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Marcia Westkott, Fay McAfee Winey, Joseph M. Gray, Amos Long Jr., Angus K. Gillespie, Friedrich Krebs, and Otto Baeumer

# *Pennsylvania* FOLKLIFE

WINTER 1970



Kriss Kringle  
and the  
Pretzel Tree

## Contributors to this Issue

MRS. MARCIA WESTKOTT, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a native of Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pennsylvania, with Pennsylvania German family background, and at present a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Her paper on powwowing in Berks County, done in 1967, and based on interviews, is an interesting followup to Betty Snellenburg's "Four Interviews with Powwowers," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Volume XVIII Number 4 (Summer 1969), 40-45.

MRS. FAY McAFEE WINEY, Middleburg, Snyder County, Pennsylvania, is a housewife who has contributed to *Pennsylvania Folklife* the article on "Huckleberry Picking on Shade Mountain," Volume XVII Number 4 (Summer 1967). Her article in this issue deals with the curious rural custom of masking on New Year's Day, related to Christmas "Belsnickling" and to present-day Halloweening customs. For the background of the "Belsnickel" figure and its relation to Philadelphia's current Mummers' Parade, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk Cultural Approach* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959).

JOSEPH M. GRAY, Grove City, Pennsylvania, is a student at Grove City College in Western Pennsylvania. His paper on the Sweetheart Tree was produced for the folklore classes of Dr. Hilda A. Kring of Grove City College. For comparative purposes, see the article on Aspen Doodlings in Utah by Dr. Jan Brunvand, in Austin Fife, *Forms upon the Frontier* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1969), a paper read at the Western Folklife Conference at Utah State University in July, 1968.

AMOS LONG, JR., Annville R.D., Pennsylvania, is

a farmer, high school teacher, and justice of the peace in his native Lebanon County. He has contributed to *Pennsylvania Folklife* a long series of articles on the small outbuildings of the Pennsylvania German Farmstead. During the Fall of 1969 Amos Long traveled in Germany and Switzerland surveying folk architectural patterns as background for his forthcoming book on Pennsylvania German rural architecture.

ANGUS K. GILLESPIE, Philadelphia, teaches history at the Episcopal Academy at Overbrook, Pennsylvania. He is at present studying for his Ph.D. degree in the American Civilization Department at the University of Pennsylvania. Tombstone art, the subject of his article in this issue, is a valuable index of culture; it will be interesting for readers to compare this treatment of the subject with Phil Jack's study of Western Pennsylvania tombstone motifs, in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Volume XVII, Number 3 (Spring 1968).

DR. FRIEDRICH KREBS, Speyer, West Germany, is on the staff of the Palatine State Archives in Speyer, and the author of a distinguished series of articles on 18th Century emigration to America, the majority of which have appeared in English translation in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* and its successor, *Pennsylvania Folklife*. His most recent contribution was "Eighteenth-Century Emigrants to America from the Duchy of Zweibrücken and the Germersheim District," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Volume XVIII Number 3 (Spring 1969), 44-48.

OTTO BAEUMER, Freudenberg, Westphalia, Germany, was a local historian whose article, "Auswanderer des Kirchspiels Freudenberg," from *Heimatland: Beilage zur Siegener Zeitung*, Zweiter Jahrgang, Nr. 10, 1927, 148-149, appears in English translation in this issue.

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**COVER:**

*The engraving of the fir-cone Santa Claus (Kriss Kringle) with his Christmas Tree decorated with pretzels appeared in Godey's Lady's Book for December, 1868.*

# POWWOWING In Berks County

By MARCIA WESTKOTT

## A DESCRIPTION OF POWWOWING

Powwowing, the Pennsylvania Dutch form of faith healing, is the "secret use of incantation or charm, accompanied by appropriate movements"<sup>1</sup> of the body in an attempt to cure certain diseases.

The Pennsylvania Dutch term for powwowing is *Braucherei*<sup>2</sup> (from the German *brauchen*: to use).<sup>3</sup> The custom is part of the tradition which German immigrants from the Rhineland and Switzerland brought with them in the 17th and 18th Centuries when they settled in Pennsylvania and in other areas of what is now the eastern United States and Canada.<sup>4</sup> The word "powwow," however, is of Algonquin origin, meaning "a ceremony, esp. of conjuration, marked by noise and feasting, and performed for cure of diseases, success in war, etc."<sup>5</sup>

The term "powaw" was used among the colonists in reference to Indian medicine men. Cotton Mather in 1699 referred to the skills of Indian powaws who cured people who had been bewitched. Mather himself, a devout Christian, believed in the efficacy of their practices.<sup>6</sup>

However, the Pennsylvania Dutch methods of faith-healing were not at all derived from or influenced by the Indian practices and techniques. The Dutch merely adapted a popular term to a long-established custom. Although they too consulted powwowers or powwow doctors to exorcise evil (hex) which had been placed upon them by witches, they also sought the powwower's aid for curing a variety of purely physical diseases.

In reading Mather's account, one sees a similarity between the practices of the Indian powaw and the Pennsylvania Dutch powwower. However, the powwowing of the Dutch is steeped in Christian tradition as well as primitive belief. Officially outlawed by the organized church, powwowing, nevertheless, attributes its power to the Christian God. Powwowers, then,

claim to be practitioners of God's healing power, intermediaries through which God cures the faithful. Therefore a person must believe, not only in God, but also in the ability of the powwower to be assured of a cure.

The charms which the powwowers use, if not directly from the Bible, contain Christian references, particularly to Jesus or Mary. And each charm concludes with "the three highest names"<sup>7</sup> of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Furthermore, if a powwower is to help a patient, i.e., stop his bleeding from a distance, he must have the patient's full name as he was baptized.

Powwowing is usually learned through the means of oral transmission, generally imparted through alternating sexes: from woman to man and from man to woman. However, some practitioners also refer to books containing charms and recipes such as John George Hohman's *Long Lost Friend*, published in Reading in 1820,<sup>8</sup> *Egyptian Secrets* attributed to Albertus Magnus, and the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. (Although generally considered a source for *Hexerei*, the Moses books contain a few powwow charms.)<sup>9</sup>

This tradition of handing down the techniques and charms from generation to generation accounts, in part, for its survival. Other contributing factors have been the remoteness of farms where the distance to a doctor is great, and the belief that the curative powers of medicine are limited and that there is some mystical force beyond its capability.<sup>10</sup>

It is possible that these factors have contributed to the survival of powwowing in Berks County. However, they do not appear to have been sufficient in maintaining powwowing as a vital tradition. Although many Berks Countians admit to having heard of a particular powwower, most agree that the practice has declined considerably in the last fifty years.

The author has attempted to answer the question, To what extent is powwowing in Berks County a fading tradition? However, the study itself has imposed several restrictions to reaching any definitive answer. First, the practice of powwowing is not normatively

<sup>1</sup>Emma G. White, "Folk Medicine Among the Pennsylvania Germans," *Journal of American Folklore*, X (1897), 78.

<sup>2</sup>Richard H. Shaner, "Living Occult Practices in Dutch Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XII: 3, (Fall 1961), 62.

<sup>3</sup>Don Yoder, *Twenty Questions on Powwowing*, from the Fourteenth Annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival, Kutztown, Pennsylvania, 1963, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, G & C Merriam Co., Springfield, Massachusetts, 1961, p. 662.

<sup>6</sup>Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 1699, in *America Begins*, Richard Dorson, editor, Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Premier Books, 1966, pp. 283-284.

<sup>7</sup>Yoder, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>John George Hohman, *Pow-wows or, The Long-Lost Friend* (Hackensack, N.J.; Wehman Bros., n.d.).

<sup>9</sup>Yoder, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures*, Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. 45, Norristown, 1935.



# Ein Brief



so von

Gott selbst geschrieben, und zu Magdeburg niedergelassen worden ist.

Er war mit goldenen Buchstaben durch einen Engel gesandt worden soll man ihn geben, wer ihn



ben geschrieben, und von Gott den; wer ihn abschreiben will, verachtet, von dem weicht



Der

Herr.



Wer am Sonntag arbeitet, der ist verflucht. Demnach gebiete ich, daß ihr am Sonntag nicht arbeitet, sondern andächtig in die Kirche gebet; aber euer Angesicht nicht schmücket; ihr sollt nicht fremdes Haar tragen, und sollt nicht Hoffahrt treiben; von eurem Reichthum sollt ihr den Armen geben, reichlich mittheilen und glauben, daß dieser Brief mit meiner eigenen Hand geschrieben und von Christo selbstem ausgesandt sey, und daß ihr nicht thut wie das unvernünftige Vieh; ihr habt sechs Tage in der Woche, darinnen sollt ihr eure Arbeit verrichten: aber den siebenten (nämlich den Sonntag) sollt ihr heiligen; werdet ihr das nicht thun, so will ich Krieg, Hunger, Pestilenz und Dürre unter euch schicken und euch mit vielen Plagen strafen. Auch gebiete ich euch, einem jeden, er sey wer er wolle, Jung und Alt, Klein und Groß, daß ihr am Samstag nie spät arbeitet, sondern ihr sollt eure Sünden bereuen, auf daß sie euch mögen vergeben werden. Begrebet auch nicht Silber und Gold, treibet nicht Fleischeslust und Begierden; denket, daß ich euch gemacht habe und wieder zernichten kann.

Freuet euch nicht, wenn euer Nachbar arm ist,

haltet meinen Befehl, den ich euch durch meinen Engel gesandt habe. Ich wahrer Gott vom Himmels-Thron, Gottes und Maria Sohn. Amen.

Dies ist geschehen zu Magdeburg im Jahre 1783.

habt vielmehr Mitleiden mit ihm, so wird es euch wohl geben.

Ihr Kinder! ehret Vater und Mutter, so wird es euch wohl geben auf Erden. Wer dies nicht glaubt und hält, der ist verdammt und verloren. Ich, Jesus, habe dieses selbstem mit meiner eigenen Hand geschrieben, wer es widerspricht und lästert, derselbe Mensch soll keine Hilfe von mir zu erwarten haben, wer den Brief hat und ihn nicht offenbaret, der ist verflucht von der christlichen Kirche, und wenn eure Sünden noch so groß wären, sollen sie euch, wo ihr herzlich Reue und Leid habt, doch vergeben werden.

Wer es nicht glaubet, der soll sterben und in der Hölle gepeinigt werden, auch ich werde am jüngsten Tage fragen um eurer Sünden willen, da ihr mir dann antworten müßet.

Und derjenige Mensch, so diesen Brief bei sich trägt, oder in seinem Hause hat, dem wird kein Donnerwetter Schaden zufügen, er wird für Feuer und Wasser sicher sein; und wer ihn offenbaret vor den Menschenkindern, der wird seinen Lohn haben, und fröhliches Abscheiden aus dieser Welt empfangen.

*The Himmelsbrief was believed to protect the house and person from harm. This German copy was printed in Philadelphia after the Civil War, and reprinted by the Editor for the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival in 1964.*

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accepted by Berks residents. As a result, the author was able to interview only three of the eight powwowers that she had located in the county. The possibility that others may practice powwowing, combined with the relatively few who would submit to an interview, limits any conclusion about powwowing in all of Berks County.

Furthermore, women powwowers would not reveal their techniques to another woman. The author was fortunate in being able to interview two members of the same chain of transmission. The intervening member of the chain, a woman, would not speak with the author, because custom had restricted her to divulge this information to men only. A much more accurate study of change could have been developed had the author been able to record her influence.

Finally, there was a limitation in procuring all pertinent information from all of the powwowers who were interviewed. The second was willing to divulge very little about the content of his charms, his procedures, or the number of people he has cured. (However, his freely discussing his attitudes toward powwowing helped to compensate for this restriction). The third informant was accustomed to speaking in Pennsylvania Dutch. Although the author's mother was present as a translator, the powwower nevertheless felt uncomfortable and might have given more information, had we been able to communicate more easily.

In the following accounts of the interviews with the three Berks County powwowers, the author has protected the identity of the informants by substituting the letters A, B, and C for their names.

## INTERVIEWS WITH THREE POWWOWERS

### *Powwower A*

When Powwower A says, "When I help somebody, I feel like I'm floating on a cloud!" he looks as though he really means it. Round, ebullient and loquacious, "Windy Mr. A." (as one of his friends calls him) made powwowing sound like a lively art rather than a fading tradition. For two hours in the living room of his home in rural Berks County, Mr. A revealed to us his cures, techniques, successes, failures, and most importantly, the intense satisfaction that he derives from powwowing.

"When I get through with a person it does something to me." He cured a man for "arthur-itis" who couldn't find himself no more and when he left here, the second time he was here he went out and dug in the garden." He helped a woman who hadn't slept for six months. When she left here and got in the car, she was asleep before they reached the highway." Another woman of eighty-eight had "arthur-itis so bad she couldn't close her hand." After having seen Mr. A one evening, she was ironing the next morning. These successes and others helped to make him regard powwowing as his most important work.

He does have other occupations. During the day he works in a shop in a nearby town. In the evenings and on weekends, when he isn't powwowing, he tends his own shop in the rear of his home.

"In no way do I believe in anything of the hex. That has nothing to do with powwowing. Because powwowing is more or less faith-healing. You have to believe."

Now this here powwowing business, it is through God. You don't heal to my way of thinking. You don't do the healing, the Man above does the healing. But it is through you, through you asking, what you ask, and the things that you ask for and the way you ask it —through Him. That's faith healing. And this is what powwowing is. Most of the old folks used to know about powwowing, but today they are ashamed.

Mr. A's procedure for healing is contained in sets of threes. He repeats the chants three times with no interruption. For instance, in curing a headache he would say:

*Von deine Kopf,  
Zu meine Hand,  
In Gottes Hand.  
From your head  
To my hand,  
In God's hand.*

After repeating this chant three times he says, "In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Amen," and then "I *throw* it away." When he says the words "from your head," he puts his hand on the forehead of his patient. And when he says, "to my hand," he draws his hand toward himself. He does this all three

times, and finally when he shouts "I throw it away," he flings his hand out to the side as if he were physically throwing the disease away.

Mr. A then repeats the above procedure two more times at fifteen minute intervals. Then the patient returns the next week, on the same day as close to the same time as possible, when the entire process is re-enacted. The patient returns the following week for the third and final session. "Then if it doesn't help, then nothin'."

Each session is exhausting, not only because the powwower is so intently involved with the meaning of his gestures and words, but also because often the patient's pain is transferred to him. He does not try to accomplish this, but very often the pain is so powerful that he receives it in the same area that the patient had it. However, when he feels it, he knows the patient is cured. Then he leaves the room to powwow for himself to remove the pain.

"When you do it for yourself, after you say it three times, the third time you say your name. Here again he makes the gesture as if he were wrenching the pain from his own head and flinging it to the side. Although many diseases have their special chants, he also has a "general one" which he uses for others which do not have specific cures, or along with special chants. "When you do the general one, you have to take the Good Book." He placed his right hand on top of the Bible and repeated:

*Dies Wasser und dies Feuer  
Dies Wasser und dies Feuer  
Dies Wasser und dies Feuer  
Dies ist ein grosse Dinge  
In dies grosses geheilige land  
Unser shoene Frau Maria.  
This water and this fire,  
This water and this fire,  
This water and this fire,  
This is a big thing,  
In this big holy land  
Our pretty lady, Maria.*

"When you get down to our pretty lady Maria — that's when you get rid of the pain and you throw it away."

He told me that he could cure everything except cancer. "I can take away the pain, but it will come back again in twenty-four hours." Among his other achievements are stopping blood ("but only when the person is there"), curing erysipelas ("when it comes together at the top of your head, that's the end of you"), livergrown, fever, backaches, sinus and warts. "You can buy a wart from somebody. You take a penny, spit on it, rub the wart, and give it to someone. And he will get it at the same spot where you had it." He gave the remedies for the same spot where you had it." He gave the remedies for the following diseases:



### Gallstones

"Let's say your mother had a gallstone attack. Then you start at the mouth—'In the name of the Father'—stay on the body and throw out the feet, and the Son, and you come across here and throw it out this way. And the last time you go down to your feet. 'Holy Ghost.' Now you repeat that three times every five minutes. Now you don't need to know the name, only for when you do it to yourself. I would know when she gets rid of it because I would feel it."

As he said the words, he made the sign of the cross in front of my mother. With "In the name of the Father" he drew a line with his hand from her chin to her feet. "And the Son," he swung an arc around from right to left, from her chin across her waist. "And the Holy Ghost," he drew the imaginary line again in front of her, from chin to toe.

### Sore Feet

*Dei Fuss und*

*Mei Fuss*

*sind gleich*

Your foot and

My foot

are alike

"three times then, 'In the name of the Father, Son, Holy Ghost;' — you throw it away."

### A Cut

"All I did was go like this, 'In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost,' like the cross over the hand, three times." He stroked the imaginary cut three times for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one direction. Then he repeated the words stroking the cut three times in lines that were perpendicular to the first three. The third time he repeated the words, he stroked the cut in the same direction as the first time.

### Hexerei

"I don't go for this witchcraft business." He is convinced that anyone who believes that he is *ferhexed* is really mentally ill. His perception in these cases and his treatment of them reveal modern psychological solutions to old fears. As a result of his success in this area, he has had many requests to help people who are emotionally disturbed. His advice is usually home-spun common sense.

I had a young woman come in, she was a Catholic, I don't care if they are Catholic, Protestant, or what. She was good, she went to church every Sunday. She figures because she goes to church, every Sunday, because she gives to church, because she believes, that nothing can happen to her. Things were happening to her; she was having tough luck, and she thought she shouldn't have it. She was a sick woman. That's right. So when she came in I talked to her, and powwowed for her nerves. Then I told her how to take care of herself.

This is what happens. See when I get that pain from someone I leave the room and I take it off myself.

Now her daughter had cataracts. And I told her what to do for her daughter and for herself and I said 'you mustn't sit and pity yourself!'

### Powwow Procedure

There are certain rules of procedure which Powwower A observes. "You're in a room. You mustn't let anyone stand up. Don't let anyone walk in back of you while you're powwowing." He provided the reasoning: "If somebody stands in the room, they might take your strength away from you. This takes a lot of strength."

Another procedural rule is, "When you powwow for somebody never take anything out of the hand or you'll burn at the stake." Violating this rule has less ecclesiastical consequences than burning at the stake, but he never mentioned the earthly punishment of arrest for practicing medicine without a license. He thought of it in terms of his religious duty. "Almighty God doesn't take money out of your hand!" Nevertheless he did not ignore the very practical side of reimbursement.

They can lay it on the table or on the Good Book. In some cases you got to have the book, in others you don't. They can lay it on the book but don't you touch it until they leave the premises.

Have you ever quoted a price? I asked him.

No, never. If someone wants to give me something, naturally if they leave me something somewhere I'm not going to walk after them and give it back to them. But I have had people who give fifty dollars.

He added that he has helped about thirty to forty people a year in the two years that he has been practicing.

I got interested in it because my wife had erysipelas and the doctor couldn't cure her. She was taking five different pills. She had so much pain the skin was coming off her face. I got old [Powwower X] to cure her. He's the one who taught the woman who taught me.

The "woman" he is referring to had become interested in powwowing earlier (about four years ago) when her husband, who had been in a severe accident, was in the hospital bleeding to death. She enlisted the aid of a powwower, a man, who was able to save her husband's life, by "stopping the blood" from his home. She then learned how to powwow from Powwower X and from reading *Egyptian Secrets*. Then she taught Powwower A.

Unusually enough, Powwower A admits his failures as well as his successes, but, he says, "You can't help someone if they want to die." In this respect he is most realistic about his "business of powwowing." "I never let this thing get out of reach. I know what I can do. I know what I ask; the Almighty has always helped me. I never tried to learn something different." It is this acute awareness of his limitations, combined with an honest concern for people, and a vibrant en-

thusiasm for what he is doing that makes a conversation with this practitioner most invigorating. And when he says, "I have helped so many people," he is probably right.

#### Powwower B

"I'm the Miracle Man of [—————]!" boasted Powwower B. Otherwise a reticent and cautious individual, the sixty-four year old practitioner took great pride in his reputation as a famous faith-healer. He told me he had many clients in Berks County, not only in the country around his home, but also in Reading itself.

"I'm well known in Lancaster County too." In fact, he told me that five years ago his practice was so extensive that he did nothing but powwowing and was able to annex an office to his house. But "that was my downfall," for, he said, his clients thought that he was making too much money and cut down on the amount of money they gave him. "You mayn't charge anything," he explained. As a result, he had to go back to work at the factory in order to supplement his income.

Powwower B was cautious as well as he was proud. Afraid that I might give information about him to the A.M.A. ("They're out to get me!"), he would not allow me to tape our conversation. Furthermore, he revealed no procedural secrets. "I took an oath when I learned, not to tell unless the person was learning."

He himself is a member of an all male powwow chain. "I learned from a man in Lebanon who learned from a man." And he is currently teaching a young boy, but "I could teach a woman too; it doesn't matter." Both of his grandfathers and his father powwowed, but they used "coals and strings. I don't know how. I never learned from them."

He uses no devices when he practices powwow. ("I say 'powwow' for the old people; but it really is faith-healing. You know, that's the modern term."). He repeats the words and gestures which he had learned from his mentor and had committed to memory. "But words are not all of it, you must be strong. If I wasn't strong, I would get it (the disease)."

"I am God's servant. I get the power from Him. He does the healing." But he emphasized that he does not use God's power for evil purposes, although some people want him to perform *Hexerei* (witchcraft). "People are not satisfied; they want you to take it off and put it on somebody else." But, he added, "I won't hurt people; I help them. I'm a faithful member of [—————] Church."

The Bible is the source of Powwowers B's inspiration and power, particularly "the one the minister always says at the end of the seremon about 'The Lord Bless thee and keep thee.'" (Numbers 6:24-26). He referred also to the following verses:

1. *Thessalonians II* (where Paul writes in verse 11): Wherefore also we pray always for you, that our God would count you worthy of *this* calling, and fulfill all the work of faith with power.

2. *Acts 28, 8-9*: And it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him.

So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed.

3. *Ezekiel 16:6*—to stop blood: And when I passed thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee, *when thou wast in thy blood, Live*; yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, *Live*.

