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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE



AUTUMN 1975



SEPTEMBER



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AUTUMN 1975, Vol. XXV, No. 1

Contents

- 2 Pennsylvania German Tombstone Art of
Lebanon County, Pennsylvania
FRANK E. McDONALD
- 20 Rain Day in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania
JANET HODEL
- 24 Non-Ordinary Stoneware Pieces from New
Geneva and Greensboro, Pennsylvania
RONALD L. MICHAEL and PHIL R. JACK
- 31 Pennsylvania German Astronomy and
Astrology XII: Conjunctions of 1683
1694, and 1743
LOUIS WINKLER
- 35 The Social Context of Musical Instruments
within the Pennsylvania German Culture.
RICHARD RAICHELSON
- 45 Tourism and the Amish Way of Life
GRANT M. STOLTZFUS

COVER:

American farmers shocking corn in the September harvest. Illustration from Gleason's Pictorial, Boston, Massachusetts, VII:II (September 16, 1854).

HOME BREWING TECHNIQUES:
Folk Cultural Questionnaire No. 41
(Inside back cover)

Contributors to this Issue
(Inside front cover)

Pennsylvania German Tombstone Art of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania

By FRANK E. McDONALD

Within the Pennsylvania German cultural tradition, tombstones erected from the early 18th through the mid-19th Centuries, constitute a major form of artistic expression. Considering the ever increasing activities of private collectors and museums, these tombstones remain today virtually the only genus of dated decorative art to remain in situ, and it is to them, therefore, that we must turn for clues to the historic and geographic development of traditional motifs.

With the single exception of Barba (1953), the literature concerned with the Pennsylvania German tombstone tradition is mainly limited to minor references

in general works on folk art (Stoudt, 1966 & Lichten, 1946). Barba, on the other hand, provides an excellent overview of the iconography found throughout the Pennsylvania German region and a detailed, if in some respects questionable, interpretation of the symbolism. There seemed a need for an in-depth survey of a single region, which would explore each cemetery in an attempt to determine what motifs were used and how they developed through time; as well as to attempt the preliminary mapping of recognizable style forms. This gap I have attempted to fill for the area of Lebanon County.

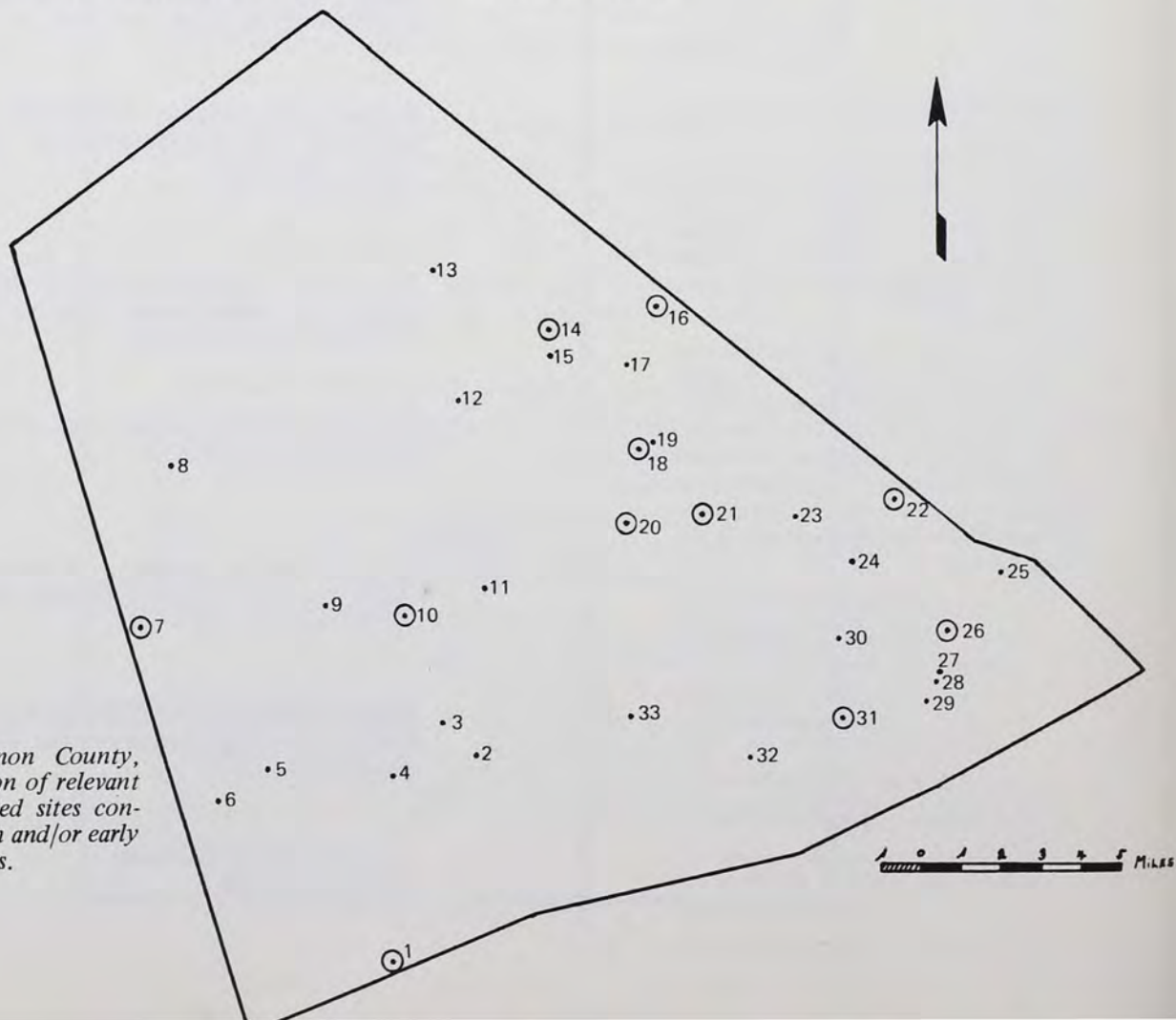


Figure 1. Lebanon County, showing the location of relevant cemeteries. Encircled sites contain important 18th and/or early 19th Century stones.

Location		1750	1760	1770	1780
10.	Hill Lutheran Church		█		█
22.	Tulpehocken T. R. Church	█			
31.	St. Luke's E. L. Church			█	█

Figure 2. Occurrence of skulls on Lebanon County tombstones.

Location	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870
Trinity Lutheran Church			▲								
Salem Union Church									▲		
Hill Lutheran Church		█									
St. John's Lutheran Church			█								
St. Paul's (Klopp's) Church			█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Zoar Lutheran Church			█								
St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Ch			▲								
Family Cemetery			█								
Tulpehocken Church											
St. Paul's R. L. Church	█										
St. Luke's E. L. Church											

Figure 3. Occurrence of cherubs on Lebanon County tombstones. 1. Date not legible, attributed by style to 1790's. 2. Date not legible, probably mid 19th Century.

Location	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
7. Bindnagle's E. L. Church	█								
14. St. John's Lutheran Church			█	█					
16. St. Paul's (Klopp's) Church			█	█				█	█
18. Zoar Lutheran Church			█						
20. St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Ch			▲						
21. Family Cemetery			█						
22. Tulpehocken Church								█	█
26. St. Paul's R. L. Church	█								
31. St. Luke's E. L. Church									█

Figure 4. Occurrence of hearts on Lebanon County tombstones. 1. Date not legible, but attributed by style to 1790's.

Location	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
1. Trinity Lutheran Church			▲					
3. Gingrich's Mennonite Church						▲		
7. Bindnagle's E. L. Church	█							
12. Zion E. L. Cemetery				█	█			
14. St. John's Lutheran Church				█				
16. St. Paul's (Klopp's) Church			█					
18. Zoar Lutheran Church				█				
20. St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Ch								█
23. Myerstown Church of Christ				▲				
25. Elias Union Church								█
26. St. Paul's R. L. Church	█			█	█			
31. St. Luke's E. L. Church				█	█			
32. Schenk Family Cemetery						█		

Figure 5. Occurrence of tulips on Lebanon County tombstones. 1. Date not legible, style of 1790's. 2. Date not legible, style of 1800 - 1810. 3. Date not legible, probably early 19th Century.

It should be pointed out that the resulting picture is incomplete indeed, for art styles and motifs did not limit themselves to arbitrary political boundaries. Lebanon County was chosen at the suggestion of Dr. Don Yoder, both because of the lack of previous investigation, Barba (1953) illustrating but a single example from the area, and because the comparatively small size lent itself to detailed study in the time available.

At the outset of the investigation two problems were encountered: the first involved a method of locating all of the cemeteries within the county, and the second was the development of a flexible motif index for the recording of data. The highway system map of Lebanon County, published in 1962 by the Pennsylvania Department of Highways, went a long way toward solving the former. It showed not only all federal, state and county roads, but also plotted the locations, not always with a high degree of accuracy, of some 65 cemeteries. Field work soon proved, however, that the map was far from complete, and in the final analysis, I had to cover every road in the county. This drive and seek method added 26 sites to the list, bringing the total to 91. Others there may be, but if so they lie well off the roads and are quite hidden from view.

The problem of developing a working motif index was solved by setting up an initial system based on the iconography illustrated in Barba (1953). All motifs were first divided into five major categories: Anthropomorphic, Geomorphic, Phytomorphic, Zoomorphic and the ever useful Miscellaneous. Each of the categories was then assigned a base number, beginning with 100 for Anthropomorphic, 200 for Geomorphic and so on. Under each of these groups, unit numbers were assigned to each major motif type, so that a cherub torso became

Location		1780	1790	1800
10.	Hill Lutheran Church	█		
14.	St. John's Lutheran Church		█	█
16.	St. Paul's (Klopp's) Church		█	█
18.	Zoar Lutheran Church			█
20.	St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Ch		▲	
21.	Family Cemetery		█	
22.	Tulpehocken Church		█	█
26.	St. Paul's R. L. Church		█	█
31.	St. Luke's E. L. Church		█	

Figure 6. Occurrence of flanking columns on Lebanon County tombstones. 1. Date not legible, but attributed by style to 1790's.

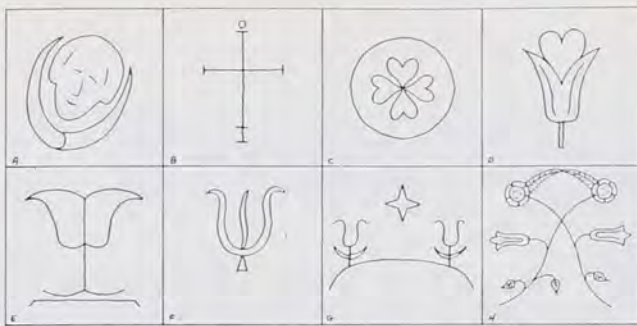


Figure 7. Motif variants: a. cherub, 19th century, Salem Church of Christ (6); b. cross, 1804, Schenk Family Cemetery (32); c. Quatrefoil heart, encircled, 1862, St. John's Lutheran Church (14); d. heart and tulip, 18th Century, Trinity Lutheran Church (1); e. tulip, 1824, Schenk Family Cemetery (32); f. tulip, 1821, Bindnagle's E. L. Church (7); g. tulips with star, 19th Century, Gingrich's Mennonite Church (3); h. tulips with roses, 1854, Elias Union Church (25).

101, a skull 106, a tree of life 302, and a heart 504. Then each of the possible variants to the major motif types was given a letter designation, which could be used singly or in groups as the need arose. Thus a triple-branched tree of life became 302C; if it arose from an urn 302CK, or from a heart 302CJ. There are certainly disadvantages to this system. The quantity of letters and numbers involved necessitated the keeping of an index on file cards which had to be referred to constantly in the field. During cold weather this became an especial hardship, for it precluded to a large extent working with gloves. But the value of the flexibility and the open-endedness of the system triumphed.

Data sheets were designed which provided space for the name and location of the cemeteries, the extant motifs, the dates, the language used in the inscription, as well as space for drawings and notes. In practice it proved easier to record field data on graphed notebook paper and to transfer the information later to the data sheets, which were then used for study and analysis.

The county itself is located in the southeastern section of the state of Pennsylvania and lies across the boundary between the parallel mountain ridges of the Appalachian Highlands, which curve across the state from northeast to southwest, and the Piedmont Plateau, which slopes away to the southeast. The four mountain ridges that make up the northern section of the county are heavily wooded and cut by V-shaped notches that permit easy access to the valleys. The southern three-quarters of the county which lies within the Piedmont Plateau has, since the time of settlement, been given over largely to farming. The only major exception is the region around the town of Cornwall in the extreme south, which was an important source of iron during the 18th and 19th Centuries.

Lebanon County was created as a political entity in 1813 from parts of Dauphin and Lancaster Counties and is today bounded by Dauphin County to the north

and west, Lancaster County to the south, and Berks and Schuylkill Counties to the east. It is traversed by three major east-west roads; U.S. 22 to the north, U.S. 422 to the south, and U.S. 322 across the southwestern corner. The Pennsylvania Turnpike crosses the extreme southwestern tip. The city of Lebanon, the county seat, is located on route 422 near the east-west midpoint.

The first recorded settlement in what is now Lebanon County was by Scotch-Irish in the extreme western sections, but the great bulk of early settlers were German, with a few Swiss and French Huguenots among them. In 1723 some 33 families of Palatinate Germans, who had originally settled in the Schoharie and Mohawk

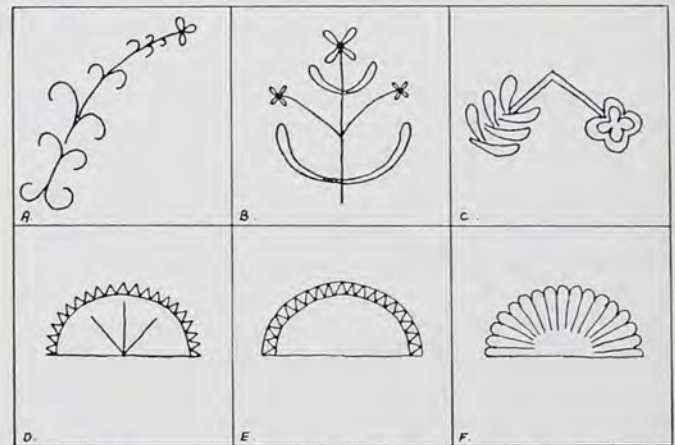


Figure 8. Motif variants: a. flower, 1788, Zoar Lutheran Church (18); b. tree of life, 1841, Tulpehocken T. R. Church (22); c. flower, 1832, Tulpehocken T. R. Church (22); d. half circle, 2nd quarter 19th Century, St. Luke's E. L. Church (31); e. half circle, 1839, St. Luke's E. L. Church (31); f. half circle, 1830, St. Paul's R. L. Church (26).

Figure 9. Variants of the geometric motif: a. 1820, Kauffman's Church (9); b. date not legible, Kauffman's Church (9); c. 1789, Reist Family Cemetery (4); d. 1798, Zoar Lutheran Church (18); e. 1807, Zoar Lutheran Church (18); f. 1770, Hill Lutheran Church (10); g. 1847, Bindnagle's E. L. Church (7); h. date not legible, Tulpehocken T. R. Church (22); i. 1840, Salem United Church of Christ (6); k. 1829, St. Paul's R.L. Church (26); l. 1851, Salem Union Church of Christ (6).

