Francis Robacker and Ada Fenner Robacker enjoyed and appreciated their Pennsylvania German heritage. Shortly after they moved from Pennsylvania to White Plains, New York, where they were both educators for many years, they became acquainted with the writings of Cornelius Weygandt, and this stimulated them to learn more about the Pennsylvania Germans and to collect Pennsylvania German antiques. All this began during the early years of the Depression, at which time antique shows were becoming popular. They also haunted antique shops and attended auctions. Over the years, they amassed a large collection of folk art from Pennsylvania. They were pioneers in some areas, such as cooky cutters and spatterware.

The Robackers had a unique way of sharing their collections with the public: they researched them and they wrote books and articles about them, nearly all profusely illustrated. One of Dr. Robacker's earliest articles was about cooky cutters, published in *Antiques* in 1938. In the thirties he also wrote articles about the Pennsylvania Germans for *Club Dial*, a publication of the Contemporary Club (later Woman's Club, White Plains, New York).

The next decade saw the publication of his first books, in addition to articles appearing in *The American Collector*, *Antiques*, *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association*, and *The Decorator*. His dissertation for a Ph.D. from New York University resulted in a book on Pennsylvania German literature in 1943. *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff* appeared the next year. This book and his articles show the broadening of the collecting interests of the Robackers, to include tin and wooden ware.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Robacker was beginning to appear in print as well. She wrote for *Club Dial* on collecting advice and experiences. Both Robackers wrote about Pennsylvania German Easter customs.

The decade of the fifties found them intensifying both their collecting and their writing output. Their articles continued to appear in *Antiques* and *Club Dial*, but Dr. Robacker discovered the ideal outlet in the publication of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, later called *The Dutchman* and, finally, *Pennsylvania Folklife*. From its earliest years he was the antiques editor, and the issues are a treasure trove of information about the Pennsylvania Germans, their language, literature, and art.





*The Robackers lived in White Plains, N.Y., but maintained a summer home in Sciota, Pa.*



*Many of the Robackers' writings were collaborative efforts, and most were illustrated from their own collections.*

Dr. Robacker continued to write for *Pennsylvania Folklife* until the last year of his life, 1985. Four more books followed before the final book, *Spatterware and Sponge* which he co-authored with Mrs. Robacker. Increasingly over the years, they collaborated in their writing. They both wrote articles for the short-lived periodical, *Antique Collecting*, of which Mrs. Robacker was antiques editor. Nearly all of their writings are profusely illustrated from their collections, and many contain a reading list or bibliography.

With the death of Mrs. Robacker in 1988 at the summer home that she had long shared with her husband in Sciota, Pennsylvania, an era has truly come to an end. This bibliography is a tribute to their contribution to our knowledge and appreciation of our Pennsylvania German heritage.

For their help with this project, I wish to thank James Crawford, Director, Monroe County Historical Society; Patricia Jersey, Reference Librarian, Kemp Library, East Stroudsburg University; and Edith Wise, Director of Library Services, Museum of American Folk Art.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annotations in italics are quoted from notes compiled by Dr. Robacker for a Pennsylvania German bibliography that was never published.

### *Books by Earl Francis Robacker*

*Arts of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. New York: Castle Books, n.d.

A reissue of *Touch of the Dutchland*.  
*Old Stuff in Up-Country Pennsylvania*. South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes, 1973.

Folk art, mostly Pennsylvania German, found in Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties: the Poconos.  
*Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff: A Guide to Country Antiques*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.

One of the first books on the subject; much practical advice; few illustrations.



*Pennsylvania German Cooky Cutters and Cookies.* Home Craft Course No. 18. Plymouth Meeting, Pa.: Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, n.d.

Discusses history of cooky cutters and *springerle* molds and their use; directions for making cooky cutters; recipes for cookies.

*Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943.

Covers *Pennsylvania Dutch, German, and English* prose and verse from 1683 to 1942 in chronological order, tracing the various phases of written work, both successful and abortive. Intended as an outline or guide it was used in various schools and colleges as a basic text in its field.

*Touch of the Dutchland.* Cranbury, N.J.: A.S. Barnes, 1965.

Thirty chapters, most of which are reprints of articles in *Pennsylvania Folklife*; few illustrations.

#### **Book by Earl F. and Ada F. Robacker**

*Spatterware and Sponge: Hardy Perennials of Ceramics.* South Brunswick, N.J., and New York: A.S. Barnes, 1978.

The "standard" textbook on "true" spatterware, design spatter, cut-sponge decoration, Bullseye, flowing spatter, and other spot-dot decoration in chinaware.

#### **Articles by Earl Francis Robacker**

"Ai, Ai, Ai, and a Bottle of Whatever." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1962): 6-11.

Discusses beverages enjoyed in Pennsylvania; well illustrated with bottles and mugs.

"Antiques for Fancy and for Fun." *Club Dial* 30 (January 1956):14-15 + .

About antique toys.

"Antiques for Fancy and for Fun." *The Dutchman* 6 (Summer 1955):2-6.

Essentially the same as the previous article, but with more illustrations.

"Art in Christmas Cookies." *The Dutchman* 6 (Winter 1954-55):3-7.

Includes information on determining the age of cutters.

"Basketry, a Pennsylvania Dutch Art." *The Dutchman* 7 (Fall 1955):2-5.

*Rye straw, oak splint, and rice straw baskets shown in one of the first articles to call attention to these Dutch country types.*

"Books not for Burning." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (Winter 1957-58):44-51.

*Hand illustrated and other books often overlooked by ill-informed inheritors at the time of estate sales.*

"Buckwheat Music." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14 (Spring

1965):2-9.

*The shape-note song books of Victorian singing societies and schools—and their far more interesting Dutch country predecessors.*

"Butter Molds." *The Dutchman* 6 (June 1954):6-8.

Brief treatment.

"The Case for Pennsylvania German Painted Tin." *Antiques* 52 (October 1947):263-265.

Argues that painted tin or toleware was popular in Pennsylvania as it was in New England and New York and that much of the decoration was Pennsylvania German.

"Chills 'n Fever." *Club Dial* 20 (November 1946):12-13 + .

About the "disease" of collecting antiques.

"Christmas—Back Along." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 16 (Winter 1966-67):2-13.

*Reminiscent article, well illustrated.*

"Cutting-Up for Fancy." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 10 (Fall 1959):2-10.

*A wider range of subject matter here than is usually included under today's popular term "Scherenschnitte." Included is a spectacular cut-out and hand-colored Pennsylvania Dutch valentine dated 1783.*

"Decorated Tinware East and West: in Pennsylvania." *Antiques* 66 (September 1954):200-202.

Emphasizes the love of the Pennsylvania Germans for ornamentation and its use on tinware; methods and motifs.

"Dream in Dutchland." *New York Folklore Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1956):287-290.

The opening near Bethel, Pennsylvania, of a living history museum to recreate Pennsylvania German life, times, and activities. Part of the dream was to provide a home for the offices, archives, and library of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, and so it did for a while.

"Dutch Country Burls and Bowls." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 15 (Winter 1965-66):2-7.

Both plain and fancy wooden utensils treated; an unusual elm bowl with ears among the items illustrated. "The Dutch Touch in Iron." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 8 (Spring 1957):2-6.

Details characteristic motifs found in such wares.

"Easter Egg Tree Becoming Vigorous U.S. 'Folk' Custom." *The Reporter Dispatch* (White Plains, N.Y.), April 10, 1952:17.

On the increasing adoption of the Easter egg tree in America; traces symbol of the Easter egg.

"The Eastertime Rabbit." *Club Dial* 54 (April 1979):15-17.

Treats Easter traditions: Easter rabbit, celebrations, eggs; also, candy molds and advertising cards.

"Folk Art in Pennsylvania Dutch Cooky Cutters." *American Collector* 10 (January 1942):10-11.

Focuses on designs unique in Pennsylvania; also,



some cookie-cutter makers identified.

"The Fraktur of Monroe County." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 21 (Autumn 1971):2-15.

Includes both printed and original pieces. Johann Adam Eyer worked in Monroe County.

"It Beats the Dutch!" Part one. *Club Dial* 11 (December 1937):9-11 + .

Explains who they are, their area, some of their sects, especially the Moravians.

"It Beats the Dutch!" Part two. *Club Dial* 11 (January 1938):15 + .

Pennsylvania German customs and character, market day, names of their towns, farming, superstitions, idiosyncracies, hexing, powwowing.