However, he knows another charm for stopping blood, "especially when the person who is bleeding is far away." He walks around in a circle repeating this three times at four minute intervals:

Jesus Christ, thou dearest blood,  
that stoppeth the pain  
that stoppeth the blood,  
In this help (name)  
God the Father  
God the Son  
God the Holy Ghost, Amen.

"But I must have the person's first name, as they were baptized."

He said he can cure everything except *Hexerei*. Specifically, he has cured colds, fever, "the grip," sore throat, warts, cancer, shingles, crsipelas, "gang-gar-ene," scurvy, and is most famous for stopping blood. Some of the chants for these diseases he repeats in English, others in Pennsylvania Dutch.

But he revealed neither their contents nor the names of the people he had cured. "I must be careful," he said. And he was, as he looked both ways when he stepped outside.

#### Powwower C

In his eighties, Powwower C is the oldest living member of an active chain of powwowers in Berks County. He lives with one of his children. He spends most of his time here since his retirement over twenty years ago from the [—————] Company in Reading. Each day is highlighted by the mile trek to the local Hotel to buy a few beers.

In broken English and Pennsylvania Dutch interspersed with juicy chomps on chewing tobacco, he told us his repertory of powwowing chants, his procedures for using them and some examples or "proofs" of his healing powers. He was most anxious to give me this information, lamenting the fact that very few young people today bother to learn about powwowing. "The old folks all had it. I must give it away because I'm getting too old."

As we sat around the kitchen table in his home, he told us that in the sixty years that he has been practicing, he has established the reputation as the best powwower in the area. "When there's an accident around here, they always come for me." As a young boy he learned to powwow from his mother. His father

**A LETTER**

WRITTEN BY  
**GOD HIMSELF, AND LEFT DOWN AT MAGDEBURG.**

*It was written in golden letters, and sent by God through an Angel; to him, who will*

**THE LORD.**

*copy it, it shall be given; who despiseth it, from him will part*

Whoever works on Sunday, is cursed. Therefore, I command you that you do not work on Sunday, but devotedly go to church; but do not adorn your face; you shall not wear strange hair, and not carry on arrogance; you shall give to the poor of your riches, give plenty and believe, that this letter is written by my own hand and sent out by Christ himself, and that you will not act like the dumb beast; you have six days in the week, during which you shall carry on your labors; but the seventh day (namely, Sunday,) you shall keep holy; if you do not do that, I will send war, famine, pests and death among you, and punish you with many troubles. Also, I command you, every one, whoever he may be, young or old, small and great, that you do not work late on Saturday, but you shall regret your sins, that they may be forgiven you. Do not desire silver and gold; do not carry on sensualities and desires; do think that I have made you and can destroy you. Do not rejoice when your neighbor is poor, feel moreover sorry with him, then you will fare well.

You, children, honor father and mother, then you will fare well on earth. Who that doth not believe these and holds it, shall be damned and lost. I, Jesus, have written this myself with my own hand; he that opposes it and scandalizes, that man shall have to expect no help from me; whoever hath the letter and does not make it known, he is cursed by the christian church, and if your sins are as large as they may be, they shall, if you have heartily regretted and repented of them, be forgiven you.

Who does not believe this, he shall die and be punished in hell, and I myself will on the last day inquire after your sins, when you will have to answer me.

And that man who carries this letter with him, and keeps it in his house, no thunder will do him any harm, and he will be safe from fire and water; and he that publishes it to mankind, will receive his reward and a joyful departure from this world.

Do keep my command which I have sent you through my Angel. I, the true God from the heavenly throne, the Son of God and Mary. Amen.

**THIS HAS OCCURRED AT MAGDEBURG, IN THE YEAR 1783.**

Printed for PHOENIX, by Peter Steiner, Reading, Pa.

*An English "Himmelsbrief" or "Letter from Heaven" printed in the second half of the 19th Century by the Eagle Press, Reading, and reprinted from a copy in the Don Yoder Collection for the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival in 1964.*

couldn't teach him because, he said, the knowledge could be transmitted only from man to woman and woman to man, because "that's the way it's gotta be, yes indeed."

He has taught four women: his two daughters when they were young girls (only one now practices); the woman who taught Powwower A; and "a young woman from Allentown," his current student. Although he believes that he has helped many people and can continue to help others, he feels that teaching other people how to powwow is now his most important job. "Now I'm gettin' too much of it. I gotta quit on it. Somehow, I gotta give it away."

Whenever he is curing a patient, he uses his "little Bible," a King James version, in English. "Lay your hand on the Bible whenever you are curing." The words of his chants are not from the Bible; he learned them from his mother. Rather, the Bible gives him his inspiration and power for healing. He pointed to one verse which he said gave him this power. He had

trouble finding it, explaining that his eyesight was not very good. The passage which he selected (Numbers 7:1) did not seem appropriate to the idea of healing:

"And it came to pass on the day that Moses had fully set up the tabernacle, and had anointed it, and sanctified it, and all the instruments thereof, and had anointed them, and sanctified them."

I read the passage aloud and asked him if it was the one he meant. He confirmed that it was and explained that he always read it to himself before he began the healing or after his patients left. "Read it to yourself, understand, not to the people. But don't forget Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

This passage did not make sense to me until I had returned home and checked the passage which Powwower B had quoted as one which gave him inspiration. "The one the minister always says at the end of the sermon about the Lord bless thee and keep thee." This passage came from the first three of the last four

verses of Numbers, Chapter 6:

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

It seems possible that Powwower C, who had difficulty both hearing and seeing, became confused and pointed to the wrong verse and that instead of pointing to the end of Chapter 6, he pointed to the beginning of Chapter 7. Or that at some point in the transmission of technique to him, the verses had become confused. The fact that he said that he repeated it after the patient left his house would serve to give credence to the possibility of confusion.

He made it clear from the beginning that his powers were *good*, "from God," and that he had nothing to do with *Hexerei*. He did admit though that he could cure someone who had been *fer-hexed*. In fact, he said he could cure just about any illness except a broken bone (he could cure only the pain from the break) or "nerve problems like a headache — that's no good."

When he cures a patient, he "takes away" the disease but does not contract it himself; nor does he transmit it to some other object. He powwows for a patient on three separate days with one week intervals between each session. Although he said that it is important for him to see a patient on the same day of the week, "It does not matter if it is not at the same time of the day." Each session consists of his repeating the words of the chants three times (in Pennsylvania Dutch) and concluding with "Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen" (in English). He charges no fee for his services but explained that the payment in money makes the healing more efficacious. "They have to give ya a little bit, something to throw that away from them . . . They gotta lay it down someplace and you don't touch it until they're gone."

He had only a few specific chants for specific diseases, but he said that the following "main one" could be used for all:

*Die Wasser und dis Feuer*  
*Die Wasser und dis Feuer*  
*Die Wasser und dis Feuer*  
*Die ist eine grosse Dinge*  
*In dies grosses geheilige Land*  
*Unser younge frau Maria*  
*Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.*  
This water and this fire  
This water and this fire  
This water and this fire  
This is a big thing  
In this big holy land  
Our young lady Maria  
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Although he claimed to cure almost anything, through the course of the hour-long conversation he mentioned specifically twelve diseases which he has cured and, in some instances, he gave his appropriate chants, but in English:

#### *To stop blood*

My heart and your heart's alike  
My heart and your heart's alike  
My heart and your heart's alike  
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

He explained that he could stop someone's bleeding "far away like in Hamburg or in Kutztown. But you would have to have the person's whole name. You say the words and then their name and then Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."


"Could you stop the bleeding if the person were in Philadelphia?"

"Oh nay, not that far!"

#### *Toma-goiter*

"You hold it, maybe for a second or so and only 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen' and that goiter starts to go, yes, indeed — there was many I took away."

#### *Warts*

"Oh, that I take away. Well now I tell ya (he put his forefinger in his mouth, drew it out and described half circles around an area on the back of my hand, which he pretended had a wart, in a motion like this:  "this way around, back way around, and the other way around, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. Then they go. In a couple of days they are gone."

"Do you remove them as the moon is decreasing?"

"No moon business . . . Use your spit from your mouth."

#### *Shingles*

"Say Father, Son, and Holy Ghost and touch the part that has it."

#### *Gallstones*

For this he makes the sign of the cross over the body three times. Each time he says "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" and then Amen after the third time. "But when they get too big then they gotta go to the hospital."

#### *Insomnia*

"Now lay down and sleep, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen — three times."

#### *Livergrown*

He said that he used herbs for this one. Livergrown is "when your liver gets bigger every day." He uses "*Nobluck wasser*" (he didn't know the English word for *Nobluck*,\* but he said it was a wild root that "gets a little head on it"). "Put *nobluck* in a spoonful of hot water and take a little at a time, every couple of days."

He didn't know any more special chants. He said that a powwower could use "anything you think on, understand, that you would like to use, but that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost you gotta keep."

#### CONCLUSIONS

Powwowers A, B, and C all agreed that the number of people who powwow or who use the services of a powwow doctor has decreased. Powwower A explained that the reason was that people are now be-

\*German *Knoblouch*, "garlic".

coming ashamed of powwowing, an indication of changing cultural patterns. Powwower B attributed the decline to the pressures of the law and the medical profession. Since he practices closer to urban areas, he might feel this threat more than the others. Powwower C, lamenting the young people's disinterest in powwowing, implied the necessary prerequisite for any tradition to survive: people who will learn and transmit it. None felt that the church had censured powwowing. In fact Powwower A mentioned that his pastor had requested him to powwow for his daughter. Nevertheless, the consensus was that the tradition was fading.

However, there are indications that powwowing is not sounding its death knell. In the first place, for those who practice it, powwowing is still a thriving and exciting activity. All three claimed an extensive clientele and projected the satisfaction and pleasure they derived from healing. The latter was particularly true of Powwower A, who was almost evangelistic in his enthusiasm. Furthermore, the tradition is still in the process of transmission: Powwower A learned two years ago; Powwower C is teaching a woman from Allentown; and Powwower B is teaching a young boy from Reading. The transmission is primarily oral. All three practitioners, when they learned, were not permitted to write anything. As Powwower A explained, "*Was du schreibst, schreibst dich satt*" (What you write, you write your self fast). Nor did any of them use *The Long Lost Friend* or *Egyptian Secrets*, although they knew of those who did. This would serve to substantiate the supposition that powwowing is still in oral tradition.

The most interesting indication that powwowing is not becoming extinct is that it is adapting to the times. Now that coal stoves are no longer used by most people, powwowers today do not claim as their grandfathers did that the disease can be transferred to hot coals. With the increasing skepticism and disdain for the idea of hex, today's powwowers do not emphasize that they can cure *Hexerei*. All three informants prefaced our discussions with their stands against hexerei. Powwower C said that he did not practice it, but that he could cure someone who had been *hexed*.

Powwower B neither believed in *Hexerei*, nor pretended to cure people who claimed to be hexed. Powwower A did not practice the black art either, but considered those who thought they were hexed, mentally ill. He treated them as he treated other patients who came to him with emotional problems: with a few chants and some common-sense advice. This parallel development in folk medicine to psychiatry in the organized medical profession is, in itself, an adaptation to contemporary needs.

A final indication of ability of powwowing to change with the times is the increase in complexity and specialization of the chants and techniques. The contrast between the relative simplicity of the old and the complexity of the new is most sharply drawn in the chain of Powwower C and Powwower A. The

words which Powwower C used the most were "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," sometimes with other words, but usually alone. His only gesture was making the sign of the cross three times over the diseased area. Powwower A, on the other hand, used specific chants for each disease and varied his gestures accordingly. He also had specific rules of procedure, including removing warts as the moon is waning. In addition, Powwower A developed a modern "bedside manner" in his relationship with his patients, understanding their fears and calming their anxieties. Powwower B represents the ultimate in sophistication. His term, faith healing, his annexing an office with a waiting room, and his keen sense of competition and professionalism all reflect his yielding to the influence of the contemporary urban culture.

The tradition of powwowing has declined in terms of the numbers who practice it or use the services of the practitioner. However, it leads a vigorous existence among certain people. The question which these conclusions raise is, why has it persisted among certain people?

In the first chapter, the author cited three reasons for the existence of powwowing: the remoteness of farms, the habit of tradition, and the belief that there was some mystical power beyond the control of the medical doctor. The first reason has been omitted with the increasing accessibility of modern medicine. The second reason has also been greatly reduced with the scarcity of people willing to learn and practice the tradition. The third reason, however, still offers an explanation for the persistence of powwowing.

The majority of patients cited by all three informants had visited medical doctors before they had made arrangements to be powwowed. Receiving no immediate relief from the medical services they received, they turned instead to "higher powers" for a cure. The fact that medical science has not perfected its methods to cure every disease, combined with the belief of certain people that God ultimately is the source of all help, continues to reinforce the need for faith healing.

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# Belsnickling

## In Paxtonville

By **FAY McAFEE WINEY**

New Year's Day or Bel-Schnickel Day in Paxtonville, a small village in Central Pennsylvania, was celebrated every year and this despite sub-zero temperatures, falling snow or deep drifted snow. It was also known as "Fan-tas-tic" Day, and the reason for celebrating had its roots partly in fear and superstition of the Bel-Schnickel and partly for a day to just relax and enjoy oneself.

On this day the station agent was angry the whole day through and bitterly complained about the number of people gathered there. Some spent the entire day in the railroad station, leaving it for only a few minutes when the trains stopped, to run out to greet passengers or mainly to just "show off." Others would leave and come back again a half dozen or more times during the day. They occupied the seats, stood or lounged against the walls and also sat on the floor. He threatened to have them thrown out but the din and merry-making were too much to cope with. Other than scaring some of the younger children who ran out of the station, thus relieving some of the congestion, he could accomplish nothing.

The reason for the anger and apprehension of the station agent was that these people were not potential passengers, except for a few who would board the train for the next town, then return on the train a few hours later to continue to harass him.

New Year's Day was perhaps the only day in a whole year when the writer's mother completely ignored her



*Belsnickel with switch and bag for nuts and candies as depicted by Ralph D. Dunkelberger.*

children. She and several ladies would lock themselves in her bedroom a few days before January 1, to plan and sew the costumes they would wear on New Year's Day. Sometimes Godey's Ladies' Fashions were not gaudier nor more fashionable than these. My mother seemed to prefer male attire. One year she might wear her husband's overalls, a plaid shirt, and his button

shoes. The next year she might be a clown, or a dude, with spats, waist coat, straw hat, etc. It seemed to be a release from the long, drab colored calico dresses she wore everyday except on Sundays.

When January 1 finally arrived, Mother helped her children to "dress up" or put on costumes and masks and literally chased them out of the house. When the children were out of sight to go from one house to another, Mother and her friends also "dressed up" and disappeared for the entire day. They went directly to the station where the whole town seemed to be assembled.

The main pastime in the station was to try to guess who the masked and costumed persons might be. Sometimes bedlam ensued as people tried to tear masks off the faces of other people or loosen their clothing so as to reveal some familiar feature or gesture and thus recognize the "fan-tas-tic."

The children spent most of the day going from door to door and were seldom refused admission, as all the good neighbors did not "dress up" and join the station groups. They made a great to-do as to guessing who the little costumed figures might be and always gave them something to eat. Perhaps a few cookies, or a piece of cake; an apple and nuts; but best of all a big slice of home-made bread spread with home-made apple-butter. Also some of the farmers' wives would give a "hunk" or piece of dried beef which could be sucked or chewed on throughout the whole day. This piece of beef was not thrown away when one tired of chewing it but was tied in the corner of a handkerchief and tucked in a convenient pocket for further consumption. If mothers had not packed a lunch of some sort this handout was quite often the only food the children had all day as their mothers would not go home at the noon or evening hours to cook, and fathers were usually working or roaming about the streets also.

This going from door to door on New Year's Day in Paxtonville was somewhat like the "Trick or Treat" as practiced in near-by towns on "Hollow'even," October 31. The writer did not know that Hallowe'en was celebrated in that way until her fiancé took her to his home only three miles distant and the small costumed children came in and asked for a "trick or treat."

Some of the "fan-tas-tics" lounging around and in the station would buy a ticket for a nearby town. They caused enough disturbance on the train to provoke the conductor and engineer to threaten to stop the train and make them get off before their destination was reached. They never actually carried out their threat as these trains were on scheduled "runs" and dared not be late. There was passenger service every few hours on this particular line. The "run" was between the towns of Sunbury and Lewistown, Pennsylvania, a distance of about 50 miles. The passengers were mostly men who worked in Lewistown at the Standard Steel Works and in the sand mines in that same vicinity. Therefore there could be no stopping of a train no matter how great the annoyance, as these men must

not be late for work unless some real emergency caused the trains to be late. The regular passengers must have sighed with relief when the "fan-tas-tics" got off at the next stop where they visited taverns, the station, or loitered around the streets making merry but actually doing nothing of a mean or malicious nature. They returned to Paxtonville on the next train to the further annoyance of the station agent.

On one of these New Year's celebrations the writer had not seen or recognized her mother that entire day. But later that evening when she had joined the group in the station, she became attracted to a man sitting on a bench when she saw him cross his legs and begin to swing his foot back and forth. My mother always crossed her legs and swung her foot when seated. Above the din the writer pointed to the man and called out, "That is not a man, that's my mom." She was very angry but controlled herself; needless to say the mischief was done and others began to recognize her. That night when mother was helping her brood to return to normal, the writer got one of the worst tongue-lashings of her young life.

Another diversion from just staying in the station was that a group of young people who were "dressed up" wanted to go to Beavertown about five miles to the west of Paxtonville. They begged a friend whose father had a team and wagons to take them to the town. She was afraid her father would discover the team was missing and punish her when she returned. The group however planned how they could get in the barn unseen. The young woman hitched the team to the spring wagon and then another "dressing up" act took place as they decorated the wheels with twigs and artificial flowers. They draped the wagon with bunting and put costumes on the horses. The owner of the team saw it later in the evening but didn't recognize it as his own. Later that night they returned, took off the decorations, "undressed" the horses, and the father never knew what had taken place until years later when the event was remembered and told.

There was no organized parade on this day as it was ushered in at midnight by the firing of pistols and rifles and the ringing of the church and school bells. Horse back riders dressed in gay costumes, their horses also decorated colorfully, carriages or sleighs gay with bunting and crowded to capacity with "fan-tas-tics," children and adults walking, running, even sledding, in costumes of every conceivable description, made a colorful spectacle all day long.

When New Year's Day fell on a weekday children had to go to school. The riders on horseback would ride up to the windows of the school and it seemed to the frightened children that they would break in and trample them. These riders also waited until recess time when the children would be skating or pushing sleds on a large pond or dam directly across the street from the school which some years froze over many inches thick. They would ride on the ice and it was a credit to their superb handling of their horses

that no children were hurt as they ran in panic around the pond screaming with terror.

The expression, "You'd better be good or the 'Bel-Schnickel' will come and get you on New Year's Day" was a favorite of the writer's great-grandmother who would often say it, especially during the Christmas holidays, hoping to scare the children so that they would be "good" and thus make the preparations for the season somewhat easier.

It seems that the Bel-Schnickel and Santa Claus were one and the same in certain Dutch communities. He would bring gifts on Christmas Eve. If these gifts were not appreciated and the people, children especially, were "not good" during the holiday season the Bel-Schnickel would come on New Year's Day and punish them. The people therefore "dressed up" or wore costumes and masks and became "fan-tas-tics" for the entire day so that if the "Bel-Schnickel" saw them he wouldn't recognize them and they would escape being punished. The adults who "dressed up" on this day of course no longer believed in the Bel-Schnickel as it was actually a part of childhood and like belief in Santa Claus is lost in early childhood, so belief in and fear of the Bel-Schnickel was lost in early childhood.

This custom of celebrating New Year's Day and fear of the "Bel-Schnickel" gradually gave way to the "Trick or Treat" of Hallow'een which became the only day in the year when masks and costumes were and are still worn, but only after dark unless the churches or schools hold a masquerade party for the children.

Not every town had a High School and those who wished to further their education had to commute to the larger towns. This association with others brought about like interests and diversions thus changing the old customs based in part on fear and superstition and because of having celebrated in this way even when the writer's mother was a little girl.

Before this change occurred, however, Hallow'een as well as New Year's Day was always celebrated in Paxtonville but the celebration was different in one or more respects from that of the neighboring towns. Whereas in nearby towns some acts of maliciousness took place, they celebrated mostly by the "Trick or Treat" groups in costumes or by attending elaborate masquerade parties. Meanwhile in Paxtonville there were few if any costumed people but acts of downright malicious and nasty nature were perpetrated.

At dusk children in groups carried a "toot" (paper bag) or salt or sugar bag full of husked, dried field corn. This was actually taken from farmers' fields possibly a week or two before Hallow'een and dried, then shelled to throw at window panes or doors of homes. The object was to try to scare the occupant within. This usually occurred, as persons inside did not know when the corn would be thrown and the noise of the grains against the panes or door made one involuntarily jerk and become irritable because of it.

Children also with the help of older persons rigged tic-tac-toes to spoutings, door knobs, window sills and



*Belsnickel Christmas cookie cutter from the Geesey Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art.*

other convenient places. Rosin was then drawn along this which usually consisted of Aunt Lydia's thread and the eerie sound caused the householders to exclaim impatiently as they were well aware of what was causing it.

These harmless but annoying acts did not greatly distress anyone but the meaner acts performed late at night and in the early morning hours were dreaded by most of the residents who expected them every year but sometimes even then were not prepared for the downright meanness displayed.

The favorite past-time of Hallow'eeners was to remove the "privies" or out-door toilets which were used at that time by most residents, to another location. This location quite often was on top of front porch roofs or sometimes on the roof of a chicken house or other outbuilding, cow shed, smokehouse, barn, etc., a mile or two away. Sometimes these "privies" were simply turned up-side down on the original foundation. Quite often a few days elapsed before the building would be located.