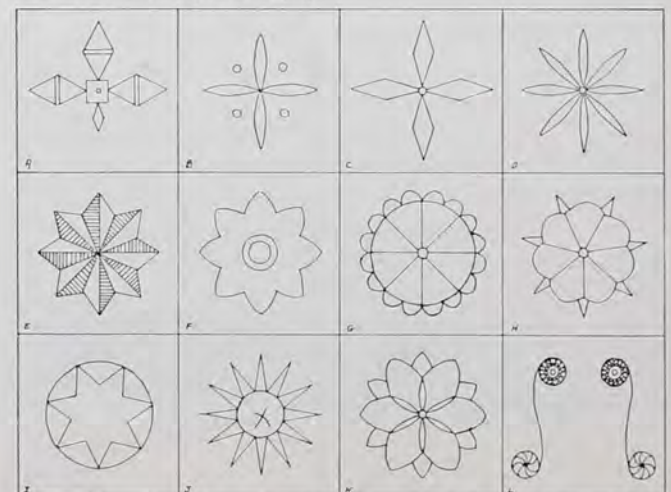


Figure 10. Bindnagle's I Distribution

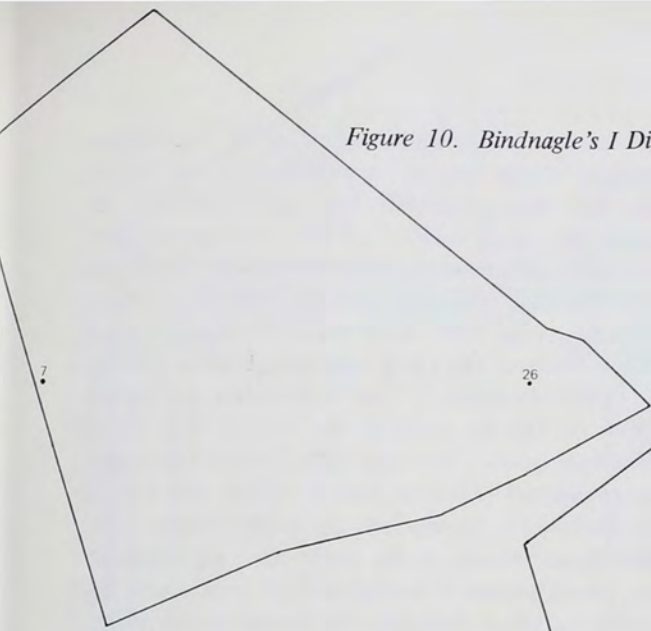


Figure 13. Millbach I Distribution

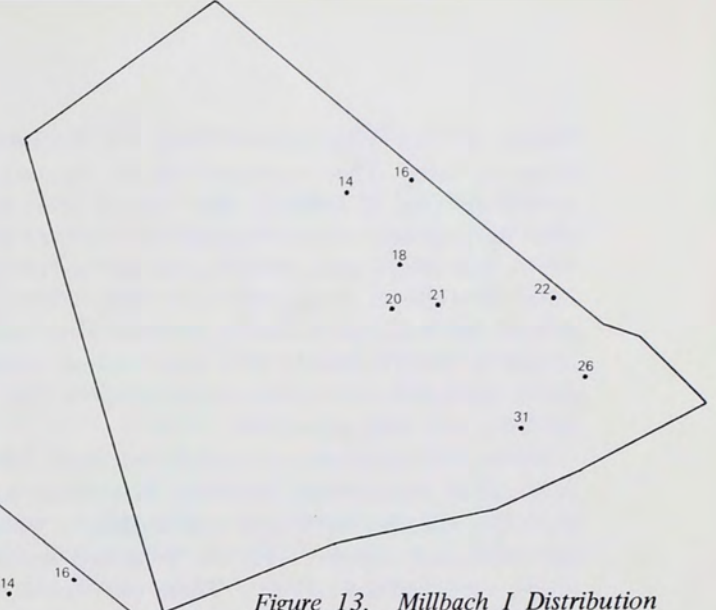


Figure 14. Schaefferstown III Distribution

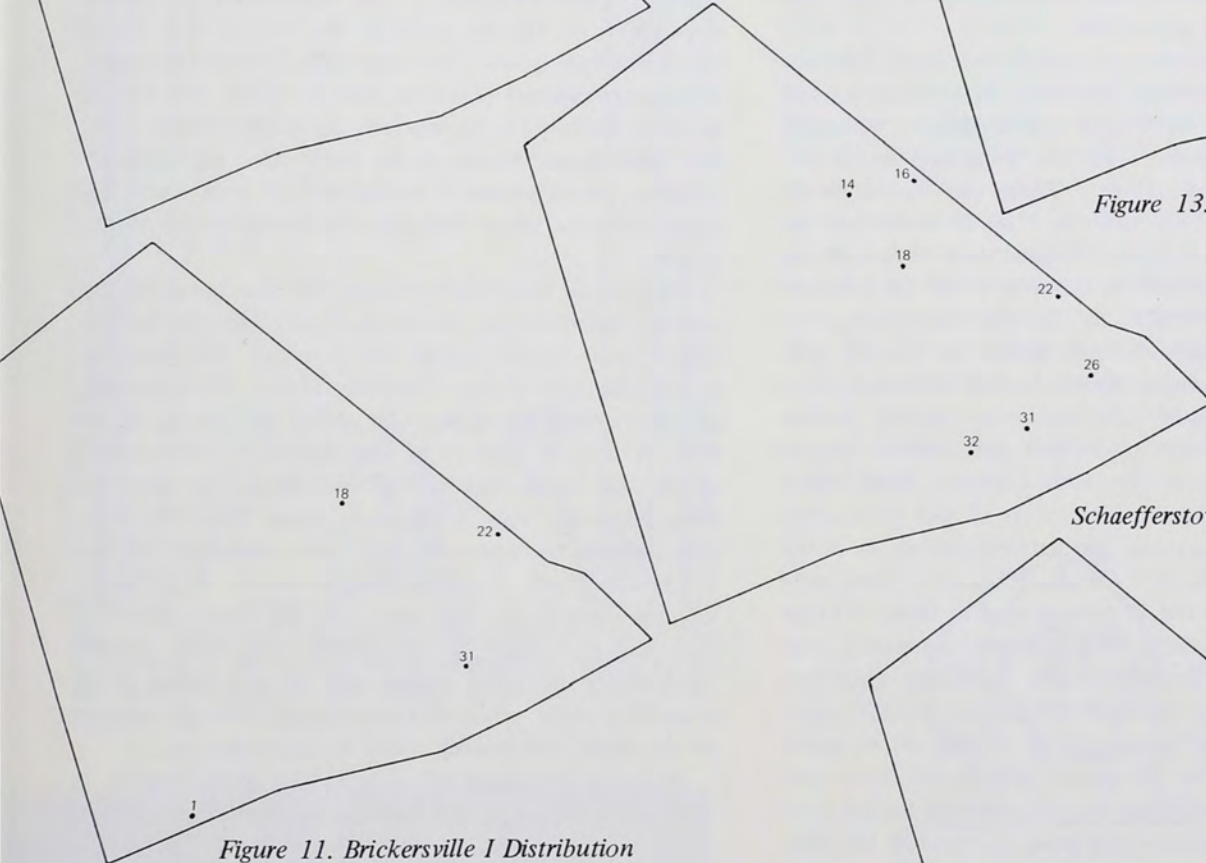


Figure 11. Brickersville I Distribution

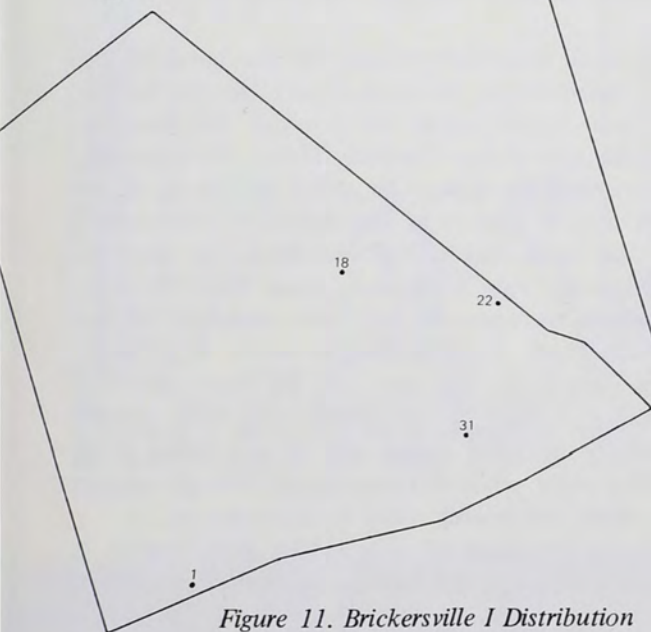


Figure 15. Schaefferstown II Distribution

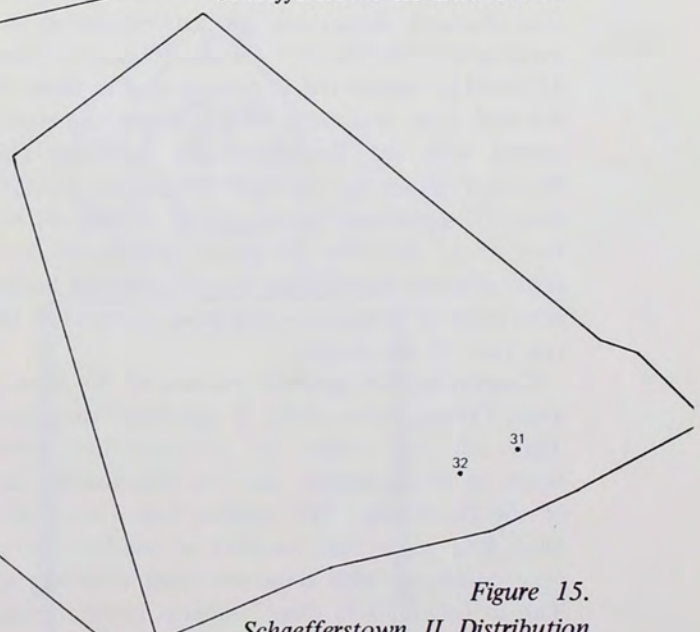


Figure 12. Klopp's I Distribution

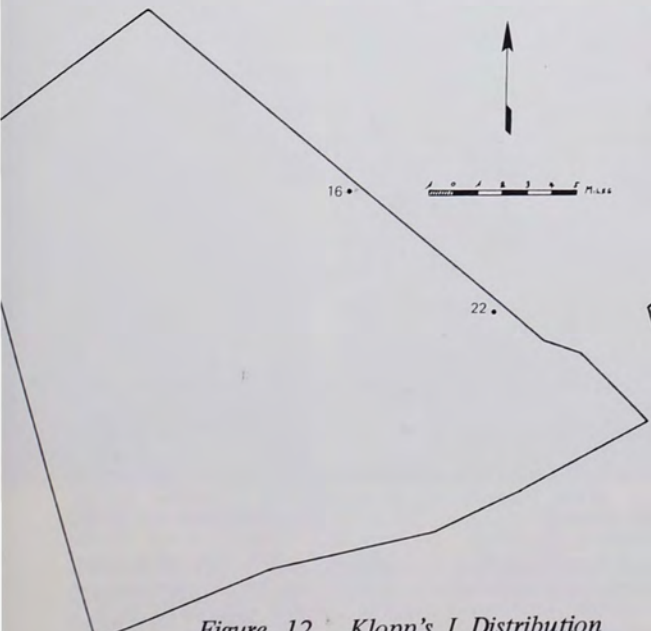
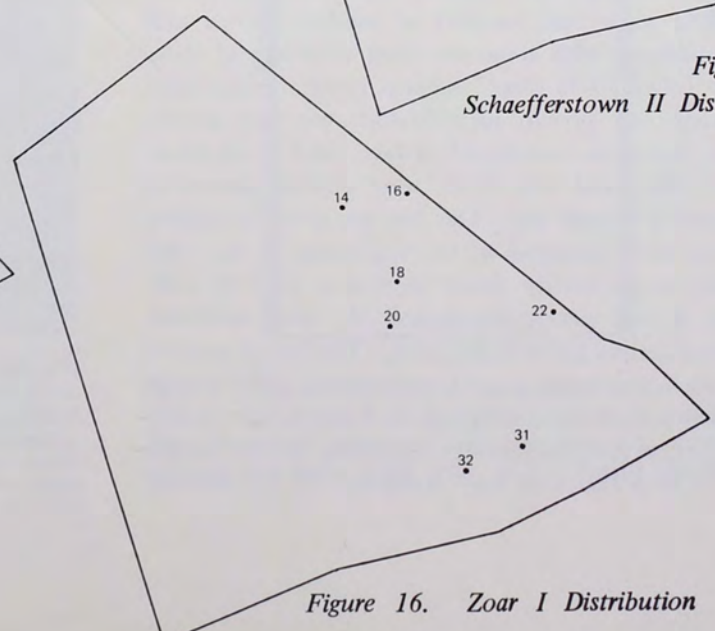


Figure 16. Zoar I Distribution



Valleys of New York, floated down the Susquehanna River on rafts. They proceeded up the Swatara and settled the area of Lebanon and western Berks Counties. By 1729 they numbered some 60 families. In the 1730's and 1740's these settlers were met by the great influx of German immigrants who were driven from Europe by religious pressures or drawn by tales of utopia in Penn's Woods, and who pushed westward from the debarkation point of Philadelphia. By 1750 the area was well populated.

Among the early settlers were found many religious persuasions; Mennonites, Dunkards, Moravians, Roman Catholics, German Reformed, and Lutherans, although the plain sects, together with the Reformed and Lutherans, comprised the majority. There was even a Jewish settlement in the area around Schaefferstown in the 18th Century. Each group brought their own customs and traditions and found in the new world the freedom to structure their societies as they saw fit.

Of the 91 cemeteries located within the county, only 33 were found to contain stones having traditional decorative motifs. Many sites were too recent, having been started after the traditional folk culture waned in the second half of the 19th Century. Still others were the resting places of members of the plain sects who shunned decoration and embellishment in death even as they did in life. Of the 33 positive sites, only 11 could be considered important and of these, 10 represented 18th and early 19th Century cemeteries connected with the Reformed and Lutheran churches. Figure I shows the location of the 33 positive sites; those of importance being circled. It should be noted that all of the sites are found within the area corresponding to the farming region, with the largest concentration of important cemeteries grouped in the eastern part of the county.

Concerning the general features of the stones, Lebanon County offers little, if anything, that is unique. They fall well within the pattern which obtains in much of Pennsylvania, and for that matter, in much of the Northeast. The earliest stones were cut from local field stone and varieties of reddish, brown and grey sandstone, with some surviving examples of slate. The so called "field stone" seemed to be metamorphic in nature, but precise identification was not always possible from the weathered surface, and a combination of ethics and fear of an irate domine prevented my exposing a fresh one. The first use of white marble seems to have occurred at the beginning of the 19th Century, its popularity slowly increasing until by mid-century it had nearly supplanted all other materials as a medium for grave monuments. The use of igneous rocks, such as granite, is a relatively recent phenomenon and therefore of no concern to us here.

The important question of condition of the stones seems to be a factor of four variables: 1, the amount

of relief of the design and inscription; 2, the degree of resistance of the rock to weathering; 3, the length of time that the monument has stood; and 4, the position of the stone relative to the direction of prevailing wind and storm systems. Generally speaking, the 18th Century field-stone markers that were done with any degree of relief have survived in quite good condition. Designs are clear and inscriptions usually legible. The condition of the sandstones is mainly dependent on the strength of the matrix that binds the individual grains. On late 18th Century examples occupying exposed positions and in which the matrix is weak, shallow cut inscriptions are hardly legible.¹ On the other hand, stones of the same age, regardless of position, which possess a strong matrix,² look much the same today as when they left the hands of the stone-cutter.

Slate is an excellent material for the hand of the artisan, inasmuch as it offers a very smooth surface that is quite impervious to the elements. But much of it contains a fatal flaw—bedding plains which provide access channels for water. Its ability to endure, therefore, is directly related to the degree of cohesiveness of the layers of which it is composed. In parts of New England, slate tombstones from the 17th Century survive as some of the finest examples of the stonecutter's art. Unfortunately, however, in Lebanon County such is not the case. Of the three surviving slate stones located in this survey,³ two have lost all trace of the inscribed surface due to weathering along a bedding plain, while in December of 1969 the surface of the third was coming away in large chunks.

With the exception of poor quality slate, marble is the least durable of the common tombstone materials. The calcium carbonate or calcite (CaCO_3) of which it is composed is attacked by the weak carbonic acid solution formed from atmospheric carbon dioxide (CO_2) and rainwater. Stones dating from the mid-19th Century are often read with difficulty, while the earliest examples are mostly illegible.⁴

The condition of the individual cemeteries ranges from good, to all too frequent benign neglect, to total abandonment, as in the case of many of the family plots—some of which are fast returning to the wooded state. Little, if anything, is being done to insure the preservation of the stones, other than the resetting of

¹Matthias (1967), in studies conducted near Middletown, Connecticut, estimated that tombstones cut from a local red sandstone were weathering at a rate of 0.006 centimeters per year.

²The strength of the matrix actually determines the variety of stone. When fractures occur around the individual grains, it is considered a sandstone, when they occur across the grain, it becomes a quartzite.

³All are located at Zoar Lutheran Church in Mt. Zion (18).
⁴Judson (1968), points out that in the humid northeastern states, marble tombstones become illegible after 150 to 175 years of exposure.

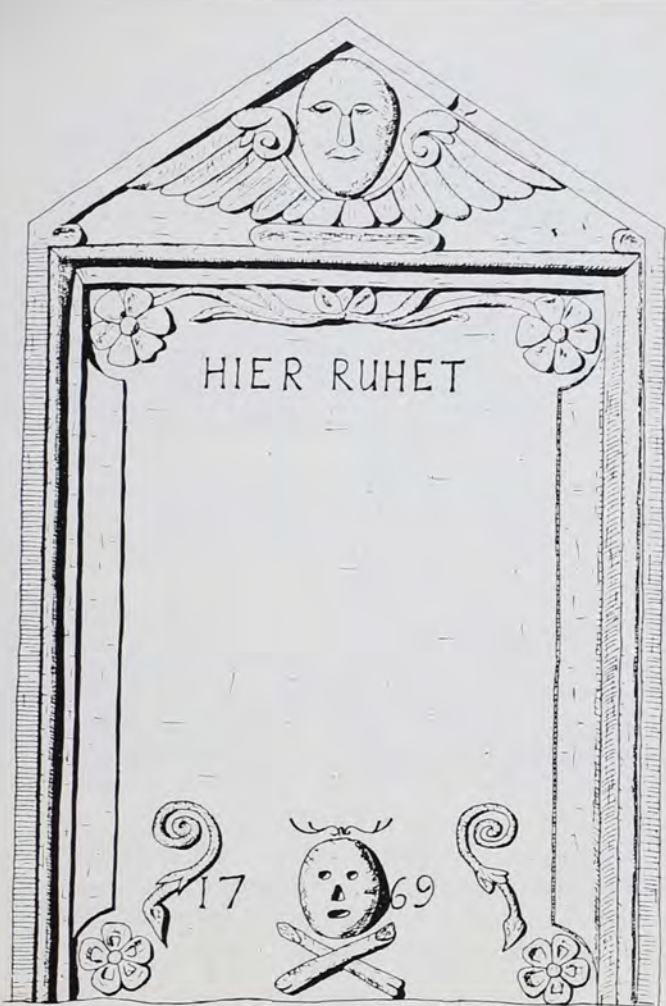


Plate 1. The finest example of Schaefferstown I Style. The positioning of the cherub and skull probably represents the triumph of eternal life over death. 1769. St. Luke's E. L. Church (31).



Plate 2. A. Schaefferstown I style. The angel has been replaced by a possible tree of life. 1777, St. Luke's E. L. Church (31); B. The oldest surviving tombstone in Lebanon County, Stouchsburg I style. 1745, Tulpehocken Trinity Reformed Church (22).

fallen examples in cement at some of the better tended yards.

As part of their cultural heritage, the German settlers of Pennsylvania brought to America a highly developed tradition of decorative folk art. Since they arose from this common cultural milieu, it is hardly surprising to find the tombstones embellished with many of the same motifs found on fraktur, barns, painted furniture and other household appointments. Although grave markers were perhaps more conducive to symbolic forms of expression than were more mundane objects, still a minimum of invention was required of the local stonecutter in his quest for a suitable motif. But it is doubtful that tradition was the only source of influence. Prints and illustrated books were in circulation, which would perhaps account for the strong baroque influence which appeared toward the end of the 18th Century, and also for the popularity of flanking columns which were common in the decade between 1790 and 1800, (See Fig. 5), a feature that had little relation to the regional architecture of the period.

Even though they labored within rather confined cultural boundaries, the 18th Century stonecutters of the Lebanon County area produced basically individual



Plate 3. An exceptionally grim representation of a skull with crossed bones from the reverse of a stone dated 1754. The obverse is decorated with an encircled, six-pointed compass star and a small tulip. Hill Lutheran Church (10).

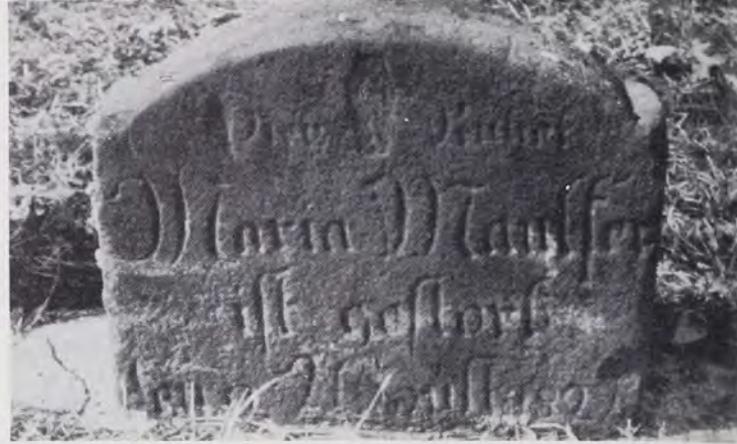


Plate 4. A. The urn, symbol of death on a late 18th Century stone. St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church (16); B. The only representation of a coffin on the tombstones of Lebanon County. Bindnagle's Lutheran Church (7).

works. It was not until the early 19th Century that stones of a single artisan or shop were often replicas of each other.

For the century following the appearance of the oldest surviving Lebanon tombstones in the 1740's, the problem of determining which motifs are traditional is a relatively simple one. This period witnessed the highest development of the Pennsylvania German folk-

culture, within the province of which all of the local stonecutters seemed to have worked. After the middle years of the 19th Century, however, the ever increasing influence of popular culture makes the problem far more complex. For motifs such as the heart, which never developed on a popular level, the question is again quite simple, but what of a tree or flower when it appears on a German language tombstone of the 1870's? To answer this and similar questions for the period after 1850, I have had to rely on a basic familiarity with the traditional forms of artistic expression;



Plate 5. Brickersville I style. Stone of Casper Elias Diller, who died in 1787 at the age of 91 years. Done in the excellent Baroque style so well represented at the Emanuel E. L. Church in Brickersville, Lancaster County. The crown symbolizes the kingdom of heaven, while the hour glass and skull are a reminder of the inevitability of death. Hill Lutheran Church (10).



Plate 6. Late 18th Century stone also exhibiting the Baroque treatment typical of Brickersville I style. Inscription illegible. Tulpehocken Trinity Reformed Church (22).



Plate 7. A. Brickersville I style. Stone of Johan Phillip Glick, who died in 1793 at the age of six months. Zoar Lutheran Church (18); B. A much plainer treatment of a cherub head on a stone dated 1790. St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church (16).

considering for this survey only those examples definitely a part of, or directly related to, the folk-culture and rejecting all those which either subject or style places within the realm of the popular—regardless of the language on the stone.

Plate 8. A. Stone of Johan Caspar Stoeber, a Lutheran minister who died in 1779. Hill Lutheran Church (10); B. Cherub head with flanking sun spirals. 1769, St. Paul's R. L. Church (26).



The problems of origin and symbolism of the Pennsylvania German iconography have resulted in the development of two major schools of thought. Barba (1953), proposes a theory of mainly pre-Christian origin, tracing the beginnings of the various symbols to the Germanic and Norse cultures of early Europe, and in some cases even beyond this into Near Eastern antiquity. It is to be assumed that he makes an exception for something so obvious as the cherub. He sees in the use of the motifs by folk artists on both sides of the Atlantic, during the 17th, 18th and early 19th Centuries, mainly a case of unconscious symbolism; a link to the old gods and the old beliefs, which provided a communal continuity and united the people with their long past.

Stoudt (1966), on the other hand, while conceding an early Germanic or Nordic origin for some of the designs themselves, envisions a much more conscious symbolism rooted in the mysteries of Christian piety and ethic. He interprets Pennsylvania German iconography as differing only slightly from traditional Christian symbolism, and, as a folk art, representative of ideas rather than natural objects.

In actuality, the truth probably represents a combination of these two points of view. Traditional cultural survivals do exist, both on the conscious and subconscious levels, and, as was pointed out earlier, tombstones, by their very nature, are conducive to expressions of the prevailing religious symbolism. But since we have no way of learning just what thought processes attended the production of the stones, the answer must remain within the realm of speculation.

In considering the motifs extant on the stones of Lebanon County, I have grouped them into three areas; first, those few which represent death and the passage of time; second, the far more numerous symbols associated with salvation and the kingdom of heaven; and third, those symbols for which there are various interpretations and whose true meaning is unclear.

Also for this survey, I have assumed that in the great majority of cases the erection of a tombstone followed interment by a few months to a year. I have, therefore, used the date of death to reference the stone in time, except for those few instances where style and material clearly indicate a much later commemoration or replacement.

Out of a preoccupation with mortality and the decay of the flesh, which characterized the late Middle Ages, there arose throughout much of Europe a tradition of macabre artistic expression. Quite strong in those areas of Germany from which the Pennsylvania German culture sprang, this "memento mori" tradition was expressed on many levels, but nowhere more strongly than on the monuments to the dead. They were intended not only to commemorate the deceased, but also to

instruct the living—shun the goods and pleasures of this life, for both you and they shall soon be dust. It has been pointed out (Lichten, 1946; Stoudt, 1966), that this tradition was rejected by the gentle German settlers of Pennsylvania. True, we find nothing here to equal the great festival of death in the form of winged skulls and other eldritch devices that so characterized the cemeteries of New England and the Middle Colonies of the 17th and 18th Centuries, but such motifs are not entirely lacking. Lebanon County contains five stones emblazoned with the death's head, ranging in time from 1745 to 1787 (see Fig. 2). The earliest of these, which also happens to be the oldest surviving stone in the county (Plate 2B), shows the skull unaccompanied by any other device. All of the others (Plates 1, 2A, 3 and 5), combine the skull with one or more pairs of crossed bones.

Five examples may not seem like a very great number, but when one considers that there are only eight stones in the county dated prior to 1790, which attempt an anthropomorphic representation, the number of skulls assumes a greater significance.

But other symbols were also used to convey the idea of the death of the flesh. A stone from St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church which dates from the last decade of the 18th Century, is the exclusive example of the



Plate 9. Millbach I style showing the flanking columns with arch, with a heart typical of the peasant art of Germany. Zoar Lutheran Church (18).



Plate 10. An example similar to that shown in plate 9, but having a heart palmette. St. John's Lutheran Church (14).

use of an urn that is not obviously a part of the popular maudlin tradition of the late 19th Century. In form the urn is not unlike some of the silver hollow ware of the period.

Also represented by a single example and embodying much the same idea, is the typical six-sided coffin of the 18th and early 19th Centuries, which is cut on a small stone dated 1822 at Bindnagle's Church (Plate 4B).

The hour glass, the classic symbolic representation of the passage of time and thus, ultimately, of death, is found on the stone of Casper Diller, who died in 1787 and was buried at the Hill Lutheran Church (Plate 5). Again, this represents the only surviving example of the symbol in the Lebanon County cemeteries.

More common by far are those motifs symbolic of salvation and the kingdom of heaven. Cherubs are frequently found on stones from the late 1760's into the 1870's (Fig. 3). It has been pointed out (Ludwig, 1966), that it is virtually impossible to distinguish between angels and glorified soul effigies; thus the symbolic intent of the stonecutter must often remain unclear. With the exception of the full figure example shown carrying the scriptures on the stone belonging



Plate 11. Millbach I style showing the architectural format and typical motifs. A. eight-pointed star, St. Paul's R. L. Church (26); B. cherub with sun spirals, St. John's Lutheran Church (14); C. half circle or fan, St. Paul's R. L. Church (26).



to Johan Caspar Stoever at the Hill Church (Plate 8A),⁵ and the baroque torso (Plate 6) at the Tulpehocken cemetery, all 18th Century cherubs are depicted as winged heads. In the 1790's the head is sometimes combined with a pair of confrontal sun spirals (Plates 8B & 11B). Except for three stones with illegible dates

⁵Compare this stone with the 1776 example shown on page 104 of Barba (1953) from Epler's Church in Berks County. Both appear to have been cut by the same hand.

at the Salem United Church of Christ (Fig. 7a), all the 19th Century cherubs are full figure representations, those from mid-century often shown sounding the trumpets of resurrection.

Widely associated with all aspects of Pennsylvania German folk art, the heart saw service on Lebanon County tombstones from the 1770's well into the 1860's (Fig. 4). Symbolic of love and the heart of God, its usual form is the traditional turnip shape of German peasant art (Plate 9), or occasionally the heart palmette (Plate 10). At times it was combined with floral motifs; arising out of a tulip (Fig. 7d), or other foliage, or conversely, giving rise to tulips (Plate 13). In one late 18th Century example, it is combined with confrontal sun spirals (Plate 12), and on a stone dated 1862 it is shown in quatrefoil within a circle (Fig. 7c).

The crown of the kingdom of heaven is found only on the previously mentioned monument to Casper Elias Diller (Plate 5) at the Hill Church.

Barba (1953) points out that in the entire range of Pennsylvania German iconography, the Latin cross,

chief symbol of the Christian faith, is notably absent. On the footstone of the grave of Johannes Schenk, who died in 1804 and was buried in the family cemetery (32), is found a design which may have been intended only as a simple cartouche, but which looks suspiciously like an embellished Latin cross (Fig. 7b). It is unique within the county.

The use of architectural motifs; flanking columns with arches and occasionally keystones, began in the late 1770's, peaked in the 1790's, and died out in the first decade of the 19th Century (Fig. 6). As has been pointed out, the conscious purpose may have been nothing more than an attempt to imitate on the folk level, engravings of the emerging Federal style. The tradition, however, can be traced well into antiquity. From the time of Augustus, the Romans introduced into Germany the use of flanking columns on grave monuments, that were designed to approximate the temple architecture of Rome (Hofmann, 1905). After the rise of Christianity, the symbolism shifted to a representation of the gateway of heaven, and in this form the tradition remained strong in southern Germany



Plate 12. Late 18th Century stone combining the heart with a pair of sun spirals. Much of the inscription was illegible. St. Paul's R. L. Church (26).

throughout the Gothic and Renaissance periods (Mannhart, 1958). Perhaps it was this train of thought that motivated the Lebanon stonecutters as well (see Plates 4A, 8A, 9, 10, 11A, B and C, and 20A).