"It Beats the Dutch!" Part three. *Club Dial* 11 (February 1938):15-16 + .

Describes some of the antiques of the Pennsylvania Germans and how they were used.

"Johann Adam Eyer: 'Lost' Fraktur Writer of Hamilton Square." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 34 (Spring 1985):98-113.

Gives some information on Eyer's work and on the Monroe County community in which he worked.

"Knife, Fork and Spoon: A Collector's Problem." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (Spring 1958):28-33.

Detail-filled article on the nature and use of kitchen cutlery.

"Let's Talk About Slate." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 22 (Summer 1973):2-10.

Upcountry towns like Bangor and Northampton were centers of the slate industry, which, in addition to such articles as roofing slates and architectural moldings, turned out game boards, sculptured relief figures, chip-carved wall plaques, and painted and/or marbled objects of ornamental nature . . .

"Living with Dutch Antiques." *The Dutchman* 5 (April 1, 1954):7 + .

Guidelines for collecting: being discriminating, getting started, gaining knowledge.

"Long Lost Friend." *New York Folklore Quarterly* 12 (Spring 1956):25-31.

Explains the nature of Johann Georg Hohman's work on *hexerei* and the hurdles Dr. Robacker faced in obtaining a copy.

"Major and Minor in Fraktur." *The Dutchman* 7 (Winter 1956):2-7.

Includes a variety of applications, from the familiar birth and baptism certificates to decorations in Bibles. "Moravian Christmas." *Club Dial* 51 (December 1975):13-16 + .

Account of the candlelight service and the putz of the Moravians.

"Nipping Flasks." *Antique Collecting* 3 (July 1979):12-17.

About 18th and 19th century redware and stoneware pocket flasks.

"Not So Fast, Mr. Chippendale!" *Club Dial* 18 (November 1944):8-9 + .

In defense of traditional styles; a refutation of the popular book, *Goodbye, Mr. Chippendale*, by T.H. Robshohn-Gibbins.

"Of Cookies and Cookie Cutters." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4 (December 1952):5.

About the Robackers' collecting and use of cookie cutters and how they divided their collection by categories.

"The Paint-Decorated Furniture of the Pennsylvania Dutch." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Fall 1962):2-8.

On the use of paint for ornamental purposes on furniture.

"Painted Tin or 'Tole.'" *The Dutchman* 6 (Spring 1955):2-7.

Discusses the problem of whether or not it is a Pennsylvania product.

"The Painted Tinware of Pennsylvania." *The Decorator* 3 (Summer 1949):13-17.

Points out differences between Pennsylvania and New England tinware decoration; not illustrated with Pennsylvania items.

"The Painted Toleware of Pennsylvania." *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 2 (September 1943):209.

Compares Pennsylvania tole painting with its European forerunners; no illustrations.

"Paper for Fancy." *Antiques* 72 (December 1957):543-545.

The genteel art of paper-cutting for valentines, birth certificates, family records, and the like, mostly in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Text and pictured specimens also include a Gottelsbrief (fancy wrapper for a baptismal gift-coin), possibly German, and a floral pinprick/cutout by M.A. Honeywell, undoubtedly New England.

"The Peacock in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (Spring 1960):10-15.

The use of the peacock motif on such different household articles as towels, redware, toleware, and wooden items.

"Pennsylvania Chalkware." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (Summer 1958):2-7.

The inexpensive plaster-of-Paris decorative mantel objects, probably European in inspiration, which received special decoration in the New World and, rightly or wrongly, have come to be considered as Pennsylvania Dutch. The New York Historical Society has a particularly good collection, several pieces of which are shown here.

"Pennsylvania Cookie Cutters." *Antiques* 34 (December 1938).

Perhaps the first widespread publicity given these lowly folk-art objects. It might be noted that while good cutters could be had for ten cents each in 1938, and ex-



ceptional ones for a dollar, an exceptional one forty years later topped the thousand dollar mark at a Dutch Country auction.

"The Pennsylvania Dower Chest . . . Born Again." *Antique Collecting* 2 (December 1978):15-19 + .

*Recapitulations of the varying degrees of status of this Pennsylvania chest from the time of its genesis in late 18th century to the present. Illustrated with examples from a number of famous collections and/or museums.*

"Pennsylvania Dutch Easter." *American Collector* 16 (April 1947):6-7 + .

Mostly about the decorating of Easter eggs and the techniques involved.

"Pennsylvania Gaudyware." *The Dutchman* 7 (Spring 1956):2-7.

Describes these British-made wares so popular in Pennsylvania.

"Pennsylvania German Wood Carvings." *Antiques* 49 (June 1946):369-371.

About small wooden items, carved, whittled, scratch-carved, turned; work of Schimmel, Huguenin, and Lehn mentioned and illustrated.

"Pennsylvania Pewter and Pewterers." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (Winter 1962):2-6.

Brief history of pewter, focusing on Pennsylvania; mention of several pewterers who worked in Pennsylvania.

"Pennsylvania Redware." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 8 (Fall 1956-57):2-7.

Mostly about the fancy slip-decorated and sgraffito wares.

"Piece-Patch Artistry." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (July 1963):2-10.

Over-all view of the history of quilt making and a sketch of the process.

"Redware for Pretty." *Antique Collecting* 1 (August 1977):4-5.

*Redware with slip or sgraffito decoration, as well as pieces with fancy shapes, such as gelatin or cake dishes, fish-shaped moulds and flower pots and saucers with crimped edges.*

"Remembrance of Things Past." *Club Dial* 19 (December 1945):14-15 + .

About attending an antiques show.

"The Rise of Interest in Folk Art." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 10 (Spring 1959):20-29.

Discusses collecting practices and writings of pioneers in folk art studies: Dr. Henry Chapman Mercer, Dr. Edwin Atlee Barber, and others.

"The Rise of Interest in Pennsylvania Dutch Antiques." *The Dutchman* 8 (Summer 1956):18-22.

Discusses the interest in collecting since 1929, with references to collectors and collections.

"The Rise of Interest in the Pennsylvania Dutch." *Club Dial* 31 (March 1957):14-15 + .

Traces the interest in the Pennsylvania German from Edwin Atlee Barber's *Tulipware of the Pennsylvania German Potters* of 1903 on.

"The Shape of Food That Was." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14 (Winter 1964):10-15.

About waffle irons, muffin pans, pudding molds, cheese molds, butter molds, candy molds, springerle molds for cookies.

"The Sheen of Copper." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14 (October 1964):10-15.

Brief history of copper work in colonial times.

"Spatterware." *The Dutchman* 6 (Fall 1954):2-4.

Wares not made in America, but popular with the Pennsylvania Germans.

"Stick-Spatter Ware." *Antiques* 99 (February 1971):245-250.

*An article which brought design spatter and cut-sponge decorated ware out of the closet and put it onto salesroom shelves.*

"Stitching for Pretty." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 15 (Spring 1965):2-9.

Discusses characteristics of Pennsylvania German needlework as found on samplers, show towels, doilies, and pillow shams.

"Stoneware: Stepchild of Early Pottery." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (July 1964):2-7.

About the process of making stoneware.

"Such Fancy Boxes, Yet." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 8 (Summer-Fall 1957):2-8.

Candle boxes, brides' boxes, and others, all decorated.

"Tick-Tock Time in Old Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (Fall 1958):32-36.

About both tall case and shelf clocks in Pennsylvania.

"Tin—With Holes In." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Spring 1961):2-7.

Its use in pie cupboards, cottage cheese strainers; punch-decorated coffee pots.

"The Township Weavers of Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Summer 1961):2-7.

Covers the many steps in making coverlets, from supplying the fiber to the finished product; prices.

"Victorian Wall Mottoes." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23 (Spring 1974):2-10.

Includes religious samplers and wool embroidery on paper.

"Weygandt, the Author." *The Dutchman* 6 (Fall 1954):12-13.

Tribute to Cornelius Weygandt on the occasion of Weygandt Day, July 3, 1954.

"The Winding Road to Stick Spatter." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 20 (Autumn 1970):16-22.

*One of the first articles on "stick" spatter and its various manifestations . . .*

"Wooden Boxes of German Pennsylvania." *Antiques* 61 (February 1952):171-173.



*Small painted specimens of various types, including a candle box marked "EVA:ANNO:1776" believed to have belonged to Eva, wife of Conrad Weiser.*

#### **Articles by Ada Fenner Robacker**

"Brown Hills 'Japanese' Ware; A Long Delayed Research Project." *Spinning Wheel* 37 (September-October, 1981):45-49.