As the writer stated before, no costumes were worn in Paxtonville on this night as in other nearby towns, and if some one was caught in the act of doing some real harm, unless the culprit ran very fast he was recognized, caught and whipped or led by the ear to his parents from whom payment for damages was demanded. These were real and costly sometimes as the contents of a smokehouse (hams, bacon, or other pieces of meat) were taken out and strung on trees or other peoples' clothes lines. It might also be that the smokehouse itself was taken away. Sometimes hogs were butchered earlier than the traditional Thanksgiving



Day butchering and the meat would be in the process of being "smoked," a preservative or cure for the meat. The meat was rarely if ever actually spoiled so that it could not be used, but the curing process was interfered with and had the meat not been found within a day or so, and the smoking of it continued, spoilage could have occurred and sometimes did, which meant quite a large payment settlement from the parents. Meat was not the only item taken, as farmers invariably discovered to their annoyance the next morning. They would find their plows, harrows, hay stacks (parts of them), spring wagons or other objects of like nature removed from their barns and they would have to go in search of them. The schoolmaster sometimes found he could not enter the schoolroom as these objects sometimes were piled on the roof and against the door of the schoolhouse to the delight of the children. He would have to notify the farmers and quite often he asked the older, bigger boys, some who might actually have helped to put them there to at least get them off the porch and into the school yard so that lessons could be conducted.

Many malicious acts were deliberately perpetrated and carried out all in the same evening. Besides the above mentioned, one that caused some residents to have to clean and wash their rugs or floors was the throwing of sticks dipped in manure into a house. One of the Hallow'eeners would knock on a door and when it was opened others would be standing with the sticks dipped into cow or pig manure preferably and throw them in on the usually clean parlor floor. Another act in this same manner was the propping of very muddy corn stalks or shocks against a door and when the knock was answered the muddy end of the corn stalk invariably fell in on the rug.

From one nasty deed to another the Hallow'eeners went and the writer participated in most of them as she and other girls had brothers in these gangs and did as they were told.

When automobiles came into use, if they were parked in front of a home, the tires would be removed, the crank thrown in a ditch, the steering wheel wired with gadgets of all kinds and large stones were piled from one end to the other on the running board of the car. When the owner wanted to use it the next day it would take him hours before he could get it in running order. When the automobile became speedier and many more were on the highways, a favorite Hallow'een act was to place old tires across the highway or a harrow or part of a high haystack and set one or more of these across the highway. The culprits then hid themselves back of the tombstones in the nearby cemetery and watched to see what would happen. How the gang figured no one would be hurt or any damage occur the writer often wonders even to this day. Automobiles traveling at higher speeds than usual because the drivers were celebrating also would come upon these obstructions and see them in time to apply their brakes. If however, the brakes would not have held

or had not been applied at the right moment one can easily imagine the grave consequences that could have taken place.

Had the writer's parents known what she and her brothers were actually doing they would have been punished rather severely as they were always warned not to destroy anything or to annoy any resident unduly. When their parents heard about the escapades the next day, they naturally could not think their own children had been involved and since the teenagers and adults who had done these things were usually in gangs of 15 to 20 persons no one "snitched" on the other. All were guilty and took care of each other if suspicion was aroused against any particular person.

The sad part about these deeds was that they were usually perpetrated against the elderly who were known as "cranky" or against several "old maids" living alone; also against the people living in the nicer, bigger homes, and against the farmers who had the meat (smoked or cured) to last through the winter; who had all the dried and canned vegetables they would need during the winter; and whose ground cellars were filled with apples (some also taken by Hallow'eeners if these cellars would prove accessible when entry was tried) to enjoy on a cold winter night.

The malicious acts against these people mostly, might have been a form of subconscious rebellion against the class of people "who had," as opposed to those who "might not have had".

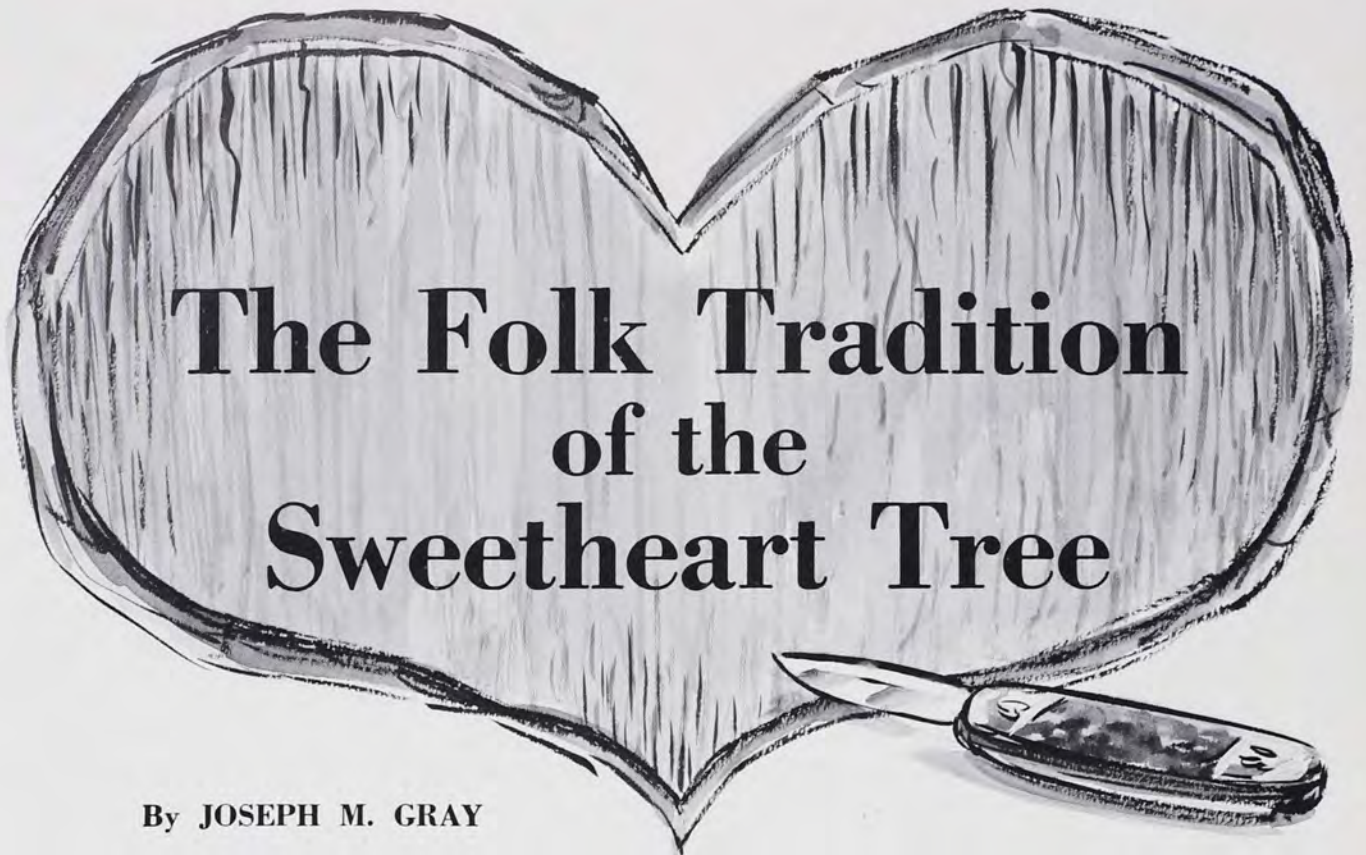
Needless to say when the fear of the Bel-Schnickel and the maliciousness of Hallow'een merged into one evening when children especially, although adults also "dress up" and go forth on "Trick or Treat," October 31, the people of Paxtonville welcomed this with feelings of immense relief.

Today if you were to ask the young people what "Bells-nickel" or "Bel-Schnickel" means they would not know, nor could they believe that October 31, fifty or more years ago, was celebrated in as malicious and nasty a way as the writer remembers and older persons tell these stories,

Lest the reader judge too harshly the Hallow'een gangs and their misdeeds of a half century ago the writer would like through comparison to defend them.

There was no known rape, no murder, no real theft, as objects taken were nearly always "gotten" by the owner the next day or only a few days later. There was little breakage of or to these objects. To the credit of the adults who were actually the ring-leaders there was little or no drunkenness on that night which in itself speaks rather well of that era. Except for the meat and that was not all ruined, and, parts of hay stacks spoiled, the payment of damages as quoted earlier seemed to satisfy the residents who suffered these inconveniences.

Today, rape, theft, murder, drunkenness, L.S.D., etc., occur every night in a year as compared to that one night of Hallow'een and one day of New Year's celebration.



By JOSEPH M. GRAY

The art of carving initials into a tree is not an exclusively modern custom. One of the earliest mentions of this custom was made by Chaucer in his *Troilus and Cressida*:

*There are not three among us here who do  
Alike in love or say alike in all,  
Yet all is said or shall be. What serves you  
May only lead another to a fall.  
Some carve a tree, some chisel at a wall,  
As fancy suits them; but as I began  
I shall pursue my author, if I can.<sup>1</sup>*

And yet, the act is as modern as 1965 when the popular song, "The Sweetheart Tree," was nominated for an academy award.

*They say there's a tree in the forest,  
A tree that will give you a sign;  
Come along with me, to the Sweetheart Tree,  
Come and carve your name next to mine.  
They say if you kiss the right sweetheart,  
The one you've been waiting for;  
Big blossoms of white will burst into sight  
And your love will be true evermore.<sup>2</sup>*

Due to this long-lived universality, the custom became a topic for analytical research. The purpose of this paper is to examine this folk tradition as it is known by the people in an area in the eastern United States, specifically Grove City, Pennsylvania. The paper is limited to the study of the folklore of marking trees in such a way that two sets of initials, the boy's and the girl's, are left visibly scarred in the bark

<sup>1</sup>Theodore Morrison (ed.), *The Portable Chaucer* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Viking Press, 1949), p. 400.

<sup>2</sup>"The Sweetheart Tree," Lyrics by Johnny Mercer (New

of the tree, serving as a memorial to their relationship.

The college community provided ample material with which to analyze Sweetheart Trees. By definition the paper is a "local project" because collection of all types of data came from members of Grove City College. The research findings are presented using "analysis written from the objective frame of reference with only occasional quotations from the interview data," as suggested by Kenneth Goldstein. The college library was used for research and photographs were taken of Grove City College Sweetheart Trees.

Although this is a local project, it has a much wider scope to it. The nature of the college draws its students from a several hundred mile radius and thus a local project, interviewing at a college, results in a broader survey project which samples the folklore repertory of one or more different areas.

After the situation had been analyzed and the materials relevant to the solution had been decided upon, by professional folklorists on this particular subject, some information on the symbolic meaning of trees was found; a hypothesis was, therefore, drawn from this information plus the field interviews.

The basic source for data collection was the field interview of 20 subjects who are working at or attending Grove City College. The interviewing was done so as to obtain an expressive answer to all six points necessary in a research paper on folklore: what,

York: The East Hill Music Co., Inc., 1965).

<sup>3</sup>Kenneth Goldstein, *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, Inc., 1964), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 123.



*Sweetheart Trees on the Grove City College Campus.*

when, where, who, why, and how.<sup>5</sup> The eight questions asked of those interviewed were:

1. At what age did you first become aware of Sweetheart Trees?
2. How was the knowledge of Sweetheart Trees transmitted to you?
3. Were there many Sweetheart Trees in your area? Was there a main one? Where were they located?
4. Did you and your sweetheart ever carve your set of initials on the Sweetheart Tree? How old were you when you did this?
5. In what manner were the initials etched into the tree? the tools used? other symbols used? What other markings did you see?
6. To you what was the significance of this act?
7. Did the Sweetheart Tree have a meaning to your associates? Was it ever used as a joke by people who didn't like each other?
8. Have you been or will you be an oral carrier of this tradition?

To most people a tree is a thing of beauty that inspires awe, but to the folklorist the symbolic significance of trees is much greater. A tree "symbolized immortal life, wisdom, knowledge, and the universe."<sup>6</sup> Such a statement doesn't surprise us because of our familiarity with the Biblical text of Adam and Eve and the role of the Tree of Life in that tale. The very nature of a tree suggests life as one's own "family tree." Probing further Whittick tells us that our use

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup>Arnold Whittick, *Symbolic Signs and their Meaning* (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford Co., 1960), p. 275.

of the tree stems from "a hardly-conscious survival of the custom of looking to the vegetable world, and principally the tree as most imposing creation, as a typification of life."<sup>7</sup> Such a statement provides a kind of unconscious motive for a boy and girl to want their markings on such a significant item as a tree. However, from interviews, the discovery was made that the act was done because the tree was simply there and others had done it before.

Trees also symbolize "creation, fertility, love, organic unity, and phallus."<sup>8</sup> This erotic theme and quality of trees would be recognized by Freud's disciples as the explanation why two sweethearts would choose the tree as an object upon which to express their love. Every person interviewed was to some extent romantically involved when their initials appeared on a Sweetheart Tree. No one interviewed ever mentioned an erotic symbolic quality of this type, but the basic drives of sex are behind the total relationship. The phallus nature of the tree is understood in the general shape and strong rugged character of the trees. In the act of carving, the boy does the etching while the girl watches.<sup>9</sup> The reason is that carving is hard work, boys are more likely to carry the necessary tools, and boys usually initiate a relationship and it would be socially incorrect of the girl to make the symbol. Using the erotic symbolism, it would not be correct for the girl to be "forward."

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>8</sup>Gertrude Jones, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore, and Symbolism* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1961), p. 1584.

<sup>9</sup>Interview with Cindy Hart, senior, Grove City College, November 12, 1968.

*Deer head carved in aspen bark. For comparative materials on tree carvings in the United States, see Jan Harold Brunvand and John C. Abramson, "Aspen Tree Doodlings in the Wasatch Mountains: A Preliminary Survey of Traditional Tree Carvings," in Austin and Alta Fife and Henry Glassie, Editors, Forms upon The Frontier: Folklore and Folk Arts in the United States (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1969), pp. 89-102.*



Another symbolic meaning of trees is that they suggest life. Evergreens live throughout the year, but they make unsuitable Sweetheart Trees because of their thick branch structure which reaches to the ground. Trees which live and die also suggest life. These seasonal trees bud in the Spring at the time when all passions are re-emerging. In this seasonal context love and Sweetheart Trees are closely related; love and life are renewed in the Spring in the forest.

The field interview provided the actual recording of the folklore of Sweetheart Trees. The answers to the eight questions show the customs, and like all folklore, the variations upon the custom. It cannot be stated that there is a set procedure for the act or that there ever is a "pure" Sweetheart Tree that does not contain single initials or other marks other than love.

The first question was asked in order to discover when people first became aware of this folk custom. The average age was nine with ranges from five<sup>20</sup> to seventeen.<sup>21</sup>

Logically, the second question was to determine how the knowledge of the Tree was transmitted to each person. In all but three cases the knowledge of them came from observing local Sweetheart Trees. The folk tradition was not orally transmitted. Many of those interviewed remembered talking to their friends about the trees, but they were already aware of the trees. The other three noticed them through visual means also. One subject<sup>22</sup> had read about characters carving their initials in trees in love stories that she had read about age ten. Another first got the idea from "Donald

Duck" comic books also at about age ten.<sup>23</sup> A third<sup>24</sup> discovered Sweetheart Trees on a television program, "The Real McCoys," and through "Archie" comic books.

Question number three tried to locate the proximity of trees in the area of the interviewee. From the data gathered there can be no conclusive evidence as to where the trees are usually located. In rural areas the trees were scattered throughout the woods; in small towns they were along side streets. Still in other areas the trees were in the woods at special picnic places made popular by local people. Some were found in parks, especially in large city and suburban areas. Despite the fact that people become aware of trees in grade school, only one had noticed a tree near a school playground. The only conclusion that may be drawn is that where there are trees and lovers, there is bound to be a Sweetheart Tree. Here on Grove City campus, for example, one such tree is located along the path that serves as a shortcut to town and also as a strolling area for lovers.

In question four the age at which people marked their trees was the subject. Ages varied greatly. The average was between fourteen and eighteen years of age. The number of times which people had done it varied greatly also — some only once in their life, some as many as six times with six different people.

The heart of the folklore inquest is the fifth question, for it is here that one discovers what is actually done to a tree and how it is done. The basic tool used by the majority of those interviewed was the penknife. This item is standard equipment on most any man from grade school to pipecleaning age inclusively. The

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Ethel Sharkey, senior, Grove City College, November 12, 1968.

<sup>21</sup>Interview with Peggy Heine, senior, November 12, 1968.

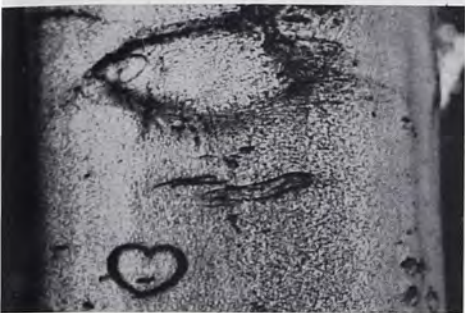
<sup>22</sup>Interview with Karen Anthony, senior, November 12 1968.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with Allen Ruckel, senior, November 12, 1968.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Ethel Sharkey, November 12, 1968.



*Sweetheart Trees on the Grove City College Campus.*



fingernail file, broken glass, a railroad spike, a paring knife, and even the flame from a carbide lantern<sup>15</sup> have also been used.

As to what form the initials were carved and the symbols which accompanied the basic initials, there is general uniformity. About all the initials were placed one set above the other. The plus sign (+) was used by all but three people. Only fifty percent of those interviewed bothered to carve a heart around the initials, and even fewer put an arrow through the heart. This is due to the great amount of effort which such carving involves. The heart and arrow are traditional symbols of love in America and become known in the first grade through the celebration of Saint Valentine's Day. It is no mystery then that this symbol is familiar to children by the time they discover Sweetheart Trees. The determining factor as to whether or not the heart and/or arrow goes into a tree is the energy of the boy on that eventful day and the keenness of his knife.

This folk custom is indeed simple and available to all, whereas some of the other folk customs require special skills, such as singing ballads or telling tales. In order to add to or create a Sweetheart Tree, one needs only a tree, a sweetheart, and something sharp. No mental or physical skill is needed above the ability to print.

The significance of the act may be summed up as a romantic lark. Those answering question number six said that they were "going steady" at the time or were school chums, but the act was not as significant as a high school ring or college pin.

The social significance of the tree is less precise. All agreed that the tree was "special" and usually not used

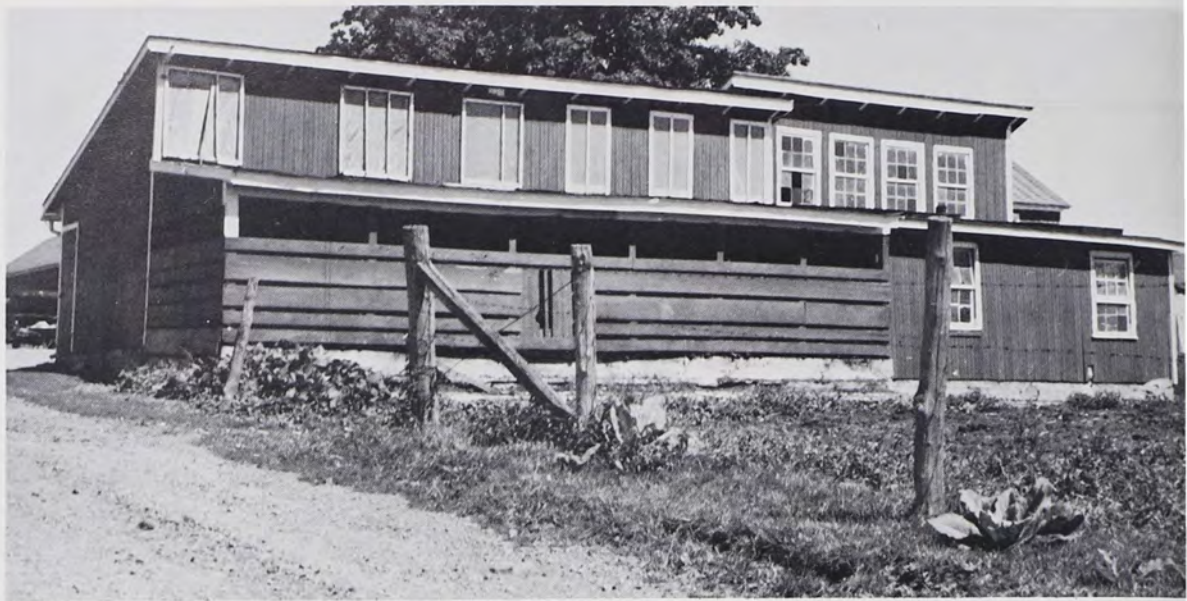
<sup>15</sup>Interview with William Craig, employee of Grove City College, November 12, 1968.

in jest or for maligning other people. Those who wished to joke with someone by placing initials of someone with another person usually just chalked them on the sidewalk or a wall. The jest was usually not serious enough to involve the person in the extra effort of actually carving into a tree. Also trees were not as centrally located to be as effective for a joke — a more likely place would be the playground, a desk, a fence, a wall, etc. Therefore, the Sweetheart Tree was still "special."

As was stated earlier the tradition of Sweetheart Trees is transmitted visually by seeing the trees or reading about them. For this reason only a few people interviewed said that they would be an oral carrier of this tradition. All, of course, if asked about such trees would tell what they knew of the tradition. But the eighth question was posed to determine if they would voluntarily tell younger people about the tradition. Only a few had already told the custom, but all said that when a person asked about Sweetheart Trees then they would tell them the custom.

One may conclude that the Sweetheart Tree is almost universally recognized as a symbol of romance and an act of declaring it. It is at least to the people of the eastern United States where the preceding survey was made. Other sources, literary and other, such as Chaucer's work, the movie theme, and television programs, have contributed to making the custom internationally famous. Whether or not the custom will continue and be passed on as a folk tradition can only be speculated upon. Certainly, it will endure for the lifetime of those trees which bear the markings at this time. Probably, it will pass from existence only when a substitute is discovered which affords an opportunity for lovers to display their feelings.

*Pigsty and Chicken house located on the Melvin Brubaker farmstead, Myerstown, Pennsylvania.*



*Pigs ready for the annual fattening raised on the author's farm.*

*Early stone pigsty with attached corn crib on the farm of J. Henry Meyer, Annville, Pennsylvania.*



# PIGPENS and PIGLORE In Rural Pennsylvania

By AMOS LONG, JR.