The use of plants, both as a decorative and symbolic device, is widespread. Most striking, of course, are the graceful and traditional tulips (Fig. 5), so common to the folk art of the region, although other flowers, equally as beautiful but of rather dubious ancestry, are also found. Often the tulip is used alone (Plate 2A), but at other times it is combined with motifs such as the heart (Plate 13 and Fig. 7d). Occasionally the form is more abstract than natural (Fig. 7e & 7f). A stone from 1854 at the Elias Union Church (Fig. 7h), combines on the same stem the traditional tulip with what appears to be roses.

The tree of life, symbolizing both human and spiritual existence, which Barba (1953) found so common



Plate 13. Reverse of a stone in the Bindnagle's I style. The obverse shows the same basic design combined with the name and dates of the deceased. After Barba (1953), page 60. Bindnagle's E. L. Church (7).

in the Pennsylvania German region in general, is all but missing from Lebanon County. The only two representations that can possibly be included in this category are floral clusters on an 1806 stone at St. Paul's Church in Millbach and a triple-branched flower from 1841 at Tulpehocken (Fig. 8b). The tulip on the head of the stone in Plate 2A may also have been used in this sense.

Occasionally a flower assumes a specific meaning, as in the case of the example with a broken stem on a stone from 1832 at the Tulpehocken Church (Fig. 8c), which undoubtedly symbolizes the cutting short of life.

Zoomorphic representations, which are quite common on fraktur and painted furniture, are very rare on Lebanon County stones. A marker at St. Paul's Church at Millbach dated 1841 is embellished with what appears to be a pair of confrontal doves—traditional symbol both of peace and of the Holy Spirit.

By far the most common motifs found on the tombstones of all periods are those geometric patterns based on the circle, which Barba (1953) designated "sun symbols".⁶ They play an important role in all areas of Pennsylvania German folk art, the "hex sign" of barn decoration being probably the most well known. Although based on the circle, they can be divided into a number of classes: 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12-pointed stars, wedges, coils, whirls, half circles and swastikas. The variety in detail seems to have been limited only by the imagination of the artisan. Historically these devices, and especially the six-pointed compass star, were common on Hellenistic provincial gravestones and sarcophagi and were almost certainly introduced in this context into Germany by the Romans. Barba (1953), on the other hand, points out that many of these same designs were long used as sun symbols by the ancient Norse and Germanic tribes, and it may well be that they constitute a non-Latin survival in German and Scandinavian peasant art.

On 17th and 18th Century New England tombstones, Ludwig (1966) found the six-pointed compass star to be very common, and seemingly symbolic of soul effigies, which they often replaced. But interpretation of such abstract forms is extremely difficult and I feel that more than likely, on Pennsylvania German tombstones at least, these devices served no purpose other than the decorative, and resulted purely from the nature of the flat working surface and the use of the compass. Give any group of children a piece of blank paper and a pencil compass and before long they will be producing designs much like those found on the Pennsylvania German stones.

⁶Lebanon County lacks completely the anthropomorphic suns and moons that are so common at Bergstrasse Church in northern Lancaster County and at the nearby Muddy Creek and Swamp Churches.

Although the different classes of the geometric motif are widely distributed in time and space, in Lebanon County certain broad patterns arise. Seemingly the oldest form, appearing incised or in relief on stones from the last half of the 18th Century, is the six-pointed compass star (Plate 17). This often develops into eight points by the end of the century (Plate 11A). In the eastern portion of the county, the decade 1820-1830 saw the great popularity of five-pointed stars, having either wedge-shaped (Plate 14) or diamond-shaped (Plate 15) arms. For a time the designs got more varied and complex (Fig. 9g, h, i, j, and k), but the years after 1840 and well into the 1870's saw the triumph of a simple 6, 8 or 12-pointed star having separated, diamond shaped arms (see stone in Plate 18) which is, by far, the most common design in the county. All of the stones having this device are cut in white marble and many carry the cutter's inscription: *J. B., Steiner, Steiner—Myerstown and Hartmann—Leb.* In a few cases, especially at site 17, stones of this type have dates ranging from the 1770's into the 1820's, but these probably represent cases of commemoration well after the fact or late replacements.

A closely related, but much less frequent variant of the compass star is the swastika. Long a symbol of good luck in many cultures, the only example in Lebanon County was found on a stone at Salem United Church of Christ, and dates from 1851. In this case an eight armed example forms the lower of two pairs of connected geometric devices (Fig. 91).

Designs based on the half circle, whether interpreted as rising suns, fans or whatever, experienced two periods of popularity. From the decade of the 1790's we find rather elaborate examples having lobed rays extending from an often slightly convex base (Plate 11C), while later in the 19th Century, chiefly in the 1830's and 1840's they took the form of serrated arcs similar to Fig. 8d and e, or lobed fans with a straight base (Fig. 8f).

Occurring from 1769 through 1803, but mostly in the 1790's, are pairs of whorls or spirals, which, for want of a better term, I have designated "sun spirals" after Barba (1953). They rarely occur alone, but are usually coupled with another motif (Plates 11A, 11B and 12)

Also serving a purely decorative function are non-geometric cartouches that date mainly from the 1790's. Plate 20A shows an example combined with columns, arch and keystone.

Such then are the major tombstone motifs. From these brief observations certain broad conclusions can be drawn. With the marked exceptions of anthropomorphic suns and moons and of the tree of life, the motifs found in Lebanon County are much like those utilized

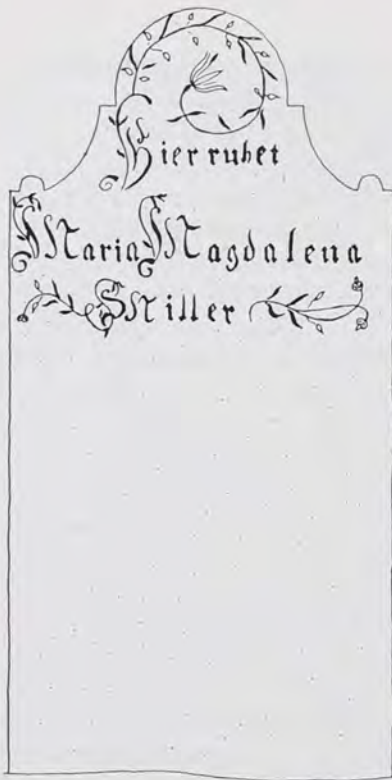


Plate 14. Stone of Maria Magdalena Miller, illustrating the floral treatment typical of the early 19th Century Schaefferstown III style. 1807, St. Paul's R. L. Church (26).

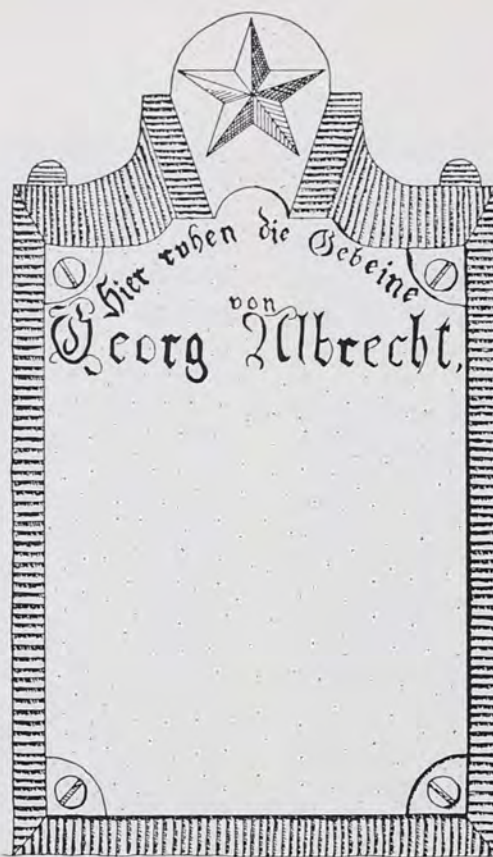


Plate 15. Stone of Georg Albrecht, done in the Schaefferstown II style, which combines a five-pointed star with obverse striations which extend to cover the reverse. St. Luke's E. L. Church (31), 1821.

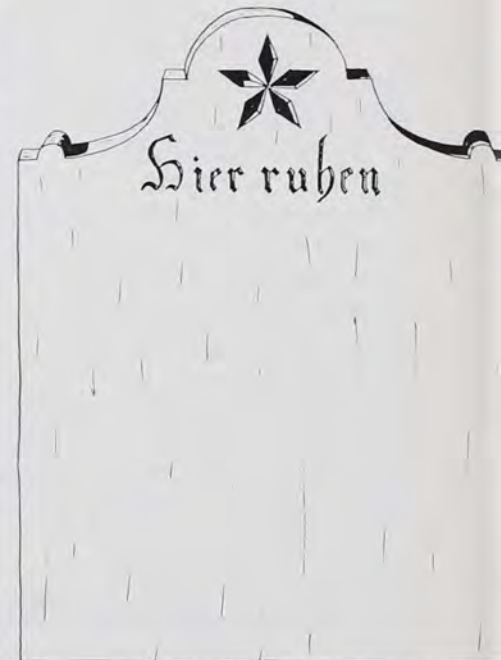


Plate 16. Stone of Joseph Wingert, showing the incuse-type five-pointed star typical of the third decade of the 19th Century. 1824, Zoar Lutheran Church.

by stonecutters throughout the entire Pennsylvania German region.

An examination of the distribution through time (Figures 3, 4 and 5) for some of the more traditional motifs, such as the heart, cherub, and tulip, reveals that their use began rather slowly in the last half of the 18th Century, peaked during the period from 1790 through about 1810, fell during the 1820's and 30's and then increased again in the 1840's, 50's and 60's. This definitely indicates a traditional resurgence during the mid-19th Century, but whether it is limited to tombstone art and to this geographic region, only broader investigation will tell.

The examination of a cemetery or a series of cemeteries soon reveals that the stones tend to arrange themselves into groups on a basis of style. Each style has its own peculiarities and the work of one man or of one shop usually stands out from the rest. Generally speaking, it can be assumed that stonecutters tended to live near the center of the geographic distribution of their wares.

Stones of any given style can also be assumed to have been produced during a single working lifetime, although the period may have been extended for a number of reasons; left-over stones sold after a cutter's

death, the reworking of older stones and the commemoration of a much earlier death.

Among the Pennsylvania Germans, it is not unreasonable to assume that the first cutters of tombstones in the 18th Century combined this with some other craft, such as masonry or farming. As the population and therefore business increased, however, they, in all probability, set up shops for the full-time production of monuments. But whatever their range of activities, few of the individual cutters and carvers are known.

Within Lebanon County I have identified and traced the geographic distribution of nine distinctive styles. That is not to say that these encompass all of the interesting stones, for some exist in single examples only, and as little is to be gained from plotting a solitary occurrence, I have not considered them here. The names I have given to the various styles are primarily for convenience sake and they usually, but not always, reflect the location of maximum occurrence.

If political boundaries proved no great barrier to the spread of motifs, they were equally ineffectual in limiting the distribution of an artisan's work. It will be noted from the distribution charts (Figs. 10 through 16), that most of the distinctive styles are concentrated in the southern and eastern parts of the county, and,



Plate 17. Six-pointed compass star. This was the most popular of the 18th century geometric patterns. St. Paul's R. L. Church (26).

as might be expected, their range often continues well into Berks and Lancaster Counties.

The styles are as follows:

Stouchsburg I (1745-1751) Plate 2B

Cut from local field stone in very high relief, this represents the earliest recognizable style in the county. The single Lebanon example is located at the Tulpehocken Trinity Reformed Church in Millardsville (22), but other examples are found at Christ Lutheran Church and Rieth's Church near Stouchsburg in Berks County (see Barba, 1953, pages 39 and 47).

Schaefferstown I (1769-1777) Plates 1 & 2A

Also cut in high relief from local field stone, this style is found in three examples at St. Luke's Lutheran Church in Schaefferstown (31). A stone very similar to that illustrated in Plate 2A is found at the Swamp Church in Lancaster County. The most distinctive feature of this style is the skull located at the base of the stone and a symbol of resurrection at the head.

Bindnagle's I (1774-1776) Plate 13 & Fig. 10

Found in only two locations at opposite ends of the county (Fig. 10), these stones feature incised tulips at the head, with stems trailing along the sides, and hearts with tulips at the base. All are cut from a local brown stone.

Brickersville I (1786-1794) Plates 5, 6 & 7A Fig. 11

Cut chiefly in a white or gray sandstone, this group represents the highest development of the baroque style in the county. The angel's head or torso is the most common motif, although flowers are not uncommon and the hour glass is often used on the Lancaster County examples. A large concentration of stones of this type is found at the Emanuel Lutheran Church in Brickersville in northern Lancaster County.

Klopp's I (1782-1790) Plates 4A & 20A Fig. 12

Occurring at two locations on the eastern edge of the county (Fig. 12) and extending into Berks, these stones are cut from a dark native stone. All display architectural features, columns and arches and usually an additional motif just below the arch. Most are carved on one side only.

Millbach I (1790-1804) Plates 9, 10, 11A, B & C Fig. 13

This style was seemingly influenced by and successor to Klopp's I, which it in many respects resembles. Although cut from a stone more reddish in color, it also exhibits the architectural motifs, but is always decorated on both sides. Common under-arch motifs include the heart, six and eight-pointed stars, fans and cherubs. The central motif is often surrounded by groups of small ovals or circles. The inscription is always placed on a raised or bordered surface. Although also found in Berks County (see Barba, 1953,

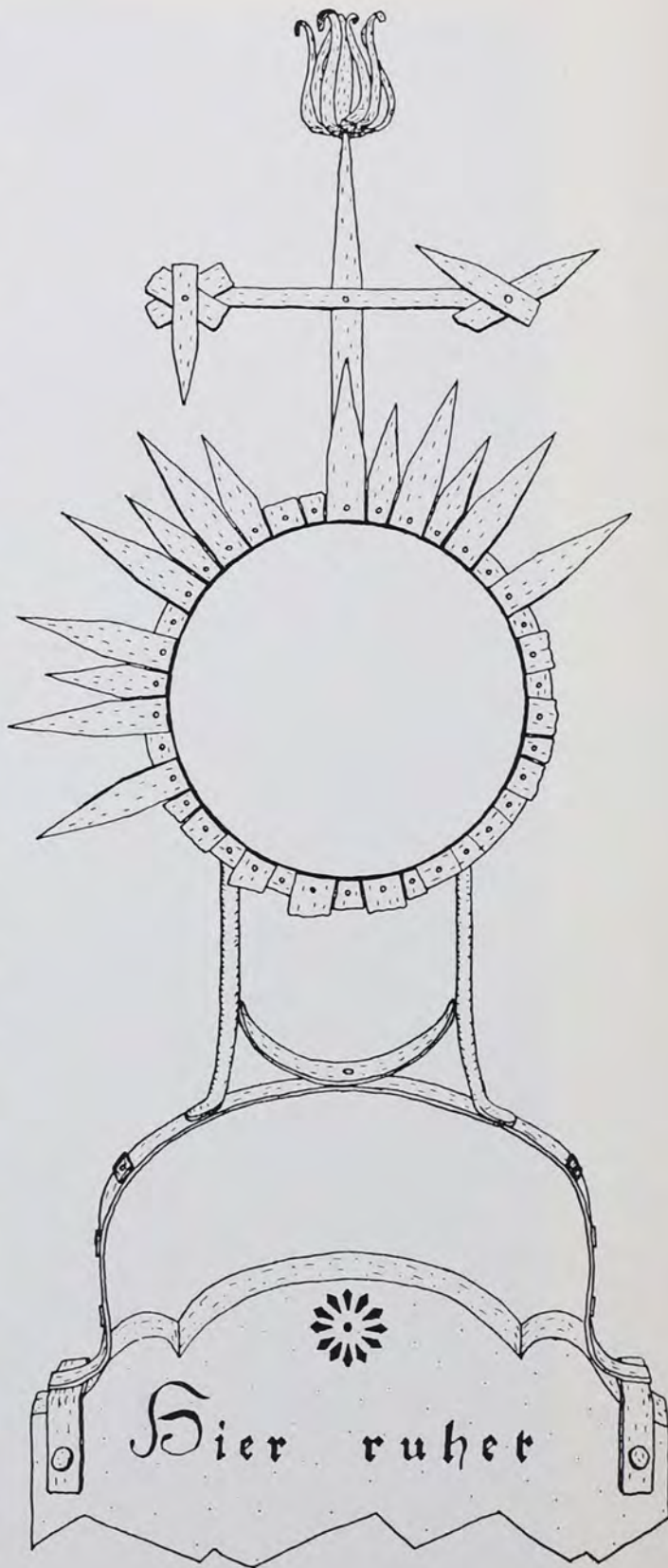


Plate 18. Wrought iron embellishment on a white marble marker of 1868. Many of the rays, as well as the arms of the six-pointed stars, have been lost. Three attachment scars on each side of the lower arch indicate other missing features. St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church (16).



Plate 19. Unique wrought iron marker, probably intended to stand at the grave foot. Third quarter of the 19th Century. St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church (16).

pg. 100), it is the most distinctive and widely distributed of the Lebanon County styles.

Schaefferstown III (1792 and 1800-1810) Plate 16 Fig. 14

Cut in a white or gray sandstone, this style features a rather distinctive tulip whose stem curves to form a basically circular device at the head of the stone. Occasionally, smaller flowers are used to decorate the area of the inscription.

Schaefferstown II (one example dated 1800, another 1812, but all others between 1821-1826) Plate 14 Fig. 15

Featuring a five-pointed star as the primary decoration, this style also utilizes series of parallel lines to form a border on the obverse; these lines then extend to cover the reverse. Although cut from a single slab, the inscribed surface gives the impression of being a plate, held in place by four screws of stone.

Zoar I (1819-1828) Plate 15 Fig. 16

Resembling *Schaefferstown II* in the use of a five-pointed star, this group exhibits no other decoration. All carving is cut into the surface.

It is interesting to note that at St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church in Hamlin, there are two examples of wrought iron grave markers; a tradition common enough in southern Germany and Austria, but extremely rare in Pennsylvania. One is set in a stone block (Plate 19) and was probably intended as a foot marker. The other is attached to a white marble stone dated 1868 (Plate 18). Both are undoubtedly the work of a local blacksmith.

Of monuments made of wood, only two survive (Plate 21), and these are found at St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Church (20). They carry no trace of an inscription, which, in all probability, was originally done in paint.

As far as stylistic conclusions are concerned, I fear that we must invoke the Scottish verdict of "not proven". Working within the confines of a single county does not give the perspective required for the proper mapping of style occurrence, which is, in itself, a necessary prelude to attempts at identifying the now anonymous folk artists. It is to be hoped that other



Plate 20. A. Late 18th or early 19th Century stone with well developed architectural format and cartouche. St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church (16); B. The treatment of the upper edge is very similar to that found on five stones dating between 1831 and 1840 at Swamp Church in Lancaster County. 1844, Zoar Lutheran Church (18).

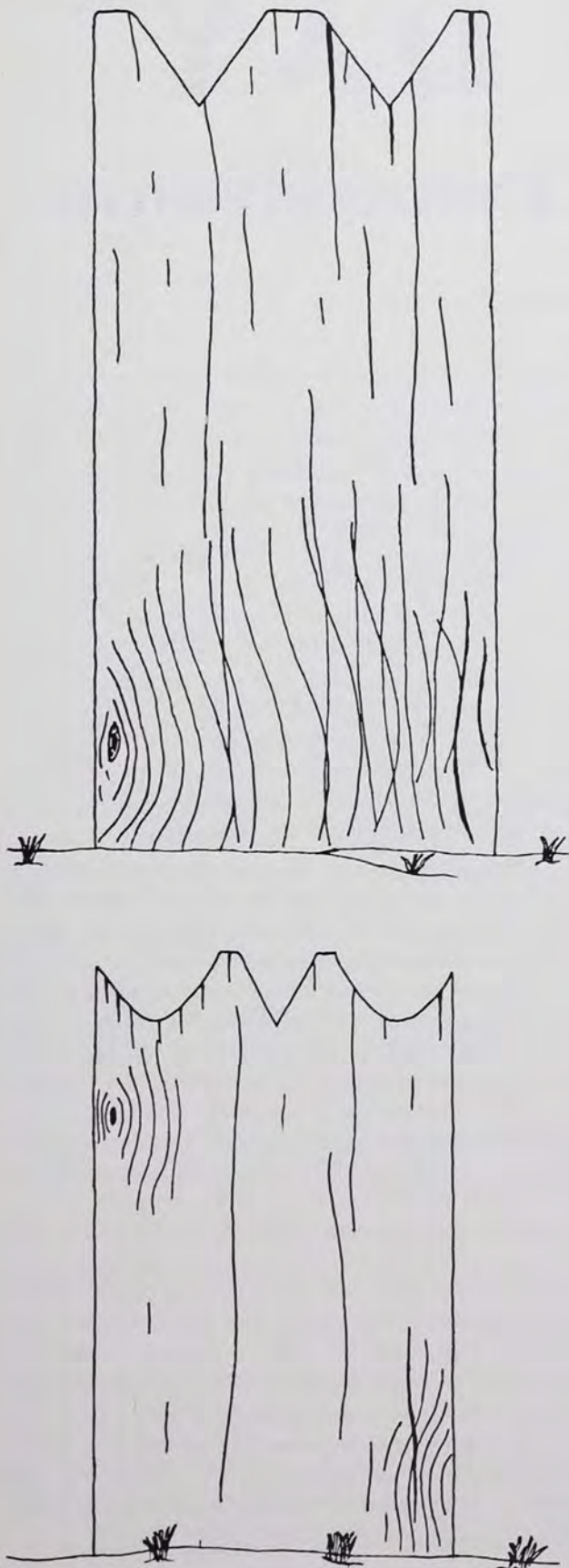


Plate 21. Two surviving examples of wooden grave markers.
St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Church (20).

studies will be conducted in adjacent areas, which can then be compiled into a major survey; a survey to which this brief paper can hopefully be a part.

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INDEX TO CEMETERIES

1. Trinity Lutheran Church, South Londonderry Township.
2. Dohner Family Cemetery, South of Rocherty.
3. Gingrich's Mennonite Church, North Cornwall Township.
4. Reist Family Cemetery, South Annville Township.
5. Family Cemetery, Northeast of Campbelltown.
6. Salem United Church of Christ, Campbelltown.
7. Bindnagle's Evangelical Lutheran Church, North Londonderry Township.
8. Zion Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Church, East Hanover Township.
9. Kauffman's Church, North of Annville.
10. Hill Lutheran Church, North of Cleona.
11. Greenwood Cemetery, Ebenezer.
12. Zion Evangelical Lutheran Cemetery, Jonestown.
13. Cemetery near Bethel E. U. B. Church, Swatara Township.
14. St. John's Lutheran Church, Fredericksburg.
15. Family Cemetery, North of Shirksville.
16. St. Paul's Union (Klopp's) Church, Hamlin.
17. Cemetery near Hope Bible Church, Bethel Township.
18. Zoar Lutheran Church, Mt. Zion.
19. Zion (Goshert) United Church of Christ, Mt. Zion.
20. St. Jacob's (Kimmerling's) Church, North of Weavertown.
21. Family Cemetery, Northeast corner of North Lebanon Township.
22. Tulpehocken Trinity Reformed Church, Millardsville.
23. Myerstown United Church of Christ, Myerstown.
24. Royer's Meeting House, West of Richland.
25. Elias Union Church, Newmanstown.
26. St. Paul's Reformed and Lutheran Church, Millbach.
27. Family Cemetery, North of Kleinfeltersville.
28. Millbach Community Cemetery, South of Millbach.
29. Albrecht's Church, Kleinfeltersville.
30. Heidelberg Church of the Brethren, East of Reistville.
31. St. Luke's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Schaefferstown.
32. Schenk Family Cemetery, South of Rt. 897 near Hammer Creek, Heidelberg Township.
33. Family Cemetery, South Lebanon Township.