"Child's Bed Quilts." *Antique Collecting* 1 (January 1978).

*The small-size quilts intended for trundle beds, cradles, or cribs frequently have characteristics of their own, and while they do not necessarily constitute a different genre, they merit their own classification. (Article listed in masthead as "staff" but the work of Mrs. Robacker.)*

"The Craze for Quilts" Part one. *The Antique Dealer* 24 (June 1972):30-31 + .

"The Craze for Quilts." Part two. *The Antique Dealer* 24 (July 1972):32-34.

Several categories of quilts explained; illustrated with examples from several collections.

"Of Easter and Egg Trees" *The Club Candle* (published by the Woman's Club of New Rochelle) 23 (April 1949):13 + .

Discusses theories on the origin of the Easter egg tree; no illustrations.

"Old Stuff." *Club Dial* 26 (May 1952):12-13 + .

On living with antiques and reproductions.

"The Patchwork Pillowcase" *Antique Collecting* 2 (August 1978):12-15 + .

*Little attention has been paid to these pieces until recently—perhaps because so few of them are to be found. Illustrations here show the major types to be reported thus far.*

"Quilts of Quality." *Antique Collecting* 1 (January 1978):16-20.

*The author, a judge in a well-known national quilting competition, points out the elements that constitute quality in pieced, appliqued and other quilts.*

"Rice Straw Baskets." *Antique Collecting* 2 (June 1978):14-16 + .

Baskets from the Orient that are often called "Lancaster" baskets.

"Speaking of Glass." *The Larch Tree* 17 (April 1953):5-7 + .

Survey of glass making in America.

"Thanks, Grandma! Or Confessions of a Collector of Antiques." *Club Dial* 22 (November 1948):26-27 + .

Explains how Dr. and Mrs. Robacker became collectors.

"Under the Tree: The Pennsylvania Christmas Putz." *Antique Collecting* 1 (December 1977):4-5.

*The under-tree Christmas decorations discussed here once found chiefly in Moravian families have in recent*

*years achieved wide popularity.*

"Wax Figures Under Glass: Year Round Valentines." *Antique Collecting* 2 (February 1979):10-15.

*The first discussion in print of these admired but seldom-found little glass-domed groups of wax figures. "Who Makes an Egg Tree?" Club Dial 26 (April 1952):10 + .*

Speculation on the origin of the custom of the egg tree; one illustration of an egg tree.

"The Word for It . . ." *Club Dial* 21 (November 1947):16-17 + .

#### **Articles by Earl F. Robacker and Ada F. Robacker**

"Ancient of Days—Plus Tax." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 16 (Summer 1967):3-9.

*Primarily for collectors of Pennsylvania Dutch antiques, the article discusses artifacts which could still, at this time, be considered affordable.*

"Antique or Folk Art—Which?" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (Summer Supplement, 1961):18-21.

Discusses the nature of folk art and creativity and the skill of the Pennsylvania Germans.

"Antique or Folk Art: Which?" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Fall 1961):8-11.

Points out that folk art exists independently of age. Pictures differ from those in previous listing.

"Antiques in Dutchland." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Fall 1961):2-7.

Aimed at collector; includes a glossary.

"Antiques in Dutchland." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (Summer Supplement 1961):15-17.

Brief overview with a glossary of Pennsylvania Dutch terms.

"Antiques Inspire Christmas Cards." *Spinning Wheel* 32 (December 1976):19-22.

Shows how the Robackers adapted designs from Pennsylvania Dutch antiques to illustrate their Christmas cards; illustrations are of the Christmas cards.

"The Art of the Potter." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 27 (Summer Supplement 1978):48-55.

*The work of traditional and of contemporary Dutch Country potters discussed. Traditional forms, both usual and exceptional, are pictured.*

"Decorative Painting." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 28 (Summer Supplement 1979):34-39.

*Covers the traditional crafts of reverse painting on glass, fancy tinware, and fancy painted woodenware with short accounts of a number of contemporary craftsmen.*

"Delicate Pennsylvania Dutch." *New York World Telegram and Sun*. 30 September 1960:12.

Points out that some Pennsylvania German antiques, such as show towels and toleware, are not all "heroically proportioned."



"Discord in the Garden." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Summer 1969):2-8.

The serpent motif on fraktur, pottery, Easter eggs, an appliqued quilt, toys, and wooden items.

"The Elusive How of Spatterware." *Antique Collecting* 2 (November 1978):20-26.

Article on methods of spattering or sponging this tableware . . . Colored illustrations from the private collection of Pennsylvania antiques dealer Clyde Youtz.

"The Far-From-Lonely Heart." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 17 (Winter 1967-68):2-11.

The continuing use of the flat, broad-lobed "Berks County" Heart (and other types of hearts as well) in household decoration—fraktur, hinges, boot jacks, trivets, locks, cooky cutters, cutlery, etc.

"Flight of the Distelfink." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 20 (Summer 1971):2-8.

About the use of birds in folk art—textiles, toys, tinware, pottery, fraktur.

"Floral Motifs in Dutchland's Art." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 17 (January 1968):2-7.

Flowers from realistic to conventionalized in considerable variety of media.

"Folk Whittling in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 22 (Summer Supplement 1973):38-48.

Whittling and carving, both historical and contemporary, with photographs of today's whittlers at work.

"Fraktur—An Enduring Art Form." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 26 (Summer Supplement 1977):48-55.

Today's fraktur artists at work, with historical background.

"Fraktur—Folk Art at Its Best." *New York World Telegram and Sun*. 9 January 1959:14.

Brief article describing fraktur.

"Gaily Painted Old-Time Houseware." *New York World Telegram and Sun*, 3 August 1956: 9.

"How Far That Little Candle Throws . . .!!" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 29 (Summer 1980):34-40.

Discussion of candle making, lampmaking, and candlestick making at the festival, with illustrations of artisans and some of their work, as well as illustrations of old candle holders.

"Like the One Grandma Had." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14 (Summer 1965):14-20.

A brief overall view of items once found in Pennsylvania German homes.

"Look Back, Once!" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 15 (Summer 1966):6-11.

A look at the way of life of the Pennsylvania Germans, with reference to antiques that remain.

"Metalcrafting at the Festival." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23 (Summer Supplement 1974):48-55.

Gives historical background of metalcrafting at the festival.

"Of Baskets and Basket Makers." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 31 (Summer 1982):146-151.

About current basket making, with both contemporary and traditional baskets illustrated.

"Quilting Traditions of the Dutch Country." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 21 (Summer Supplement 1972):31-38.

"Quilts and Quilting; Picking the Winners." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 30 (Summer 1981):169-173.

A behind-the-scenes look at showing quilts and judging them.

"Textile Treasures." *Antique Collecting* 1 (February 1978). [No information on exact authorship - whether the work of Dr. or Mrs. Robacker, or a collaboration.] ". . . Three Times—and Sold!" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 24 (Summer Supplement 1975):35-43.

About country auctions, with illustrations of auctioneers in action as well as typical objects that show up at auctions.

"Tin, Tole—and Independence." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 25 (Summer Supplement 1975):48-56.

"Whittling: Dumb Dutch Pastime." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 19 (Summer 1970):2-9.

The offhand efforts of accomplished whittlers.

### About the Robackers

Eaby, Mark R., Jr. "A Tribute to the late Dr. Earl F. Robacker 1904-1985." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 35 (Summer 1986):7.

Gaugler, Nancy K., and Parsons, W.T. "In Memoriam: Earl F. Robacker, 1904-1985." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 35 (Spring 1986):143.

Heeschen, Paula. "Monroe County's on Auction Block — Sort of." *The Pocono Record* (Stroudsburg, Pa.) March 16, 1989:B3.

### Auction Catalogs

Horst. *Session I 2-Day Unreserved Public Auction of Pennsylvania German Folk Art and Antiques The Collections of the Late Dr. Earl F. and Ada F. Robacker (Of White Plains, New York) To Be Held Friday, May 26th & Saturday, May 27th, 1989.* Auction Catalogue by: Clarence E. Spohn, Ephrata, Pa.

Horst. *Session II . . . Friday, June 23rd and Saturday, June 24th, 1989.* Auction Catalogue by: Clarence E. Spohn, Ephrata, Pa.

Horst. *Session III . . . Friday July 21st and Saturday, July 22, 1989.* Auction Catalogue by: Clarence E. Spohn.