Pigs, or *Sei* in the dialect of the Pennsylvania Dutch, ranked next to cattle among the livestock kept on the pioneer farm and homestead in Pennsylvania.

Like fowl in the early settlements, most pigs were without housing and were allowed to range at will, sometimes in large numbers for long periods of time; consequently many regressed to a wild state resembling the wild boar type of Europe from which they originated. They were lean, swift, fierce, with a narrow, medium body, long snout and legs, arched back, large bones, long rough hair, and were good subsoilers. Although they could outrun and outfight most of their forest enemies, they did fall prey to some of the larger animals, particularly the bear which had a fondness for pork and to wild dogs which proved a menace. Ac-

counts given by early writers reveal that some pigs became so wild and ferocious that they had to be hunted and shot like other wild beasts of the forest. In some places they rivaled deer as a source of wild meat for the colonists.

Pigs roamed the field and forest for more than a century and it was not until about 1850 that they were generally confined. Not only did they roam the wilderness; but many ran at large in towns and villages. Although they scavenged the refuse that was thrown into the streets, they soon became very objectionable. In most of the towns where pigs were allowed to roam, it became unlawful for them to be without yokes about their necks and without rings in their snouts. This was supposed to help control them by preventing them

Photography by  
Amos Long, Jr.

Early frame pigsty attached to brickend  
barn on John M. Alt-  
house's farm, Myers-  
town.





*Frame pigsty (left) on the author's farm after snowstorm in 1967. Sow and pigs (below) in outdoor enclosures in front of pigsty.*

from rooting and turning up the ground. Earlier records inform us that pigs without yokes and rings could be killed by anyone.

It was not uncommon for large droves of pigs to stray many miles during the day and return before nightfall, particularly if their scavenging was supplemented with corn or other grains. Many pigs were allowed to roam in the woods year around, summer and winter. During the latter part of November, with the approaching butchering season, farmers would form large hunting parties in search of wild pigs which were pursued and shot.

Earlier writers tell us that even though the pigs seemed fat, their flesh was not firm. This was largely the result of feeding on fruits; particularly apples, peaches and mast, chiefly acorns and chestnuts. Gabriel Thomas' in his book tells of pigs, about a year old, that weighed two hundred pounds with a sweet luscious flesh.

Luther Kleinfelter, a farmer in Lebanon County, who prefers to allow his breeding sows to roam year around in a fenced, wooded area, contends that they do better for him when on their own. He maintains that a year in which there is a good acorn yield is also a good year for growing pigs. He supplies additional supplements to his pigs once a day with good results.

Pigs roaming the forest made it easy to shoot and steal them. Stealing pigs was a source of much bad feeling between neighbors and the Indians. There were numerous complaints from the settlers against many Indians who had acquired a taste for pork, preferring it to venison, for raiding and destroying their pigs.

With the passage of time, the farmers were supposed to brand their pigs with an identifying mark which

<sup>1</sup>Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania and of West New Jersey in America*, London, 1698, pp. 21-22.



was to be burned on them when young and recorded by the county court. This request was generally ignored or accomplished with great difficulty. Some farmers attempted to herd their pigs in late autumn and fatten them on corn. This proved difficult and fre-





*Old-time farm butchering scene drawn by Walter W. Calvert, Farm Journal Magazine.*

quently impossible to distinguish their own from others unless they were branded.

Strict legal measures were instituted to reduce thievery but often were of little avail. One such law enacted in 1672 read: "That formuch as many and great Complaints have been made against Hogg Stealers, . . . It is Ordered that the person soe offending and convicted for the Same, shall for the first Offence besides a fine to be imposed by the Court receive the Corporall punishment of haveing one of his Ears cutt off to bee an Example to all others, and for the next receive some more severe punishment, as the Court shall direct or Judge meet."<sup>2</sup> "The barbarous punishment of the law of 1672 (ear cropping) was repealed by William Penn who provided for the third offence, the punishment was to be twenty-nine lashes and banishment from the colony."<sup>3</sup>

Improvement was made in the breeding of pigs about the beginning of the 19th Century. After the middle of the century, the woodhog or razorback still persisted in the backwoods but most pigs were grades of improved breeds. This was accomplished through crossbreeding and imported boars were bred to native sows. Through selection, breeding, feeding and improved management, the pigs attained a larger size, shorter legs, smaller bones, earlier maturity, and became more docile, resulting in more economical pork production.

Pigs today are classified as lard or fat type and bacon or lean type. During earlier years the larger and

<sup>2</sup>Duke of York's Laws, 1676-1682, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682-1700, Harrisburg, 1879, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840*, Harrisburg, 1950, p. 188.

fatter the pig, the better; but markets today demand the leaner breeds. The body of the fat pig is compact, deep, broad and low, with short back and deep, fat sides; the neck is short and thick, head small, hams and shoulders large. The bacon type, produced for its fine, lean cuts of bacon, has longer legs, long neck, coarse head, narrow back and deep sides. In more recent years it has been found by farmers and hog producers alike that a cross between two purebreeds gives pigs that make the most economical gains. Beginning with the 20th Century, pig production and breeding continued to improve and was promoted by the organization of numerous community, cooperative breeders associations.

An address by William Tilghman printed in the *Pottsville Miners' Journal* of April 23, 1825 reads: "We have in Pennsylvania good horses but in the best breeds of cattle, hogs and sheep we are defective." Since then America has produced a number of good breeds of pigs. Some of the earlier breeds developed, such as the Woburn, are now extinct. The Chester White, still a popular breed, was developed in Chester County, Pennsylvania. English breeds were imported in large numbers. Among them was the Berkshire breed which became very popular and still is a leading producer. Others including the Suffolk, Duchess, and Essex were used to upgrade native sows. The Poland-China, Duroc-Jersey, Hampshire, Yorkshire and Tamworth are among the more popular breeds today.

The fecundity of the sows seemingly has no limits. An average litter consists of eight to twelve pigs, depending on age, size, breed, feeding and management of the sow. Many had fewer than eight, some more

than twelve. There are records which show that early in the history of pig production, some sows farrowed as many as twenty pigs. The gestation period for a sow is about one hundred twelve days or three months, three weeks and three days. Young sows may farrow a few days sooner and older sows will frequently go a few days over. It has been a general practice for farmers to allow their sows to produce two litters of young a year when properly managed. With the severe winters in Pennsylvania, most farmers find it best to have their sows farrow in March or April and again in September or October.

After pigs were generally confined, some were still allowed to roam the fields and forests in search of a precarious living on roots, herbage, and grains in stubble fields, faring sumptuously on mast and dropped apples and peaches during the late summer and autumn of the year. As the supply of mast, fleshy roots and fruits diminished, more of the pigs were confined and sheltered within the barnyard area. They were fed on potatoes, beets, squash, apples, peaches, other vegetables and fruits and Indian corn. When available, dairy wastes, kitchen scraps, legumes and other grains were fed in large quantities as a supplemental feed and to help fatten the pigs for slaughter. It was a common practice to keep one pig for every four or five cows on the farm.

Pigs imported from Europe were not as well suited to the use of Indian or field corn as they were to the grains of their native country although corn became the universal fattening feed for pigs. The area in southeastern Pennsylvania, Lancaster, Berks, Lebanon, York, Cumberland and Franklin, the important corn producing countries, also led in the early production

of pigs. As pig production became more specialized many of them were fattened in dry lots, however green forage crops such as clover, rape, and alfalfa supplemented with grain gave faster and cheaper gains. The life of a pig was conveniently divided into four feeding periods of six to eight weeks each. 1. The milk period in which a large part of growth was from the mother's milk with some sloppy feed added. 2. The wet mash period when feed was given mostly in wet form with plenty of skim milk with sliced roots or clover. 3. The pasture period in which clovers and grasses produce the greatest growth with a little wet mash at first and dry grains, mostly corn, toward last. 4. The corn period or fattening stage in which sliced roots were fed in addition to the large amounts of corn.

Years ago there was a popular belief that cooking and steaming feed increased its digestibility and its feeding value. In more recent years it has been found that digestibility may be decreased by cooking in the case of many feeds. There are some feeds such as potatoes and beans which are rendered more palatable by cooking and which may help to stimulate appetite.

Pigs on the farm and in backyards were usually slop fed from table and kitchen wastes which were supplemented with boiled potatoes and shells during the winter months. It was common to see a swill barrel, *sei fass*, near to where the pigs were housed. The swill, soaked or fermented feeds, was usually kept in a large wooden barrel covered with a lid to help keep out some of the flies and other insects and to retain the odor or stench from within. In addition to the kitchen and garden wastes, skimmed milk wastes were poured into the barrel.

The results from wet or dry feeding have been found to be about the same. There is less tendency to waste feed when it is given wet, especially when many pigs feed at the same trough. Normally there is no advantage to be gained from dry feeding. It is important that troughs be arranged so as to prevent crowding which will tend to lessen waste. It has been found that the gain from grinding corn is comparatively small. Grinding of small grains is much more effective than it is with corn.

When possible pigs should be provided with an abundance of fresh water, green pasture and minerals. In the days before commercial minerals many "old timers" who raised pigs supplied them with a mixture of charcoal, wood ashes, common salt, sulphur, saltpeter and air-slaked lime to supply the minerals they needed. Those pigs not confined to a building supplied their own mineral needs from the soil and vegetation.

Today breeding sows are fed twice a day, morning and evening. Farmers grind oats, barley, rye, wheat, middlings, or whatever is available with corn and add a supplement containing minerals, meat scraps and additional proteins at the rate of 300 to 400 pounds per ton of mixture. This is fed wet or dry at the rate of two to four pounds at each feeding for each mature pig



*Two and one-half story frame pigpen located on the Milton Smith homestead, Richland, Pennsylvania.*



*Combination masonry and frame pigsty on the old Schaeffer farmstead, now the property of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc.*

*An unusual pigsty arrangement, being attached to the front of the forebay of a bank barn on the farm of Victor Lehman, Marion, Franklin County, Pennsylvania.*



depending on size, condition and weather with a bucketful or more water. Feeder pigs being prepared for market are placed on self-feeders and waterers and are allowed to consume as much feed as possible.

Many farmers who fatten steers place feeder pigs in the same stable and allow them to work over the droppings of the steers and fatten upon undigested grain in the manure. Some farmers who lived near to breweries or distilleries obtained barley, corn and rye by-products of beer and whisky-making, to fatten their pigs. Sometimes shoats were brought to the brewery or distillery for confinement and feeding until they were fattened. Others fattened their stock on garbage or the offal of slaughter houses when available. With the advent of creameries, pigs were kept there and raised on milk wastes.

Since salt pork and pork in its various forms have been a staple food from the time of the pioneer settlers, pigs were raised to supply the needs of the farm family and any surplus was sold to neighbors or bartered at the country store for household needs. For slaughtering a pig of four hundred pounds or larger was preferred; consequently many farmers kept their butcher pigs for more than one winter. It was a common practice for those in the towns and villages who raised pigs to visit among neighbors to note the gains and progress being made and to determine who had the fastest growing and largest pigs. Giant size was considered a mark of superiority.

The writer recalls being told how his grandfather would compare his pigs with those in the neighborhood nearly every weekend to determine the progress they were making. Since it was my grandmother's re-

sponsibility to feed the pigs, as it was the woman's chore in many families, he would say, "*Du gebst sella sei may fooder, si woxa net wie si setta.*" (You give those pigs more feed, they are not growing the way they should.) He was determined to be among those who had the nicest and largest pigs. Often Grandma would say, "*Wo iss da pap widder?*" (Where is Pop again?) The reply would be, "*Draus im sei schtall mit de sei*" (Out in the pigsty with the pigs). He seemed to find a spiritual delight in the pigsty with the pigs.

Pigs which were exhibited at livestock shows and county fairs were often kept for several years until they attained a mammoth size. "In 1812 one such animal was slaughtered when four years and ten months old;



Side-frontal view of early stone pigsty (left) with beautifully proportioned brick-arched entrances, and side view (below), located on the Ulysses Mays Farm, south of Lebanon, Pennsylvania.



it weighed 834 pounds, dressed.”<sup>4</sup> In 1869 the *Lycoming Gazette and Bulletin* reported a hog killed weighing 614 pounds. “In 1924 a Poland-China barrow was exhibited which weighed 1,202 pounds on foot when twenty-eight months old.”<sup>5</sup>

Although it was impractical to keep pigs this size, they were to be found. Most farmers and producers soon became aware that younger stock could be fattened much more economically. The trend of market demand since 1900 has been toward smaller pigs. Today most are slaughtered at six to eight months and weighing 185 to 225 pounds. Smaller pigs 140 to 175 pounds top the market at five to six months.

“Hardly anything connected with the farm has changed as much in the last fifteen years as the pig stable. Some years ago fully half the pig stables were little more than an open roof with a rail pen at one end . . .” The statement above appeared in the *Reading Weekly Eagle* on March 13, 1897.

It is evident from the following advertisements that the pigsty (*sei-schtall*) became a permanent building on some farmsteads at an early date. In the *Friedens-Bothe*, Allentown, November 23, 1815, an advertisement of a public sale of property in New Britain Township, Bucks County, reads in part, “. . . ein steinernes Milchhaus über einer niefehlenden Wasserquelle, und ein steinernen Schweins-stall” (a stone milkhouse over a never-failing spring and a stone pigsty) A portion of another early advertisement concerning the sale of a property in Durham Township in

<sup>4</sup>Fletcher, *ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>5</sup>Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1840-1940*, Harrisburg, 1955, p. 263.

Bucks County, reads, “. . . ein steinernen Schweinstall” (. . . a stone pigsty). Although the pigsty in some form was found on many early farmsteads, those of masonry construction were rare. For many years pigs were housed in the barn separately or in the stables along with the other animals.

The story is told of two redemptioners in York County who built a house to pay for their passage. When the house was completed their master told them that they must build a pigsty yet and only then would they be free. They had to comply but with a great deal of dissatisfaction. They did complete the work but before they left one of the redemptioners said that their master should never have any luck raising pigs. Strange as it may seem, tradition has it that never a pig was raised in that pigsty.

Most of the early pig shelters were simple, inexpensively constructed. They consisted of an open roof of thatch or rough lumber or a lean-to shelter set up against the barn to provide shade from the hot sun in summer and to protect against snow and freezing rain in winter. Most of them were improvised and of a temporary nature.

Rough or used lumber, nailed vertically to the crude framework, usually sapling poles, was used in the construction of the shelters. The openings between the boards were frequently battened to make the enclosure as rain and wind proof as possible. In order to make the shelter warmer in the lower areas, fresh, strawy, horse manure was banked up along the outside walls to a depth of about two feet to help prevent drafts and provide more comfortable sleeping quarters for the pigs. Some of the shelters were built on runners or skids to move them temporarily from place to place and provide fresh and plentiful forage and clean range.

With a greater demand for pork in the markets and better management in its production, improved housing was soon adopted. Almost every pigsty possessed certain peculiar features to make it as practical as possible. There are certain desirable features of any pigsty; the most important are dryness, ventilation, light, freedom from drafts, reasonable warmth, and convenience.

Some structures on the farmstead were built as a combination pigsty and chicken-house. These contained two floors, the upper to house the chickens, and the lower portion for the pigs. Some were attached to the side of the barn. One of our picturees shows the pigsty attached to and facing the forebay of the barn. Many that the writer inspected had a privy attached or built into a corner.

The pigsty was located nearer to the barn than the house because of the odor and the flies. Some were located nearby or attached to the straw shed. On some farms the pigsty adjoined the manure pit and the pigs were allowed to root in the manure from all the farm animals, work it up and thereby hasten its rotting. Others were located adjacent to the manure pit and although the pigs did not have access to the pit, the pens were constructed to provide drainage to the out-

side, through the pen door and then into a continuous gutter running the length of the building, into the manure pit. It was important to locate the pigsty, if many pigs were housed, within an area where the liquid waste could drain away from the building. A location on high, well drained land helped to keep the pigsty dry and more comfortable. Many of the pigsties faced south or east with a passageway at the north or west. If the pigsty contained a double row of pens, it was built facing south so that the yard had an easterly and westerly exposure. Regardless of location, it was good to supply shade whenever possible.

The size of the building varied with the operation. Most of the earlier types had a shed roof which measured ten to twelve feet high in front, six to eight feet high in the rear, and twelve to fourteen feet wide. The length was determined by the number of pigs to be housed. Some of the buildings which were constructed later were wider, with a combination shed or gable roof. These allowed for a center feed and storage aisle with pens on each side. Such buildings measure ten to fourteen feet high in the center, seven to nine feet high at the ends, with a width up to twenty feet.

Nearly all the early shelters for pigs were built on the ground floor. As the structures became more permanent, foundations were constructed of stone, some containing large, inlaid, flat stones which comprised the floor aea. The foundation was constructed to approximately two feet above the floor surface. This was done to protect the timber of which the walls were built and was in no way injurious to the pigs. The floors of later buildings were concrete. This proved to be the most satisfactory material because it is more durable and easily cleaned. Most of the floors had some drop toward the lower end to provide drainage and to help keep the floor dry. A layer of roofing paper or several coats of tar paint between layers of concrete, when the floor was constructed, helped to keep the floor warm and free from ascending soil moisture. Pigs, particularly sows, lying on such a floor find it warmer because it retains the heat.

The material comprising the walls had an effect on the dryness and ventilation inside the building. Wooden walls constructed in such a way as to form a complete, dead air space within made a good wall structure.

Some of the early frame pigsties were built by setting poles or rough scantlings vertically or horizontally as necessary and then boarding the outside with rough timber. The openings between the boards may have been battened to prevent drafts. The better and more durable buildings were boarded inside and outside with rough lumber which was covered on the outside with roofing paper. This formed a dead space inside the wall and a warmer stable in winter and cooler in summer. Over the outside surface, clapboards or matched lumber may have been used.

The pigsty had a door at one end, to the front or side. Some had a door at the other end to allow for



*A large frame pigsty on Charles Oblinger's farm, Leesport, Berks County, Pennsylvania.*

convenience when bringing in feed, supplies or equipment if the building had much length.

If the pigs were confined, it was important to provide sufficient window space; usually one of the windows was hinged at the bottom to be opened at any angle according to the need for fresh air. When possible, it was best to have the windows located on the south side of the building to provide as much sunlight as possible and the least exposure to cold winds. The sun's rays have a tremendous influence in promoting and maintaining the health of the pigs.

Some of the pigsties had a loft over the pens, particularly over the farrowing pens, to help keep the building warmer. The loft was made by placing sapling poles, or other timber, several inches apart on supporting timber overhead. A heavy layer of straw was placed on top. Wire may have been used to help prevent the straw from falling. The loft was frequently used for the storage of straw which helped absorb moisture and keep the pens dry. It was best to replace the straw each year if possible because it has a tendency to harbor dust, disease, germs and vermin. The loft area, if not used properly, may have been a hindrance to good ventilation and promoting dryness in winter.

The pens inside the building were square or rectangular in dimension and varied in size from five to eight feet wide and from seven to ten feet long. Farrowing pens were larger.

The partitions between pens were fastened to the posts supporting the roof. The posts held the line of plates which supported the roof rafters. Some of the pen partition walls were made of concrete which proved to be more durable and permanent but more expensive to construct. The partitions between the pens usually contained doors which could be opened from the top or side to allow passage for the pigs from one pen to another. Some pigsties had doors in the partition separat-

ing the pens from the feed passage. Some doors were hinged, others were made to slide. Some of the pens had a swinging door attached to the opening between the inside pen and outside enclosure to allow the pig to exit or enter as it chose. The swinging door consisted of a frame of hardwood boards which was hinged at the top, many of them with a piece of leather or belting; this prevented the space from being left open in severe weather. Some doors were suspended from a rail or plate, the ends of which were made to move freely either way in a socket arrangement between the jambs of the door.

Inside and to the rear of most of the pigsties was a feed passage, five or six feet wide, for storage of feed and equipment if there was no other feed or storage room provided. The partition separating the pens from the feed passage was built over the feeding troughs and set in about two and one-half inches from the outer side of the trough allowing room to pour the feed. Sometimes there was an opening built into the partition at the trough through which the feed could be poured. Some farmers had an arrangement to keep the pigs away from the trough until the feed was deposited.

The troughs were wood, metal or concrete. Wooden troughs, although used considerably during earlier



*Front-side view of early stone pigsty (above), and side-rear view (left), on the Greenfield Road farm of Paul Denlinger, Ronks, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.*



*This large pigsty is located on the farm property of Homer E. Bauer, Kutztown, Pennsylvania.*

years, were not too practical because of rotting, leaking, and destruction by the pigs. The wooden troughs were hollowed out of a hardwood log or were constructed from oak, ash or hickory planks and were made to adapt to the width of the pens. Metal troughs were more practical except that they were difficult to fasten securely and keep the pigs from displacing them. If they were torn loose from position by the pigs, they were often broken; particularly if the floor was concrete. Concrete troughs constructed in the pen proved to be the most practical, except that after years of use some had a tendency to deteriorate and crumble, largely from water which had frozen in them on cold, winter days.

Pigs suffer from heat and enjoy wallowing in water and mud. Since ordinary wallows become filthy and provide a good breeding ground for disease, many farmers provide an outdoor enclosure for the pigs. Outdoor yards attached to the pigsty are a valuable accessory. They allow the pigs access to fresh air, sunlight and a place to exercise. The outdoor yard has a concrete floor to allow for cleaning to avoid unnecessary filth. Some of the earlier types were constructed off the ground, using heavy planks on the floor. The enclosure measured approximately six feet by six feet with partitions separating each pen. The partitions were three and one-half to four feet high and were constructed with six inch oak or other hardwood boards about three or four inches apart nailed to posts, anchored in the concrete. The front or side of the enclosure usually contained a gate to facilitate the changing of pigs from pen to pen and for easier removal of manure.

#### *The Farrowing Pens*

For farrowing it is better to have the sows in a building or area apart from other pigs; especially during cold weather when the building must be closed and free from drafts. The air of the building where a large number of pigs are kept, does not agree well with little pigs, *Wutzlen* in Pennsylvania Dutch.