RAIN DAY

in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania

By JANET HODEL

*"For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater."*¹

This verse from Isaiah notes the importance of rainfall to both the farmer and all men. If the amount of rainfall is sufficient the earth brings forth a bountiful harvest. But if the rainfall is excessive as with floods, the seeds and young plants will be washed away. The absence of sufficient rain would cause a drought and result in crop failure.

Because of their dependence upon rain, it has become necessary for farmers to try to predict and control rain. This is as true today as it was in primitive communities because the physical as well as economic life of the farmer is dependent upon agriculture. As communities developed man tried to control nature by three methods. First there is the magical method. This method is any procedure by which the desired results are produced through an alleged personal control of some secret force or forces of nature, usually by ritual imitation of the desired phenomenon.

One of the most interesting magic examples of early man's attempt to bring rain comes from the country of Esthonia. Whenever rain was needed, three men of a tribe would proceed to a grove of sacred trees with a kettle, a watering can, and fire brands. They would climb to the top of the trees and attempt to show the clouds what they desired. The man who beat the drum was imitating thunder, the man with the firebrands was imitating lightning, and the man with the watering can was demonstrating rain.²

Sprinkling, splashing and drenching can be found to be common practices in Africa and India. Whenever a drought occurred in Southeast Africa, tribal rain-makers would carry water from a special brook and fling it high in the air over stricken fields to bring rain. Attempts were often made in India to imitate clouds and scatter water over the fields.³

The second method is religious in nature. This includes all techniques that in substance appeal for the thing desired to a supernatural being supposed either continuously to rule the element in question or at least able at will to assume control of it.⁴ The pleas for rain were redirected from a living person to spirits contained in specific natural elements and finally, as time progressed, to one supreme God. The people at various times tried prayers, sacrifices, amulets and even threats to the god or gods to coerce them to bring rain.

Peasants in Russia often felt that in order for God to know that they wanted rain, they must make it known to his earthly representative, usually a parish priest. Quite frequently they would dump buckets of water over the priest or if unavailable his wife, as a good rain would to illustrate their point.⁵

The third method is the scientific which tries by some natural means to alter the course of nature. This method came with the advent of the scientific age in which people thought they could apply the scientific principles to get rain to fall. One of these procedures consisted of creating a loud noise, like thunder which was evident during heavy rainfalls and had made some believe that noise jostled cloud droplets and produced rain. Also chemicals such as those which would produce hydrogen gas and would rise were employed to set up a vortical whirl by the pressure of rising and then would cause rain.

Another plan to cause rain came about after men began to notice that cold air caused condensation of water droplets in the air and as the air gained altitude it became cooler. Therefore men theorized they must force air upward with mechanical blowers and fires. They also felt that if they could cool the air with cracked ice thrown out of balloons it would rain. This last procedure is closely connected with the present procedures of cloud seeding. It was found that silver iodide or solid carbon dioxide would cause the formation of ice crystals and cause rain.

¹Isaiah, 55:10.

²W. J. Humphreys, *Ways of Weather* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942), p. 327.

³*Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁴W. J. Humphreys, *Rainmaking and Other Weather Vagaries* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1926), p. 3.

⁵Humphreys, *Ways of Weather*, p. 328.

In addition to trying to change the course of nature, man also tried to identify natural behavior by means of signs. Signs were usually recorded in verse form, typically proverbs. They owe their present day existence to the continuing importance of the weather to farm life. These proverbs have been found to be either fanciful or based on observed fact.⁶ Factual proverbs are such that some observable condition does precede a particular kind of weather as with this short verse.

*Lightning in the north means rain,
Lightning in the south means dry weather.⁷*

Farmers who first uttered this verse had noticed that rain storms in their area had come from the north. Since lightning is associated with rain, lightning in the north would signal the coming of a rain storm.

The following proverbs show how the rural folk recorded traditional observations and beliefs.

*Onion skin very thin, mild winter coming in,
Onion skin thick and tough, coming winter cold
and rough.⁸*

*Cut your thistles before St. John,
You will have two instead of one.⁹*

*If the oak is out before the ash,
'Twill be a summer of wet and splash.
But if the ash is before the oak,
'Twill be a summer of fire and smoke.¹⁰*

All the farming communities have inherited this weather concern and the accompanying traditions. Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, is no exception. Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, is the county seat of Greene County, the most southwestern county in the state. Until the recent advent of the automobile, television and radio, the town was mostly self-contained and the only exit and entrance was by means of the narrow-gauge Washington and Waynesburg railroad. Most of the townspeople were retired farmers from the surrounding countryside. The residents here did not want the country industrialized or the people who would come with it. They wished to maintain a small and beautiful country town atmosphere. Most of the people had their own gardens, and of course were still interested in the weather.

The center of activity in this town was the drugstore, owned by J. T. Rogers and clerked by two brothers, William and Albert Allison. An unknown farmer remarked to William Allison that "it always

seems to rain a bit on the twenty-ninth of July."¹¹ William, a meticulous man interested in keeping records of weather phenomena, jotted this fact in the margin of his day book in the drug store. His brother Albert continued this recording and also established an all night vigil in which the local townsmen would sit up around a keg of beer to wait for the rain. Usually one of the "watchers" would bet it would not rain and would be held responsible for providing the beer.

Sometime early in the 1920's the record keeping was taken over by Byron Daily, then owner of the drugstore. Mr. Daily was a "robust jovial chap"¹² who was especially fond of jokes and decided to wager hats with traveling drug salesmen, since very few of the townspeople were willing to bet because they believed so strongly in the traditional rainfall.

The first bettor which began this tradition was John Monaghan of the Gilmore Drug Company in 1927. From this time Byron Daily only lost twice; once in 1930, and a shirt bet in 1937 with Harry Rothenburg. After Byron Daily lost his shirt in 1937, he decided to bet only hats, which he felt assured him of winning.¹³

In October of 1938 with the death of Byron Daily the title of rain prophet passed on to Byron Daily's son, John. John Daily, an attorney, is a quiet man with a more deft and droll sense of humor than his father had. Local newspaper man, John O'Hara also joined John Daily in Rain Day by contacting famous personalities to bet with John.

A point to be questioned was why these men had taken over the Rain Day tradition. Mr. Daily told of the naturalness with which he assumed his role. As a youth he had played at the drugstore and was associated with the men of the early rain vigil. Exposure to the tradition as well as a deep respect for his father had made his an easy choice. Mr. O'Hara, a beginning newsman, knew of the potential power of this "hometown tradition" and began sending out stories which were picked up first by the Brownsville, Pennsylvania, newspaper and eventually the United and Associated Press.

The bets were arranged through friends of friends on various news staffs with the following qualification. The person Mr. Daily bet with was not required to give a paid personal appearance and would receive only the publicity associated with Rain Day and if it didn't rain, a hat! Through the years it has rained in Waynesburg eighty-three of the ninety-six years. Meteorologists have even come to attest to the fact

¹¹John O'Hara, "Fact and Folklore," *Waynesburg Republican*, July 27, 1973. p. 4.

¹²George Swetnam, "Pittsylvania Country," in *American Folkways*, Ed. by Erskine Caldwell (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951), p. 154.

¹³John Daily, private interview held at his home, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, November 1972.

⁶Hans H. Neuberger and F. Briscole Stephens, *Weather and Man* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1948), p. 53.

⁷*A Treasury of American Folklore*, edited by B. A. Botkin (New York: Crown Publishers, 1944), p. 480.

⁸Humphreys, *Rainmaking and Other Weather Vagaries*, p. 142.

⁹Alexander H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore* (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1929), p. 221.

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 220.



Byron Daily in his drug store with one of his coveted Rain Day hats.

that because of the topography of the Waynesburg area, it will always rain in Waynesburg around that date.

The bets have been contracted between many people from Bing Crosby to Arnold Palmer and Al Abrams. Secondary bets have also been made by townspeople. Mr. Joseph Riggs won five hundred dollars supporting his hometown tradition in Okinawa after affidavits were authorized attesting to the rain. The Appendix has the names, dates and results of bets placed from 1939 to 1973.

Although neither of the Dailys has attempted to commercialize or profit from the betting, a variety of customs has grown up to celebrate Rain Day. When rain appeared in the thirties, the courthouse bell tolled; today the fire siren sounds. The local bank, First Federal Savings and Loan, gives a twenty-five dollar savings award to the person who most nearly guesses the time the rainfall will begin. The Chamber of Commerce levies fines to those not carrying umbrellas and awards

prizes to merchants with the best Rain Day window decorations. However, to the dismay of Mr. Daily and Mr. O'Hara, the event has turned into a carnival, highlighted with a queen and a rain dance by "Indians" of nearby Washington.

Mr. Daily admitted that the calls from radio and television stations have become a nuisance and taken some of the fun out of it for him. He even said his father in later years would go fishing to avoid all the deluge of people.¹⁴ It seems that a return of the tradition to the people is in order. What made Rain Day fun was all the consternation over the rain—the taking of sides on whether it would rain or not and laughing together over the tricking of some "city slicker." The queens, carnival, and commercialization have taken the true spirit of Rain Day away.

¹⁴John Daily, private interview held at his home, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, November 1972.

In the spring of 1973 a formal step toward the preservation of Rain Day has been taken with the formation of the "Waynesburg Rain Day and Folklore Association." This group consisting of relatives and friends of the Allison brothers was organized by Albert Sayers, a direct Allison relative. The central organizational core also includes Glenn Headlee, a former business partner of Byron Daily; Furman Rinehart, a retired attorney who worked in the drug store as a boy; and Rinehart Ganear, a retired drug salesman. This group will work with the county historical society and state and regional folklore groups. The group's function will be to keep the Rain Day event tied with its past significance and prevent anyone from commercializing Rain Day for his own personal gain. The Rain Day observance will also be tied in with reverence for members of the Greene County National Guard Unit, Company K, which was part of the American Expeditionary force in 1918 during World War I.

This new organization will help to preserve the real excitement of Rain Day which is found in the mystery surrounding the identity of the unknown farmer who began this tradition by his simple observation. Each participant in the betting has helped to carry on the tradition adding a special touch of his own to the festivities. Rain Day has been carried all over the world by soldiers during war, by people who lived in Waynesburg, and by stories of John O'Hara in the press. It seems that most Waynesburgers hold a special place in their hearts for Rain Day and this new organization shows their concern for its future.

It is hoped that this town could serve as an example of concerned, informed citizens who are interested in preserving a tradition not because it would bring them monetary gain or any type of fame but because it is part of the birthright of Waynesburg.

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APPENDIX A RAIN DAY SCORE BOARD

Year	Bet with:	Remarks
1939	Al Abrams	Sports Writer
1940	No Record	
1941	Chester L. Smith	Sports Writer
1942	No Record	No wagering because of World War II, in either 1942 or 1943.
1943	No Record	
1944	Whitney Martin	New York correspondent
1945	Harry Keck	Dinner at the Presbyterian Church. Keck gave a \$25.00 War Bond to Greene County Memorial Hospital.
1946	Jack Dempsey	Did not rain
1947	Bing Crosby	Paid bet with his hat.
1948	Bob Hope	Did not rain. Crosby's hat auctioned off for benefit of Swimming Pool, which brought over \$100.00. Also had a tag day for the benefit of the Swimming Pool. The tags had pictures of people out in the rain with umbrellas.
1949	Vince Johnson	Did not rain.
1950	Eddy Clover	Magician from New Cumberland, Pennsylvania
1951	Captain Roach	Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
1952	Tex Litman	Promoter of Pittsburgh Boxing. Did not rain.
1953	Tex Litman	
1954	Bill Corum	John Daily was made a Kentucky Colonel
1955	Bob Prince	Did not rain. Bob Prince given a coon skin cap.
1956	Dr. Wm. D. McClelland	Then Allegheny County Coroner, who paid off with a Scotch cap.
1957	Bob Considine	Sports Writer, television commentator.
1958	Major Donald Johnston	Commander of the 147th Squadron Air National Guard
1959	Karl Ide	WTAE Commentator
1960	Three Stooges Paul Shannon	
1961	Eleanor Schano	WTAE Weather girl
1962	Eleanor Schano	Came back for a rematch
1963	Cassius Clay	
1964	Arnold Palmer	Golfer
1965	John Charles Daily	Moderator of "What's My Line"
1966	National Groundhog Club	Had to send affidavit to Punxsutawney to verify rain and Mr. Daily is now a life member of the Club.
1967	Del Miller	Paid off with one of his Racing Jackets.
	Linda Richards	California news writer. Both Lost!
1968	Linda Richards	Sent hat for Gladys Daily, John's wife.
1969	Paul Long	Paid off with WTAE Hard Hat
1970	Red Donley	Sports Broadcaster
1971	Jack Bogut	Pittsburgh Disc Jockey
1972	Al Abrams	Sports Writer
1973	Bill Currie	KDKA Sports Personality



Figure 2 & 3. Dolls' Heads from Western Pennsylvania Potteries.

Non-Ordinary Stoneware Pieces from New Geneva and Greensboro, Pennsylvania

By RONALD L. MICHAEL and PHIL R. JACK

Stoneware from the New Geneva and Greensboro, Pennsylvania, potteries was reported on in some detail by Abraham in 1931 and recently by Jack and Michael, but neither article discussed the unusual or non-ordinary stoneware pieces that were produced at the various potteries that operated between about 1850-1917—a large body of products including such items as the ink stand, doll's head, flowerpot, spittoon, covered butter pot, chamber, cake mold or tube pan, "Turk's Head" baking dish, drain or water pipe, meat tenderizer, umbrella stand, grease lamp, and lift pump.¹ Evidently, although the production of jugs, storage jars, water coolers, and canning jars formed the profit base for

¹Evelyn Abraham, "The Pottery of Greensboro and New Geneva," *The Antiquarian*, September 1931, pp. 25-29; and Phil R. Jack and Ronald L. Michael, "Stoneware from New Geneva and Greensboro, Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXII: 4 (Summer, 1973), pp. 34-42.

	Ink Stand	Doll's Head	Flowerpot	Spittoons	(covered) Butter Pots	Chambers
Watkins	X		X	X	X	X
Barret	X		X	X	X	X
Guilland	X		X	X	X	X
Osgood	X		X	X	X	X
Webster			X		X	
Smith			X	X		

Figure 1. Cross Reference of



Figure 4. Ceramic Doll's Head.



Figure 5. Grease Lamp.

the companies, small quantities of utilitarian objects and gift pieces were likewise made. Whether the majority of the objects were "one of a kind" or were limited production items is yet unclear. The only pieces that were manufactured in quantity were water pipes and lift pumps. Pipes and pumps may have been made by several potteries, but the largest producer was apparently the James Hamilton Company which advertised in the 1859 *Directory of Monongahela and Youghiogheny Valleys* that they had a "Patent Stone Pump, which is rapidly superseding all other kinds: being durable, free from taste and exempt from rot". The advertisement further said that the company also manufactured, "Stone Tubing for Water Pipes, which

he is prepared to furnish in any quantity at 7 cents per foot".²

Some of the other seemingly non-ordinary stoneware pieces could have been mass produced; however, an examination of extant pieces, especially those in the Paul R. Stewart collection at Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, from which all of the accompanying photographs were taken, does not support such an hypothesis. Instead, the pieces appear to reflect the attempts of folk tradition potters to create functional, usually utilitarian objects by using clay as a medium for objects that were generally not made out of clay. Some of the pieces, such as the covered butter dish, the "Turk's Head Mold," and the flower pot, appear to have been created for specific persons (Figures 18, 19, 20 and 21). Other items may have been made by the potters for their wives or children.

While the objects generally appeared to have been designed for local consumption, and more than likely reflected local cultural traditions, they should not necessarily be considered unique stoneware pieces. Much research has been done during the past few years into the manufacture of stoneware, but little is known about the industry except in Bennington, Vermont. Most of the research has been of a survey nature rather than concentrated on a particular aspect of the industry or on a manufacturing region. Still, considering both the general and the specific stoneware studies, few shape parallels exist between New Geneva-Greens-

²George H. Thurston, ed., *Directory of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Valleys, Containing Brief Historical Sketches of the Various Towns Located on them; with a Statistical Exhibit of the Collieries Upon the Two Rivers* (Pittsburgh: A. A. Anderson and Sons, 1867), p. 33.

"Turks Head" Baking Dish	Drain and Water Pipe	Meat Tenderizer	Umbrella Stand	Grease Stand	Lift Pump
	X				

Types and Published Material



Figure 6. Spittoon.

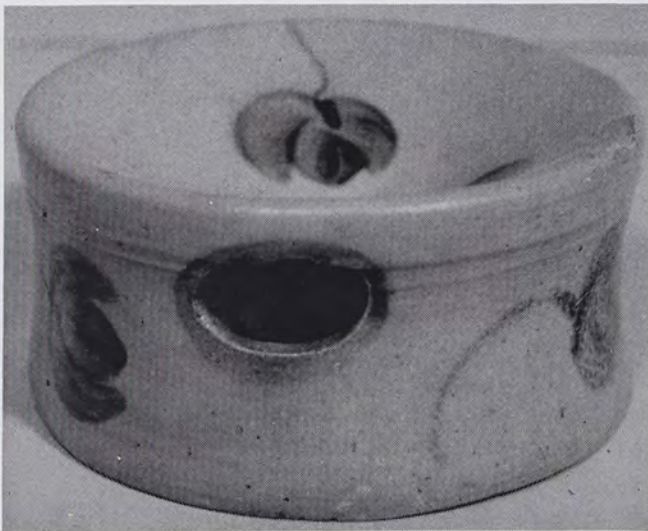


Figure 7. Spittoon.

Figure 8. Umbrella Stand.



Figure 9. Ink Stand.

boro non-ordinary pieces and non ordinary items from other stoneware potteries.³

While no thorough attempt has been undertaken to seek all available literature on American made stoneware, Figure 1 is a cross-reference of the non-ordinary forms from the New Geneva-Greensboro potteries with those from potteries listed in several of the major ceramic works that contain information and illustrations relating to stoneware manufacture.⁴

³Richard Carter Barret, *Bennington Pottery and Porcelain* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1958); Harold F. Guiland, *Early American Folk Pottery* (Philadelphia, 1971); Cornelius Osgood, *The Jug and Related Stoneware of Bennington* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971); Elmer L. Smith, ed., *Pottery: A Utilitarian Folk Craft* (Lebanon, Pennsylvania: Applied Arts Publishers, 1972); Lura Woodside Watkins, *Earl New England Potters and Their Wares* (New York: Archon Books, 1968); and Donald Blake Webster, *Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North America* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971).

⁴*Ibid.*



Figure 10. Problematical Form.

A quick glance at the chart should be enough to convince a person that while certain of the presumed non-ordinary stoneware pieces were fairly commonly discussed and shown by authors writing about stoneware, other pieces were seldom and sometimes never discussed. The flower pots, spittoons, chambers, and covered butter dishes were evidently made at numerous potteries, and if ink wells and ink stands are synonymous, then they too were a common stoneware production item. Although other items such as grease lamps, cake molds, and "Turk's Head Pans" were sometimes made of redware, those items and lift pumps, drain or water pipe, umbrella stands, meat tenderizers, and dolls' heads were definitely non-ordinary and possibly unique objects at stoneware potteries.

What follows is a descriptive listing of the non-ordinary stoneware pieces from the New Geneva and Greensboro potteries which includes measurements and specific informational and illustrative cross reference data which relates to the published stoneware material already cited.

DOLL'S HEAD (Figure 2). Hand formed, cross and neck-lace and all coloring are cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height 6 15/16", Breadth of head at widest point 4 1/4", Depth of head, forehead to back 3 7/8". Other known places of manufacture: None. Other known illustrations: None.

DOLL'S HEAD (Figures 3 & 4). Hand formed, necklace and all coloring are cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height 3 3/16", Breadth of head at widest point 3", Depth of head, forehead to back 2 9/16". Other known places of manufacture: None. Other known illustrations: None.

GREASE LAMP (Figure 5). Hand turned and finished, all coloring is cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height, exterior 4 7/16", Depth of grease cavity 2 13/16", Diameter of top, exterior including spout 4 7/16", Diameter of top, interior 2 13/16", Diameter of base 5 7/8". Other known places of manufacture: None. Other known illustrations: None.

SPITTOON (Figure 6). Hand turned, coloring on salt-glazed sides is cobalt blue, coloring on sides of unglazed top-cavity is manganese brown. Overall height, exterior 5 3/8", Overall height, exterior 5 3/8", Overall height, base to cavity opening 4 11/16", Diameter of top, exterior 9 7/8", Diameter of cavity opening 2 3/8", Diameter of base 10 1/8". Other known places of manufacture: Bennington, Vermont (Watkins p. 146, Osgood pp. 106, 126, and Barret p. 9); Nashua, New Hampshire (Watkins p. 119); St. Johnsbury, Vermont (Watkins p. 152); Portland, Maine (Watkins p. 168); Keene, New Hampshire (Watkins p. 118); and Norwalk, Connecticut (Watkins p. 204). Other known illustrations: Barret Plate 153, Guillard p. 275, Osgood Plate 9, p. 121, and Smith p. 5.

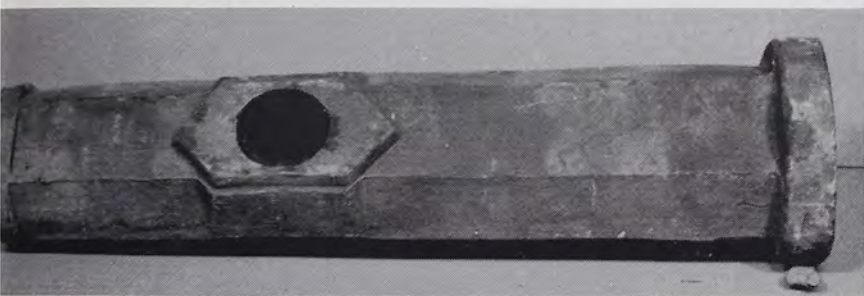


Figure 11. Lift Pump.



Figure 12. Water Pipe.