Horst. *Session IV . . . Friday, August 18th and Saturday, August 19th, 1989.* Auction Catalogue by: Clarence E. Spohn, Ephrata, Pa.

Sotheby's NY. *Important Americana, Including Furniture, Folk Art, Folk Paintings, Quilts and Prints. January 26, 27, 28, 1989. Sale 5810.* Over 80 of the finest items in the Robacker collection illustrated.



# THE MODERNIZING EFFECT OF THE MARKETPLACE UPON OLD ORDER SOCIETY, 1727 to 1987

by William T. Parsons



*Corn harvest in shocks; Amish farm, Kishacoquillas Valley.*

This study is a series of incidents and value judgments which relate the varying effects of a market economy to those Old Order Anabaptists who call themselves Amish. By the marketplace I mean to evoke a full range of business activity: buying and selling, real estate and dry goods, farmers' markets and roadside sales, new methods and old values.<sup>1</sup> It involves both production and the means to that end, and the way Amish products are marketed, along with the social ramifications of both. For as the market and the means of production have modernized, the process has had profound effects upon a most conservative religious society.

I do not attempt to deliver chronological narrative or scientific opus, but use selected episodes and incidents to weave my account. Thus, social and economic aspects mesh with historical traditions. If the old saying

"the more things change, the more they remain the same" is applicable, it is only because "the same" is *not* static, but is gradually changing. Some worldly observers see the Amish as an archaic group dedicated to an archaic way of life which has changed relatively little over two hundred and fifty years, but I see that view as far too narrow.

Mine is also an observance from outside — I am still a church German, *Deutsch Refermiert*, with a *Schweitzer Refermiert* ancestry, and although both the Plain folk and my people came from the same Swiss homeland and from much the same farm experience, our religious experience was obviously different — but I see the Amish as a small society which is gradually evolving. It does so very slowly, but *has* changed considerably over a long period of time; much more, really, than most people





*Old Order barn raising along Route 320 east of Ephrata, Pa.*

think. In this paper I propose to look at particular examples of this change, and most such examples inevitably involve the farm, since agriculture is so basic to the whole Amish story. It is the fabric and grain of their life, and the customs and habits related to it are among their most firmly fixed ideas. Farmers are nearly all conservative, whether Calvinist, Catholic, or Anabaptist Swiss. As Peter Berger noted, the resistance to modernity is notably present in farm situations.<sup>2</sup>

Most Swiss farmed steep slopes; few farms were on level land. Indeed, Swiss Amish and Swiss Reformed both farmed hillsides which ascended right up to the tree line. (A standing joke in my family, both on the European side and in Pennsylvania, was that the cattle and goats all had legs shorter on one side than the other from their long years of hillside grazing.) Then, upon arriving in the Rhineland, the Swiss migrants were stuck with the poorest land which, again, was never flat.

Contrary to some historical assumptions, few of the early Amish immigrants went directly to Lancaster County. Rather, the hilly terrain of western Berks County accommodated many of the first to come.<sup>3</sup> Since it was reminiscent of their Swiss homeland to many of the new arrivals, they named it Bern Township. Many of the earliest Swiss Amish families to locate in Bern (or Berne) Township in Berks County were Stutzmans and Hochstedlers who were already there in 1727.<sup>4</sup> A sketch map of their lands is found in the July, 1987, issue of *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, which notes they ran from above present U.S. Route 22 west of Shartlesville to a point at the juncture of Northkill and Wolf Creeks, about two miles below that town. In 1737, a decade after the first Stutzman land claims, east of Tract B as shown in *Mennonite Heritage*, Jacob Beiler established his farm.<sup>5</sup>

The similarity of these new lands to the steep hillsides they used to farm in Switzerland was one factor in the

Amish choice of land sites. It was the tendency of *all* German-speaking settlers to seek out Pennsylvania land which was just like home, and one saw it repeated many times. My German Lutheran ancestors from the Swabian Alb, for example, together with Reformed from Switzerland, first settled in hilly West Jersey. Then they moved across the Delaware River to land along the Aquashicola Creek in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania.<sup>6</sup> There they nestled right up against the Blue Mountain, just the way they had in Neidlingen in a blind valley snug up under the old Reussenstein castle ruins which dominated it even then.<sup>7</sup>

I would hardly say it was always like that, but in many similar cases settlers found familiar surroundings which made the adjustment easier. And, although some never left the old familiarity of the new geographic site, among the Swiss Amish settlers in Bern Township it was different. Quite simply, these Plain folk changed most deliberately and dramatically. Marketplace pressures and the possibility of economic advantage soon caused them to pull up roots and move westward into Lancaster County.<sup>8</sup> (It was true, too, that many of the newer arrivals in Bern Township were Swiss Reformed, the old foe.<sup>9</sup>) They left the hill country which they loved and started flatland farming which they had *never* done before. In short, they reacted to new ways and modernizing pressures by selling their first homesteads. The Amish made money on the deal, which was predicated on the move to less-hilly land in Lancaster County. A lack of experience might handicap them in this new life, but almost without hesitation they took on the new challenges. New situations; new solutions that meant a change to a new style of farming. That was modernization at work.

\* \* \*





*A white buggy used by an ultraconservative Amish sect in the Kishacoquillas Valley.  
(All photographs by the author.)*

A second area of change took Kishacoquillas (or Big) Valley Amish from the normal home remedies for most illnesses to a firm, new dependence on medical doctors who prescribed standard drugs. Evidence of this is to be found in notes and accounts tallied in the notebooks of the David Yoder family from near Belleville, Mifflin County, in the years from 1835 to 1858.<sup>10</sup> About 1835, Sarah, wife of David, entered a series of home remedies into one of these notebooks. Included are recipes for "Pulmonic or Pulmonary Balsam tea; Restorative Wine Bitters; Compound Bitters; Alterative Syrup; Neutralizing Mixture; and Compound Powder of Mandra[k]e" (see Appendix 1). These recipes, mixed at home, yielded concoctions used by at least two generations of Yoders.

But change based on new economic possibilities is found in a tally of medical expenses for the now-widowed Sarah just twenty years later. Kept in notebooks and ledgers, the tallies show the expenditure of cash sums for medical treatment by apothecary and trained medical doctors. This change resulted from the newly available medical services of John Metz & Son in the Kishacoquillas Valley between 1853 and 1856. The accumulating medical expenses included charges for

"Visits, Advice, Bleeding, Medicines, and Blister treatments" for David Yoder's widow. Twenty-two trips by the doctor in the years from 1853 through 1856, along with the medicines he administered or left for her, cost a grand total of \$32.68 when the three-year bill was settled on 29 March 1856 (see Appendix 2).<sup>12</sup>

Sarah Yoder died in 1858, and an estate auction sale took place on 9 August 1858, near Belleville. Most purchasers were members of the family: David C. Yoder, Yost Yoder, Christian Yoder, Christian G. Yoder, and John Kauffman; John Hooly, Christian P. Yoder, and Elizabeth Beiler were neighbors.<sup>13</sup> The sale document still exists, giving us an interesting picture of the change from one farm generation to the next. The worth of the dollar was very different in those days, of course, but the "vendue paper" reveals the relative prices of goods then.<sup>14</sup> A corner cupboard, for instance, cost one dollar and forty-five cents, while a chest brought eight dollars and a quarter; a Bible sold for five and a quarter compared to forty-five cents for a Testament, and one dollar and two cents for a *Liederbuch*; and a rocking cradle cost twenty-five cents, the same price as a "wheel & reel" for spinning.<sup>15</sup>





*Amish house and barn (modernized and rented) on Route 655 near Belleville, Pa.*

\* \* \*

A dramatic example of change in Amish value systems came to my attention when I was editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife* in 1979. Professor Thomas Gallagher brought me a manuscript by Gideon L. Fisher — a preliminary version of material on farm change for a new book of his — for possible publication in our journal.<sup>16</sup> In the course of our conversation, Gallagher said that Mr. Fisher had switched to a new occupation when his son took over the family farm. He had, in fact, begun a farm machinery repair shop to serve the needs of the Amish community around him.

By 1970 the companies which produced farm machinery commercially made tractor-drawn products only, and Gideon Fisher began to convert this machinery from tractor-hitch to horse-hitch. This was a reversal of the old conversion process I had so often seen as a youth in 1932. Tractors appeared on the local farms about then and I remember, as a youngster, watching Newt Anthony, the blacksmith back behind the Aquashicola-Forest Inn Road, convert horse-drawn machinery to tractor-hitch. There was local non-Amish resistance to the change from dependable horsepower to tractor-motive power, but in our section of the state it did take over for it was a change brought about by oncoming industrialization. The Amish chose to remain different.