If part of a building is used for farrowing pens, it should be closely partitioned from the rest of the pens. The farrowing pens should be no less than eight feet square to allow more space. Some are as large as ten feet wide and twelve feet long to accommodate the sow and her litter. Some farrowing pens contained a partition to separate the feeding area from the rear of the pen where the sow and pigs rested. Often poles or boards were laid across the top of the partition and covered with straw to help to maintain a warmer temperature.

Some farrowing pens had a pole, plank, or two-inch pipe extending out about ten inches from the side walls and the same distance above the floor. This arrangement was to help prevent the sow from rolling over on any of her progeny and killing them. The railing keeps the sow away from the wall and gives the little pigs a space through which to escape. Today many sows are placed in crates after farrowing to prevent loss of young.

Bedding should be used on concrete floors, particularly over the winter months. Straw, hay, wood shavings, or sawdust when used freely will give little or no trouble with damp floors. Many pork producers today use a portable, wooden slat or platform on the concrete which gives even better protection. If an overlay is

used it should be made so that it can be raised easily to allow cleaning and thorough disinfection.

Lime was commonly used as a disinfectant and as a means of keeping the pens dry. At least once a year a general house-cleaning was given to the pens. In many, the walls, ceiling, and partitions were white-washed with lime and a mixture of crude carbolic acid to help keep the buildings sanitary and free from lice and mites.

#### *Pigpen Ventilation*

One of the most important aspects of the pigsty is its ventilation and closely associated to it is dryness. Good ventilation many times was difficult to maintain, if there were a large number of pigs housed, without unduly lowering the temperature. The best remedy many times was to provide a large air space; or as high a ceiling as possible. In some of the larger and more recently constructed buildings used to house pigs, vent ducts are used with the windows for ventilation. In some buildings, shutters or openings in the back can be adjusted according to weather conditions. These allow odors to escape and fresh air to enter. While ventilation is necessary, drafts are extremely dangerous and have to be prevented at all times; nor is warmth in the building to be secured at the expense of ventilation. A cold pen, well ventilated and free from drafts is preferable to a warm pen where the air is damp and foul, causing the pigs to suffer from discomfort.

During earlier years, in very cold weather, a lighted lantern was hung in the pen for the first day after the sow had farrowed. After the first twenty-four hours there is not as great a need for artificial heat for the little pigs. To use a lantern in this manner was a dangerous practice, even when the lantern was hung out of the sow's reach. Generally the practice did not prove too beneficial and was the cause of numerous fires. Today electric heating lamps are used until the newly born pigs have dried or as long as necessary. In recent years, some of the larger buildings used to house pigs, particularly those used for farrowing sows and young pigs, are being heated to assist in ventilation. Very

young pigs require warmer quarters than older ones; when a sow farrows in winter, there should be warmth and freedom from drafts.

Various types of heating plants have been used with success. Some heating units also serve as feed-cookers. The heat from the stove or furnace aids in the circulation of air in the building, modifying the temperature and helping to keep the air and pens dry. In recent years commercial pork producers have installed heating cables in the floor to help reduce mortality rates and as a result claim better feed conversion and faster gains.

Care had to be exercised at all times to protect against diseases that were common among pigs. Cholera, colds, respiratory, digestive and skin diseases were among the greatest causes of mortality or weight loss. With the turn of the century, immunization by vaccination with serums and advanced methods of treatment in addition to more sanitary measures have greatly reduced mortality rates.

#### *Historical Documentation*

There are many references relating to pigs and the pigsty in early manuscripts and journals. Additional references are made in wills, games, jokes, riddles, rhymes, sayings, tales and songs. Some of these are from the general knowledge of the writer, some were gathered from those contacted during the research and others are to be found in the files of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, in information recorded by Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker.

In an early publication, *Diarium Einer Reise von Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, nach Bethabara, N. C.*, edited by William J. Hinke, reprinted from *German American Annals*, the following information is given: October 29, 1753, ". . . u. kamen zu einem Hause, da wir meist den Tag stille legen, denn wir liesen un hier was Brodt backen u. kauften ein Schwein, welches wir gleich schlachteten" (bought a pig which we soon slaughtered).

A poem by a German traveler who compares "zu Hause" and in America, lists copious meat delicacies at home and here only *Saufleisch* (pork).



*This large pigsty of frame construction with loft stands on the farm of Bertha M. Kline, Myerstown.*



In a copy of an early *auspalt*, the following was found: “. . . *weiter muss der Johann Henner seinem Vater ein hundert und fünfzig Pfund Schweinefleisch jährlich geben und ein Buschel Salz*” (. . . in addition John Henry must give his father one hundred and fifty pounds of pork and a bushel of salt yearly).

Pigs were also the subject of numerous wills in earlier years. The will of Andrew Hershey, Hempfield Township, recorded in the Lancaster Court House, December 9, 1754, reads: “. . . and also as much Indian Corn that they can fatten two Hogs every year.” The will of Nicholas Dellown, Paradise Township, recorded at the York Courthouse, December 11, 1800, reads: “. . . and as long as the apples are not fit for use, to fetch apples for her Hogs.”

Small children used to crisscross corncobs and the “structure” was called a *sei-penn* (pigpen). For pastime they would playfully count the spots on the pigs. The pig’s tail was taken along to school and hung on the teacher’s coat tail by the most adventurous boy in the room.

The difference was asked between a Dutchman and a pig: *Ein Deitscher hot die bashda im gsicht un n sau hot sie uff’m buckel* (A Dutchman has the bristles on his face and a pig has them on his back).

The story is told of a girl who was to be hanged. The judge said she would go free provided she could give a riddle that he could not solve. She gave this one and went free.

*Sausi, Sausi,  
Ungebore sausi  
Unich da eerd  
Ovrich da eerd  
Un doch net um bode*

(Take a sow heavy with young, kill it and slit it open, remove unborn pig. Bury the pig in the ground in a tub,

then raise the tub with pig into a tree).

Another pastime and amusement for the children was to try to catch some unsuspecting victim or victims in repetitious dialogue such as the following:

*Ich gay in der bush. Ich aw.  
Ich hock en bawm oom. Ich aw.  
Ich mach en Sei-droke rouse. Ich aw.  
De Sei fressa rouse. Ich aw.*

(I go in the woods. I too. I chop down a tree. I too. I make a pig trough from it. I too. The pigs eat out of it. I too).

Rhymes concerning pigs were common:

*Aw, bee, ab  
Mei, schul-sack  
Ei-n, in  
Siss nix mee drin  
Uff un tsu  
So heist mei kuh  
Raus un nei  
So heesa mei sei.*

(A, B, ab, My school bag, I-n, in, Nothing more is inside, Open and shut, Is the name of my cow, Out and in, Are the names of my pigs).

*Wammer schmooht  
Riecht mer wie ’n sau;  
Wammer tshawt  
Guckt mer wie ’n sau;  
Un wammer kens duut  
Leebt mer wie ’n sau.*

(If we smoke we smell like a sow; If we chew we look like a sow; If we do neither we live like a sow).

When entering an unheated room in very cold weather, it was common to hear one say, “*Sis so kalt do hin wie imma Sei schtall*” (It is as cold in here as in a pigpen). When someone was falsely accused another expression was, “*Er hat die lets Sau am awr*” (He has the wrong pig by the ear). A not too kind expression heard occasionally was: *Du shloppohricher ever!* (You slop-eared boar!).

Some farmers and others who kept pigs during earlier years, before pigpens and enclosures, the writer has been informed, tied a pig or pigs to a post by their hind legs with a rope from four to six feet long. The rope used required a knot that prevented it from becoming too tight. The story is told of a farmer seeking to find his pig which had escaped from such a situation. Venturing through the countryside, he came upon two young girls and they were questioned as follows:

*Mayt, hen dir en sau ever losz g’sehn? Er iss schwatz un weiss blockich. Er drawked tsway bundel hinna noch un hut sei schwanz gottlos katz am awrsch ab g’schnit.* (Girls, did you see a loose boar? He is black and white spotted. He carries two bundles behind and his tail is cut off awfully short).

Whether or not the girls were able to help him was not told. Those of you who can read the dialect will enjoy the story much more than the translation because as usual, it loses much of its flavor.



*Pigsty and storage shed on the Sharp Orchard Farm, Franklin County, Pennsylvania.*

The telling of tales was a common pastime for young and old. One is told of a *Neh-machine* (sewing-machine). It was so good, it was used to sew up a *sei-maw* (pig stomach).

Another is told concerning the sister of the informant who related the incident. She visited an uncle's home and hung her bustle on the bedpost. The next morning, the little girl of the house peeped into the visitor's room, ran to her mother and said, "*Mam, es hankt 'n sei-mawga uff ierm bett-poschda*" (Mom, a pig stomach is hanging on her bed post).

A farmer drives up to the preacher's house and brings him a pig. *Sawgt da parra*: "*Des iss avvern schee grossi sau*" (My, this is a nice big pig). Answered the farmer, "*Ya, du hoscht mer avver n ferdeivelt fiel gresseri sau awkengt, wie'd mich keiert hoscht*" (Yes, but you hung a much bigger pig on to me when you married me).

A reference found in the Pennsylvania Folklife Society files tells of a lad who came home from school and reported that in school they sang a song called *Sei-schwensli* (pig-tails).

In an article entitled, "Seventy Years Ago," D. K. Noell in the *York Gazette*, June 30, 1895, reports the following about early schools and the teacher's pigs: "McDermond was a good-natured old Irishman, but the boys of the school used to sing:

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

It has been said that with clean straw and plenty of whitewash, even a pigsty can be made to look attractive.

Numerous superstitions and folk-beliefs have become associated with pigs and pigsties.

"If a pig ate beets, meat would turn red."<sup>9</sup>

For black teeth in pigs: *Duu backaschdee ferglobba oder oldey welschkon un duu si in der sei drook* (Break bricks or feed old corn to pig). The pig will break off the black teeth while chewing on it. "Farmers used to put *hocha Schlange Watzla* (high snakeroot) into the *sei-fass* (swill barrel) to keep pigs healthy. "It is said that paw-paws and tobacco are the only two greens that pigs won't eat." Sometimes when pigs went off feed or became ill, it was said, "*sie hen schdivvelfuuder grickt*" (they got moldy or spoiled feed).

When the Pennsylvania German is taunted for ". . . slaughtering his hogs during the waxing of the moon so that the meat will not shrink or become poor . . . , let it be noted that the observation of the influence of the moon's phases is older than recorded German history."<sup>10</sup>

"Years ago there was an old farmer who used to save up the blood of cattle and hogs at butchering time and

<sup>9</sup>The late Victor C. Dieffenbach, *Der Alt Bauer*, Bethel, Pennsylvania.

<sup>10</sup>*York County Star*, September 30, 1858.

<sup>11</sup>*S' Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eck, The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania, November 25, 1950.

used it to paint over the barndoors and sills. This is said to seal the doors of the barns and make it impossible for witches to enter and ferhex the cattle."<sup>11</sup>

"*Wann an butscher umgang kat hot mit seinere fragen im der nekscht dak di sei net leicht dod iberm schlachte*" (If a butcher cohabits with his wife, the pigs which he slaughters next day will die hard).<sup>12</sup>

"*Wann ebber arrick boulegged iss, watt gsaut, Seller hot sei geyocht. Adder fumma weibsmench, Sellie hot die sei geridda wie sie glee wawr*" (If a person is bow-legged, it was said that he chased pigs; of a woman, she rode on the pigs when she was small).

"The last one out of bed on Thursday of the first week of Lent was called *Der Seignoddel* (Pig Turd) in his family."

"*Fer n buu mache dutt mers bett rumschdelle so ass em sei awrsch geege m sei-schdall gedreet ist*" (To have a boy turn the bed so that buttocks face the pigsty).

*"Waar dielt in sei un fedder-fie  
Kummt um sei geld un weis net wie."*

(One who deals in pigs and poultry

Comes by his money without an awareness of it).

"*Hes en kind seili oder wutzli, no waxts*" (Call a child, "Piggy" and he will grow).<sup>13</sup>

"*En grexich kind lekt mer in en sei nescht bis es warm is, no ferget em sei grexe*" (Lay a grunting child into a pig's lair to cure it of its grunting).<sup>12</sup>

"If a wife is older than her husband, they have good luck raising pigs."<sup>13</sup>

"*Schmaerte leit machens bett maergets, faule, mittaks, sei, obeds*" (Good housewives make the beds in the morning, lazy ones at noon, slatterns and pigs at night).<sup>14</sup>

"A person who eats anything at any time, we say that he has a *sei-mawe* (pig's stomach)."<sup>15</sup>

"If the spleen of hogs is short and thick, the winter will be short."<sup>16</sup>

"*Wanns milz an re sau dik is, gebts en haerter winter — am federschte end, en haerter forwinter; am hinner-schte, en haerter nochwinter*" (The thickness of the pancreas of a pig foretells the severity of winter; the fore part for the first half of winter and the hind part for the second half of winter).<sup>17</sup>

"When pigs carry straw in their mouth, it is a sign of cold."

"*Wann di sei rum schpringe un hen holz im maul gebts ball schtaerm*" (If pigs run about with pieces of wood in their mouths, it foretells a storm).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>9</sup>*The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, November, 1949, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 354, No. 1894.

<sup>11</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 48, No. 115.

<sup>12</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 55, No. 159.

<sup>13</sup>*S' Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eck, The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania, May 17, 1947.

<sup>14</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 372, No. 1994.

<sup>15</sup>*Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society XLV*, 28.

<sup>16</sup>John Baer Stoudt, "Weather Prognostications and Superstitions among the Pennsylvania Germans," *The Pennsylvania German*, VI, 330.

<sup>17</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 230, No. 1182.

<sup>18</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 235, No. 1215.



Combination pigsty, chicken house, and storage located on the Paul H. Martin farm, Route 5, Lebanon.

"Hogs fighting among themselves foretell a storm."<sup>19</sup>

"When hogs that are out in the fields gather straw or weeds and make nests, or if they come and make nests, a cold spell or heavy snow fall is to be expected."<sup>20</sup>

A farmer of White Deer Valley, Pennsylvania, told "that he had a small herd of hogs feeding on the neighboring mountains several months in the fall. One evening they all came into the barnyard and were seen to be gathering straw to make nests. That night a very heavy snow fell that lasted through the winter."<sup>21</sup>

"Long bristles on hogs . . . in fall, indicate a long winter."<sup>22</sup>

"*En ufgenakt weibsmench daerf ken jung seiche drage, es geht dod*" (If a pregnant woman carries a little pig, it will die).<sup>23</sup>

"*Wammer Mittwochs wescht, gen em di sei dod*" (Your pigs will die if you do washing on Wednesday).<sup>24</sup>

"The story is told of a pig that developed quite a rupture. Treatment consisted of taking some bristles out of the pig's tail and putting them in a hole which had been bored in a tree. The hole was plugged shut and as the sap in the tree rose so the rupture would disappear. When the pig was butchered, the rupture had all but disappeared."

"*Won mer de yunga sei obgawaint uff en Sumsht-dawg, no doot die loos gly witter rulla*" (If the pigs are weaned on a Saturday, the sow will come in heat sooner).<sup>25</sup>

"*Wann n ever n loos reid, so oft as er der schwans rundreet so so fiel witzlicher greecht die loos*" (The number of times the boar rolls his tail when breeding the sow will determine the size of her litter).

<sup>19</sup>Stoudt, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

<sup>20</sup>Stoudt, *ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>21</sup>F. G. Owens, *Journal of American Folklore*, IV, 122.

<sup>22</sup>Stoudt, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

<sup>23</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 349, No. 1857.

<sup>24</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 247, No. 1281.

<sup>25</sup>See also Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 164, No. 778.

"If a pig gets real sick and 'off' feed for some time there is little to be done to save it."

"*Fider de sei holzkole, no bleibe si gsund*" (Feed charcoal to pigs to keep them healthy). This is a direct survival of the old Germanic heathendom.<sup>26</sup>

"*Won de sei mouderich sin un doona net goot fressa, no gevva sie shainer shtraificher seidaschpeck won sie mull geschlocht worra*" (If the sows are in heat and do not eat well, they will give good meaty bacon when they are butchered).

"*Won der ever uff der lose iss un sie doot era schwontz uff die links seidt ringla, no gebts louder glaina ever*" (If while breeding, the sow rolls her tail on the left side, she will have mainly boars).

"*Wammer aerets junge sei holt un schtupt uf em hemwek get ens defun dod*" (When fetching shoats, never stop on the way home, one of them is sure to die if you do).<sup>27</sup>

"*Reib kolel un fett uf all di sei so as si net fechte wann en fremmi zune in der schtall duscht*" (Grease all the pigs with coal oil and fat upon putting a strange pig into their pen, to prevent them from fighting).<sup>28</sup>

"*Wammern sau zu annere in der sem schtall dut, muss mer si mit daerbedin schmire, no kenne si di fremm net fun de annere kenne*" (Pigs will not be able to distinguish the additional pig put into their pen if terpen-tine is put on the backs of all of them).<sup>29</sup>

"*Mer schmirt all di sei mit brandewei oder daer wammern neii zune in der schtall dut*" (Rub whiskey or tar on the backs of all the pigs when putting an additional pig into their pen).<sup>30</sup>

"*Sei fechte net wammer kolel schmirt*" (Pigs will not fight if all of them are greased with coal oil).<sup>31</sup>

"*Disember sei bleibe gle un grutzich*" (Pigs born in December will not grow large).<sup>32</sup>

"*Kafte sei dut mer hinerschich in der schtall*" (Newly purchased pigs should be backed into the sty).<sup>33</sup>

"*Wammer sei Samschdaks holt hot mer ken glik mit*" (If you fetch pigs on Saturday they will not thrive).<sup>34</sup>

"*Wanner di junge sei im Leb fun der los dut greische si wischt*" (If pigs are weaned in the sign of Leo they will squeal constantly).<sup>35</sup>

"*Wollebletter in der seischtall kenkt ferdreibe seileis*" (Put mullein leaves [*Verbascum thapsus*] into the pigsty to drive out lice).<sup>36</sup>

"*Sassefras ferdreibt di leis im seischtall*" (Sassafras [*Sassafras officinalis*] will drive out lice in the pigsty).<sup>37</sup>

"*Dubaks ribbe in der seischtell gedu ferdreibe seileis*" (Ribs of tobacco, placed in the pigsty, will drive out lice).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 167, No. 777.

<sup>27</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 176, No. 845.

<sup>28</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 158, No. 746.

<sup>29</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 158, No. 749.

<sup>30</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 158, No. 748.

<sup>31</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 158, No. 747.

<sup>32</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 175, No. 844.

<sup>33</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 170, No. 811.

<sup>34</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 175, No. 840.

<sup>35</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 160, No. 757.

<sup>36</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 174, No. 835.

<sup>37</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 174, No. 834.

<sup>38</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 174, No. 833.

"Pigstys . . . become more offensive before rain."<sup>39</sup>

"Wann lose nimmi rollich waerre solle, nagelt mer en alter kupperner bens in der drok" (Nail an old copper penny into the pig's trough to prevent oestruation of the sows).<sup>40</sup>

"Nagel de sei kupper in der drok, no waerre si net rollich" (Copper nailed in the pig's trough will prevent oestruation).<sup>41</sup>

"Won en hundt mull en sei-nouvel im moul cot hut, no iss er nix may waart fer en sake tzu schmeara" (Once a dog had a pig's navel in its mouth, it is no longer good for use in oiling a saw).

"Wann en ku blutichi milich gebt melkt mer di milich daerich der jut fun re sau" (If a cow gives bloody milk, milk it through the atlas bone of a pig).<sup>42</sup>

#### *The Pig and Pigpen in Folk Medicine*

The pig and the pigsty were involved in the treatment and cure of many human ills and it is not uncommon to find some of those beliefs and practices in use today.

"Mer sol net hie gee wuu sei sin wammer beesding hot" (We should not go where pigs are when we have a whitlow).

"For hives, one was to rub himself against a pig's litter where young pigs had lain, or against a pig's trough."<sup>43</sup>

"Wammer di heibs hot soll mer sich ame seinescht reibe" (To stop hives, rub yourself on the pigs' litter).<sup>44</sup>

"For heibs, reib dich ame seidrok" (To stop hives, rub yourself against a pig's trough).<sup>45</sup>

"Wann mer en kindt os der blo-hooshta hut ous em sei-droke essa lusst, no gate der hooshta weck" (If we allow a child with whooping cough to eat from a pig's trough, the cough will stop).

"To keep a child from getting whooping cough, a strip of leather from a pig's hide was tied around his neck when asleep. This had to be done without waking him."

"Drak rime fun sei-ledder no fer blo-huschte" (Wear strips of leather made of pigskin to cure whooping cough).<sup>46</sup>

A cure for whooping cough: "Go to a saddler, say nothing to anyone and get a *sei-ledder riema* (strips of pigskin) from him and put it around child's throat."

*Who minds not how the whooping cough*

*Was cured by breathings from a trout?*

*The mumps, by rubbing on a trough*

*Rubbed smooth by swinish neck or snout?*<sup>47</sup>

Concerning this practice, H. L. Fischer in his book *Olden Times*, writes: "It was a common and rather

<sup>39</sup>John Baer Stoudt, "Weather-Prognostications and Superstitions Among the Pennsylvania Germans," *The Pennsylvania German*, VII (1906), 330.

<sup>40</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 165, No. 785.

<sup>41</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 165, No. 787.

<sup>42</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 159, No. 755.

<sup>43</sup>Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans, The Pennsylvania German Society*, XLV (1935), 60.

<sup>44</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 267, No. 1383.

<sup>45</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 286, No. 1514.

<sup>46</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 336, No. 1787.

<sup>47</sup>H. L. Fisher, "*Olden Times*" (York, 1888), p. 29.

vulgar practice, to persuade one afflicted with mumps, to enter a pig-sty and rub the swollen neck back and forth, a certain — but of course, an odd — number of times, on the front edge of the hog trough, which was necessarily worn smooth by necks of the feeding swine. The custom, or practice, should perhaps be classed, rather, with the popular tricks than superstitions of the time. The application of a clean, but sore neck to a filthy pig trough, was among the safe remedies, if not the infallible cures."<sup>48</sup>

"A cure for mumps is to anoint the swelling with fat fried out of the chine of a pig. Another is to rub the swelling against a pig's trough. If the patient is too ill to be taken to the pigsty, then a chip taken from the trough and carried to the house is rubbed on the swollen gland."<sup>49</sup>

"For mumps I took a hatchet, went out to the pigsty and cut *n' schpaw aus en seidrook* (chip out of a pig trough), then I rubbed the *schpaw* nine times at child's throat and then laid it above the door until it disappeared."