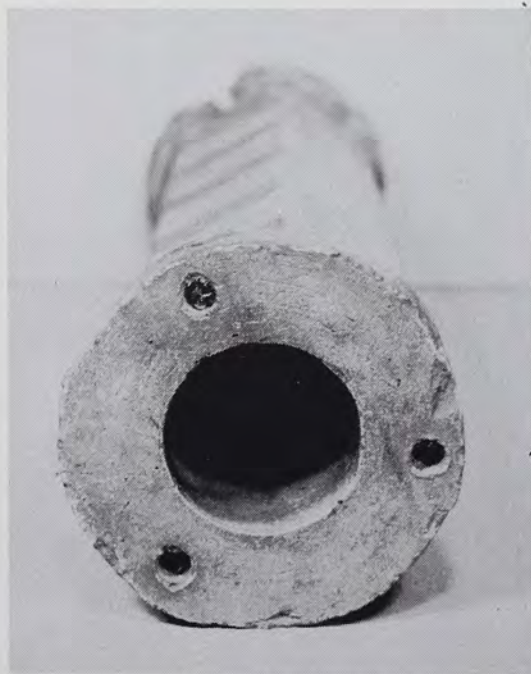


Figure 13. Water Pipe.



Figure 14. Water Pipe.



Figure 15. Chamber.

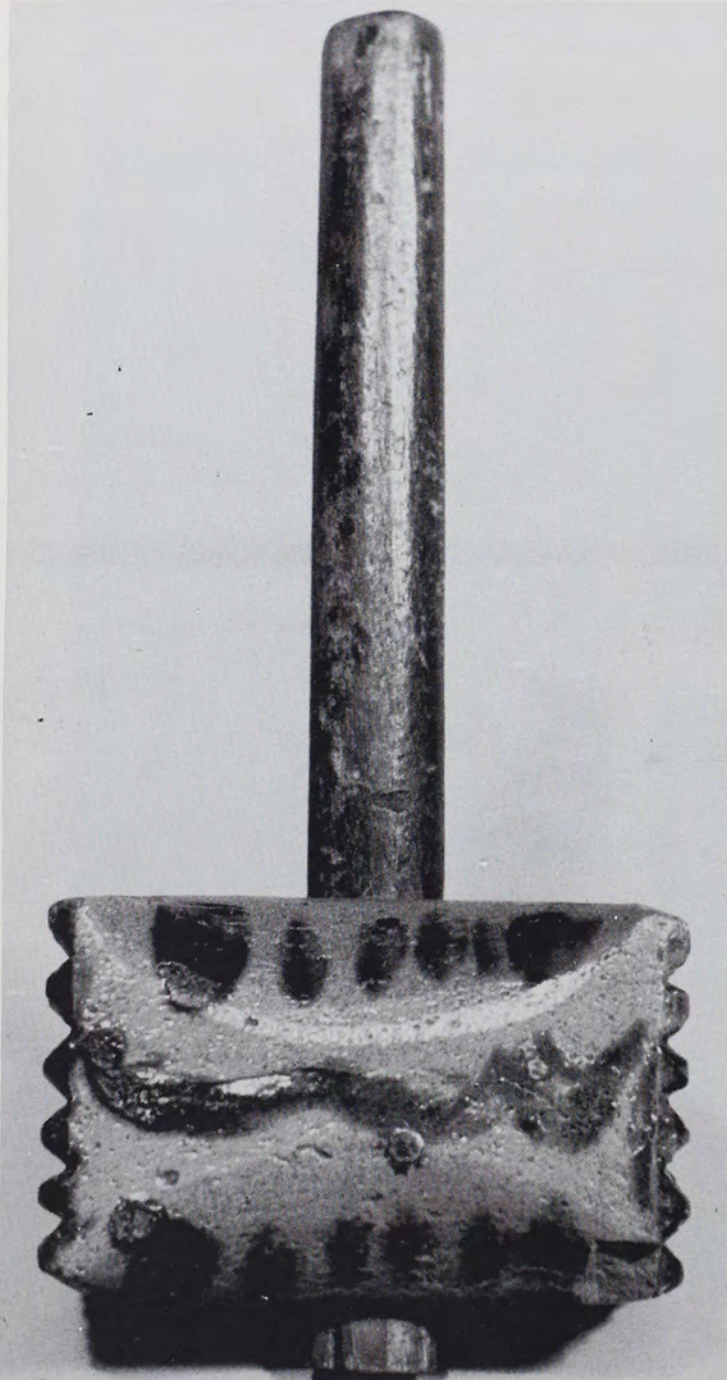


Figure 16. Meat Tenderizer (top).

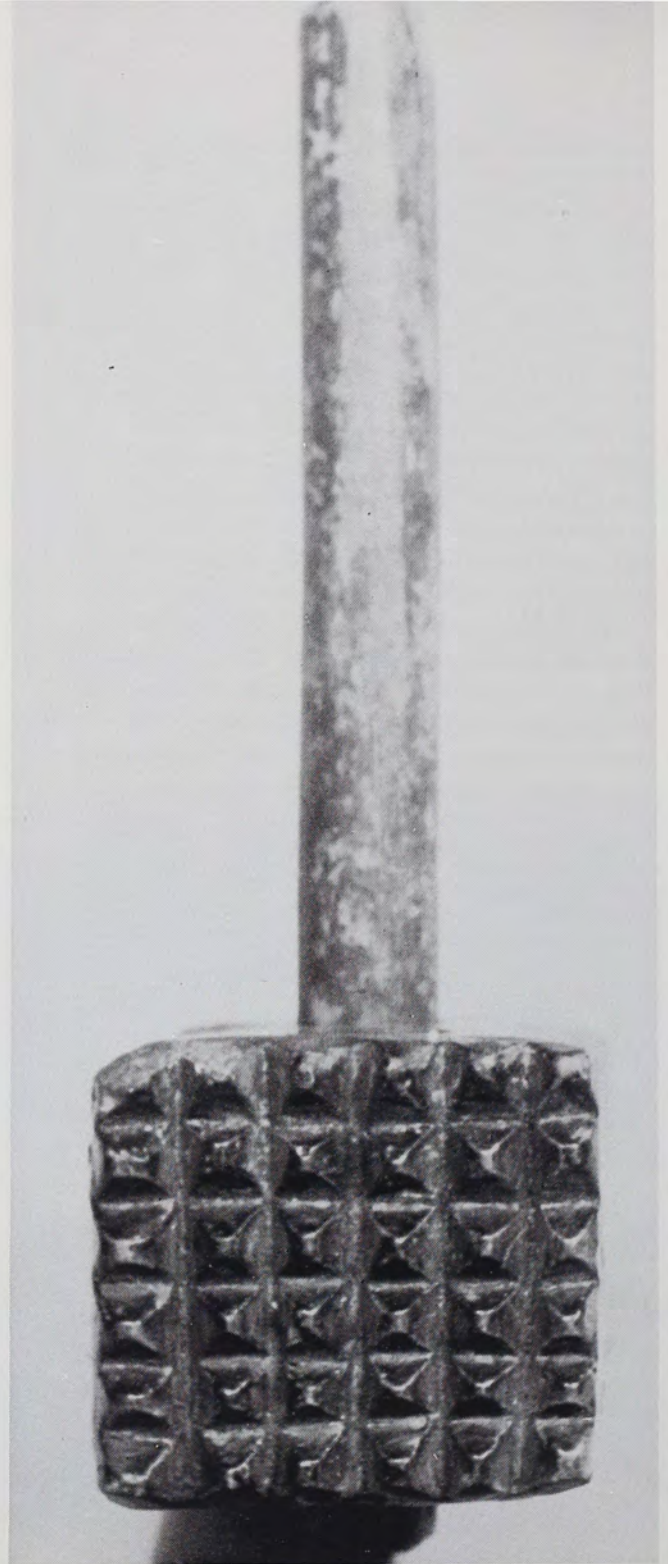


Figure 17. Meat Tenderizer (pounding edge).

Figure 18. Cake or Tube Pan.



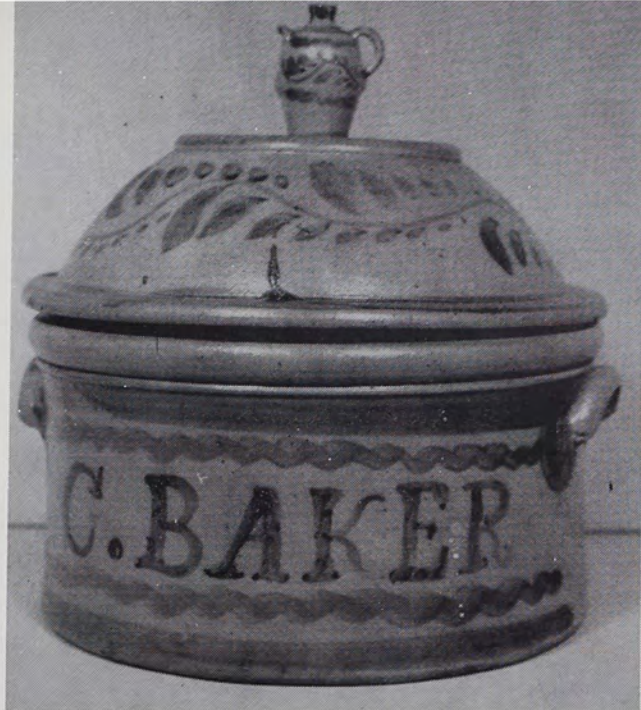


Figure 19. Covered Butter Dish.



Figure 20. Covered Butter Dish (handle resembling miniature jug).



Figure 21. Turk's Head Baking Pan.

SPITTOON (Figure 7). Hand turned, coloring of tulips and all other designs cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height, exterior $4\frac{1}{16}$ " Overall height, base to cavity opening $3\frac{13}{16}$ " Diameter of top, exterior $7\frac{7}{8}$ " Diameter of cavity opening $1\frac{7}{16}$ " Diameter of base $8\frac{1}{8}$ ". Other places of manufacture: See listing for Figure 6. Other illustrations: See listing for Figure 6.

UMBRELLA STAND (Figure 8). Hand turned, stenciled rose and sprig motif and stenciled legend, open bottom (no base), all coloring is cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height, exterior $12\frac{1}{2}$ " Overall height, interior $12\frac{1}{2}$ " Diameter of top, exterior $8\frac{1}{4}$ " Diameter of top, interior $6\frac{5}{8}$ ". Width of rim $13\frac{1}{16}$ " Height of rim $\frac{7}{8}$ " Diameter of base 12 ". Other places of manufacture: None. Other illustrations: None.

INK STAND (Figure 9). Hand turned, coloring of three stenciled initials on back side is cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " Height from base to cavity opening $2\frac{3}{8}$ " Diameter of top, exterior $3\frac{3}{4}$ " Diameter of cavity opening $9\frac{1}{16}$ " Diameter of base $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". Other places of manufacture: Bennington, Vermont (Watkins pp. 144 and 146, Barret p. 9, and Osgood p. 107); Fairfax, Vermont (Watkins p. 148); Norwich, Connecticut (Watkins p. 189); Boston, Massachusetts (Watkins p. 82); and New York, New York (Guillard p. 41). Other illustrations: None for items labeled ink stands but several if ink wells were included in the category.

PROBLEMATICAL FORM (Figure 10). Hand turned, tulip, leaves and all other coloring are cobalt blue, three cylindrical outlets (One is not visible), salt-glazed. Overall height, exterior $28\frac{7}{8}$ " Overall height excluding outlets $28\frac{1}{4}$ " Diameter of outlets, exterior 7 ", $3\frac{5}{8}$ ", 7 ". Diameter of outlets, interior $5\frac{5}{8}$ ", $2\frac{11}{16}$ ", $5\frac{5}{8}$ ". Height of outlet rims $15\frac{1}{16}$ ", $7\frac{1}{16}$ ", $15\frac{1}{16}$ ". Width of outlet rims $11\frac{1}{16}$ ", $9\frac{1}{16}$ ", $13\frac{1}{16}$ ". Diameter at point of greatest bulbosity 23 ". Diameter of base $14\frac{3}{8}$ ". Other places of manufacture: None. Other illustrations: None.

LIFT PUMP (Figure 11). Machine molded, flanged base with three bolt holes is to the right, handle opening is to the left, spigot opening is at the left center, not salt-glazed. Overall height $25\frac{1}{4}$ " Diameter of base, exterior $5\frac{3}{4}$ " Diameter of base, interior opening $3\frac{1}{8}$ " Diameter of handle opening, exterior $4\frac{3}{4}$ " Diameter of handle opening, interior $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". Diameter of spigot opening $2\frac{1}{4}$ " - $2\frac{5}{8}$ " (oblong). Other places of manufacture: None. Other illustrations: None.

WATER PIPE (Figures 12 and 13). Machine molded, each flanged end has three bolt holes, non-salt-glazed (note kiln stacking block marks on side of pipe). Overall length $23\frac{13}{16}$ " Diameter of flanged ends, interior $5\frac{1}{8}$ " and $6\frac{3}{16}$ " Diameter of flanged ends, exterior $1\frac{1}{16}$ " and $1\frac{1}{16}$ ". Diameter of body $3\frac{1}{8}$ " - $3\frac{1}{4}$ " (All sides not equal). Other places of manufacture: Portland, Maine (Watkins p. 168) and Diameter of body $3\frac{1}{8}$ " - $3\frac{3}{4}$ " (All sides not equal). Other Norwich, Connecticut (Watkins p. 85). Other illustrations: None.

WATER PIPE (Figure 14). Machine molded, male and female ends, non-salt-glazed. Overall length $24\frac{1}{8}$ " Diameter of female end, exterior $6\frac{1}{4}$ " Diameter of female end, interior 3 " Diameter of male end, exterior $2\frac{1}{2}$ " Diameter of male end, interior $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". Other Places of manufacture: See listing with description for Figures 13 and 14. Other illustrations: None.

CHAMBER (Figure 15). Hand turned, coloring of leaf and banding is cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height, exterior $6\frac{3}{8}$ " Overall height, interior $5\frac{3}{4}$ " Diameter of opening, exterior $8\frac{3}{8}$ " Diameter of opening, interior 7 ". Width of rim $\frac{3}{4}$ " Height of rim $9\frac{1}{16}$ " Diameter of base $6\frac{1}{8}$ ". Other places of manufacture: Bennington, Vermont (Watkins pp. 144, 146, and 147; Osgood pp. 104, 107; and Barret p. 9); Burlington, Vermont (Watkins p. 150); St. Johnsbury, Vermont (Watkins p. 152); Boston, Massachusetts (Watkins p. 82); Norwalk, Connecticut (Watkins p. 204); and New York, New York (Guillard p. 41). Other Illustrations: None.

MEAT TENDERIZER (Figures 16 and 17). Hand formed, all coloring is cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Length of head $4\frac{1}{4}$ " Height of head $2\frac{5}{8}$ " Width of head $2\frac{15}{16}$ ". Other Places of manufacture: None. Other illustrations: None.

CAKE OR TUBE PAN (Figure 18)). Hand turned, salt-glazed. Overall height $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". Overall height to top of sides

$2\frac{3}{8}$ ". Diameter at top of sides, exterior 9 ". Diameter at top of sides, interior $8\frac{1}{2}$ ". Diameter of base $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". Diameter at top of pedestal, exterior $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". Diameter at top of pedestal, interior $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Other places of manufacture: None. Other illustrations: Guillard p. 173.

COVERED BUTTER DISH (Figures 19 and 20). Hand turned, coloring of undulating stems and leaves, wavy straight lines, legend, and all other decoration is cobalt blue, salt-glazed. Overall height to top of jug $14\frac{1}{8}$ ". Height of jug on lid $3\frac{1}{4}$ ". Overall diameter of lid $13\frac{3}{8}$ ". Overall height of base, exterior $7\frac{1}{4}$ ". Overall height of base, interior $6\frac{11}{16}$ ". Diameter of pot, exterior $13\frac{1}{8}$ ". Diameter of pot, interior $11\frac{5}{8}$ ". Diameter of base of pot $12\frac{3}{4}$ ". Other places of manufacture: Fairfax Vermont (Watkins pp. 148, 149, and 151); Nashua, New Hampshire (Watkins p. 119); Burlington, Vermont (Watkins p. 150 and Guillard p. 53); St. Johnsbury, Vermont (Watkins p. 152); Portland, Maine (Watkins pp. 167, 168); Dorchester, Massachusetts (Watkins p. 91); Keene, New Hampshire (Watkins p. 118); Norwalk, Connecticut (Watkins p. 204); Bennington, Vermont (Barret pp. 9, 11, Watkins p. 147, and Osgood pp. 104, 107); and New Lebanon, New York (Guillard p. 112). Other illustrations: Guillard pp. 112, 122 and Webster Plate 69, p. 78.

TURK'S HEAD BAKING PAN (Figure 21). Hand turned, coloring is all cobalt blue, salt-glazed, legend is "Beck's". Overall height $3\frac{3}{8}$ ". Diameter at widest point $8\frac{1}{2}$ ". Diameter of pedestal, exterior $11\frac{1}{16}$ ". Diameter of pedestal, interior $9\frac{1}{16}$ ". Other places of manufacture: None. Other illustrations: None.

FLOWERPOT (Figure 22). Hand turned, all coloring is cobalt blue, salt-glazed, legend is "Eva Bell Porter, April 4, 1874". Overall height, exterior $6\frac{3}{8}$ ". Overall height, interior $5\frac{5}{8}$ ". Diameter at top, exterior 6 ". Diameter height, interior 5 ". Diameter of base 5 ". Other places of manufacture: Nashua, New Hampshire (Watkins p. 119); Bennington, Vermont (Watkins pp. 144, 147, Barret pp. 9, 11, and Osgood p. 104); Fairfax, Vermont (Watkins pp. 148, 151); Burlington, Vermont (Watkins p. 150 and Guillard p. 53); St. Johnsbury, Vermont (Watkins p. 152); Portland, Maine (Watkins pp. 167, 168); and Norwich, Connecticut (Watkins p. 189). Other illustrations: Watkins Illustration 78; Webster Plate 194, p. 153 and Plate 251, p. 184; and Smith p. 20.



Figure 22. Flowerpot.

Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology XII: Conjunctions of 1683, 1694, and 1743

By LOUIS WINKLER

An examination of the arrangement of the naked eye planets and comet apparitions around the years 1683, 1694 and 1743 reveals some interesting information. Specifically, motivations behind the early Pietist movement and attitudes in the early Ephrata community are better understood. The key to the analysis is an astrological figure made at Ephrata.

ASTROLOGICAL FIGURE FROM EPHRATA

Celestial events which are rare tend to be more auspicious astrologically than celestial events which occur frequently. The planets Jupiter and Saturn tend to be more important astrologically than any other pair of naked eye planets because Jupiter and Saturn are found in the approximate same directions in the sky more infrequently. Since the period of revolution of Jupiter and Saturn are 11.862 and 29.458 years, respectively, they are found in conjunction every 19.859 years as is shown in Figure 1. Further, conjunctions occur at angular positions 117.3 degrees more clockwise each successive time as shown in Figure 2. Because the 117.3 degree angle is not precisely 120°, every fourth conjunction takes place about 8.0 degrees more counter-clockwise. During the 17th and 18th Centuries A.D. these conjunctions would have taken place essentially only in three astrological signs. If the conjunctions are considered to occur in a 20-year interval, instead of 19.857, the conjunctions for 1623, 1683, and 1743 would have occurred in Leo; 1603, 1663, 1723, and 1783 in Sagittarius; and 1583, 1643, 1703, and 1763 in Aries.¹

All of the above discussed properties of Jupiter and Saturn are depicted in Figure 3. Since Figure 3 comes from the early Ephrata community it is reasonable to assume that these conjunctions were on their minds. From the semi-legible signature on the diagram it appears that this person also authored the mystical manuscript from Ephrata which was displayed in Article

¹Data for the calculations were taken from a current issue of the *American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac* and the position of the vernal equinox was assumed to be at the most eastward portion of Aries.

VI of this series and which is in the possession of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Subsequent discussions of the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn will primarily be concerned with the years 1683 and 1743. These two years are of particular interest because bright comets were sighted around them. Further, the earth was also found near the line through Jupiter, Saturn, and the sun as shown in Figure 4. Straight line arrangements of the members of the solar system are particularly noteworthy from an astrological viewpoint and generally are interpreted as portending dire events.²

In the subsequent discussions cometary data is taken from Porter's catalog³ while general support material is taken from three of Sachse's works⁴ unless otherwise stated.

COMETS AROUND THE 1683 CONJUNCTION

When the interval between successive conjunctions is considered to be 19.859 years rather than 20 it is found that the conjunction of 1683 actually occurred very late in 1682.

Just preceding this time in 1682 a very bright comet was seen throughout much of the world. When this comet would next appear in 1759 it would thereafter be called Halley's comet. The comet which preceded the 1682 apparition of Halley's comet was another very bright one which could be seen in very late 1680 and early 1681. The comet of 1680-1681 belonged to a rare class which approach the sun so close that they are called "sungrazing". A close approach like this tends to brighten comets. In the history of comets there is no other successive pair as remarkable as these two. Since the pair of comets just preceded the anticipated

²In this figure and subsequent ones of the solar system, angles are preserved but distances are not, for convenience in presentation.

³J. G. Porter, "Catalogue of Cometary Orbits," *Memoirs of the British Astronomical Association*, XXXIX:3 (1961). Comets are listed according to the date they approach perihelion (closest to the sun).

⁴Julius F. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694-1708* (Philadelphia, 1895); *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1899); *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800*, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1900).

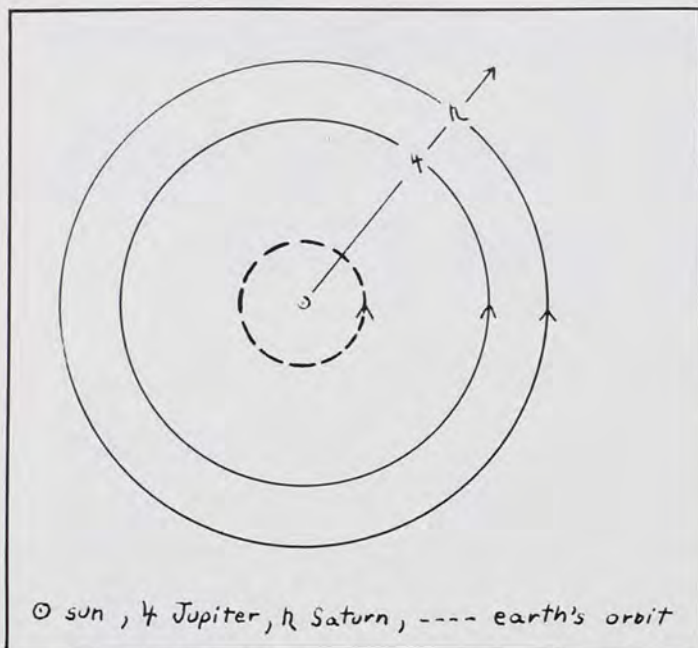


Figure 1. Jupiter and Saturn in conjunction with the sun.

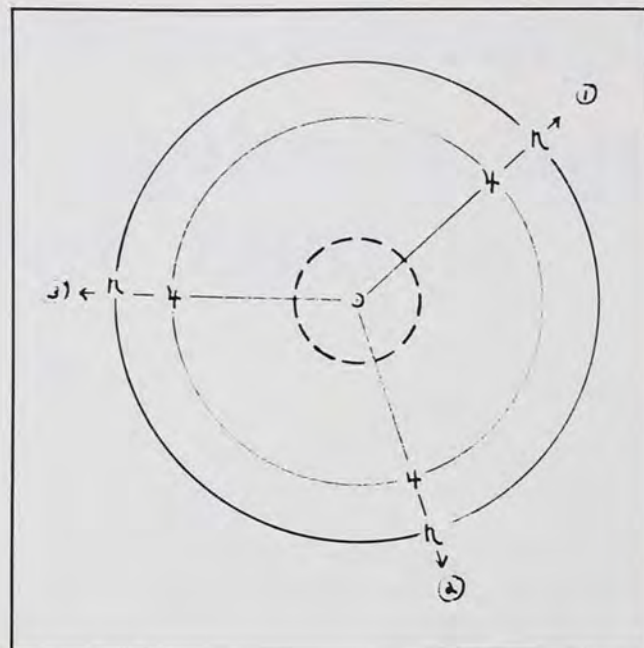


Figure 2. Successive conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn.

conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn much of the world considered the comets and impending conjunction very auspicious.