Gideon Fisher's story is just one example of change among the Plain people in the area of transportation; change brought about mainly by modern technology. The moveable-top buggy shifted from unlawful to accepted status among the Amish in the mid-1800s. Later, the use of automobiles was accepted by one group of

Old Order Mennonites in Lancaster County and, a bit later, by decision of an Amish bishop, even by one variation of the farm Amish at one end of the Kishacoquillas Valley. That Mennonite judgment was indeed tempered by the regulation that chrome bumpers and trim be painted black; shiny adornment was *Hochmut* (pride) at its most evident. With that the *Schwatz-bumber* was born, and it made automobile ownership, strictly regulated, acceptable to that group of Old Order folk.<sup>17</sup>

Imagine my surprise, then, when while driving in the Kishacoquillas Valley I saw a bearded, black-hatted driver behind the wheel of a large black automobile which still had its shiny chrome accessories. He was, I was told, a member of a splinter community of Amish in the Big Valley, and members of the group could often be seen driving on Route 655 in their chrome-trimmed vehicles. Later, I observed a group of just such vehicles parked at an Amish home just off the highway where a meeting was being held. It is still not clear to me just how to interpret this phenomenon, but I am certain that marketplace values have affected the process.

In fact, I jested to one of my black-bumper friends that he surely pays more to have his auto converted to black bumper than he would to buy it as is from a dealer's stock. I expect it is the reverse application of that principle which justifies the retention of shiny bumpers in the Big Valley. At least Professor Gallagher assures me that a real reason exists for every variation in rules, costume, and conduct in Amish country. True, the Lancaster people in the example above were Mennonites, while the Big Valley folk were Amish.

\* \* \*





*Forebay of Amish barn near Belleville, Pa.*

*Exterior view of double doors for hay and straw storage in Amish barn near Belleville, Pa.*



Other instances of change in the Plain community I have found are small, even individual, cases. Most relate to sales at stalls and stands in what are known as farmers' markets. (These, by the way, are still good places for researchers to make observations.) The two most renowned markets of that sort are at Ephrata in Lancaster County (the Green Dragon Market), and in Belleville, Mifflin County. In both markets Amish sellers and worldly customers mix with a hearty good will. Amish customers are generally most interested in farm supplies and animals, so they usually gather at merchants who cater to those concerns.

In pursuit of my own interests in folk language and culture, I try to speak *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch* to people behind the sales counters and on the bargaining grounds. In the great majority of cases I get a friendly reception; people are quite tolerant of my errors. They notice and appreciate that I am trying, even when vocabulary fails me or when pronoun and verb do not always agree. I am "the Englishman" or "the Professor." In several cases, however, exposure to the English culture seemed to have affected Old Order salespersons. Two cases, exceptions to their ordinary rules of cooperation and courtesy, stand out. The first occurred at a bakery shop in Belleville where four girls were busy gossiping behind the counter. In *Deutsch*, I confidently ordered pies and buns, and was understood by others behind the counter. The girls, though, answered only in English and then quickly got back to their own dialect conversations.

I was involved in a slightly different situation at a small market, mostly Amish, off Route 340 just before the Route 30 bypass. On a very hot day I had already eaten the box lunch I had brought along, and wanted to buy additional food at the market; perhaps cinnamon

buns or a fruit pie which I found in the rear stalls. An older man and a younger one moved about in the covered booth; father and son I believe. I gave my order in dialect to the young fellow, but he continued doing the same chore as before. *Der Daadi* then came over and proceeded to put my selections in a small bag. He shook his head slightly, and we spoke together for a short time before I got in my car and drove away.

A much stranger incident took place at the Belleville sale on a different day. One farmer had fresh new potatoes, red and white, golf-ball size, in bags of perhaps forty each. The surprise came when I asked, "*Was koschte selli Grumbeere, nau?*" No response whatsoever. Now just imagine an Amish farmer who doesn't cite a price for his produce. When, on the other hand, I asked, "How much?" he answered directly, "Sixty cents a bag." At that price I bought a bag of each to carry back to Montgomery County. My wife was delighted and we ate potatoes for five weeks from those small bags. I still have no explanation for the silence. A friend has suggested that they might possibly have thought I was making fun of them with my minimal *Deutsch*. Whether that was true or not, each case looked like some kind of a cultural clash between *Deutsch* and English.<sup>18</sup> I also realize that unthinking customers who berate the sellers for speaking dialect may have poisoned the atmosphere.

Stops at fruit stands along the highways sometimes produce comical, surprising encounters. On one occasion two women got out of their automobile and went directly over to two girls who appeared to be about fifteen years old. "Why aren't you two in school?" they asked in unpleasant, schoolmarmish tones. The girls chose not to respond but I was as uncomfortable for them as I expect they were. The travelers then selected a





*Cattle hay feed station on ground floor of Amish barn near Belleville, Pa.*



*Second floor interior view of Amish barn near Belleville, showing outline of double doors and crescent moon vent hole.*

twenty-five cent cantaloupe, paid, and drove on.

Other embarrassing incidents have occurred; none worse for me than the day I was driver for a class of Japanese who were studying at Ursinus College in late July. On a visit to Lancaster, we drove several different roads so they would see a variety of farm scenery. I explained that the Amish did not want their pictures taken, and that I adhered to a code of avoiding offense on that score; I said I thought they should do the same. You guessed it, though. No sooner had I parked the van along the road than the shutterbugs swarmed over the Amish women. Even the renowned Ugly Americans were outdone that day. It was no surprise to me that I got a chilly reception the next time I visited that fruit stand.

One not too subtle change the tourists and economic competition have produced is the gradual inflation of prices at both the farmers' markets and at the roadside stands. Cantaloupes which I used to buy for ten cents each now command seventy-five cents. Times really do change; Amish dealers follow market prices.

I hardly know how to categorize my final example, for it has a kind of double thrust. Flying Cloud hats are, I believe, the best fur-felt black hats available from the Amish who produce their own. This brand of hat is made essentially for the Amish trade, with different kinds for each sector of the Amish world. As the renown of Flying Cloud hats grew, the producer also began to deliver wholesale to several dealers in the area. Some of those dealers catered to a general, more worldly trade. Deliveries to one such store continued until a day when the Amish manufacturer delivered some hats to that store himself.

While he waited to complete his sales visit, a woman in gaudy clothing walked up to the rack where the flat

black Amish hats reposed. "Oh," she burbled, "here's one my size. Can't you see how darling it would be with a little colored ribbon-bow here, and a feather in the brim, so?" With a move much more brusque than usual, the Amishman delivering his hats suddenly gathered up the store's entire supply, returned them all to his buggy, and drove off. "I will never sell hats through that outlet again," he said. And, to my knowledge, he has not; mail order is now his usual sales method. Do not be concerned that he suffered great sales losses; he did not. He still produces as much as he cares to, and he is happier; he satisfies local Amish demand and more. This craftsman responded to the intrusion of the modern world by using the oldest Plain response in the world: he drew back into his secure shell. Yet he had no objection when I said I wanted to buy a hat; in fact, he picked one out for me himself. "This one will suit," he said.

When I made a visit with my class in June 1987, *Der Hutmacher* greeted us with his usual smile of welcome, and showed us around the premises himself. He answered student questions about the hat trade, and showed us a new concession he has made to modernity — a ball point pen with the company name and his own name printed on it. As we prepared to leave, he gave us each one. His use of commercial advertising surprised me, although it was certainly a soft-sell process; a minimum of advertising.<sup>19</sup>

\* \* \*

As I prepare this article for publication, I am reminded that many members of the Fancy Dutch community and even many of its "English" neighbors, remain sympathetic to the Plain people and their values. That was





*Amish bottom barn, wired for electricity as a rental property, on Route 655 near Belleville, Pa.*



obvious in the summer of 1988, during the controversy over the plans by Pennsylvania Department of Transportation officials and officials in Harrisburg to increase tourism in Lancaster County by widening approach roads. Indeed, there was actively on foot a project to put a new Route 30 bypass on farmland north of the current route. That would not only encroach on Amish land, but would confiscate entire farms.

That the Amish community was much distressed seemed to bother very few of the bureaucrats in Harrisburg, if they were concerned about the reaction of a small number of farmers at all. A few of the concerned neighbors who were not Amish, but were aware of the Amish non-resistance outlook, convinced state officials that a public meeting would give everyone an opportunity to voice their feelings. On the date that was set, nearly a thousand people turned out, a majority of them black-hat people.