"The marrow from a pig's upper jawbone, melted into a lard, and applied on the outside was another suggested treatment for mumps."

"Hog excrement was tied to the swollen gland. This was used for an adult who had a very severe attack of mumps."<sup>50</sup>

"*Me bettpisser fidert mer en waerschtel fume seifetzel gemacht*" (If a child wets the bed, it should eat a little sausage made of the pudendum of a pig).<sup>51</sup>

"Wann kinner grexe, nemm sie n der sei schtall un leeg sie pawr minudde in n sei nescht" (When children are not well, take them to the pigsty and lay them where the pig lies for several minutes).

". . . the fresh excrement of a hog was worn about the neck for one night; for a sore throat hang the scrotum of a castrated hog around the neck and leave it there until it falls off . . ."<sup>52</sup>

"For diphtheria a poultice consisting of the fresh excrement of a hog is worn about the neck for one night."<sup>53</sup>

"The eye tooth of a hog was to be pulverized in a mortar and given in water to the patient upon the appearance of cramps."<sup>54</sup>

A home remedy to cure warts: "Lay on a warm piece of meat from the carcass of a recently slaughtered hog, that is still bloody, . . . lay on bacon sward and renew every day."<sup>55</sup>

"Wammer der haernza fun re sau grikt mer ken zawe" (Carry with you the braintooth, probably the lower maxillary, of a hog to prevent toothache).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Fisher, *ibid.*, p. 463.

<sup>49</sup>E. Grumbine, "Folklore and Superstitious Beliefs of Lebanon County," *Lebanon County Historical Society*, III: 9 (1905), 278.

<sup>50</sup>Brendle-Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>51</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 282, No. 1482.

<sup>52</sup>Brendle-Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>53</sup>W. J. Hoffman, "Folklore of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Journal of American Folklore*, 1889, p. 29.

<sup>54</sup>Brendle-Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>55</sup>Brendle-Unger, *ibid.*, p. 64-65.

<sup>56</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 314, No. 1668.

"Mer soll der haernza fun re sau a henke for ru'medis" (For rheumatism, wear the eyetooth of a pig).<sup>57</sup>

"Der age za fun re sau a kenkt schtoppt gichtre" (Suspend the eyetooth of a pig from a child's neck to cure convulsions).<sup>58</sup>

"For frozen feet, Die goll fun re sau is guut defor" (The gall of a pig is good for frozen feet).

"A cure for piles, Sei awrschloch fett gemacht mit ungesaltzed butter" (The fat around a pig's anus mixed with unsalted butter).

"Long standing wounds were known as bees-evil. For such, dock was to be taken and fried in sheep's tallow and let set until it could be put in a pig's bladder. The bladder was to be tied shut and buried in the ground three days. Meanwhile the patient was to be purged. Then the bladder was to be taken out and the wound greased with the contents and again buried in the earth. This was to be done on three consecutive days, each day at the same hour. At the end the bladder was to be buried forever."<sup>59</sup>

#### Customs Associated With Pigs and Pighens

"On the day before Ascension Day, the farmer's wife had a custom of sweeping the house and from each room take a bit of dirt and collect it in a container. Next she went to the barn, the hen house, and the pigsty and picked up more dirt to add to the other. Even from the yard a handful of soil was gathered. Then on Ascension Day all the dirt was taken to the boundary line between their farm and a neighbor's and it was thrown over the fence. This was meant to keep the home place free of insects and bugs during the year."

"On Ash Wednesday it was customary for the Pennsylvania Dutch farmers to ash their horses, cows, pigs, and chickens. It was believed they would then remain free of lice for the year."<sup>60</sup>

"On New Year's Day, one should eat pork and not fowl to have luck and good fortune throughout the next year. This is because a fowl scratches backward, that would mean going backward, while a pig roots forward, then one should progress."

"Wann en jingers heiert, misse di eldre lettiche gschwischdre ime seidrok danze . . ." (If the youngest member of a family gets married, the older single members must dance in a pig's trough . . .). Another curious custom which was once practiced . . . was that of the older sister dancing in a hog's trough in consequence of her younger sister marrying before her . . . It was considered most correct to dance in green stockings.<sup>61</sup>

"En block iss alls auskoolt warre fer n sei drook. Dott drinn hen sie no danse kenne wann n jingers keiert hett" (A pig's trough was made from a log which was kept for that purpose. They could dance in it then if younger members of the family married first).

<sup>57</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 327, No. 1739.

<sup>58</sup>Fogel, *ibid.*, p. 333, No. 1769.

<sup>59</sup>Brendle-Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>60</sup>*The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, February 1950, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 71, No. 236.

One farmer the writer contacted said the reason his pigs did not gain weight faster was because they ate so fast they impaired their digestion. Another stated he didn't like pigs because of their cold, porcelain eyes. Another said he enjoyed nothing more than to note the affection of the little piggies lying on a heap as though woven together. One farmer said there is nothing better for pigs than rattlesnakes; nor will you find snakes where there are pigs.

"A small roasted pig was often times called *Spannerferkel*. This pig was roasted in the afternoon and served cold for the luncheon at night. Sometimes an apple was put in its mouth."

The pig's stomach with an appropriate filling and roasted is considered a delicacy among the Pennsylvania Dutch. Pork and sauerkraut, ham cooked with snitz and knepp or with green beans, bacon and eggs, roast pork, roast or fried ham and pig's feet jelly (*Zitterle* or *souse*) are just a few of the many pork dishes relished and consumed in large amounts. Pork has been and still is the staple meat of many rural people; primarily because pigs are more prolific than other meat animals, capital investment is smaller by comparison and the meat can be produced at a fraction of the feed cost to produce any other kind of livestock.

As long as butter and cheese were being made on the farm from the milk produced by the farmer's herd of dairy cattle there was an ample supply of skim milk to feed his pigs. However, with the increase in the number of cattle kept on the farm, the growing demand for whole milk for city consumption and the advent of the creamery about the turn of the century, farmers were somewhat handicapped because pigs could not be raised as economically, nor was it as convenient to feed them when whole milk was sold. Some farmers returned the skim milk from the creameries to feed their pigs.

The rapid rise in the dairy industry resulted in the increase of commercial pork production in some areas within the southeastern counties of Pennsylvania about the same time, in and near creameries, where the pigs were fed on skim milk and butter milk. Dairy farmers were also less inclined to keep pigs because of the sanitary conditions which had to be maintained in and near dairy barns.

Pork production on the farm began to decline also because of heavy competition from the prairie states. Cheaper land and cheap corn made it possible in the west to produce pork from one-third to one-half the cost of what it did on local farms. This plus the fact that after 1868 refrigeration cars were being used to ship dressed pork to the eastern markets resulted in most farmers keeping only enough pigs on the farm to consume kitchen wastes, excess milk, and for the family needs. Since corn is still the most common fattening feed, the greatest concentration of pigs has been in the corn-producing counties of the state. Here pigs are raised on a commercial scale but in most parts of the state they are produced for home use only.

# GRAVESTONES and OSTENTATION:

## A Study of Five Delaware County Cemeteries

By ANGUS K. GILLESPIE

A comparison of American gravestones of the 19th Century with those of the 20th Century reveals a trend toward restraint in design. Although this trend has attracted very little research attention in folklife studies, it has not been entirely ignored. The phenomenon was noted by Dr. Phil R. Jack in "A Western Pennsylvania Graveyard, 1787-1967," which appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife* for Spring 1968.<sup>1</sup> Mann and Greene noted it in 1963 and attributed the decline in ostentatiousness to lack of room in the cemeteries and to increase of cost in inscribing the stones.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the trend may be due in part to these two factors, but the problem of analyzing and interpreting artifacts as a part of the culture which created them is complex and deserves further examination. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate the decline in ostentatiousness of American gravestones from the 19th Century to the 20th Century in a systematic manner. The gravestones of five different religious groups will be examined and compared with regard to both extent and rate of change.<sup>3</sup> The groups were arbitrarily chosen and include the Baptist, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Quaker denominations.

The present study began with a tabulation of existing graveyards in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. The choice of Delaware County was purely arbitrary. The county lies to the immediate west of the City of Philadelphia and is a part of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area. As a further spatial limitation the present study was largely confined to the semi-rural western section

<sup>1</sup>Phil R. Jack, "A Western Pennsylvania Graveyard, 1787-1967," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII:3 (Spring 1968), 43-48.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas C. Mann and Janet Greene, *Over Their Dead Bodies: Yankee Epitaphs and History* (Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Greene Press, 1962), p. 78.

<sup>3</sup>Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz bring out this application of material objects with great clarity in their article "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 1966.

of the county. It was felt that this limitation would help at least partially to control for the incomes of the groups studied.<sup>4</sup>

The temporal limits extend from the 1840's to the 1960's. This limitation yields a rough balance of the last six decades of the 19th Century with the first seven decades of the 20th Century. Delaware County gravestones of the 19th Century were largely done in marble. Significantly enough, marble wears away much more severely than slate. Consequently preservation of marble stones erected before 1840 is generally not as reliable as that of slate gravestones erected before 1800. Hence the durability of marble stones was a key factor in fixing the temporal limits of this study. At the other end, data was recorded right up until June-July of 1967. Although it would have been more symmetrical to stop at 1960, the study was carried up until the actual time of the field work. The reason for this extension into the 1960's was that the trend toward restraint in design has increased significantly even since the 1950's.

Although over twenty cemeteries in Delaware County were tabulated, visited, and inspected, only five were intensively treated.<sup>5</sup> Four criteria were established for selection of the five key graveyards: 1) *Small Size*. Any cemeteries with more than 1,000 gravestones were ex-

<sup>4</sup>An excellent discussion of the economic geography of Delaware County is given by John A. Harris in *Major Governmental, Political and Social Problems Confronting Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, Fels Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: By the author, 1965), p. 6. It was my reading of Harris that convinced me of the need to confine the present study to one section of Delaware County.

<sup>5</sup>A verified copy of the original thesis of which this article is a condensation is on file at the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania. This copy includes sampling maps, data sheets, and calculation charts which are too bulky to include here. In that copy is included a table with a partial listing of the graveyards of Delaware County. I have been unable to find such a list in the literature. The list given was based on several interviews with local citizens and is to the best of my knowledge a complete list of the church-affiliated graveyards, though it is entirely possible that some graveyards are missing.



Fig. 1—Map of Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

cluded. This requirement was adopted to keep time and cost of data acquisition within manageable limits. 2) *Religious Affiliation*. All key cemeteries had to be related with a specific sect. Furthermore, each had to have immediate geographic proximity to the parish church building. 3) *Semi-rural Location*. As previously discussed, this measure was adopted to help control for homogeneity of population and income. 4) *Continuous Use Since 1840*. This is an obvious requirement

for the successful application of any archaeological time seriation concepts.

In actual practice only the first and second criteria could be applied rigorously and without exception. One graveyard is located in the Borough of Media, which is not truly semi-rural;<sup>6</sup> one graveyard, the oldest for its denomination in Delaware County, was founded in

<sup>6</sup>This refers to the Providence Friends Meeting Cemetery, Providence Road, Media.

1855.<sup>7</sup> Yet even with the third and fourth criteria, four out of the five graveyards meet the tests. The graveyards chosen are listed here in geographical sequence, west to east, moving closer to Philadelphia, corresponding roughly to decrease in the rural nature of the community: (1) Brandywine Baptist Cemetery in Birmingham Township; (2) St. John's Episcopal Cemetery in Concord Township; (3) St. Thomas the Apostle Roman Catholic Cemetery in the Borough of Chester Heights; (4) Old Middletown Presbyterian Cemetery in Middletown Township; and (5) Providence Friends Meeting Cemetery in the Borough of Media.

Because of the requirement that the graveyard must have been in continuous use since 1840, some of the oldest churches in Delaware County were selected. All five parishes have interesting histories in their own right, quite apart from any consideration of their graveyards; however, a consideration of parish histories is beyond the scope of this article.<sup>8</sup>

Having chosen the graveyards, it was next necessary to identify variables which would be reliable indices to ostentation. As used in this study the word "ostentatious" will mean simply given to show, or having qualities intended to attract notice. It is *not* intended by the use of this term to include the concept of pretense, or false show of something. Furthermore, the use of the word "ostentatious" is not intended to imply insincerity or bad taste. The variables chosen to measure ostentatiousness had to be readily quantifiable so as to produce rank ordering and to show rate of change. Ideally, such variables would be simple to measure and record in order to minimize time and cost of data acquisition. With these qualifications in mind, the variables chosen were as follows: (1) *Height*, measured in inches. It is assumed here that, all other things being equal, a tall gravestone attracts more notice than a short one. (2) *Lines of Type*, expressed in cardinal numbers, one, two, three, etc. It is assumed here that, all other things being equal, a longer message is intended to attract more notice than a shorter one. (3) *Configuration*, also expressed in cardinal numbers. Configuration refers to the number of component pieces used in a given single grave marker. For example, a gravestone composed of a base, an obelisk, and an orb would have a configuration number of three. Such a gravestone is assumed to attract more notice than, for example, a single piece tombstone. Other variables might have been added to the list, but it was decided to limit the study to a consideration of three variables. Two variables which were considered for examination, though later discarded, were lettering and materials.

A careful study of lettering used on gravestones is potentially an extremely useful index for measuring the degree of ostentation, but it is unsuitable for a statistical study such as this which depends on a wide statistical sampling base. The three variables chosen, *viz.*, height,

<sup>7</sup>This refers to St. Thomas the Apostle Roman Catholic Cemetery, State Route 261, Chester Heights.

<sup>8</sup>The best single volume for the history of the five parishes is by Charles Palmer, *A History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: National Historical Association, Inc., 1932), I, 105-107, 111, 123, 267-270.

lines of type, and configuration, can be rapidly and accurately recorded in the field for large numbers of stones. Lettering, on the other hand, is very complex and time-consuming. The differences in lettering are often very subtle and hence difficult to record either accurately or rapidly. An effective study of lettering should be based on close inspection of a small number of stones, not rapid inspection of a large number.<sup>9</sup>

The study of materials used in gravestones was not identified as a variable in measuring degree of ostentatiousness. Preliminary observations showed that such a variable was singularly uninformative. In general, the gravestones of the 19th Century were marble; those of the 20th Century, granite. The period 1890-1910 was the transition point. Granite is the more durable of the two materials, hence the more desirable. Presumably improved rail transportation throughout the country and improved quarrying procedures in Vermont contributed to the changeover.<sup>10</sup>

The chief methods employed in this study consisted of mapping, sampling, photography, and statistical inference. For every gravestone sampled its date, height, number of lines of type, and configuration number were recorded. The sampling technique used was stratified sampling, a form of systematic sampling. The procedure used was that given by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., who explains, "In systematic sampling, instead of using a table of random numbers we simply go down a list taking every *k*th individual . . ."<sup>11</sup> Thus if we wanted to select a sample of 100 gravestones from a cemetery of 500, we would take every fifth stone.

At each of the five key cemeteries at least two photographs of gravestones were taken, one from the 19th Century and one from the 20th. The photographs are intended to serve as illustration of the trend toward simplicity rather than as proof. Clearly the burden of proof of the trend must be carried by the statistics, since single photographs taken out of context could be used to "prove" nearly anything. Admittedly the gravestones chosen for illustration in this article are polar examples of the trend being presented. With this qualification the photographs are helpful for fixing ideas.

As is the case with most research, problems arose in the field which had not been anticipated in the library. The first and most pressing of these problems was that of the family monument, *i.e.*, a single gravestone commemorating two or more people. The problem was that such stones were often larger and had more lines of type than stones for single individuals, but they were not really more ostentatious in the sense that their function was completely different in their commemoration of an entire family. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to place an exact date on these stones. Sometimes a family stone may be erected upon the first death

<sup>9</sup>An excellent discussion of the problems involved with a study of gravestone lettering is given by Kenneth Lindley, *Of Graves and Epitaphs* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1965), p. 68.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 61-65. In this section Lindley gives a complete discussion of gravestone materials from the earliest use of wood to the latest use of synthetic materials.

<sup>11</sup>Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), p. 397.



among a group of people; on other occasions the stone may be erected upon the last death, or perhaps many years later by a descendant. Sometimes enough clues are present in terms of the age of the stone or the information content of the epitaphs to make an informed guess at the age of a family monument, but often it is simply impossible. In view of the difficulties of dating and the distortion which would be introduced in a study of ostentation, family gravestones were excluded from the analysis. However, they could not be excluded from the systematic sample without introducing bias. Therefore, family monuments when they arose in the sample were recorded as such on the data sheets, but they were not included in the calculations on ostentation. A valuable by-product of this procedure was considerable insight into the frequency of family monuments by religious sect. This suggests another direction of research along the lines of family unity as shown in gravestones. This question has not been examined closely in this study, although a rank ordering of percentages of family stones can be presented: (1) Catholic 36%, (2) Presbyterian 30%, (3) Episcopal 13%, (4) Baptist 8%, (5) Quaker 2%.

Since any historical research is basically concerned with recreating the past, it is nearly certain that some information will be lost. Research in gravestones is no exception. In the five graveyards studied many stones were illegible. As with the family stones, illegible stones when they arose in the sample were recorded on the data sheets, but they were not included in the calculations on ostentation. Except for the Quaker cemetery, illegibility was a minor problem. Quaker gravestones of the 19th Century were inscribed with little or no information, undoubtedly because of Quaker belief in modesty and simplicity. This custom is reflected in the sample. At the other end of the spectrum, very few Catholic stones were illegible since the Catholic graveyard was the most recently founded. The rank ordering of percentages of illegible stones is as follows: (1) Quaker 45%, (2) Episcopal 12%, (3) Baptist 11%, (4) Presbyterian 6%, (5) Catholic 3%.

The sample produced a number of stones dated prior to 1840. Here again they were recorded on the data sheets, but were not included in the calculations on ostentation. Of course, no Catholic stones were in this category, since the graveyard was founded in 1855. The rank ordering of percentage of pre-1840 stones is as follows: (1) Episcopal 11%, (2 tie) Baptist 10%, (3 tie) Presbyterian 10%, (4) Quaker 4%, (5) Catholic 0%.

The next step after completing the sampling process was to tabulate and analyze the data. When the five denominational groups are compared with respect to configuration change, a trend toward reduced ostentation was revealed. The trend is most clearly seen if we ignore the distinction between one stone and two stones, and instead focus on the distinction between one and two stones versus three or more stones. Actually, this is a reasonable procedure, since many gravestones with a configuration number of two are composed of a simple slab plus a discrete base. On the other hand, gravestones

with a configuration of three or more often appear with such ostentatious devices as an orb, an urn, or the like. Following this procedure we see that Presbyterian gravestones with three or more stones made up 36% of the total in the 19th Century, but only 7% in the 20th Century, giving a net reduction of 29%. Similarly Catholic percentages went from 18% to 0%; Episcopal percentages, from 12% to 3%. The Baptist percentages are anomalous and show a rise from 2% to 5%, but it should be noted that the small sample size in this case may have thrown off the results. The Quaker configuration results are strikingly different from all other groups, since all stones of both centuries had a configuration of one. This is strong artifactual evidence of the depth and sincerity of the Quaker testimony of simplicity which will be discussed later.

The data for lines of type on the one hand and height in inches on the other are both analytically more powerful than that for configuration. The reason for this is that the former two measures run over a wider scale than the latter. While a gravestone may have a configuration number of perhaps one to four, it might have a height ranging from forty-two inches to two inches or less. Even the lines of type may vary from perhaps twelve to two. For these reasons data for both height in inches and lines of type are presented by decade rather than by century.

The first graveyard under study is located at the Brandywine Baptist Church at Chadd's Ford in Birmingham Township, which is in the extreme southwestern end of the county. The Baptist data on lines of type per decade is presented graphically in Fig. 2. The graph with decades makes visually clear the trend toward reduction of ostentatiousness. Note a steady decline in lines of type from 1850 to 1880, and nearly so again from 1890 to 1930. Note also the overall reduction from eight lines of type in 1840 to three lines of type in 1960.

An identical procedure was followed in graphically representing Baptist data on height in inches per decade in Fig. 3. Again we note an overall reduction from twenty-five inches in 1840 to thirteen inches in 1960.

The photograph of a Baptist gravestone of 1858 (Fig. 4) shows a large stone with thirteen lines of type. In addition to the relatively conventional information of name, address, death date, and length of life, we see four lines of verse:

*Our father has gone to a mansion of rest  
From a region of sorrow and pain  
To the glorious land by the Deity blest  
Where he never can suffer again.*

Such verse with its suggestion of eternal peace must have been comforting to the survivors. In the 20th Century such hopeful sentiments are rarely carved on gravestones. The trend has been toward brevity.

The same gravestone has a pictorial and iconographic richness which was not infrequent in the 19th Century but which is very rare in the 20th Century. The three-part tympanum is topped by three geometric rosettes. The juxtaposition of these three abstract geometric con-

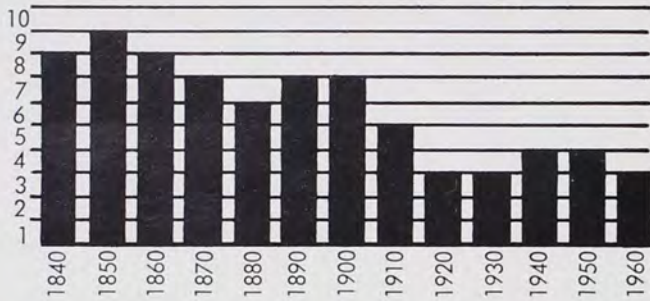


Fig. 2—Mean Lines of Type per Decade for Baptist Gravestones.

structions here may be intended to suggest the Trinity.<sup>12</sup> In the tympanum itself we see two books representing the Scriptures. Dr. Ludwig has suggested that the significance is that through the Scriptures men may hope to partake in the Resurrection.<sup>13</sup> Also found in the tym-

<sup>12</sup>Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stone Carving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), pp. 225-232. Here Dr. Ludwig points out the difficulty in interpreting geometric rosettes because of their abstractness and the lack of literary evidence. Responsibility for the interpretation given in this article lies with me and not with Dr. Ludwig.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 197-202.