One of the people pertinent to Pennsylvania German history who was aware of the pair of comets and who was probably aware of the conjunction, was Johann Jacob Zimmermann (1644-1694). He was the leader of the group of Pietists who migrated to America in 1694. Zimmermann was the author of no less than six articles dealing with comets from the years 1681-1684. The only work of the six whose content is available is the one entitled: "Cometo-Scopia; or, Three Astronomical Relations concerning the Comets that have been seen in the years 1680, 1681, 1682."

Information regarding content of the work comes from several pages of commentary from the 1683 issue of *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*.⁵ Zimmermann states that the 1663 conjunction of the planets of Jupiter and Saturn in Sagittarius (see Figure 3) "produced" the comet visible in 1664. Thus it is probable that the "Astronomical Relations" mentioned in the above work refer to the conjunction of 1683 and the comets it "produced". A second work of his has a title with the comet of 1682 most prominently displayed. Zimmermann's views of the astrological implications of the astronomical phenomena from 1680-1683 were dire and quite extreme. By 1684 he was expelled as a Lutheran clergyman in Württemberg for his views upon the coming Millennium which he deter-

mined would occur in the Fall of 1694. By 1689 he had also lost his professorship at Heidelberg University for his mystical speculations.

Since 1683 was so auspicious a time astrologically it may have caused another prominent Rosicrucian⁶ mystic, Francis Daniel Pastorius, to choose 1683 for his year to migrate to America.

CONJUNCTIONS DURING THE FALL OF 1694

Apparently, in an attempt to reach Pennsylvania before the occurrence of the Millennium in the fall of 1694, Zimmermann and his band of Pietists prepared to sail early in 1694. Even though Zimmermann died just before embarkation the band made the voyage, under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius.

Although the year 1694 does not come close to any of the conjunctions of Jupiter or Saturn, it is vaguely related because the time interval between the conjunction of 1683 (occurring very late in 1682) and the Fall of 1694 is very close to one period of revolution of Jupiter (11.9 years). However, the probable astrological significance of the Fall of 1694 is that at that time there were three simultaneous conjunctions of members of the solar system. If the positions of the members of the solar system are determined relative to the sun for the Fall of 1694 we have them as in

⁶Since the literal translation of Rosicrucian is Rosy Cross, Sachse suggests that the name originated from their ceremonial cross being illuminated by rosy light at sunrise. Indeed the sun's rays are redder when it is near the horizon because of the gaseous component as well as impurities in the earth's atmosphere. Sunlight is reddened most when it is on the horizon because the sun's rays travel through a maximum amount of atmosphere here.

⁵July 10, Vol. XII, pp. 270-274. Comments apparently by the editor.

Figure 5. Saturn and Mars are approximately in conjunction in Capricorn, while Jupiter and Venus are approximately in conjunction in Leo. Since Mercury and the moon pass through the signs so rapidly they could lie on a line through the sun and earth a number of times during the Fall of 1694. Since conjunctions seemed to be important to Zimmermann, the arrangement of the sun, moon, and Mercury which would probably be of greatest significance to him would be the simultaneous conjunction of the sun, moon, and Mercury in Scorpio.⁷

Precisely how these conjunctions were interpreted by Zimmermann or the Pietists is not clear since astrological interpretations of this sort are individually stylized. However, the general astrological interpretation must have been very pessimistic for a number of reasons. First, there were three conjunctions. Secondly, the two "evil" planets Mars and Saturn were in conjunction with one another, rather than another member of the solar system. Thirdly, Jupiter had returned to the sign of Leo which it was in during the 1683 conjunction

⁷Apparently both Zimmermann and this writer had difficulty in specifying the date of the arrangement of the solar system members of Figure 5 any more precisely than the Fall of 1694, for similar reasons. Neither of us knew the periods of revolution of all the bodies sufficiently accurately for large extrapolations in time.

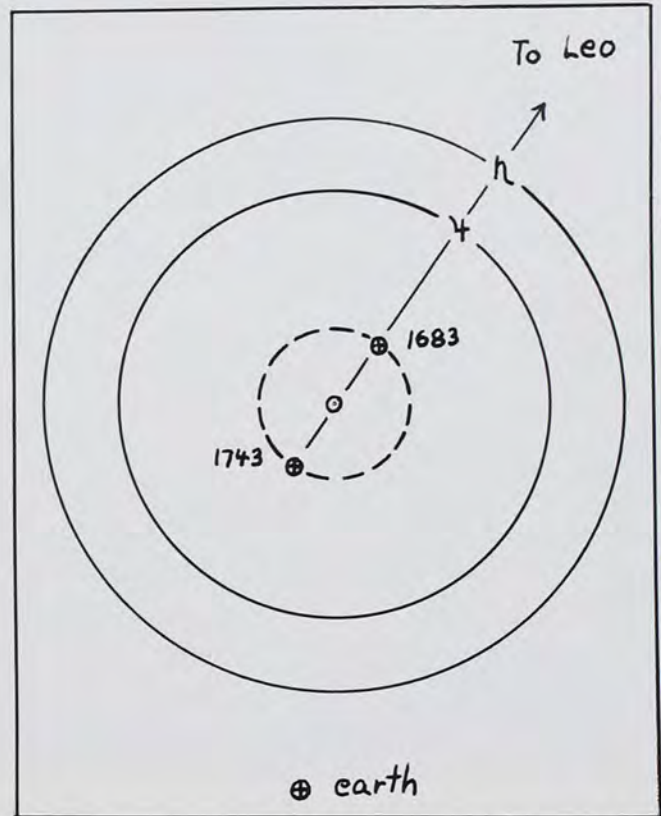


Figure 4. Conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn for 1683 and 1743.

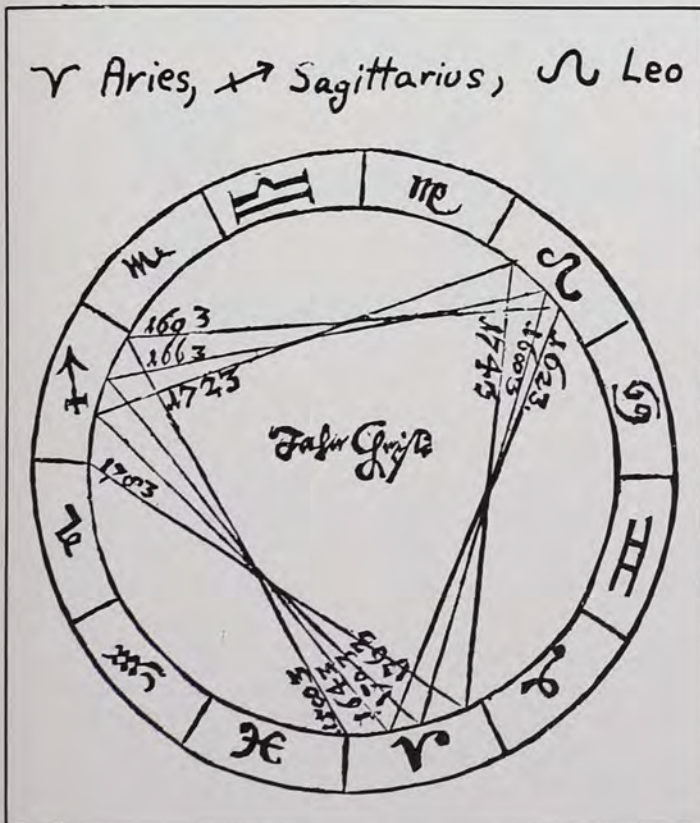


Figure 3. Ephrata astrological diagram depicting conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn (taken from Sachse II).

of Saturn and Jupiter. Fourthly, the evil planet Saturn was in the sign of Capricorn which is supposed to emphasize the characteristics of Saturn.

COMETS AROUND THE CONJUNCTION

The astronomical and astrological circumstances around the 1743 conjunction are similar to and related to the 1683 conjunction. When the interval between successive conjunctions is considered to be 19.859 years rather than 20 it is found that the conjunction of 1743 actually occurred in mid-1742. In the Ephrata community, two or three bright comets were seen around this time. One comet was seen in early 1742 and sightings of one or two comets were made in late 1743 and early 1744. Whether the sightings of 1743-1744 were of two different comets or not is not clear. Porter lists comets for late 1743 and early 1744 each of which might have been sighted in both 1743 and 1744. Christoph Saur, the Pietist and pioneer printer of Germantown, suggested that the comets seen in both the morning and evening were one and the same. From geometrical considerations it is very unlikely that any comet could be seen both in the morning and evening of the same day. In any event, these comets were considered to be harbingers of the usual dire phenomena such as war, famine, sickness, plague, etc., and in general it was again thought to be the time of the Millennium.

Not only were the events around 1683 and 1743 related in the minds of the people of the Ephrata community through the astrological diagram in Figure 3, but some members of the Ephrata community who had seen both the comets of 1680 and 1743-44 said the latter comet was "larger" and had a longer tail.

The comet of 1743-1744 was particularly noteworthy to the Ephrata Community since they published a special brochure about the comet, which was briefly discussed in Article III of this series. The eagerness of the Ephrata Community to publish this brochure is evident since it came off the Ephrata press during its first year of operation. In view of the astrological and astronomical orientation of the community it is not surprising to find them printing almanacs from time to time during the 18th Century.⁸

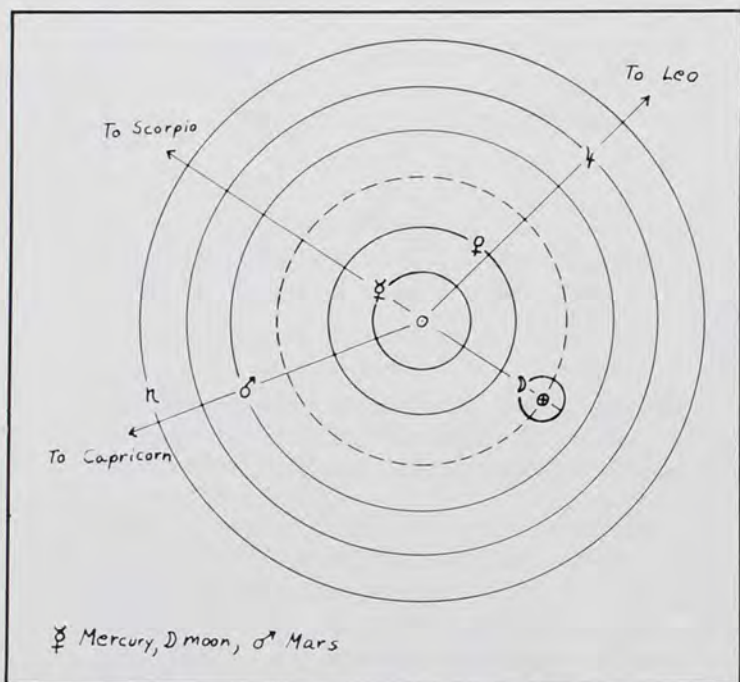


Figure 5. Conjunctions of members of the solar system for the Fall of 1694.

INFLUENCES OF LILLY

There are a number of interesting associations which exist with the world famous English astrologer William Lilly (1602-1681) and the events around 1683 and 1743. Zimmermann (1644-1694) was contemporary with Lilly and probably was well aware of Lilly's works and great influence. Among Lilly's numerous astrological works there were those concerning the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, and comets.⁹ Saur (1694-1750),

⁸Almanacs listed in M. Drake's *Almanacs of the U.S.* include: *Americanische Calender* for 1772, 1798 and 1799; *Christliche Kalender* for 1773; and *Pennsylvanische Calender* for 1796 and 1798.

⁹*England's Propheticall Merline, Foretelling to all Nations of Europe until 1663* (London, 1644).

apparently was influenced by Lilly too because he referred to Lilly in his *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* for 1740. Further, Saur's astrological philosophies are not unlike Lilly's. Examples of Saur's philosophies are seen in the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* for 1755, and the February and April issues during 1744 of his newspaper, *Hoch Deutsch Pennsylvanischer Geschichtschreiber*. These two newspaper issues devoted space to the comet of 1743-1744 and its dire implications. An excerpt from the April issue concerning the comet of 1743-1744 reads as follows:

"... it is my natural judgement that while the star made its appearance in Aries and set in the sign of Pisces (for Aries is the habitation of the planet Mars) which designates great changes, disturbances, wrath, confusion and disorder, in the governmental order of all peoples in the world. As the comet takes its course on the middle solar line from north to south, and as Pisces is the habitation of the planet Jupiter, so this shows an equal disturbance in the spiritual order of special changes and great confusion followed by dreadful judgements coming quickly, as the star latterly had so rapid a course, and burned like unto a great flaming torch with a long fiery trail. . . ."¹⁰

CONCLUSION

Although Porter's catalog includes about 70 comets from the year 1680 to 1800, Pennsylvania German history is only concerned with five or six of them. Four or five have been discussed here in connection with dire events and the sixth, the comet of 1769, was discussed in Article III of this series. Of the four or five discussed here two appeared just before 1683, and two or three around 1743. These statistics alone strongly suggest that the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn in 1683 and 1743 helped make these comets noteworthy.

The comet of 1759, which was the first comet to have its apparition predicted, was of the greatest significance throughout the worldwide scientific community. It represented one of science's first great theoretical predictions. However, it had little significance in the early history of the Pennsylvania German community.

The Millennium predicted by Zimmermann for 1694 was unaccompanied by comets. According to Porter no comets appeared between late 1689 and late 1695. Apparently three conjunctions were sufficient to predict a Millennium.¹⁰

¹⁰If the reader questions just how long the affects of the conjunctions last, the answer is, evidently, very long. John Jerman, the almanac calculator for Christopher Sower's *American Almanac* for 1747 made a statement in this almanac which makes this clear. He indicated that "the dry weather now and for some years has been due to the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Leo and also the great blazing star that succeeded it." The conjunction Jerman refers to occurred in mid-1742 and he probably made his statement in 1746. This particular Christopher Sower was Christoph Saur's son. The father published the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* while the son published a few English language almanacs.



The Pennsylvania Germans brought a lively musical tradition with them from Europe. This scene shows a wedding dance from Canton Bern, Switzerland, in the early 19th Century. Swiss print from Editor's Collection.

The Social Context of Musical Instruments within the Pennsylvania German Culture

By RICHARD RAICHELSON

I

A major interest in present-day Folklore/Folklife studies is collecting in context, whether it be a song or a craft. Today, the item is not extracted from its source but the folklorist must attempt to discover how it fits within the culture. What is its function, what kinds of songs are sung in a community, which crafts have survived and which ones have perished with time and why? It becomes necessary to discern the inter-relationships of not only the artist to his art, but also the artist and his art to the community. One must think in terms of a structural dimension and how the segment which is being investigated figures within the operation of the society as a whole and relates to its

attitudes and customs. Today, a scholar can easily contact and study any part of a contemporary community which appeals to him. But how does one investigate the dynamics of a community in the 19th Century where one's interests are diachronically-orientated and concerned with comparing past with present conditions and discerning which elements in the culture have undergone change and why? Or, synchronically-speaking, where there is value in discerning population shifts and past cultural interaction which has produced syncretism and inter-change of cultural artifacts and attitudes. He must investigate travel accounts, biographies, autobiographies, reminiscences, newspaper articles, histories of the period, not to mention personal,

civil, and church records and even popular literature of the time such as chapbooks and broadsides.

My purpose is to examine this literature¹ in hopes of elucidating the contexts in which musical instruments and dancing appeared within the Pennsylvania-German culture² during the 18th and 19th Century. My intention is not to present a list of songs or types of dances but to understand the overall pattern of contexts which allowed musical instruments and dancing. What were the general attitudes of the region as to when dancing could occur or instruments be played? Were these two factors present only at Saturday night social gatherings or were there associations with certain work efforts? What types of musical instruments were favored and for which contexts? Was there a preponderance of home-made, crudely-constructed instruments? What was the social makeup of the contexts studied? These questions are pertinent to an understanding of the dynamics of the region as concerns the inter-relationships of work and amusement.³

II

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

The contexts in which musical instruments appear have been placed within a classificatory scheme based on the presence/absence of dancing and the social makeup of the event. Constructing such a system on the basis of the context itself or function leads to a great deal of overlap. For example, the tavern may

¹My source material includes traveler's accounts, newspaper articles, autobiographies-remiscences either in their original state or in reprinted form and a number of historical-scholarly articles or books. Despite the popularity of traveler's accounts during the past two centuries, these are relatively poor for descriptions of amusements. During that period, the only people who could afford extensive traveling were the well-to-do or ministers whose intentions were to bring the gospel to the people. The former appeared to be more concerned with technology, politics or the general countryside rather than descriptions of actual social gatherings. Further, they may not have mixed with the ordinary populace, staying instead at the best inns or where the opportunity to mix was negligible. Many ministers condemned dancing as the epitome of the devil and thus spent more time criticizing man than describing the affairs. (See David H. Rapp, "The Attitude of the Early Reformed Church Fathers Toward Worldly Amusements," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, IX:4 [Fall, 1958], 40-53). Fortunately, there were important exceptions such as Pastor Helffrich's excellent description of a frolic (William A. Helffrich, "An Oldtime Country Frolic," *The Pennsylvania-German*, VIII [1907], 486-488.). All in all, it seems that the best sources were those coming direct from the people themselves (remiscences) or from newspaper articles which tended to report popular customs and traditions of their constituents.

²With such a broad group, it is obvious we are not dealing with a given community but a regional aggregate. Odum defines "regionalism" as a balance of all cultural traits existing within a geographical area (See Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism* [New York: 1938], pp. 3ff.). With our situation, the sum of cultural characteristics of Central and Eastern Pennsylvania is the "Pennsylvania-Dutch," a representative title for such sectarian groups as the Amish but dominated by the "Gay" Dutch (such as the Lutherans). As Klees has pointed out, the "Church People"—the Lutherans and Reformed—have given the region the general characteristics which we regard as "Pennsylvania-Dutch" (Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* [New York: 1950], p. 72.).

have been the site of a sleighing party dance but a barn or home could also house the same event. On the other hand, if the scheme is based on the presence or absence of musical instruments and dancing, overlap is negligible and important insights into cultural attitudes are had. Such attitudes, in turn, are actually responsible for the type of context we see for it determines the extent of sociability and the physical makeup of the participants. For instance, within the context of the family home on a Sunday afternoon, the mood emphasized rest and reflection. The music centered mostly on the singing of hymns accompanied by an organ or zither. There was no dancing. During the same afternoon, one might find a number of men drinking, dancing and singing to fiddle music at the local tavern where the atmosphere rang with abandoned gaiety. On Sunday, the home was thought of as "sacred" whereas the tavern represented quite a different environment.

Below is an overview of the scheme which will be followed by a discussion of the contexts.⁴

I. No musical instrument present but instead there is acappella singing. This category does not include those contexts where an instrument could be employed but only where they are banned.⁵

A. Church—plain sects such as the Amish.

B. Funerals.

II. Musical instruments present—they may be professionally constructed or made from materials in the environment.

A. Dancing is absent.

1. Full community participation. No restrictions and may cut across religious lines. No examples.

2. Community participation but restricted as to religious affiliation. Restriction not necessarily due to a rule but mainly to a situation where the community was composed of a given religious sect.

a. church services

b. church dedication (Moravian)

c. work situations (Moravian)

d. evening concerts (Moravian)

3. Restricted as to participants whether they be neighbors, relatives, or a combination of both.⁶

(a.) High Sociability—represented as a "party"

³All references deal specifically with the Pennsylvania-Dutch except the articles by Phil Jack. However, even his descriptions appear to be similar to the general tenor of Pennsylvania-Dutch life. Geographically, most articles refer to the Pennsylvania region.

⁴Note that this includes only contexts which have been documented in the literature despite the fact that one could "suggest" alternatives or further examples.

⁵This division will not be discussed any further and was entered for the sake of completeness.

⁶Such restriction may be due to (a) social limitations—people don't socialize with others; someone may not take part in a harvesting frolic because he is not a farmer; women don't go to bars on Sunday afternoon with the men (sex restriction); (b) moral limitations—Amishmen don't spend Sunday drinking and dancing in bars; certain "Gay" Dutch may not wish to go dancing because it is against God's will.

context where there is a combination of, but not necessarily all of, the following: dancing, singing, drinking, eating, and participation in other amusements such as games, storytelling, etc. Highly interactive.

(1.) Family reunion.

(b.) Low Sociability—The number of participants is usually small and the interactive capacity is low. There is no dancing, drinking or other frivolity.

(1.) Singing in the parlor on Sunday.

(2.) A "serenade" given after a wedding trip.

. Dancing present.

1. Full Community participation.

a. Fairs such as Whit-Monday (Battalion Day).

2. Community participation but restricted as to religious affiliation. No Examples.

3. Restricted as to participants.

a. High Sociability.

(1.) Frolics or Bees

(a.) Flax-production ("Kicking" Frolic)

(b.) Cornhusking

(c.) Apple Butter Boilings

(d.) Harvests

(e.) Wood-Chopping Matches

(f.) Quilting Bees

(g.) Carpet-Rag Frolics

(h.) Spelling Bees

(2.) General Entertainment. No association with work.

(a.) Strouse dance

(b.) Belsnickling

(c.) Weddings

(d.) Sleighing parties

(e.) Taverns—

(1.) Sunday afternoon and during winter

(2.) Conestoga wagoners

(f.) Amish Barn Dance

b. Low Sociability. No Examples.

CONTEXTS IN WHICH DANCING IS ABSENT (II-A)

Community participation but restricted as to religious affiliation (II-A-2):

Most churches seem to have at least employed an organ⁷ except the plain sects who banned all instruments from their religious services.⁸ The Moravians, at their communities in Bethlehem, Christian Spring, Lititz and Nazareth, were unique to the entire Pennsylvania-Dutch region. Their services were well known for musical instruments. Levering reported the presence of organs (ca. 1744), stringed instruments (1744), and trombones (1754).⁹ Another reference detailed the instrumental compositions of the Moravian Christmas service at Bethlehem in 1743: violins, a viola da braccio (tenor viol), a viol da gamba (bass viol), flutes, horns, and an organ.¹⁰ The culture was highly interested in education and fine arts, much of which was reflected in their emphasis on music. The Moravian trombone choir was mainly used for solemn occasions as in announcing the death of a fellow member.¹¹ Stationing themselves in the church belfry, they would play a set of three

⁷See William J. Rupp, "Church Life and Work," *Pennsylvania History*, XXIII (1956), 324; also Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1875), p. 45, originally published, 1789; R. R. Drummond, "Early Music in Philadelphia with Special Reference to German Music," *German American Annals*, n.s. VI (1908), 165; F. Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* (Pittsburgh: 1810), p. 31; Marquis D. Chastellux, *Travels in North America* (Chapel Hill: 1963); John W. Jordan, "Bethlehem during the Revolution," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII (1888), 395; and George Vaux, "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII (1888), 452.