After some discussion, largely official explanations, and objections by local people who were not Amish, a young fellow arose. He said, "I don't think you state officials appreciate the degree of objection, even yet." And then, knowing well the Amish reluctance to speak out in specific objection, he continued in just the right manner: "How many here really approve of the road project?" A number of people, especially merchants or other business people, stood up.

Then he continued, "Now, will those of you who do *not* want to have the road built if it takes farmland for the proposed four-lane highway stand up." At first a few of the Plain folk present stood up, then some more, until more than eighty percent of the audience had got to their feet. Not a single Amishman said one word aloud, but all the highway officials present got the message. The proposed road has now been removed from state plans. The Amish won that encounter, anyway.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*. 3d ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 115, 124, 137.

<sup>2</sup>Peter L. Berger & Hansfried Kellner, *Sociology Reinterpreted: An Essay on Method and Vocation*. (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1981), 7-8, 123-29, 148-50.

<sup>3</sup>John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 57-60.

<sup>4</sup>John Hale Stutesman, "Who Was the Father of Christian Stutzman?" *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 10:3(July 1987):26.

<sup>5</sup>Abner F. Beiler, "Tract Map of Early Amish Settlement Lots in Bern Township, Berks County," [unpublished study and maps]. Discussion with Abner F. Beiler, Gordonville, PA, 16 July 1987.

<sup>6</sup>William T. Parsons, *Another Rung Up the Ladder: German Reformed People in American Struggles, 1754-1783* (Collegeville, PA: Institute on Pennsylvania Dutch Studies, 1976), 4; Parsons, "Wos Denkscht Du Dafon?" *The Preachers' Appeal of 1775* (Collegeville, 1975), 51, 53, 55.

<sup>7</sup>Gerd Gaiser u. Hermann Baumhauer, *Schwaebische Alb* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1976), 16, 55, 56, 75, 194. Maps inside front and back covers.



<sup>8</sup>Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 124-25, 135-40.

<sup>9</sup>David H. Rapp, "Philip Jacob Michael: Ecclesiastical Vagabond or 'Echt Reformirte' Pastor," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 28: 3 (Spring 1979): 14-26.

<sup>10</sup>Joseph W. Yoder Collection, Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA.

<sup>11</sup>Yoder Collection, Juniata College. See Appendix 1.

<sup>12</sup>Yoder Collection, Juniata College. See Appendix 2.

<sup>13</sup>Malinda Stoltzfus, a daughter of Tennessee John Stoltzfus, wrote about several of the purchasers at the Yoder auction in notes from her visit to Mifflin County in June 1866: "June the 19-- Arrived at Lewistown at 11 A.M. Took the train to Reedsville. Walked to Uncle John Hooleys; staid there til even. June 23-- Went to Christ Kauffmans, then to John Kauffmans for supper; to John Yoders over night." From "Travel Diary of Malinda Stoltzfus, May-June, 1866," in Paton Yoder, *Tennessee John Stoltzfus: Amish Church Related Documents and Family Letters* (Lancaster: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 1987), 184, 193, 194.

<sup>14</sup>Yoder Collection, Juniata College. See Appendix 3.

<sup>15</sup>Yoder Collection, Juniata College.

<sup>16</sup>We published some things he wrote about Amish farming in the Great Depression, when the Amish rejected the United States' subsidies to farmers, but accepted the principle of contour farming. See Gideon L. Fisher, "Farming in the Depression Years," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 29:1 (Autumn 1979): i, 35-45.

<sup>17</sup>Amos B. Hoover, "A Tear for Jonas Martin: Old Order Mennonite Origins in Lancaster County," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 33:2 (Winter 1983-84), 90-94.

<sup>18</sup>Astor C. Wuchter, "Englisch odder Deutsch," *Pennsylfaanisch Deutsch Eck, Allentown Morning Call* 5 March 1938, with translation into English by William T. Parsons, 27 May 1983.

<sup>19</sup>William T. Parsons and Pennsylvania German Seminar 426 visit to Flying Cloud Hat Company, 16 July 1987.

## APPENDIX 1

### FOLK REMEDY FORMULAS AND CURES FROM THE NOTEBOOK OF SARAH YODER (ca. 1835)

#### 1) Pulmonic or Pulmonary Balsam:

Tak Spikenard root-2 oz. Add a Suitable quantity of water. Boil and pour off the infusion repeatedly until the Strength is all extracted; Then strin [strain] and add to the same one gill of spirits, press and Strain. Reduce the whole of the liquid down to about one quart bottle full, then add two pounds of white Sugar and boil a few minutes to form a Syrup. Let the whole Stand twenty-for howrs in order that it may settle. Then bottle for use. Dose: A wine Glass full three or four times a day. Use this fier ein alten Husten und fier allen Krankheit der lungen und brust komplane. [Use for an old cough and for all illnesses of the lungs and chest complaints.]

#### 2) Restorative Wine Bitters:

Take Spikenard Rudt, 2 oz. Pud it all to geater [Put it all together]. Cover with boiling water and then add fore quarts of Wine. Dose- half a wine Glass full, three or fore times a day. For all caund [kind] of females complane or consumption.

#### 3) Compound Bitters:

Add three pints of boiling water, two quarts of Holland Gin and one pint of molasses. Let it stand a week. Dose- Half a wine Glassful morning and noone & eving [noon & evening]; Dyspepsia and obstruction of the manses and other diseases, for tonics or anny gaend of Stomac conplane [any kind of stomach complaint].

#### 4) Alterative Syrup:

Tak of American or foreigen Saraspharella - 6 oz. lb. [?]

Guaiacum, shavings-----3 lb.  
Elder flowers-----2 lb.  
Sassafras wod bark-----2 lb.  
Burdock wot root-----2 lb.

Add one Gallon of cheap Spirits and one gallon of water. Pour off the liquid, then add water repeatedly and boil till the strength is obtained. Strain the bole and reduce to the half down theog [through ?].

Led it settle twenty four hours, then Strain agane and boil [it] down to 6 Gallon. Then add twenty five pounds of clarified Sugar and bile fie menit longer to form A Syrp and add one quart of brenty [brandy] to id. Led stand twenty four hours to settle. Pour off and bottle for use. Dose- A wine Glassful 3 or 4 times a day.

#### 5) Neutralizing Mixture:

To a large tea Spoonful [of what ?] add half a pint of boiling water. When cool, Strain. Sweeten with loaf sugar and add a table spoonful of brandy.

Dose- One or two tablepoonsful evry quarter, half or one or two hours, according to Symptoms. Uses- This is one of the moste valuable preparations knowing for cholera morbus, cholera infantum or Summar complaint of children disease, dysentery & for bregenate women, to allay sickness.

#### 6) Compound Powder of Mandrae [mandrake]:

Dose- A tea spoonful in tea or Syrup. Uses- Useful in diseases of liver dyspepsia, obstructed menses, dropsy, in venereal diseases and in every taint of the System.

## APPENDIX 2

### MEDICAL BILLS OWED TO JOHN METZ & SON

Widow Yoder (of David) D [ebto]r to John Metz & son			
March 16 1853	To Vissit, Advice & Medicine Fol.	63	\$3.50
21 "	To Ditto & Ditto	64	1.25
29 "	To Ditto & Ditto	67	1.25
April 19 "	To Medicine (left at Peachey's)	79	.50
27 "	To Vissit, Bleeding & Medicine	81	2.—
May 9 "	To Ditto & Ditto	84	1.75
June 1 "	To Ditto & Ditto	91	1.50
			<hr/> \$11.75

Widow Yoder D[ebto]r to John Metz & son			
July 1, 1853	To Vissit & Medicine &	for self	\$ 0.75
Mar 23,24 1854	To 2 Ditto & do.	for do.	3.25
27 "	To 1 Ditto & do.	for do.	2.00
Oct. 27,29 "	To 2 Ditto & do.	for do.	1.00
Nov 1 "	To 1 Ditto &c.	for do.	.50
Jan'y 15 1855	To Medicine	for do.	.50
Feb'y 5 "	To Ditto	for do.	.18¾
Feb 27,28 "	To 2 Vissits, Advice, Bleeding, Blister & Medicine	for self	5.50
March 2 "	To 1 Ditto & do.	for do.	2.25
5 "	To 1 Ditto & do.	for do.	1.75
8 "	To 1 Ditto & do.	for do.	2.00
12 "	To 1 Ditto & do.	for do.	1.25
13 Visits			\$20.93¾
March 29 1856	Received payment John Metz & son		