Fig. 4—Baptist Gravestone of 1858.

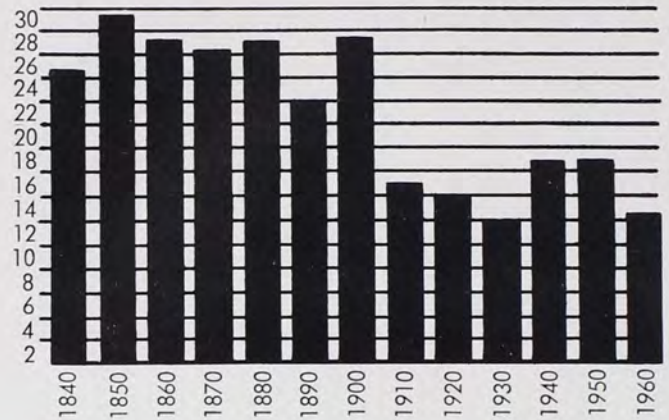


Fig. 3—Mean Height in Inches per Decade for Baptist Gravestones.

panum is a large central garland flanked by two flowers on either side. Again borrowing an interpretation from Dr. Ludwig, we are told that the symbolism is explicit, since the life of man is traditionally associated with flowers, as in Job 14: "Man that born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down . . . ."<sup>14</sup>

The more modern Baptist gravestone of 1964 (Fig. 5) is shorter and bears a briefer inscription. The 20th Century Baptist gravestone pictured bears no icons whatsoever, not even a cross. A basic and widespread gravestone design change can be seen by comparing the 19th Century Baptist gravestone (Fig. 4) with that of the 20th Century (Fig. 5). The trend has been away from a tall, flat, and thin upright slab to a short, square, and thick resting block. The latter variety comes in two basic styles: a rectangular solid with the inscription facing straight up (Fig. 9) and a sort of trapezoidal solid with the inscribed side tilted back at a forty-five degree angle (Fig. 5).

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 142-155.



Fig. 5—Baptist Gravestone of 1964.

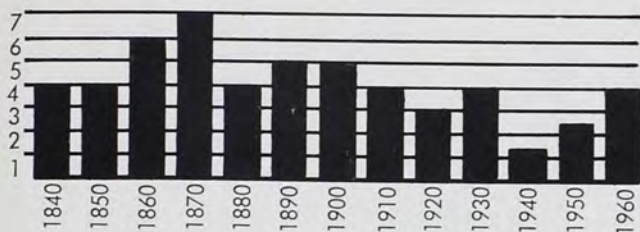


Fig. 6—Mean Lines of Type per Decade for Episcopal Gravestones.

The second graveyard under study is located at St. John's Episcopal Church in Concord Township, which is the largest township of Delaware County and is located directly east of Birmingham Township. The Episcopal data on lines of type per decade is presented graphically in Fig 6. While less persuasive than its Baptist counterpart (Fig. 2), there is an unmistakable downward trend. Except for the 1880's and the 1930's, there is a fairly steady decrease from the 1870's to the 1940's. The graph for height of Episcopal gravestones (Fig. 7) shows a definite downward trend. The mean height for the 1840's was forty-two inches, while the mean height for the 1960's was fifteen inches.

A comparison of a 19th Century Episcopal gravestone (Fig. 8) with one of the 20th Century (Fig. 9) reveals the same trends that have been previously demonstrated for the Baptists. The older stone is upright and bears a verse inscription:

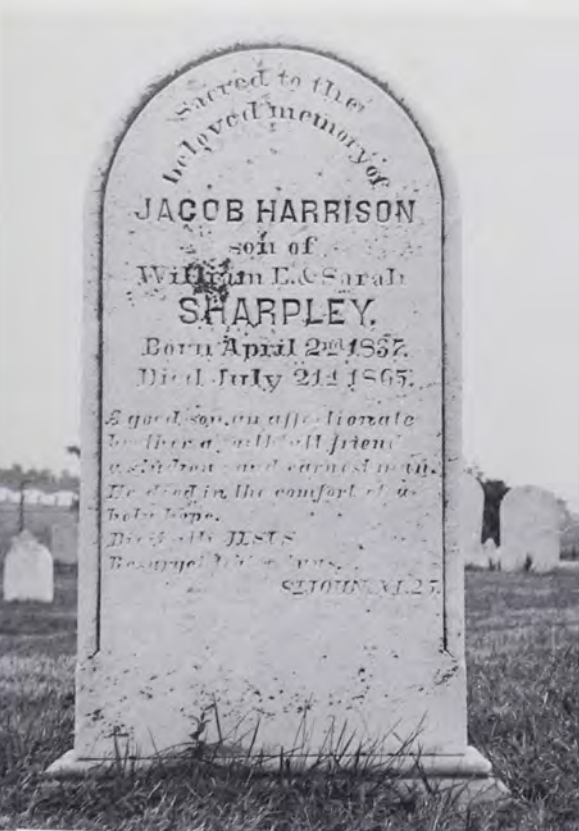


Fig. 8—Episcopal Gravestone of 1865.

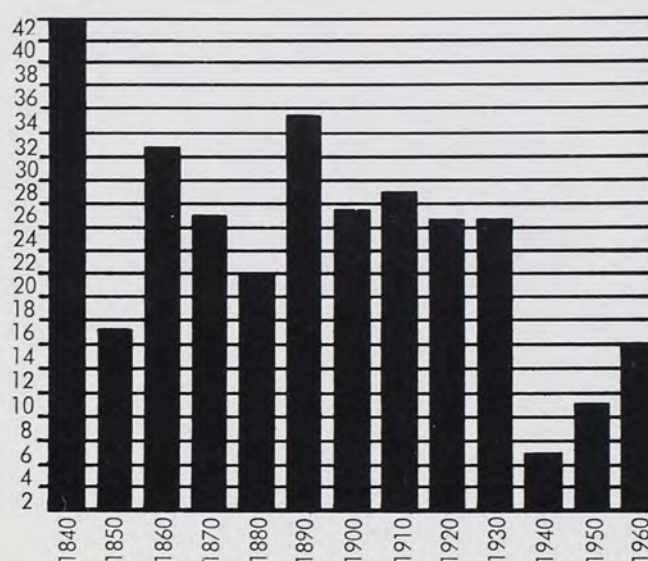


Fig. 7—Mean Height in Inches per Decade for Episcopal Gravestones.

*A good son, an affectionate  
brother, a faithfull friend  
a studious and earnest man.  
He died in the comfort of a  
holy hope.  
Dicit illi JESUS  
Resurget frater tuus.  
St. JOHN.XI.25.*

The newer stone is a low rectangular solid with a complete absence of verse or decorative icons, placed flush with the ground to facilitate grass mowing.

The third graveyard under study is located at St. Thomas the Apostle Roman Catholic Church in the Borough of Chester Heights, which is located directly east of Concord Township. The graphs on Catholic lines of type (Fig. 10) and height in inches (Fig. 11) show the same downward trends previously presented. An interesting difference is the absence of data for the 1840's because of the fact that the church was founded in 1855; nonetheless it is the oldest graveyard of its denomination in the county. The mean number of lines of type for the 1850's was five, while for the 1960's it was three (Fig. 10). Even more marked is the decline in height. The mean height for the 1850's was forty inches, while for the 1960's it was twelve inches (Fig. 11).



Fig. 9—Episcopal Gravestone of 1965.

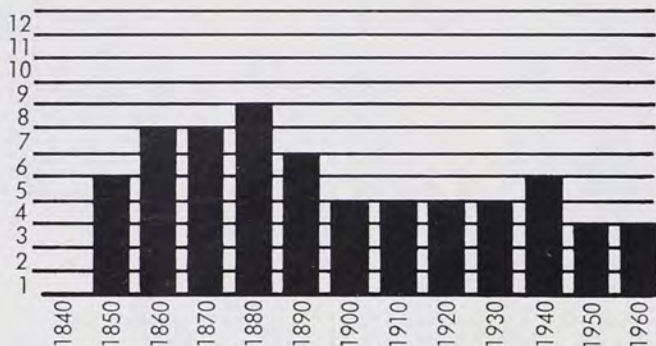


Fig. 10—Mean Lines of Type per Decade for Catholic Gravestones.

The photographic record of the Catholic graveyard shows the same trend toward simplicity seen in the previous Protestant graveyards. The 19th Century stone (Fig. 12) is more ostentatious than that of the 20th (Fig. 13) with regard to the three variables under consideration. Furthermore, as noted before, the earlier gravestone offers richer iconographic material. The letters "IHS" were found on many Catholic gravestones of the 19th Century (Fig. 12). These letters have been interpreted at least four different ways: (1) Jesus, from the Greek letters *iota, eta, sigma*, the first three letters of the word Jesus; (2) Jesus Savior of Men, from the Latin *Iesus Hominum Salvator*; (3) In this sign shalt thou conquer, from the Latin *In Hoc Signo Vinces*; and (4) In this sign is salvation, from the Latin



Fig. 12—Catholic Gravestone of 1888.

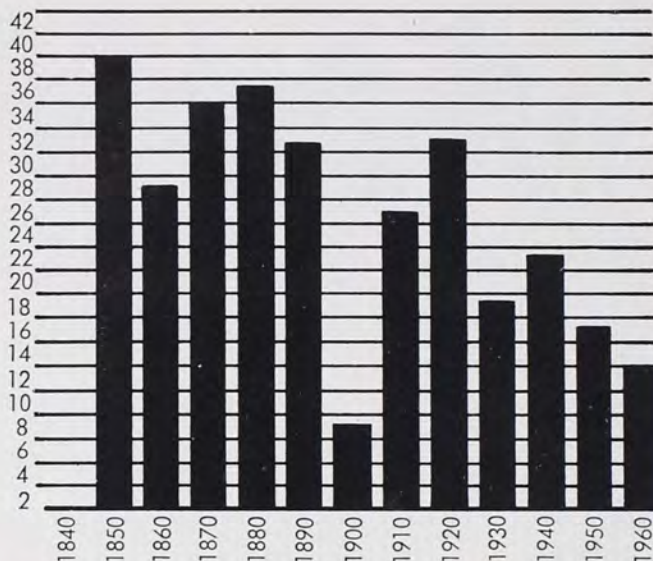


Fig. 11—Mean Height in Inches per Decade for Catholic Gravestones.

*In Hoc Salus*.<sup>15</sup> Also found on Catholic gravestones of the 19th Century are the hopeful sentiments about the peaceful nature of death, such as "Requiescat in Pace" (Fig. 12) that we have seen earlier (Figs. 4 and 8). A more modern Catholic gravestone of 1955 (Fig. 13) follows the pattern of low rectangular solids with a complete absence of verse and icons.

The fourth graveyard under study is located at the Old Middletown Presbyterian Church in Middletown Township, which is located directly east of the Borough of Chester Heights, from which it is separated by Chester Creek. The most striking feature of the graphs on Presbyterian lines of type (Fig. 14) and height in inches (Fig. 15) is the complete absence of data for the 1930's. Interviews with both the minister<sup>16</sup> and the cemetery supervisor<sup>17</sup> indicated that the cemetery was open during the 1930's and that burials did take place at that time. At least three hypotheses may be advanced to explain

<sup>15</sup>The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, The Unabridged Edition (New York: Random House), p. 709.

<sup>16</sup>Interview with the Rev. Raymond Pinch, Old Middletown Road, Route 16, Media, March 22, 1968.

<sup>17</sup>Interview with William G. Weischedel, Old Middletown Road, Route 16, Media, March 22 and 23, 1968.



Fig. 13—Catholic Gravestone of 1955.

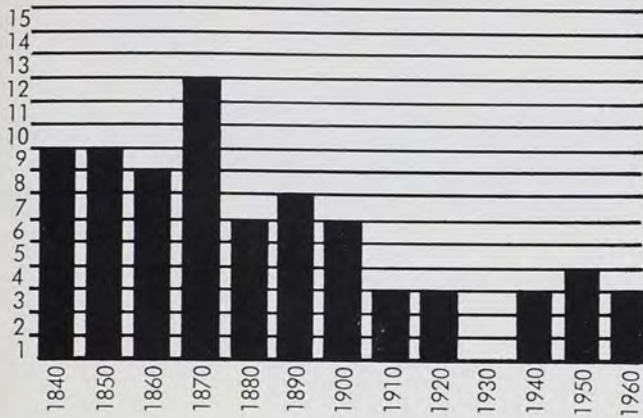


Fig. 14—Mean Lines of Type per Decade for Presbyterian Gravestones.

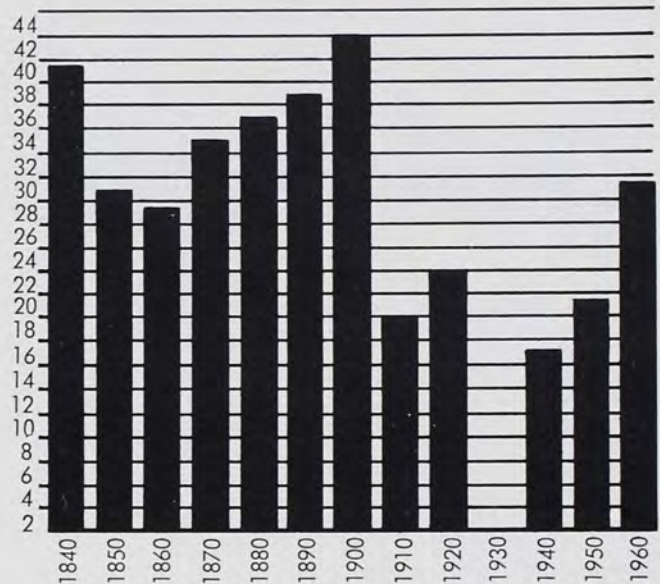


Fig. 15—Mean Height in Inches per Decade for Presbyterian Gravestones.

the lack of data for the 1930's: (1) Sample size is small being limited to 100 stones and one decade could be missed; (2) The sample picked up stones from the 1930's but they were all family monuments and hence excluded; (3) Gravestones have been removed from the cemetery. Possibility number three is not entirely fanciful. In 1957 a wing of office space was added on the southeast side of the building which extended fifty feet into the cemetery, and in 1966 a bell tower was added on the northwest side of the building which extended fifty-seven feet into the cemetery. In each case a court order was obtained for the movement of the gravestones necessary for building construction, and in each case a contract was made with a monument company to carry out the work. The stones were not re-erected but were stored. The stored gravestones are now relatively inaccessible, hence no attempt was made to include them in this sample.

The absence of data on the 1930's notwithstanding, the graphs on Presbyterian lines of type (Fig. 14) and

height in inches (Fig. 15) show the same downward trends previously presented. The mean number of lines of type for the 1840's was nine, while for the 1960's it was three (Fig. 14), a reduction of two-thirds. The decline in height is less spectacular, but still marked. The mean height for the 1840's was forty inches, while for the 1960's it was thirty inches (Fig. 15).

The photographic record of the Presbyterian graveyard shows the same trend toward simplicity seen in the previous three graveyards. The 19th Century stone (Fig. 16) is more ostentatious than the 20th Century stone (Fig. 17) with regard to the three variables under consideration. The Presbyterian gravestone of 1870 (Fig. 16), while not as rich in icons as many other 19th Century stones, does offer a familiar and hopeful verse representative of the time:

*Blessed are they that die in the Lord  
For though I walk through the  
Valley of the shadow of death  
I will fear no evil  
For thy rod and thy staff, they  
will comfort me.*



Fig. 16—Presbyterian Gravestone of 1870.



Fig. 17—Presbyterian Gravestone of 1960.

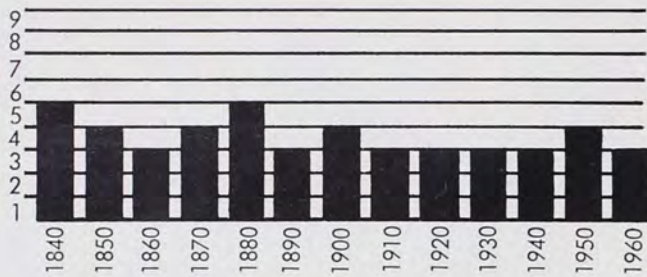


Fig. 18—Mean Lines of Type per Decade for Quaker Gravestones.

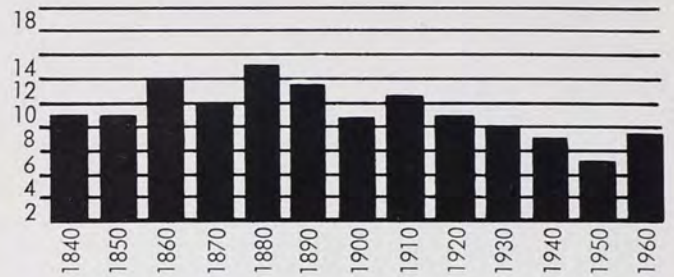


Fig. 19—Mean Height in Inches per Decade for Quaker Gravestones.

The more modern Presbyterian gravestones are generally shorter and bear far briefer inscriptions. Icons, while not altogether absent, are greatly simplified. For example the stone of 1960 (Fig. 17) is flush with the ground and its sole design feature is the epitaph panel in the form of a book.

The fifth and last graveyard under study is located at the Providence Friends Meeting in the Borough of Media, which is directly to the east of Middletown Township, from which it is separated by Ridley Creek. Media is the county seat of Delaware County. Examination of graphs on Quaker gravestone lines of type (Fig. 18) and height in inches (Fig. 19) reveals a set of patterns entirely unlike the previous four pairs of graphs. The decline in both lines of type and height is so slight as to be negligible. The reason for this lack of decline

is that the Quaker gravestones in fact never were ostentatious as measured by our three variables. In other words, the Quaker gravestones seem to serve as a sort of control group. The mean number of lines of type for the 1840's was five; and for the 1960's it was three, a small decline particularly when compared with other denominational groups. The decline in height is extremely small. The mean height for the 1840's was nine inches, and for the 1960's it was eight inches.

An examination of the photographic record shows that there have been some style changes in Quaker gravestones over the nearly 130 years studied, but these changes make the stones neither more nor less ostentatious. The earlier stones are relatively thin slabs from twelve to twenty inches tall, about eighteen inches across, but only about two inches thick (Fig. 20). For this reason the inscriptions appear on the face of the stones, rather than on the top of the stones. The latter type is about eight inches thick and twenty-four inches across, and was found only in Quaker graveyards. The more modern Quaker gravestones have shapes which are less distinctively Quaker, but which are still very simple and plain. The Quaker gravestone of 1953 (Fig. 21) is of the familiar solid trapezoidal shape. It should also be mentioned that many of the Quaker gravestones (see for example Fig. 21) follow



Fig. 20—Quaker Gravestone of 1870.



Fig. 21—Quaker Gravestone of 1953.

the Quaker custom of enumerating the month rather than giving its Roman name.

The Quaker concept of simplicity is perhaps best explained in *Faith and Practice*, which reads in part:

The heart of Christian simplicity lies in the singleness of purpose which is required by the injunction to seek first the Kingdom of God . . . By observing and encouraging simple tastes in apparel, furniture, buildings and manner of living, we help to do away with rivalry and we learn to value self-denial . . . Simplicity is closely akin to sincerity—a genuineness of life and speech in which there is no place for sham or artificiality.<sup>18</sup>

The inescapable conclusion after examination of data on Quaker gravestone configuration, lines of type, and height is that strong artifactual evidence of the depth and sincerity of the Quaker testimony of simplicity does exist and has been demonstrated.

The pattern of design change seen in four out of the five denominational groups studied offers a great deal of information about the times in America during which the gravestones were produced. The interpretive aspects of this investigation may be applied to interrelated changes in style, religion, and social values. If we assume for the sake of argument that the decline in ostentation found in Delaware County from the 1840's to the 1960's could be demonstrated for a widespread area of the United States, as I believe could be done with sufficient time and resources, then we might be able to provide a model of interrelated change in many aspects of American culture. Such a model would be particularly fruitful in explaining widely-held values concerning both ostentation and death.<sup>19</sup>

The shift from ostentatious gravestones to simple ones is almost certainly a function of changes in American values regarding ostentation. More and more in America during the last century the exhibition of costly goods has become passé. This change has been noted and explained by several social scientists including C. Wright Mills,<sup>20</sup> John Kenneth Galbraith,<sup>21</sup> and Vance Packard.<sup>22</sup> Galbraith explained, "Lush expenditure could be afforded by so many that it ceased to be useful as a mark of distinction."<sup>23</sup> Ostentation as a value has declined, and this is evident in such material remains as gravestones. Gravestones, furthermore, have the additional advantage of being dated, so that the decline in ostentation can be traced with some precision.

The implications of our findings for shifts in American values regarding death are somewhat more subtle and elusive than those for ostentation, but they are not al-

together absent. Most of the best previous work on gravestones in this country has been done in New England. Researchers there have all to some extent pointed out changes in attitudes toward death over the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries.<sup>24</sup> A lucid summary of these changes was given by Mann and Greene in their Foreword:

The trend is easy to follow back in Yankee burying grounds. It first appeared early in the 19th Century when epitaphs began being written expressly to soothe the bereaved. Until then the carvings had warned of the inevitability of death and decay and had promised mercy on Judgment Day only as a reward for pious exercises or the revelation of God while on earth . . . Then soon after 1800 the number of admonitions and personal histories decreased: for death rendered less grim and life less intense somehow made bereavement less painful; there came more and more inscriptions about eternal peace and reunions in heaven. The final development has been to omit even these muffled cries of the heart.<sup>25</sup>

In short, there have been three major periods: (1) Precautionary warnings in the 18th Century; (2) Sanguine reassurances in the 19th Century; (3) Absence of message in the 20th Century. Therefore it is clear that to say there has been a change from step two to step three adds nothing to our knowledge. However a contribution of the present study is to demonstrate that change in a systematic manner, i.e., with the use of a uniform sampling technique and statistics in addition to the more traditional techniques of simple observation and note-taking.