⁸For the Mennonites, see Arthur D. Graeff, "The Pennsylvania Germans in Ontario, Canada," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XI (1946), 50; Amish—Klees, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

⁹Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892* (Bethlehem: 1903), pp. 171ff.

¹⁰"Society News and Accessions," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIII (1939), 482-483.

¹¹Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

"KUTZTOWN REEL"

P. S. D. NOLL

Copyright 1910 by P. S. D. Noll.

The "Kutztown Reel" was one of the most popular dance tunes in Eastern Pennsylvania.

chorales, the second of which noted the choir (an age group) of the deceased.¹² The trombone choir also led the funeral procession to the grave. Moravian interest in music spread over every facet of their lives. The musicians carried their instruments to church dedications, a seemingly common event in the latter part of the 18th Century.¹³ As Klees has pointed out, the community at Bethlehem worked with music.¹⁴ Musicians played hymns of Thanksgiving while the harvesters marched out to cut the grain and again when the sheaves were brought back in wagons drawn by oxen. Bands of musicians were also present at barn-raising and the digging of cellars. The instrumentation of these bands were generally the same as that within church services. There also were evening concerts given on the roof terrace of the Brethren's house during the summer or indoors during the winter.¹⁵ The fact that music permeated every facet of Moravian life can only underscore the thought that music gave thanks for the harvest as well as life in general. It was an expression of feeling close to God.

Restricted as to Participants:

(1) High Sociability—

The Family Reunion was an annual affair which gathered family members together from regions far and wide. As Jack has pointed out, such reunions could run from a couple dozen up to 2500 people.¹⁶ Most gatherings took place during July and August but some families attempted to make a double affair at Thanksgiving or Christmas. The highly interactive and social nature of these reunions were reflected in the big dinner, ball games, berry picking parties, ground hog hunting, music and other games and fun. The music for the most part consisted of hymns and marches. If the family was large enough, a martial band consisting of a bass and a tenor drummer plus a fifer was brought in from another town. Jack reports saxophone

¹²Klees, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹³In most cases, these were union churches constructed by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations. See Levering, *op. cit.*, pp. 563, 628.

¹⁴Klees, *op. cit.*, p. 104. The Moravian communities at Bethlehem and elsewhere during the 18th and for part of the 19th Century were completely homogeneous, strictly adhering to Moravian religious ideals and philosophy. In this regard, their secular events were composed entirely of Moravians in contrast to other locales where there was a mixture of Lutherans, Reformed, and many non-Germanic groups. But during the 19th Century, a number of "revolts" concerning the dictates of the church took place and eventually Moravian towns lost their character with the influx of outsiders. The towns now entertained people of all faiths and backgrounds (See Klees, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121). The references alluded to, whether in a sacred or secular framework, refer to the Moravian settlements prior to their hybridization, i.e., the 18th and early 19th Centuries. Further, the writer has found no references to dancing in these initial communities, despite the report that there were applebutter boilings and carpet-rag parties (*ibid.*, p. 120). The fact that the games of chess and checkers were regarded as frivolous pastimes and forbidden by the elders at Lititz (*ibid.*, p. 112) suggests a similar frown on dancing.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 104.

and violin solos and duets. The organ was also used to accompany hymn-singing.

(2) Low Sociability—

During the 19th Century, there were no films, radio, television, or phonographs to fill out the need for entertainment. One had to produce his own amusements, especially during those periods of inactivity such as Sunday afternoons and the long winter evenings. During this time, the family was together and relaxing from previous chores about the farm and home. They and perhaps a few neighbors would gather around the parlor organ and sing hymns.¹⁷ At times, a violin¹⁸ or zither¹⁹ was used. The children were also given a chance to show off their skill in playing an instrument. More importantly, such events drew the family together and helped produce strong ties and kinship bonds.

In the German Palatinate, it was the custom for a band of young boys to serenade, with the most objectionable music, an old man who took a young wife. Such meanderings were properly termed, "Katzenmusik" (cat music). The custom seems also to have been popular in Reading during the early 19th Century. A newspaper article of the period mentioned that the instrumentation was of the rough variety: pots and pans struck with an object and, "a horse-fiddle, made by putting rosin on edges of a box, and drawing a rail over them".²⁰

CONTEXTS IN WHICH DANCING IS PRESENT

(II-B)

Full Community Participation:

A fair draws people from all walks of life and is usually thought of in terms of family entertainment. Whit-Monday (Battalion Day) took place on a Thursday sometime in late May or early June at a time when the corn was planted but the harvest not yet begun.²¹ It was a lull during the seasonal work activity, a break greatly appreciated by the populace. Festivities seem to have lasted from one morning to the next.

Whit-Monday was a time of license and besides the usual drinking by adults, a few boys might be seen swigging some of the forbidden spirits. The streets were lined with stalls selling such refreshments as lemonade, gingerbread, and ice cream. For those who

¹⁶Phil Jack, "Amusements in Rural Homes Around the Big and Little Mahoning Creeks, 1870-1912," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, IX:2 (Spring, 1958), 46-49.

¹⁷Florence Bayer, "Music in the Parlor," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, V:9 (January 1, 1954), 5; Russell Wieder Gilbert, "Family Life and Recreation," *Pennsylvania History*, XXIII (1958), 315.

¹⁸Bayer, *op. cit.*, 5.

¹⁹Henry C. Mercer, "The Zithers of the Pennsylvania Germans," in *A Collection of Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Society* (Meadville, Pennsylvania: 1926) p. 487; Cornelius Weygandt, *The Dutch Country* (New York: 1939), p. 300.

²⁰Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: 1882), pp. 417-418. Third edition.

enjoyed a circus atmosphere, there was a merry-go-round (then termed "flying horses"), sword swallows, clowns and perhaps an exhibit of the sea whale which in reality may have only been a common sturgeon.²² A medicine wagon offered those with recurring pains, of unknown etiology, a chance to purchase a medicinal cure-all for their ills. There may also have been horse races but the main attraction of the afternoon was the parade.²³

Mixed with all of this was a great deal of music. At Lenhartsville (near Kutztown), each of its two taverns hired a brass band to play for the milling crowds as they surged along the streets or stopped to listen to the music.²⁴ Within the hotels, there were fiddlers who played for square dances which began in the afternoon and lasted until the wee hours of the next day. Theophile Cazenove, while touring New Jersey and Pennsylvania in June, 1794, mentioned a fair at Lancaster where the farmers came to get drunk in the taverns.²⁵ Almost assuredly, he was referring to Whit-Monday. Friederich Anshitz, known as "Fritter mit der Zitter," earned his name singing obscene songs while accompanying himself on the zither at Battalion Day parades and other festivities around Lebanon County.²⁶

Restricted as to Participants—High Sociability—

There are two types of contexts within this category. One is represented by the "frolics" which were intended to make a work project more palatable and the other a variety of general entertainment with no relationship to work activity.

Beidelman pointed out that the English used the term "bee" and the Pennsylvania-Dutch "frolic" for those situations where neighbor helped neighbor complete a work task.²⁷ During such activity there may have been singing or playing of certain games, after which a dinner would be served followed by a dance. The general idea, therefore, was to accomplish a work situation with the added factor of sociability. Generally speaking, the frolic can be divided into four parts:



Floyd Feick of Shartlesville and his troupe of Berks County musicians play traditional dance music for the Folk Festival.

- (1) gathering—The material to be worked on is gathered in the field, such as in the picking of apples or the collecting of corn.
- (2) preparing—The material is readied for its functional state, i.e., the corn is husked or the cloth is kicked during flax production.
- (3) Dinner.
- (4) Amusements—Dancing, games and other activities.

Not all stages may be present within a frolic nor is the time devoted to each the same. For example, Jack points out that each step of flax production could be a frolic in itself.²⁸ Thus, a whole process might have many segments. Further, the entire event might be interwoven with other forms of amusement such as singing and perhaps general tom-foolery during the gathering stage and almost without exception jokes, stories and songs sung within the preparation stage. The total of all stages indicates a highly interactive and responsive affair.

The term "frolic" was adapted by the English from the Dutch word "vrolijk"²⁹ and later was adopted by the Pennsylvania-Dutch. It refers to a mirthful, gay occasion but the connotation with which it is used here is in connection with a work activity followed by a dinner and general merry-making. In some cases, the term did seem to regard a distinct party atmosphere devoid of any laborious tasks.³⁰

²²Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1843), p. 397, reports that it occurred on the first Thursday and Friday in June circa 1770. See also Elsie Smith, "Battalion Day," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, X:1 (Spring, 1959), 46; "Whit-Monday in Lancaster—1843-1884," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, V:2 (June, 1953), 8-9; Rayner Wick-ersham Kelsey, editor, *Cazenove Journal 1794. A Record of the Journal of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania*, Haverford College Studies, No. XIII (Haverford: 1922), pp. 74-75.

²³See "Whit-Monday in Lancaster—1843-1884," *op. cit.*, column dated June 2, 1868.

²⁴Smith, *op. cit.*, 46.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Kelsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

²⁷"Fritter mit der Zitter—Famous Folksong Singer," *Lebanon Daily Times* (May 19 and 22, 1880). Reprinted in *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, III:12 (November 15, 1951), 2.

²⁸William Beidelman, *The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1898), p. 146. Reprinted in 1969.

²⁹Phil Jack, "Folk Amusements in Western Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, X:2 (Fall, 1959), 28-37.

³⁰*The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: 1933), Volume IV.

³⁰See James Beck, "Hannes Bumpnickel's 'Frolic,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (1858). Reprinted in *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, III:4 (June 15, 1951), 3, 8; Helffrich, *op. cit.*, 486-488.

Some common frolics were: cornhusking bees,³¹ "schnitzing" parties,³² applebutter boilings,³³ hog-killing frolics,³⁴ wood frolics,³⁵ harvest parties,³⁶ quilting bees,³⁷ wood-chopping matches,³⁸ carpet-rag parties,³⁹ "kicking" frolics,⁴⁰ and spelling bees.⁴¹ As representative examples, two of these will be discussed below.

A corn husking party would take place in the evening, sometime in the Fall.⁴² After the ears were separated from the stalks, they were carried and piled about the floor of the barn. Neighbors would come from around, young and old, and situate themselves near the corn so that men and women were mixed. This was a time for the single members of each sex to meet and socialize. While the corn was being husked, jokes and stories would be told or songs sung. If a lady found a red ear, she would either hand it to her favorite mate or be kissed by the nearest boy. After the husking chore, there was a dinner and subsequently the barn floor would be cleared for a dance complete with fiddler and caller.

Applebutter Boilings were another feature of the Fall season.⁴³ Apples were first collected—a project which may have taken up to a day—and then prepared for the boiling process. This step involved paring, destemming and de-coring and socially, may be likened to the husking of corn as discussed above. The "snitzed" apples were piled in baskets or barrels while the cider—previously pressed from another batch of apples—was concentrated by boiling. The "snitzed" apple parts were then placed in the kettles with the cider along

³¹Victor C. Dieffenbach, "Husking Time," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, V:6 (October, 1953), 9, 12; "Husking Party," *Ladies' Garland* (1838). Reprinted in *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, V:12 (February 15, 1954), 4; Don Yoder, "The Strouse Dance," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, IX:1 (Winter, 1957-1958) 12-17.

³²Alfred L. Shoemaker, "The Schnitzen," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, IV:9 (January 1, 1953), 4; Edwin V. Mitchell, *It's an Old Pennsylvania Custom* (New York: 1947), pp. 161-162.

³³H. H. Funk, "Applebutter Boiling," *The Pennsylvania-German*, IX (1908), 516; Alexander Marshall (Don Yoder, editor), "The Days of Auld Lang Syne," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIII:4 (July, 1964), 8-19.

³⁴Andrew D. Mellick, *The Story of an Old Farm* (Somerville, New Jersey, 1889), p. 239.

³⁵*Ibid.* In this case the community met to haul in the minister's yearly supply of wood, following which there was a supper. Although this context is related to all other frolics, it is unlikely that there would have been dancing and drinking at the minister's house. Nevertheless, other amusements such as singing were probably performed.

³⁶Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Harvest Customs in Early Berks," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, II:5 (July, 1950), 2.

³⁷Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Dancing," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, II:5 (July, 1950), 1.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Gilbert, *op. cit.*, 315. The participants cut strips from left-over cloth and rolled them into balls. The fabric could then be rewoven into new materials.

⁴⁰Jack, "Folk Amusements in Western Pennsylvania," *op. cit.* The "kicking" frolics were part of cloth production.

⁴¹Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

⁴²See Dieffenbach, *op. cit.*; "Husking Party," *op. cit.*

⁴³See Funk, *op. cit.*

with such spices as cinnamon, allspice, cloves or sassafras root, and boiled until smooth. This step may have taken a number of hours and while waiting, a fiddler struck up a tune and a dance was begun. When the applebutter was ready, it was poured into crocks and placed in the attic to cool.

There were a number of general amusements having a focus on dancing but no relationship to a work activity. One such affair was the Strouse Dance.⁴⁴ Yoder compiled a number of accounts to show that the amusement was more of a competition for a prize than a specific type of dance. Prior to the festivities, the manager of the establishment placed a number of articles of women's clothing or other objects on a fir tree. In the middle of the dance floor hung a lantern with a piece of string tied about its candle. Dangling from the string was a key. After the participants purchased their tickets, the manager handed the first in line a rod or stick and the dancers proceeded around the lantern accompanied by a fiddler. When the individual holding the stick completed one rotation of the circle, he handed the object to the person behind him. This circumstance was repeated until the candle burned down and broke the string. Whoever was holding the stick at this time, received the articles of clothing.

One of the most popular pastimes during the winter season, was a sleighing party.⁴⁵ The family wagon would be placed on runners and the bottom piled with straw to cushion the ride for the young men and women. The merry-makers may have gathered either at a tavern⁴⁶ or another's home.⁴⁷ At the tavern, many would order a glass of "flip"—cream beer prepared by making the liquid foam with a red hot iron rod. The fiddlers provided the music for those willing to dance. One writer described how the musicians "sat in the window seats, formed by the thick stone walls; and the dance was lively until the small hours".⁴⁸ Others played games and joked. The fiddlers may have been hired by the inn-keepers or were brought along by the party. At a home, participants brought food (cakes, ham, breads, cider, etc.) and made the affair into a winter picnic. Games were played (such as, Blind

⁴⁴Don Yoder, "The Strauss Dance of the Dutch Country—A Lost German Dance of Our Forefathers?," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, V:1 (February 1, 1954), 6-7; Yoder, "The Strouse Dance," *op. cit.*

⁴⁵Edwin Charles, "Sleighing Parties," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, IV:12 (February 15, 1953), 4-5; "Folklore from the Diary of James L. Morris—1845-1846," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, III:17 (February 1, 1952), 2; Isaac Holmes, *An Account of the United States of America* (London: 1833), p. 345; "Sleighing Parties," *Lebanon Daily Times* (December 29, 1880), reprinted in *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, IV:9 (January 1, 1953), 4; Gibbons, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-424.

⁴⁶"Sleighing Parties," *op. cit.*; "Folklore from the Diary of James L. Morris—1845-1846," *op. cit.*; Gibbons, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-424.

⁴⁷Charles, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸Gibbons, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

Man's Bluff, Spin the Plate, Bloomsock) and of course, a fiddler played for dancing.

The slow months of winter left the farmer with a great deal of free time, much of which he spent in the inns. Theophile Cazenove noted, in his journal, how the taverns seemed to overflow with farmers during this season,⁴⁹ a sight quite reminiscent of a normal Sunday afternoon when they could be observed drinking and dancing to the accompaniment of a fiddle.⁵⁰

In some communities at Christmas-time, the custom of "belsnickling" was very popular. Earlier in the week, toys and other gifts were collected from the wealthier neighbors. Finally on Christmas eve, a number of participants would dress themselves in costumes and proceed from house to house in the poorer sections of town, begging for food and asking the children if they had been good. Their flamboyant manner and disguise usually scared the children but the belsnicklers eventually placated them with a gift. After their visits, the group went to a farmhouse and danced to fiddle music until daybreak.⁵¹

Day has given an excellent sketch of a wedding describing the dress, setting, festivities, meal and the square dance played for by a fiddler.⁵² A very early newspaper account—1738—mentioned a fiddle at a Dutch wedding in Philadelphia.⁵³ At one affair near Lebanon, a zither was used as an accompanying instrument.⁵⁴ Each man was supposed to dance with the bride and payed for the privilege by dropping a coin in a box for her "house-stire" (household goods which the bride would purchase for her home).

Perhaps many would think that the Amish never used musical instruments or participated in extensive dancing. This certainly is true of their religious service but for many years, the Amish have held Saturday night dances for the purpose of gathering the youth together to socialize and relax from the week's chores.⁵⁵ Amish dancing is different from that of the "Gay" Dutch, being more reminiscent of an older style.⁵⁶ The band is composed of a guitar, fiddle, mandolin and at times a harmonica. Because Shaner's account is a contemporary one, it is questionable whether this instrumentation was the same throughout the 19th Century, for guitars and mandolins became common only

after 1870. Further, the Amish never were quick to adopt something new and just as they refuse today to electrify their music, they may not have adapted these instruments until well into the twentieth century.

The tavern or inn acted as a social center for the townspeople. It was a place to meet friends and talk over the day's affairs but also to hear news of other communities from weary travelers and the ubiquitous Conestoga wagoners. In 1794, the first turnpike was constructed in Pennsylvania and ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster.⁵⁷ It was the beginning of the road system and the heyday of the wagoning trade. The roads filled up with traffic and inns were built every mile or so along the pikes to accommodate the wagoners and travelers.⁵⁸ As Sachse has described, each inn was organized to quarter certain clientele.⁵⁹ The best were the "stage stands," honoring the better class of coach fare. The "wagon stands" accommodated the Conestoga wagoners and the "drove stands," the herders. In the latter case, the inn had to have special facilities for the animals. The wagoners themselves usually slept on the floor.⁶⁰ The next type of inn was the "tap house" which entertained the lowest class of traveler. Betz has given a good description of a typical inn:

The architecture was plain and the building was two stories in height, with a large garret which was later termed an attic In front of the house was a large porch no less than from seven to eight feet in depth. At one end of the house was the bar room the entrance to which was by a single door. From the bar room a door led into a side room for ladies. Passing through the bar room was objectionable to the latter This side room in the smaller taverns was sometimes heated by a combination stove In front of the bar room was a well Travelers would invariably stop and have their horses watered for which a tip was given to the hostler⁶¹

Music seems to have been a grand feature at the taverns. As mentioned previously, on Sunday afternoons and during the Winter, farmers haunted the inns to drink and dance. Bryant described a group of young military men dancing, during the noon hour, to the strains of a fiddler in the village of Windham near Nazareth.⁶² A young lady traveler, recalling her discomfort in a Bethlehem tavern on a Saturday night, was so shocked by a number of men who talked, sang

⁴⁹Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵⁰Johann David Schoepf (Alfred Morrison, translator and editor), *Travels in the Confederation—1783-1784* (Philadelphia: 1911), I, 161.

⁵¹"Told on Christmas Eve in the Dutch Country," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, II:14 (December 15, 1950), 1, 2.

⁵²Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 663-664. However, it is unlikely that the people were Pennsylvania-Dutch as the affair took place in Washington County.

⁵³Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁵⁴"Dance Data," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, IV:7 (November, 1952), 4.

⁵⁵Richard H. Shaner, "The Amish Barn Dance," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIII:2 (Winter 1962-1963), 24.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁷Julius F. Sachse, "The Wayside Inns: On the Lancaster Roadside between Philadelphia and Lancaster," *The Pennsylvania German Society*, XXI (1912), pp. 10-11.

⁵⁸I. H. Betz, "Old Highways and Old Taverns," *The Pennsylvania-German*, X (1909), 384.

⁵⁹Sachse, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

⁶⁰John Omwake, *The Conestoga Six-Horse Ball Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania* (Cincinnati, 1930), pp. 100-101.

⁶¹Betz, *op. cit.*, 384.

⁶²William Cullen Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller* (New York: 1850). Extract reprinted as "Tscho the Fiddler," *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, II:18 (February 15, 1951), 4.

and laughed so loudly, that her "brain is almost turn'd".⁶³ She feared that one of the revelers would drag her to the floor for a dance. The next day she wrote of how her complacent Sabbath became deteriorated.

I believe at least 50 dutchmen have been here to day to smoke, drink, swear, pitch cents, almost dance, laugh & talk dutch & stare at us—They come in, in droves young & old—black & white—women & children—It is dreadful to see so many people that you cannot speak to or understand—⁶⁴

In her zeal to denounce the customers, the young lady did us a service by noting who attended the tavern on Sunday afternoons. However, as she points out, the women and children may have been there simply to gander at strangers.

The Conestoga wagoners were a hardy bunch aptly described by Frey and Omwake.⁶⁵ There may have been up to 3000 wagons traveling the Lancaster to Philadelphia turnpike during their heyday when the demand for hauling was at its peak and where there were only a few railroads to help out (around 1830). The men had to be strong and tough to endure the long hours and physical exertion which the job demanded. They drank, fought and swore at each other—while standing on their "lazy board" (footboard)—as they scurried down the pikes. This was as much of their routine as was hauling freight. Yet, they were a proud, tight-knit group. After a day driving over long, dusty roads, the wagoners relaxed at the inns with a good supper, following which they spent a few hours more dancing to a fiddle or telling stories. Later in the evening, they took a nightcap, pulled out their homemade mattresses and fell sound asleep on the bar-room floor.

As a final note on taverns, it should be remembered that they hosted dances the year around. It may have been called a sleighing party or simply a "frolic" (used in the sense of a "dance"), but the affairs were generally the same and served a similar function: for the young to court and socialize. Helffrich, despite his hatred of the gatherings, over-zealously described one with the hope of showing its relationship to "the Saturnalian orgies of the heathen gods . . .".⁶⁶ As a result we have a living picture of a "frolic".

III

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Table I is a compilation of musical instruments and the contexts in which they may be found.⁶⁷ It is evident

⁶³Max Farrand, editor, *A Journey to Ohio in 1810: As Recorded in the Journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1912), p. 15.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁵Howard C. Frey, "Conestoga Wagoners," in *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*, edited by George Korson (Philadelphia: 1949); Omwake, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶Helffrich, *op. cit.*, 487.

that the fiddle was the most popular instrument in the 18th and 19th Centuries, being employed with the most frequency and in the broadest number of contexts. This seems also to have been the case in other cultures and one would normally expect this as well with the banjo. However, there is only one reference to this instrument in the Pennsylvania-Dutch culture that the writer has been able to find. The article is a contemporary one and the author does not state his source.⁶⁸ It is currently accepted that the banjo has an African provenience, developed further in the United States by Afro-American slaves.⁶⁹ One of the earliest references to its use by blacks was in Boston during 1774 at a ball held on Sunday.⁷⁰ It became popularized by white minstrels during the first quarter of the 19th Century and spread throughout the Upland South.⁷¹ Only until the literature is thoroughly searched can there be definite conclusions concerning its absence from the Pennsylvania-Dutch region. This is decidedly not due to a lack of contact with Blacks. Afro-Americans mixed freely with the Pennsylvania-Dutch community and in a number of cases were the fiddlers for their frolics.⁷²

Despite the fact that hundreds of accordions were sold during Whit-Monday in Lancaster,⁷³ none were reported within a given context. They may have been used in the parlor on Sundays. Frey includes the accordion as part of the instrumentation of the Conestoga wagoners but again he does not give a source.⁷⁴

The use of the zither by Mennonites has been well documented by Mercer who has also, among others, described a variety peculiar to the Pennsylvania-Dutch region.⁷⁵ Mercer's Mennonite informants used the "zitter" at home to accompany mostly hymn-singing, never at church. It was pointed out that "the instrument was too slow for dance or lively music."⁷⁶ Certainly, the zither seems unable to sustain itself over the loud convivial clamors of gay frolickers. Nevertheless, one source described how the instrument was laid on an empty chest to make it resonate louder for a wedding dance.⁷⁷

⁶⁷The viola da braccio, viola da gamba, trombones and flutes used by the Moravian church have been omitted from the table as they are a special case and only associated within that context.