## APPENDIX 3

### VENDUE PAPER OF THE PROPERTY OF SARAH YODER, Dec'd. HELD AUGUST 9TH 1858

Sales by auction of goods formerly belonging to Sarah Yoder. From the auctioneer's tally book, 31 pages in all. The first seventeen pages are item by item sales, purchaser and item sold in columns per page. This appendix is the latter part of that auction sale book, pages 18 to 31, which lists all purchases by a given customer, the final list of the auction, from which the list of purchases of each individual bidder was compiled.  
David C. Yoder

One chest	\$8.25
1 Sleit (slate)	.13
1 Oil Stone	.16
1 Bible	5.25
1 Lieder buch	1.02
1 Testament	.45
Paid in full	<hr/> \$15.26



Yost Yoder		Bedsted & Cords	
old barrel	.10	[Rope bed & Bedrope]	.12½
old ditto	.06	John Kauffman total	\$3.97½
old vinnegre Keg	.06	Christian P. Yoder	
old half barrel	.04	Pewter ware	.59
new vinnegre Keg	.31	Basket &c	.05
barrel & tub	.01	Chest	.12
sub-total	.58	Old Ditto	.07
Yost Yoder bro't up	.58	Blanket & Hop (hoop)	1.59
Crock & soap	.13	metle pot	.26
Coffee pot &c.	.25	Copper Kettle &c	.19
Pewter Ware	.50	2 baskets &c	2 for .01
old bread baskets	.01	Specktiles	.12½
chisels	.35	Rocking Chair	.06
Drawing Knife	.06	2 baskets &c.	.32
fire tongs	.10	Corner Cup Board	1.45
Stove pipe	.06	Bed Clothes	1.00
Fether tick	.50	" Ditto	.55
Rocking cradle	.25	Lot Ditto	2.00
old Table	.01	Ditto Ditto	3.00
two benches	.12½	Ditto Ditto	1.35
Mouse trap	.06	Table cloths	1.60
Iron pot	.25	Ditto cloths	2.65
Basket &c.	.63	Ditto cloths	1.05
mouse trap	.01	hand towels	.50
sub-total	3.87½	Ditto towels	.20
Yost Yoder brought up	3.87½	Small Sacks	.26
one Jarr	.25	Yearn &c	.15
Salt boxe	.02	Basket & Gourd	.16
Iron ladles	.50	Cups &c	.12
wheel & reel	.25	Pitcher & pint	.14
hockory nuts	.05	5 Plates	.30
One Chest	.50	3 bottles	.01
One Clock	2.85	Razer &c	.20
bed clothes	3.05	Wash board	.12
Ditto	3.00	Christn P Yoder	\$22.19½
Table linnen	2.70	John Hooly	
hand towels	.25	Soap Stann	.31
Small sacks	.10	Wash tub	.31
bann box (Bandbox)	.06	Spade	.31
Cop & salaratus	.01	Brace & bits	.62½
Shears	.12	Smoothing plane	.40
the 4 bladed knife	.11	Jack plane	.35
[Kleine Davidische] Psalter Spiel	.75	Bed Sted (Blue)	.10
Shaking fork	.25	feather tick	1.50
Iron Kettle	.12½	hops (hoops)	.06
One Dipper	.12½	Spit boxes (spittoons)	.40
Kitchen Dresser	.50	Stone crock & lid	.21
prayer book & 2½ tan		4 Croks	.03
bark. g[round]	.18	4 Panns	.62
Yost Yoder total	\$19.87½	Mettle pot & lid	.40
John Kauffman		Staff	.50
Brooms &c.	.19	Jarr & molasses	.13
hard soap	.09	Smoothing Iron	.20
Old dish	.04	Coffe Box	.30
two blankets	.62½	John Hooly sub-total	\$6.75½
4 crocks	.15	John Hooly Bro't up	6.75½
3 Dies	.07	2 chair, split b[ack]	.40
metalick pot	.17	meal chest	1.50
jugg	.10	Sink	.25
Swift	.06	Blankets & Quilt	3.00
table	.15	Linnen bed clothes	6.95
3 blankets	.55	Table linnen	2.60
Saddle bags	1.00	Small Sacks	.16
old chest	.42	Soing [sewing] thread	.15
Cup & Sausser	.12½	Camphor botel	.41
3 bottles	.06	Earthen Pitcher	.50
Haberman book	.05	Coffemill	.35
		John Hooly	Total \$23.02½



## Christian G. Yoder

vinneger Keg	.25
Pickle Keg	.01
blanket	.06
Stone crock	.02
Copper Kettle	2.25
Tinware	.35
blanket &c	.17
Squares	.41
Basket &c	.31
Jointer	.51
basket, bed cord &c	.02
chip box	.05
Feather tick	.59
hap & blanket	.75
Blanket & muslin	.60
hammer & [flax] hackle	.12½
Gonn & pouch	6.10
Stone crocks & lid & salt	.24
Small Iron Pot	.06
Pye Dishes	.22
Bake kettle	.12½
Clock	.15
Dish & Dried aples	.16
Silver Watch	5.75
Arm Chair	.12½
Blanket & Quilt	.40
bed clothes	8.85
Table linnen	1.70
hand towels	.40
Small sacks	.22
muslin &c	.39
Clothes pins	.12½
2 pillows	.25
Bundel of rags	.20
Muster, basket & vials	.09
3 bags	.35
Cups & sausers	.20
3 bowls	.25
2 pitchers & C	.02
4 dishes	.09
knives & forks	1.06
Chr. G. Yoder	over \$36.17

## Christian G. Yoder

Bro't over	36.17
forks & Spoons	.50
Camphor bottle	.06
Barlow Knife	.10
Martyrers mirror	3.00
Gesang buch	.16
A B C [buch]	.17
Side Saddle	.06
Table linnen	1.60
hand towels	1.60
Christian G. Yoder	\$43.42

## Elisabeth Beiler

Bread chest	.12½
Box & tallow	.51
Wash board &c	.06
Meat Saw	.32
Iron pot	.29
Basket & contents	1.02
Yearn	.47
Arm chair	.31
Coverlid	4.06
Linnen bed clothes	7.90
Box	.12½
Stove	4.55
6 books	.95
Tin pot & pitcher	.30
Elisabeth Beiler	\$20.39

## Christian Z. Yoder

Lard & Stann[er]	1.31
Old table	.06
Bed Sted	.51
Axe & broom	.28
Feather bed	.56
2 blankets & hap	.95
Skillet	.01
3 Crocks	.07
Jarr & led	.22
Dough trough	.16
4 Chairs	1.00
bed clothes	.80
Coton yearn	.15
boxes & vials	.06
2 bottles	.18
Barrel & vinneger	.75
3 dishes	.12
Tea cannister	.18
3 small books	.15
yard stick	.02
Meat vessel	1.05
Small Meat vessel	.25
C.Z. Yoder	Total \$8.84

## Nancy Kauffman

Iron Leidles	2.06
Cups & sausers	.25
Knife	.08
Testament	.25
[Kleine Davidische]	
Psalter spiel	.61
N Kauffman	Total \$3.25

## Jonathan Beiler

small chest	.09
Lot of stove pipe	.12½
Crout Knife	.38
Bread baskets	.06
Iron pot	.04
Bed clothes	1.60
2 Ink bottles	.03
Quilt patches	.15
pint & Salt seller	.12½
2 bottles	.08
Menno Simons book	.30
Wandlende Seele	.30
hammer	.06
J. Beiler	Total \$3.34

## Summary Totals:

David C. Yoder	\$15.26
Yost Yoder	19.87½
John kauffman	3.97½
Christian P. Yoder	22.19½
John Hooly	23.02½
Christian G. Yoder	43.42
Elisabeth Beiler	20.39
Christian Z. Yotter	8.84
Nancy Kauffman	3.25
Jonathan Beiler	3.34
Total for Vendu	\$163.57

## Cash on hand,

see p 31	\$14.64
Cash on hand of Sarah Yoder Dec[ease]d,	
August 9th 1858	
gold	13.56
& Silver	1.08
Copper	.08
TOTAL on hand	\$14.64 [sic]



# Oldes un Neies

Old and New

## DR. MAHLON H. HELLERICH APPOINTED TO PENNSYLVANIA HERITAGE AFFAIRS COMMISSION

Dr. Mahlon H. Hellerich, a former president of the Pennsylvania German Society, has been appointed by Gov. Robert P. Casey to the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission as the representative of the Pennsylvania German community in the state. The purpose of the Commission is to promote the diverse ethnic cultures which exist in Pennsylvania. Forty ethnic commissioners are represented in this body.

Dr. Hellerich wishes to represent the interests of the Pennsylvania German community as effectively as possible, and asks for the cooperation of all persons who treasure their Pennsylvania German heritage. He would be happy to receive suggestions of programs and activities which the Commission might support.

At the present time he is searching for the names and addresses of persons and groups who are ethnic performers in music, dance, drama, and poetry reading to be made part of an ethnic performers directory which is being compiled by the Commission. He can be reached at: 1112 Highland Ave., Bethlehem, Pa. 18018. 215-865-3563.

## NEW PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE INDEX AVAILABLE

This new index is a continuation of the index to the first twenty-five volumes, and covers volumes 26-35 (1976-86) of *Pennsylvania Folklife*. Care has been taken to match the subject headings so that information can be found under the same topic in both editions. Once again, every article is indexed for the title, each author, and one or more subject headings.

There are two new features this time: an indication of article length by listing the first and last page, and mention of references for possible further study. Any article containing footnotes, endnotes, or a bibliography is indicated by the notation 'ref'. As before, the citation format is volume:issue:page.

The personal name index includes names as they appear in the geological articles of *Folklife*, and any spelling variations mentioned in the article are also listed in the index and cross references.

The *Index to Vols. 26-35 of Pennsylvania Folklife* is available at \$6.00 a copy. The *Index to Vols. 1-25* is still available at \$10.00 a copy; together the cost is \$15.00. To order send check or money order to: Index Orders, Pennsylvania Folklife Society, P.O. Box 92, Collegeville, Pa. 19426.

For a modest fee you can order in reprint or back issue any article listed in either index.





# CLARENCE G. REITNAUER, AN APPRECIATION

*Unser gute Freind, der Shdivvel Knecht, ist zu Ruh gange am Mittwoch, fimft Abril. In seim nein-un-acht-zichst Yohr hot er sei Arrewet in selli Welt farrich gemacht. Mir warre all sei gutie Schproach noch-haere, sowie er hot mit uns so offft g'schwetzt. Mir warre all der Shdivvel Knecht schtarrick ferfehle. Er wahr en freindliche Monn mit alle Leit die hen mit iehm g'schofft. Awwer heit iss es net en ferdriessliche Daag, s'iss so en harrliche Daag fer uns alle. Hot er net so fiel Sunneschei in unsere Lewe immer gebrocht!*

*Wann ma hot unsere Pennsylvaanisch Deutsche Klasse bei Ursinus Kolletch im Yohr 1974 Aafang zu mache wolle, wahr der Clarence Reitnauer un die Betz, mit ma Earl un Arlene Moyer graad doh fer uns helfe un fer uns lehre. Dale Zeide hot der Shdivvel Knecht fer uns gelehrt en Klass mit nur zwee Schtudende. Er hot so fiel iwwerdem gelacht, awwer hot er g'saat, "So kenne mir uns besser enanner wisse lanne!"*

*Nimmi in sei Lewe hot er "Education Classes" gelernt, awwer er ist sei gonse Lewe "Teacher" gewesst. Wie offft hot ma iehm gefrogt, "Wie saagt ma des uff Deitsch, Clarence?" Wie offft hot er selwert gewunnert, "Ferwos hoscht du so schpassiche Deitsch widder g'schwetzt, Parson?"*

*Allemohl wann er hot mich uff sei fedderschte Porch g'sehne, hot er mich gegriesst, "Nau shwetzt ma nur Deitsch — Ken Englisch meh nommidaags!" Un hot er net en guuti Wartt allemohl erinnert! "Clarence, wie haesst uff Deitsch, 'singletree' orre 'horsecollar' orre so annere Wadde?" hob ich iehm fielmohl gefrogt. Un noach sei Antwatt, gingt er weiter aa, "Ich erinnere mich gut, wann es hot ken Automobiles uff 'em Weg; es gab nur Fuhrleit mit seim alt Wagge die sin fun hie bis datt gange."*

*Ma kann fass immer net's glaawe ass der Shdivvel Knecht iss fatt. Fadder wahr er fer uns alle, un noch meh: Lehrer un Freind. Wann es Lewe scheint so schtarrick un mir warre zu offft gretzich, der Clarence hot immer G'shpass fer uns khot. Er hot so glohr un so ferschtanniche Deitsch g'schwetzt, er nimmt alle Zeit wass's braucht fer ehrklaere: ma laernt bei iehm nur aahaere.*

*Es Biwel lehse graad so wie ma duhne sut: des wahr em Clarence am beschte. Un wann er hot gsaat, "Luss uns bete," ma kann's haere ass der Clarence hot warricklich graad mit Gott g'schwetzt. Nau kann der Clarence widder mit der Betz ins G'sicht schmunzele.*

Our good friend, Clarence G. Reitnauer (who called himself Boot Jack), went to his eternal rest on Wednesday, April 5, 1989. In his eighty-ninth year, he had completed his work in this world. We will all continue to hear the excellent *Deitsch* that he had so often spoken to us. We shall all miss the *Shdivvel Knecht* very much. He was a friendly man to all who worked with him. But today is not a dreary day, it's a happy one for all of us. Wasn't it Reitnauer who always brought so much sunshine into our lives?

When we wanted to start our Pennsylvania German classes at Ursinus College in 1974, Clarence Reitnauer and Betz, along with Earl and Arlene Moyer, were right there to help us and to teach us. Several times *Shdivvel Knecht* taught a class for us with just two students. He laughed so much about that, then he said, "That way, we will all learn to know each other better!"

Never in his whole life did he study education courses, but he was a teacher his entire life. How often did we ask him, "How does one say that in *Deitsch*, Clarence?" How often did he himself wonder, "Why do you talk such funny *Deitsch* again, Parsons?"

Whenever he saw me come up on his front porch, he greeted me with: "Now we will speak only *Deitsch*, no more English this afternoon!" And wasn't he the one to remember the right word every time? "Clarence, how do you say singletree, or horsecollar or some such word, in *Deitsch*?" I asked him quite often. And after he said what it was, he continued, "I remember well when there were no automobiles on the roads, but just people driving their old wagons, who went from here to there."

One can hardly believe that the *Shdivvel Knecht* is gone. He was like a father to all of us, but still more: he was teacher and friend. When life seemed tough and when we became irritable, Clarence always had a fun thing for us. He spoke such clear and understandable dialect and he took all the time necessary to explain things; one learned just by listening to him.

To read Bible verses in just the right way, that was Clarence at his best. And when he said, "Let us pray," you could really hear that Clarence spoke directly with God. Now Clarence and Betz can smile and talk together face to face once again.



*Der Shdivvel Knecht at the  
Kutztown Folk Festival  
June, 1974.*



*Clarence G. Reitnauer and William T. Parsons, July, 1975.*

*S'iss graad so wie der John Birmelin hot's warricklich  
fer'm Shdivvel Knecht un der Betz g'schriwwe:*

*"D" iss fer Deitsch, Es iss aa ken Zweiwel  
Sie glaawe an Gott, Un sie hasse der Deiwel.  
Se glaawe an Aarwet, Un jeder soll schaffe  
Fer selle Weg ehrlich Sei Lewe zu mache;  
Sie glaawe an's schpawre, Doch blendi zu esse,  
Un duhne bei allem Die G'schpass net fergesse.*

*Noch allem, iss er Haem gange. Er hot uns sei Schtories  
un sei grosse Liewe gewwe. Denke iwwer'm Reitnauer,  
muss ma lache. Der Saint Paul hot's g'schriwwe, "He  
was a good man."*

William T. Parsons

It's just as though John Birmelin wrote especially for  
the *Shdivvel Knecht* and Betz:

*"D" is for Dutch, No doubt at all,  
They believe in God; "Hate the devil," that's all,  
They believe in work, And that all men shall labor  
And by that method, Honest lives may savor.  
They believe in frugal living, Yet with plenty to eat,  
Be fair to all people; All with humor shall meet.*

But then after all, he just went home. He gave us his  
stories and his great love. Whenever one thinks of Reit-  
nauer, one does so with a laugh. As St. Paul wrote, "He  
was a good man."

William T. Parsons



41st Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

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FESTIVAL**



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1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8, 1990



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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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