⁶⁸Frey, "Conestoga Wagoners," *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁶⁹See for instance, C. P. Seaton, "The 5-String Banjo in North Carolina," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XXXV (1971), 62-69.

⁷⁰Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (Port Washington, New York, 1924), p. 18.

⁷¹See Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1962).

⁷²Beck, *op. cit.*, 3, 8.

⁷³"Whit-Monday in Lancaster—1843-1884," *op. cit.*, June 7, 1870 column.

⁷⁴Frey, "Conestoga Wagoners," *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁷⁵Mercer, *op. cit.*; Weygandt, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Melville J. Boyer, "Notes on Two Quaint Stringed Instruments," *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society*, XV (1946), 149.

⁷⁶Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

⁷⁷"Dance Data," *op. cit.*, 4.



Clarinet, circa 1850. Length, 23".



Scheitholt, dated 1832, Philadelphia. Six strings. Length, 34"; width, 3/4".

It was common practice for Blacks and Whites living in the South and the Appalachian Mountains to construct their instruments from hollowed-out gourds, animal skins, and other materials found in the environment. The literature gives the impression that this was not the practice within the Pennsylvania-Dutch culture, most probably due to their higher economic status. Knauss has pointed out that Lancaster County in the 18th Century "was undoubtedly the great centre

Early musical instruments from the Collections of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum, Landis Valley.



Practice Fiddle, date unknown. Length, 33"; width, 6".



Hurdy-Gurdy or Musette, date unknown. Overall length, 25"; width, 7/4".



Sordine (Pocket Fiddle), date unknown. Length, 24".

for the manufacture of musical instruments".⁷⁸ Violins, pianos and organs were just part of many crafts which reflected a stable economy within a highly skilled culture. There is a reference, already alluded to, of objects adapted from the environment by children. Their instrumentation consisted of pots, pans and a "horse-fiddle"—a box the edges of which were rubbed with rosin and played by moving a rod across it.⁷⁹

The musicians themselves were not professionals, for the most part, but simply members of the gathering. Some were engaged by the taverns to perform for Battalion Day dances.⁸⁰ Helffrich mentioned that for each set, the dancers paid the fiddler five cents.⁸¹ In other cases, he would be given a tip at the end of the affair.⁸² Some musicians, such as Friederich Anschutz, went about Battalion Day and other festivities singing obscene songs, for which he was probably given a tip or a free drink.⁸³ At husking bees, the musician may have been given a bushel of corn for his services.⁸⁴

In some cases at least, black musicians were hired for the dance.⁸⁵ Helffrich makes an interesting statement that the jigs and reels of the Pennsylvania-Dutch were very reminiscent of the Negro dances and music of the South.⁸⁶ Schoepf (1783) indicated that there were no professional musicians prior to the Revolutionary war. What music there was lay in the hands of town organists or school masters, and "a darky with a broken and squeazy fiddle made the finest dance-music for the most numerous assembly".⁸⁷ These references suggest that blacks were more involved in the musical activities of this region than the literature indicates and could have had an influence on the dance steps, tunes and playing styles of the Pennsylvania-Dutch culture, a subject which, although being of immense interest, is beyond the scope of this article.

⁷⁸James Owen Knauss, "Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in German Newspapers Published in America," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XXIX (1918), 135-137.

⁷⁹Gibbons, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-418.

⁸⁰Smith, *op. cit.*, 46.

⁸¹Helffrich, *op. cit.*, 487.

⁸²Beck, *op. cit.*, 3, 8.

⁸³"Fritter mit der Zitter—Famous Folksong Singer," *op. cit.*, 2.

⁸⁴Yoder, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Dancing," *op. cit.*, 1.

⁸⁵Beck, *op. cit.*, 3, 8.

⁸⁶Helffrich, *op. cit.*, 487.

⁸⁷Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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Tourism and the Amish Way of Life

By GRANT M. STOLTZFUS

The American tourist is attracted to the shrines and preservations of America's past—the colonial past in particular. One notes especially Williamsburg, which is a remarkable restoration of the 18th Century colonial Virginia capital. And equally attractive is Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts, a reproduction of a New England village of the post-colonial era. In both of these places, the tourist sees people in the old costumes, and primitive craftsmen making brooms, turning out pottery, or spinning yarn. He can take a carriage ride down Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg or ride on a wagon through a covered bridge at Old Sturbridge. And traditional foods in the well-appointed eating places will satisfy his palate. He is assured that America's past is being respected and kept safely for America's future.

THE LIVING PAST IN MODERN TIMES

In the past twenty years, however, another tourist attraction has come into its own in Eastern United States. It is neither a masterful restoration of old buildings, shops and streets (as in Williamsburg) nor is it a charming reproduction of a village green, a country store, or flour mill (as in Old Sturbridge). It is that triangle of farmland that fans eastward from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and which is the present heartland of the oldest Amish settlement in the New World. Here the cruising tourist beholds brightly painted farm-buildings, large houses, and a fertile cropland that has been farmed constructively for generations. Here he still sees one-room schoolhouses, covered bridges, and shops where buggies are made for use and not for museums. Here are waterwheels, mills, chairshops, and bakeries. Here he meets on the highway the horse and buggy. And on a Sunday morning, he may see several scores of Amish buggies on an Amish farm where devout worshippers are gathered to sing from a hymnal first published in 1564, now the oldest Protestant hymnal still in use. In a word, the tourist who elects to see the Amish countryside has chosen to see an Old World Culture that persists in the megalopolis that stretches from Richmond, Virginia, to Portland, Maine. Here the past is not revived in rebuilt or restored edifices, nor made reminiscent by dressing modern women as colonial dames and Puritan women.

Here the past has lived on since the early 18th Century with a minimum of change in language, attire, folkways, music, family life, and basic farming methods.

UNEARTHING THE "ARCHEOLOGICAL FIND"

Nimkoff, the sociologist, once aptly said that the Amish are an "archeological find". In one sense, America has been long in making the "find". Of course, Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence and leading colonial physician, in 1789 left *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* in which he described that amorphous mass of German settlers who made up about one-third of Penn's colony: Lutherans, Reformed, Dunkers, Seventh-Day Baptists, Mennonites, Amish, and Moravians. He noted their shrewd choice of the best land, their disdain for slavery, their habits of work—"to fear God and to love work are the first lessons they teach their children".

By the end of another century, many of these Germans had become in certain respects "Americanized". The language and many folkways, however, persisted with remarkable vitality in the areas around Allentown, Reading, and Lancaster. The "melting pot" theory seemed to be working out—at least a Hershey was to become the chocolate magnate of America and, in due time, an Eisenhower became president of the United States.

But the process of Americanization of these people was quite uneven. While the Lutherans and Reformed founded colleges and churches which became fixed institutions in the American scene, the sectarians (Dunkers, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Amish, and Moravians) were to move much more cautiously into the mainstream of American life. Of these, the Amish and certain "Old Order Mennonites" have persisted into the last third of the 20th Century with the least accommodation to American culture and the most resistance to certain aspects of standardization and pressures to conformity.

THROUGH THE EYES OF AN OBSERVANT NEIGHBOR

Nearly a century after Dr. Benjamin Rush's observations, a famous essay on "The Pennsylvania Dutch" appeared in the October, 1869, *Atlantic Monthly*. Here

was a further "unearthing," the rediscovery of a still-unassimilated group in America's pluralistic society. Written by a Quaker lady and physician's wife, Phebe Earle Gibbons, the article showed carefulness of observation and discernment of her Amish neighbors among whom she had lived for twenty years. Their virtues and shortcomings were accurately portrayed in this essay that is now reprinted for the touring public. It is a rich mine on folkways of a socio-religious group in 19th Century America.

AS RESEARCHED BY A SOCIOLOGIST

The next spade to dig into this ethnic archeological find was wielded by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. As the depression of the 1930's deepened, it became conspicuous that the Amish farming communities were not suffering the hardships that everywhere else seemed to be "humbling" the American farmer. Under the aegis of Dr. Carl Taylor of the Bureau a series of six agricultural communities were intensively studied and the results published. The communities were in the dairy farm region of New Hampshire, the plantation area of Georgia, the wheat belt of Kansas, the corn belt of Iowa, the ranch area of New Mexico, and the Amish community of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Of these six studies, the last one, done by the rural sociologist and geographer, Dr. Walter M. Kollmorgen, was the most widely read; it remains an outstanding monograph on the Amish.

Following Kollmorgen's study in 1942, the Amish found their way into major sociological textbooks. Here is a society within society. Here is social dissent and remarkable opposition to uniformitarian pressures. Here is a social laboratory for the study of the economic consequences of religious faith.

THE AMISH VS. COMPULSORY EDUCATION

During the same years that the Amish were being observed and written up for their superior farming practices, they were also being pressured to conform to the state's requirement in compulsory education beyond the elementary grades. Conflicts between the Amish and state authorities increased in number and seriousness during the decades of the 1940's and 1950's. In the fall of 1950, six Amishmen were imprisoned because they refused to send their children to a new consolidated high school. Long in coming, the storm was on, between the state school authorities and Amish leaders. The controversy has spread to all the states where Amish reside in any number. Ohio, Maryland, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, and Wisconsin—all know something of the Amish resistance to compulsory education beyond the elementary level.

Few facets of the Amish way of life collide in such head-on fashion with the American way of life. A long

article could be written on the Amish reasons for resisting the encroachments of much of modern education. Their opposition is not to education *per se* nor even to the compulsory features in modern education. Their opposition stems rather from the deeply held belief that public school values and orientation, being militaristic and nationalistic, will turn their children in a wrong direction. They see the consolidated school of secondary level as conducive to urban values, urban occupations, and the beginning of a process that would funnel their youth into the large surrounding society. They do not believe that this large society which surrounds them offers a better way of life than the one they have.

Economically, the Amish feel they can achieve a security and well-being that Americans as a whole do not have. Their survival in the depression of the 1930's reinforced this belief. Amish know nothing of unemployment; and their members accept no government welfare.

The Amish contest with the Internal Revenue Service on the question of social security is one of the best examples of how the Amish way of life conflicts with an industrial, stratified society. Only after many trips to Washington by Amish bishops and only after Congressional measures were passed were the Amish freed from paying social security tax. Their refusal was not because of opposition to paying taxes—payment of taxes to the state is built into their religion—but they refused because this would eventually lead their members to depend on the state for maintenance.

For the Amish, their Christian brotherhood with its strong family way of life is the basis for security in old age. The Amish couple retire into the Grandfather annex of the farmhouse and spend their declining days with the environment which sustained them and which they cultivated for many years. The farm which they tilled is passed on with its improvements to a son or in-law.

The very low crime rate among them would be destroyed most certainly (so they believe) if they were to take on the trappings and ways of their modernized neighbors. Their family solidarity would weaken if they were to be absorbed into a society that often does not build stable homes. The Amish have strong conscience against waste and pollution. Better that the world learn from them than they from the world is their reasoning. Without being judgmental toward those who want higher education, the Amish in a firm way feel they must reject it. At this writing, their position, as it developed in the state of Wisconsin, is being contested in the Supreme Court and educators as well as the Amish await the decision. They believe in education but different in kind from that which America has come to impose on its diverse population.

"PLAIN AND FANCY"—THE AMISH RUN ON BROADWAY

Perhaps nothing did quite as much to make America aware of the Amish as the show, "Plain and Fancy" which ran on Broadway for years and has been widely played throughout the nation. It was simply the replay of a favorite theme in American theatrics—the rural-urban contrast and conflict.

Though tourism had, no doubt, been mounting in the Lancaster area before New York theatre-goers "discovered" Bird-in-Hand, a new era can be noted in the years since this show. Dualized highways, aggressive tourist bureaus, bus lines, motels and restaurants—all combined to lure the Eastern urbanite into getting a firsthand glimpse of the "plain people". After all, Bird-in-Hand is only a few hours from Manhattan by car or bus; it is centuries distant in its social system. The contrast has caught on.

THE TIDES OF TOURISM: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

The first survey of tourism by the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce was in 1963 and tourists that year were estimated to number about one and one-half million. The following years have seen a steady increase, and for 1970-71 the estimated number of tourists was about three million. Spot checks on cars at motels and registration signatures at information centers reveal that about 25% came from the state of New York. Many others are from Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and the Midwest. Californians are more numerous than one might expect.

Bus loads include: senior citizens from New Jersey and Maryland; Jewish teenagers from Greater New York; lady members of a black church in Washington; Puerto Ricans from New York; teachers from Ireland; United Nations student group; and so forth.

Members of the Indian, Danish, German, Norwegian and other embassies in Washington, frequent the area and some have paid return visits. The Amish countryside has become a crossroads of ethnic, international, and ecumenical people. An Australian rancher comes to learn about the feeding of steers on Lancaster County farms. A lady from the Church of England requests an interview on religious education methods of the Mennonites. A United States Senator from the mid-west (who first identified himself as a beef cattle farmer) requests a guided tour of the farmland. A geographer from the University of Tübingen had written on religious communal society in North and South America and wants to consult the Mennonite Historical Library and archives for more data. A German student from the University of Mainz stays for three days to study the Amish dialect and make recordings. A Ph.D. candidate at Dropsie University seeks information for his

study of foot-washing in a comparative religion project.

The above were taken almost at random from the author's notes while a tour guide in the area for three summers, 1968-1970. They are cited as typical of the more serious tourist who seeks firsthand, authentic information from the Chamber of Commerce, the Dutchland Tours, and the Mennonite Information Center.

Most of the tourists by far who cruise over the network of macadam roads are content to gaze on the green fields, follow an Amish horse and buggy, or purchase fruit or vegetables from a roadside stand. One New York family parked by the highway and watched an Amish farmer for two hours as he plowed his field. Rarely can tourists witness that sight of all sights—a barnraising where two hundred or more skilled Amishmen erect a barn in one day with the women serving dinner.

Many of the tourists, it may be safely assumed, believe they are seeing an unspoiled, peaceful countryside. They return to the noisy and traffic-clogged cities from which they come, with souvenirs, cookbooks, and reels of films. Judging by the repeated visits of many to the area, the attraction of a static culture in a changing world is a real one. It is not unusual to talk to a Bostonian, a Pittsburgher, or a Washingtonian who has made an annual trip with his family to the Amish country for the past three or four years.

NOT ALL IS PEACEFUL

What eludes many tourists, and understandably so, is the fact that the Amish territory is not all so placid nor is it immune to the forces of devastating social change. Silently and covertly the battle goes on between those who want to further commercialize the region and those who want to keep it "as it always was". The Amish do not use their name for commercial purposes; the tourist should know that the golf courses, motels, restaurants, cinema and other enterprises are not Amish-owned. In fact, the Amish as a group continue to go about their centuries-old ways of living. The firms and corporations that offer the Amish fabulous prices for farms in order to convert them into business, recreational, and industrial sites are—to date—often disappointed. The Amish so far remain on the whole steadfast, immovable.

THE TEST OF SURVIVAL

The Amish past is rooted in Europe, in Switzerland and in Germany's Palatinate. They are the lineal and spiritual descendants of the Anabaptists who, originating in Zurich in 1525, became a radical movement in the Reformation. They are historically related to the Mennonites, one of the Anabaptist bodies named for an ex-Catholic priest, Menno Simons, who in 1536 joined the Anabaptist movement in his native Holland. From

their beginning, the Mennonites have sought to restore a primitive Christianity. Hence, their emphasis on the Sermon on the Mount; a brotherhood of disciplined people; separation of church and state; opposition to participation in war (they have been called the first conscientious objectors of the modern world); and social and cultural independence from the large society which they feel is often hostile to their goals.

The Amish, along with other German groups—Lutheran, Reformed, Moravian, Schwenkfelders, Dunkers—came to the New World at the invitation of William Penn, who sought to populate his colony with a variety of people, especially those who were oppressed because of religious and economic discrimination. The Amish in the late 18th and 19th Centuries moved westward with the frontier and now occupy flourishing communities in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wisconsin.

In their 250 years in America, the Amish have not all remained by any means within the traditional fold. Each generation sees a sizeable number desert their ranks and transfer religious affiliation to some other group—usually a Mennonite body which shares many of their basic beliefs but has accommodated more to the American scene. Frequently, Amish transfer to the Mennonites because they want to be involved in a program of world missions, and higher education. Several Mennonite colleges have many faculty and students who are of Amish descent.

Still another form of adaptation to the American scene has been the gradual introduction of modern conveniences into Amish communities—modernizations which the Amish assume in transportation, utilities, and business methods while still retaining for a generation or so the traditional Amish solidarity in community life. The Amish community is a rich field for study by sociologists of religion and an astonishingly large body of literature has been produced about them.

The observation of the late Dr. O. E. Baker of the Department of Agriculture is helpful to an understanding of Amish life. The Amishman, he noted, without articulating his philosophy, nevertheless tends to farm and carry on his life's work with a sense of obligation to the future unlike that of many of his fellow Americans. He sacrifices the present for the sake of the future. Hence, the farms in Amish communities do not erode away. The soil, the buildings, the techniques, must be passed on to the next generation. The Amish farmer and his wife will forego many things in order to pass on to their children a better farm, finer livestock, and more productive seed. If they can amass any wealth, it will be reinvested, not in stocks or bonds, but in land for their children or the youth of their brotherhood. "Bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ" is a favorite Amish text.

After observing Amish communities and studying their agricultural achievements, Dr. Baker concluded that they are in contrast to much of American society. (1) American society spends extravagantly on fashions and exploits its resources, thereby mortgaging its future for the sake of the present. The Amish take the opposite tack. They sacrifice the present for the sake of the future and let their beautiful, productive countryside stand as mute evidence. It is of interest to note that this observation was made in the depression of the 1930's, long before the present ecological emphasis. (2) Each generation brings its problems for the Amish. Their way of life is challenged by those changes in the larger society that are beyond their control. It is a misunderstanding of the Amish people to see their way as easy to maintain in the rapid pace of the last third of the 20th Century.

CONCLUSION

"Most interesting but don't commercialize the area out of existence. It's too lovely to ruin"—This remark was written in the guest register on July 13, 1971, at the Tourist Bureau of the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce. It expresses the faith and the fear of many tourists to the Amish countryside. Mr. Maxwell Smith, local county farm agent, in the authority for stating what nearly everyone sees taking place as tourism expands. The future of agriculture, including Amish agriculture, is jeopardized, Smith says, in this county which has been so long known for its crops and intensive farming. Farmland is sold for motel sites, industries, and various enterprises that are geared to serving the tourists. On summer days, congested traffic makes it difficult for feed and fertilizer trucks to make deliveries to farms in Amish territory. Milk and other pickup trucks have the same problem with the slow-moving traffic.

Crassly commercial signs and places are difficult to control or limit. The old markets in Lancaster report that crowds of tourists are so numerous that some regular customers stop coming to buy. Thus, an old and venerable institution faces decline. Local citizens in some number fear that outside interests and resources will take over and ruthlessly exploit a beloved countryside. Indeed, they insist, this has already happened. The question is now seriously asked: will tourism kill the culture that created it? It is not an idle question.

Once the ancestors of the Amish were persecuted and forced to live on unproductive hinterlands in Switzerland and South Germany. Those who survived came to Penn's Woods to build a life apart from an encroaching world. The "world" now drives great distances and spends much money to admire a way of life once disdained. The question arises: will the Amish survive tourism as well as they survived persecution.

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 41:

HOME BREWING TECHNIQUES

Home brewing of beer and ale was once common among many of the ethnic groups who settled in Pennsylvania. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information on the techniques employed in the manufacture of home brew, and the uses of the finished product. It was prepared from materials submitted by Karen S. Pfeiffer of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania.

1. *Recipes and Formulas.* If you have ever brewed any kind of beer or ale, or remember members of your family doing so, what was the recipe or formula used in the process? Where did your family's recipe come from? How old was it?

2. *Ingredients in Brewing.* What ingredients are used in brewing? What grains are used? Were they grown on the premises? Was the grain sprouted or malted? Can you describe how it was induced to sprout? Was the sprouting grain roasted? What kind of yeast was used? Did the yeast rise to the surface during fermentation? Was it skimmed off or allowed to remain? What kind of flavoring was added? Was the yeast bought or made from hops? If hops were used, where were they obtained? Were they bought or home-grown? How is yeast made from home-grown hops?

3. *The Malting Process.* How long did the malting process take? What do you call the mixture of water and grain? How long was it allowed to work or ferment? What was the best temperature at this stage? How did you test the temperature? Was the mixture boiled? How long was it allowed to sit after boiling? Was more water added at any point? If so, when? What was done with the mash that was left? Was there a second brewing with it? Was the mash eventually fed to the livestock?

4. *Locale of Brewing.* Where was the brewing done? Indoors? Outdoors? In the barn? What kind of equipment was used? How was the grain roasted? In a special oven or kiln? In the household oven? At what temperature and for how long was it roasted? What sort of vessel was used for fermenting the mash? How was the finished beer stored? Was it bottled, or stored in barrels? Where did the containers come from? How were they cleaned before or between using? Was any special kind of wood best or better for beer barrels?

5. *Storage of Beer.* Where was the finished beer stored? How long did it take to be ready to drink? How long did it keep? When was beer made? How much was made at one time? Was any ever sold, or was it all used at home?

6. *Personnel of Brewing.* Who in the family did the actual brewing? Who did the malting?

7. *Consumption of Beer.* When was beer drunk in the family? Who drank it? Was it considered strong drink? Was it considered an essential part of the diet? Was home-made beer considered better than commercially produced beer? Was a clear beer considered superior to a cloudy one? If the beer was fined or cleared, how and when was that done?

8. *Medicinal and Culinary Uses of Beer.* Was beer considered medicinal? If so, what ailments was it considered able to cure or help? Do you know why it worked for these problems? Was beer ever used in cooking in your home? If so, for what dishes?

9. *Other Fermented Drinks.* In early Pennsylvania records, one hears of "mead," a fermented honey drink similar to beer. If you are familiar with its manufacture, describe the process for us. There were also the slightly fermented root beers. How were they made? Do you know the term "garden path beer"? If so, what was it?

10. *Current Home Production of Beer.* If you still make beer or ale at home, do you make it in exactly the old way, or according to modernized methods? Do you consider your beer as good as it used to be? If you no longer brew, why not? What proportion of the population of your ethnic group used to brew beer at home? What proportion still engages in its manufacture? What, according to you, makes a "good beer"?

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
Logan Hall Box 13
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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174



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