Since gravestones no longer serve the function of carrying messages of admonition or hope and since increasingly land is at a premium, one might legitimately ask why gravestone commemoration as a custom persists. The answer may lie in what Mitford has called "grief therapy" whereby guilt in relation to the deceased can be assuaged by a suitable funeral and an appropriate gravestone.<sup>26</sup>

The data and tentative conclusions presented above are based on a very limited survey. A more exhaustive study of the gravestones in Pennsylvania and the other Middle Atlantic states, like the study now being conducted by Dethlefsen and Deetz in Massachusetts, would be expected to yield a very rich source of data concerning interrelated changes in American style, religion, population, and social values. The basis of such a study would be a complete photographic sample of all cemeteries in the study area with an IBM card for each stone punched for several variables. Such cards would facilitate data analysis for many research areas. A study like the present one suggests that future work on gravestones in the Pennsylvania area would provide valuable additions to our knowledge of American civilization.

<sup>24</sup>Researchers in this category include Mann and Greene, Dethlefsen and Deetz, and Ludwig, all mentioned previously.

<sup>25</sup>Mann and Greene, *op. cit.*, p. x.

<sup>26</sup>Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), pp. 90-91.

<sup>18</sup>*Faith and Practice of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends: A Book of Christian Discipline* (4th ed. rev.; Philadelphia: The Religious Society of Friends, 1965), pp. 22-24.

<sup>19</sup>Professors Dethlefsen and Deetz use such a model with great clarity in their article on pages 506-508.

<sup>20</sup>C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 117.

<sup>21</sup>John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), pp. 78-80.

<sup>22</sup>Vance Packard, *The Status Seekers* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1959), pp. 19-20.

<sup>23</sup>Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

# Notes on Eighteenth-Century Emigration To the British Colonies

By FRIEDRICH KREBS

Translated and Edited by DON YODER

[The following emigrant list appeared in *Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde*, XVII. Jahrgang, 1968, Band 6, Heft 7, 225-226, under the title of "Amerikauswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus verschiedenen Kirchenbüchern und anderen Quellen." It comes from the researches of Dr. Friedrich Krebs of the Palatine State Archives at Speyer-am-Rhein, whose articles on 18th Century emigration we have published in translation, a long and distinguished series from the old *Pennsylvania Dutchman* days through all the years of *Pennsylvania Folklife*. The article appears in the special section of the journal, edited by Dr. Fritz Braun of the Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, dedicated to the emigration history of the Palatine population, and entitled in German, *Mitteilungen zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*. We are grateful to both Dr. Braun and Dr. Krebs for the opportunity to share these new materials with our readers. — EDITOR.]

## FROM THE LUTHERAN CHURCH REGISTER OF GLANMUENCHWEILER

1. *Johann Nickel Ohr*, master tailor at Nanzweiler, son of *Henrich Ohr of Linden*, married November 23, 1779, *Maria Margretha Kiefer*, born at Nanzweiler, July 22, 1754, daughter of *Andreas Kiefer* and wife *Elisabetha Margaretha*, "went to America in the year 1784."

Children, born at Nanzweiler and baptized at Glanmüchweiler: (1) *Johann Philipp Ohr*, born November 26, 1780; (2) *Maria Elisabeth Ohr*, born March 2, 1782.

## FROM THE REFORMED CHURCH REGISTER OF GROSSBOCKENHEIM

2. *Johann Peter Gutmann*, born August 15, 1718, son of the master tailor *Rudolph Gutmann* and wife *Anna Elisabetha*, married April 14, 1741, (*Maria*) *Christina Eichelberger (Euchenberger)*, born April 29, 1713, daughter of *Rudolph Eichelberger*. In the Church Register there is among the baptisms for the time from about March to July 1742 the baptismal entry for a child of *Johann Peter Gutmann* with the following notation: "went away from here to Pennsylvania without indicating his child's name and godparents" (*von hier weg in Pensylvaniam gezogen ohne seines Kindes Nahmen und Taufzeugen anzuzeigen*).

*Peter Guthman* appears among the passengers on the Ship *Robert and Alice*, and took his Oath of Allegiance at Philadelphia September 30, 1743 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 102 C).

3. *Johann Henrich Frey*, linenweaver, married November 27, 1729, *Maria Margaretha Wolf*, baptized

November 19, 1702, daughter of *Johannes Wolf* and wife *Christina*.

Children, born at Grossbockenheim: (1) *Johann Caspar Frey*, born September 26, 1730, died August 29, 1732; (2) *Anna Catharina Frey*, born December 18, 1732; (3) *Catharina Philippina Frey*, baptized January 14, 1735; (4) *Margaretha Dorothea Frey*, born November 30, 1737; (5) *Anna Margretha Frey*, born November 11, 1739; and (6) an unnamed child, born September 21, 1742.

The notation in the Church Register reads, "Left here for Pennsylvania without rectifying his child's name" (*Von hier weggezogen in Pensylvaniam ohne seines Kindes Nahmen zu rectificiren*).

*Henrich Frey* appears among the passengers on the Ship *Lydia*, and took the Oath of Allegiance at Philadelphia, September 20, 1743 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 99 A-C).

## FROM THE REFORMED CHURCH REGISTER OF KRIEGSFELD

4. *Anna Margretha Hardong*, born October 21, 1725, daughter of *Johannes Hardong* and wife *Maria Apollonia*, "to the New Land in the year 1754" (*ins Neue Land anno 1754*).

5. *Anna Sara Helbig*, born March 19, 1725, daughter of *Andreas Helbig* and wife *Anna Elisabetha*, "to the New Land in the year 1754."

6. *Johannes Maurer*, born July 8, 1740, son of the pastor *Friedrich Magnus Maurer* and wife *Maria Philippina*, "died September 5, 1777, in New York in America" (*starb 1777 den 5. September in Neyerock in America*).

## FROM THE RECORDS OF THE DISTRICT OF HEIDELBERG, 1752

7. *Abraham Cetti*, Mennonite, farm tenant on the Rohrhof (*Hofbeständer auf dem Rohrhof*) in the parish of Brühl (Schwetzingen), on payment of 32 florins for the tithe, receives permission to go to the New Land.

*Abraham Zety* appears among the passengers of the Ship *St. Andrew*, and took the Oath of Allegiance at Philadelphia, September 23, 1752 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 181 C).

8. *Peter Brauss*, citizen of Waldwimmersbach, whose wife and three little sons, a daughter, and a married son by the name of *Andreas Brauss*, have permission to leave for the New Land, for which Peter Brauss must pay 20 florins tithe and the married son 15 florins.

*Andreas Brauss* appears among the passengers on the Ship *Rawley*, and took the Oath of Allegiance at Philadelphia, October 23, 1752 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 191 C).





*Grape Harvest Time at Essingen in the Palatinate. From such agricultural villages came emigrants of the 18th Century who settled in Southeastern Pennsylvania.*

# A Siegerland Emigrant List of 1738

By OTTO BAEUMER

Translated and Edited by DON YODER

[The following emigrant list dates from the year 1738 and was located in the Siegerland of Westphalia. It comes from the research of Otto Bäumer of Freudenberg, and appeared in the periodical *Heimatland: Beilage zur Siegener Zeitung*, Zweiter Jahrgang, Nr. 10, 1927, 148-149. The emigrants, who came from the towns of Freudenberg, Plittershagen, Böschen, and Anstoss, in the Siegen area, are said to have gone to the new British colony of Georgia, which had been opened up for settlement in 1732 and had attracted the emigration of Salzburgers and Moravians in the interim.

However, one of the emigrants, Tillmanus Hirschal (see No. 16) had been in Pennsylvania and returned, and it is possible that some of the other families or individuals may have come to Pennsylvania or other colonies instead of Georgia. Will readers who identify any of the emigrants as Pennsylvania settlers please notify the Editor.

The evidence for the prior emigration of "Tielman Hirschael," aged 55, appears in Strassburger-Hinke, List 42 A: Ship *Princess Augusta*, qualified at Philadelphia, September 16, 1736. The name is spelled "Thielman Hirschall" in Lists 42 B and 42 C.

Further research into emigrant backgrounds will probably reveal more emigration from the Freudenberg area in the Siegerland directly to Pennsylvania. For example, on the Ship *Nancy*, whose passengers took the Oath of Allegiance at Philadelphia, August 31, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 155 C), there are listed one following the other, as if traveling together, *Johann Peter Gutelius* and *Tilman Creutz*. There is also a *Johan Thiel [mann?] Selbach* listed on the Ship *Aurora*, qualified at Philadelphia, October 8, 1744 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 105 C).

From the same general area in Westphalia there had come to the Germanna Colony in Virginia in 1714 the families of *Fishback* and *Kemper*, and later additional families came to the Tohickon and Lower Saucon Reformed settlements in Pennsylvania. For this evidence, which we intend to republish in a larger article on Westphalian Emigration to the British Colonies in the 18th Century, see the journal *Siegerland: Blätter des Vereins für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz im Siegerlande samt Nachbargebieten*, 10. Band, 1. Heft (January-March 1928), 27-29. — EDITOR.]

## *Emigrants from the Parish of Freudenberg, Siegerland*

A memorandum by the Protestant Pastor Göbel in an old parish register of the year 1738 gives explanation about the emigrations which were taking place at that time from the Freudenberg region to America. Many of the names are still to be found here, without their

present bearers knowing that relatives once left their homeland and ventured into unknown distant parts. The memorandum, which was entered in the Burial Register, reads as follows:

As information I wished to write down on these pages that today, the 13th of March, 1738, there left for Georgia, the new island [sic] under the protection of His Majesty the King of England, out of this land and parish, with the knowledge and consent of the authorities of this our land, the following named persons, some of them householders with wife and children, others single male persons, namely:

### FREUDENBERG

1. *Tillmanus Seelbach* with his wife *Anna Beata*, also his son-in-law and daughter.
2. *Gerlach Waffenschmidt* and his wife *Anna Maria* with four children.
3. *Henrich Ernstorf* and his wife *Anna Catharin* with three children.
4. *Her[mann]. Bach* and his wife *Anna Margreth* with one child.
5. *Joh[ann]. Friedrich Müller* and his wife *Anna Maria* with one child.
6. *Hymenäus Creutz* and his wife *Elisabeth*.
7. *Georg Weidman*, single status, *Henrich Weidman's* orphaned son.
8. *Tillmanus Steinseiffer, Joh[ann]. Henrich Steinseiffer's* orphaned son.
9. *Johannes Hoffman* from Dirlenbach, *Johannes Hoffman's* son.
10. *Johann Henrich Schmidt, Christian Schmidt's* son.
11. *Johannes Klappert*, son of the former village-mayor in the prince's government, *Joh[annes]. Klappert*.
12. *Tillmany Gudelius, Christophel Gudelius's* son.
13. *Hermanus Müller*, son of the village justice, *Hermanus Müller*.

### PLITTERSHAGEN

14. *Johannes Halm* and his wife *Anna Cath[a]rin* with two children.

### BOESCHEN

15. *Johann Henrich Schneider* and his wife *Maria Catharin* with two children.
16. *Johann Georg Hirschal* and his wife *Anna Catharin* with one child; whose father, *Tillmanus Hirschal*, had left for America two years ago and just now returned and has gone back along with the others.

### ANSTOSS

17. *Henrich Schneider* and his wife *Anna Margreth* with two children.
18. *Hanna Schneider, Joh[annes]. Schneider's* widow, with her son *Johannes Schneider* and his wife, born in the Hadamar country, with four children.

# LOCAL PLACE NAMES: Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 14

The map of Pennsylvania is covered with fascinating place-names, some of them Indian, others European, and some of local American origin. Some reflect periods of American history, as for example, the strange-sounding "Monterey" (Berks County) and "Vera Cruz" (Lehigh County), to say nothing of "Rough and Ready" (Northumberland County), which came in at the time of the Mexican War. Others reflect Pennsylvania's mixed ethnic heritage — "Heidelberg" and "Bergstrasse" for the German, "Donegal" and "Fermanagh" for the Scotch-Irish, "Bangor" and "Gwynedd" for the Welsh. Finally, many place-names reflect the American pioneer's talent for coining unusual names, some of them colorful, some of them down to earth, some of them highflown (examples: Ono, Fearnot, Mudtown, Jughtown, Paddletown, Snowshoe, Port Matilda, and Mudlick, for examples).

However, there is a more local type of place-name which often does not appear on the standard road maps, or even on the government's topographical maps. These are the local names for roads, lanes, mountain trails, streams, hills, small valleys, coves, and even the more local names for farms themselves and for fields, meadows, groves, and other economic subdivisions of the farm. European linguistic and folk-cultural scholars have researched this aspect of place-name study widely and thoroughly, in the many monographs which deal with what the Germans call *Flurnamen*.

Some examples of this rare type of local place-name. In the Kutztown (Berks County) area oldtimers still speak of two back roads in the Kutztown-Lyons area as the *Wassergass* (water street or water lane) and the *Hexegass* (witch road), and of two hills in the vicinity as the *Schlangebaerrick* (Snake Hill) and *der Parre Michels Baerrick* (Pastor Michael's Hill), named for a colonial minister who is buried at Dryville.

We are interested in receiving from our readers lists of local place-names which they remember from their childhood home areas in Pennsylvania. We are interested in both the English as well as the Pennsylvania German dialect examples.

1. *Names of valleys.* Do you recall Dutch or English names for the valleys of your area, including the small coves (the Dutch called a small rounded valley in the mountains a *Loch* or a *Kessel*). Examples, *Slim Valley* (short for *Slim Gut Valley*, Juniata County), *Snake Spring Valley* (Bedford County), and *Pulwerdaal* (*Powder Valley*) and *Budderdaal* (*Butter Valley*), both in Lehigh County.

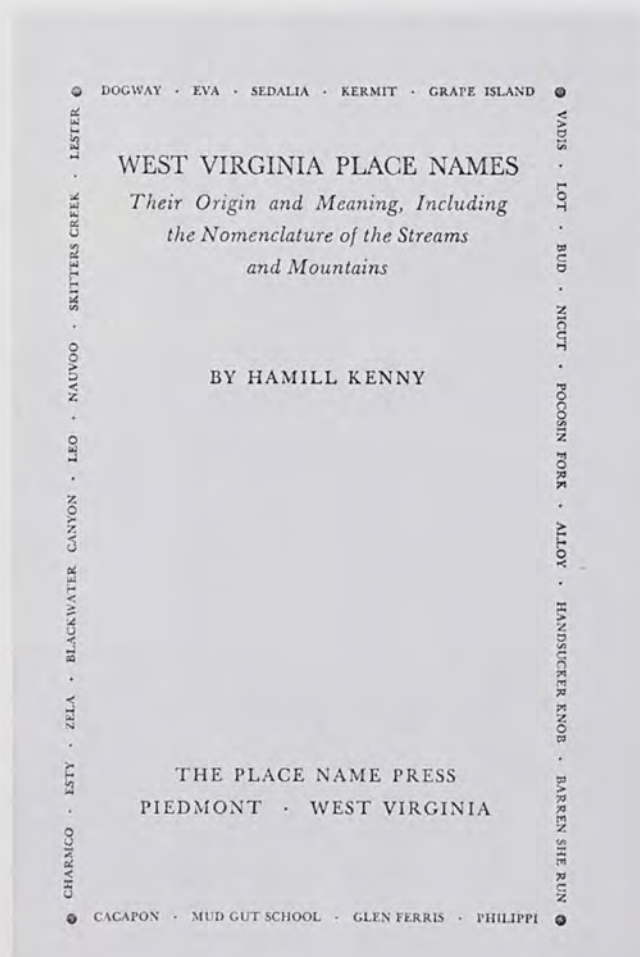
2. *Names of mountains and hills.* Everybody knows the *Blobaerrick*, the big Blue Mountain which forms the northern border of Lehigh, Berks, and Lebanon

Counties. In Schuylkill County the Sharp Mountain is called the *Schneidbaerrick* in the dialect, the Broad Mountain the *Breedbaerrick*. Will you write down for us all the local mountain and hill nomenclature from your home area?

3. *Names of streams, creeks, runs.* Do the same for all the streams in your vicinity. My favorite stream names in Eastern Pennsylvania are "Snitz Creek" in Lebanon County and "Hanyost Creek" in Schuylkill County.

4. *Names of farms.* In earlier days it was the practice to name farms. In the colonial period each tract had a name which was sometimes listed in surveys and deeds. Later, some farms were given local names by their owners or the neighbors. List those that you recall.

5. *Field names.* In the older rural life that most Pennsylvanians come from, even the fields on the farm



American place-names research is slowly moving ahead. One of the best of the regional treatments thus far is Hamill Kenny's *West Virginia Place Names* (Piedmont, W. Va., 1965).

had names. Sometimes rocks and trees, stone piles, quarries, groves, or woodlots were named and formed boundaries or directional points on the farm. Can you be specific about this for us, and if possible draw us a rough map of the layout of the farm that you are describing in terms of its nomenclature.

6. Names of villages. In the 19th Century every crossroads settlement had a name. Some of these are colorful bits of Americana, like Leather Corner Post in Lehigh County, and Five Points in Lancaster County. List the smaller village and crossroads names that you remember from your area.

7. Names of post offices. Can you give examples of small towns which have (or had) post office names which differed from the town's usual name?



Hessisches Flurnamenbuch

herausgegeben  
im Auftrag der Hessischen Vereinigung für Volkskunde  
von Alfred Götzke  
Heft 11

Die Flurnamen des  
Dorfs Wörrstadt in Rheinhessen

von  
JAKOB BUCHER

Gießen 1936  
Selbstverlag der Hessischen Vereinigung für Volkskunde

*German folklife scholars study "Flurnamen" — the very local names in village, valley and parish. This volume analyzes such names in the village of Wörrstadt in Rheinhessen.*

## Place Names in Bucks County Pennsylvania

*Pennsylvania place-names are found in such volumes as George MacReynolds, Place Names in Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Doylestown, Pennsylvania, 1955).*

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED IN  
AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

By  
GEORGE MACREYNOLDS  
Librarian of The Bucks County Historical Society



SECOND EDITION

Published by  
The Bucks County Historical Society  
DOYLESTOWN, PA.  
1955

8. Names of churches. Pennsylvania German churches sometimes have several names — "baptized" or official names (St. John's, St. Peter's), local family names (Arndt's Church, Becker's Church), and even "nicknames" (Welschkarnkaerrich, Eckkaerrich, Plow Church, Red Church, Blue Church, White Church, etc.). Write down the names of this sort that you remember, giving if possible the reasons for the more curious names.

9. Hotel names. List for us the country tavern names that you recall from your childhood area. There were originally large country hotels on all the main roads and pikes, every few miles, for the convenience of drovers, wagoners, and other travelers in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Sometimes settlements grew up around these taverns. Even the tavern signs were in some cases still swinging before the hotel porches in the first decades of the 19th Century. In the 18th and early 19th Centuries country hotels had colorful names — Indian Queen, Spread Eagle, Blue Ball, Seven Stars. In other cases they were known from the name of the proprietor, or from some distinctive feature (Yellow House in Berks County). How were the country hotels in your neighborhood named? Do you remember the tavern signs with the names and symbols painted thereon?

10. Pronunciation and abbreviation of local place-names. Many local place-names, even those on the printed maps, are often changed in local usage either by pronouncing them differently from their common spelling, or by abbreviation. For instance, New Tripoli in Lehigh County is pronounced with the accent on the "o," Manheim in Lancaster County is pronounced "Mannem" in the area (similar, by the way, to the dialect pronunciation of its original, Mannheim, in Germany). An example of abbreviation is Port Matilda in Centre County, which is usually referred to by area residents simply as "Port." Will our readers jot down as many examples as they recall of local names which are in this way abbreviated or changed in pronunciation.

11. Etymology of local names. In the case of the more unusual local place-names from your area, whether in English or Pennsylvania German, please be specific in writing down for us the local reasons which are assigned for these names.

12. Place-name lore. Will our readers write down for us any stories, rhymes, jokes, or other traditional lore which involve place-names. For example, there is the common Pennsylvania German rhyme, applied to many towns, which goes like this (apologies to Kutztown):

*Kutztown, du armi Schtadt —  
Drucke Brod un des net satt!  
(Kutztown, you poor town —  
Dry bread and not enough of that!)*

Send your replies to: Dr. Don Yoder

College Hall, Box 36  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104



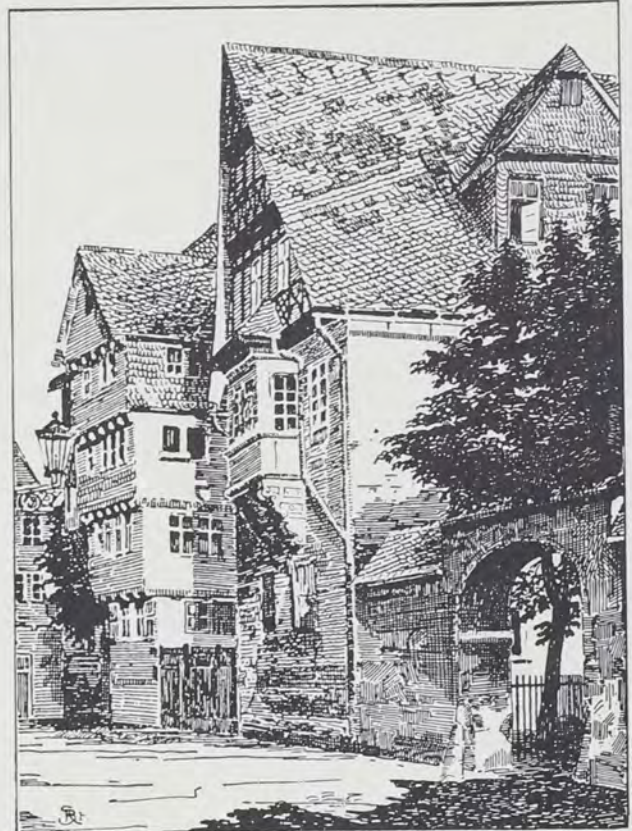
# Siegerland

Blätter des Vereins  
für Heimatkunde  
und Heimatschutz  
im Siegerland samt  
Nachbargebieten

1934 Heft 4

Im diesem Heft: In unsere Mitglieder / Die Vertriebung des Siegerlandes bis zum 18. Jahrhunderts / Beiträge zur Geschichte der Siegerländer Zuwanderung nach Amerika / Als der Großvater die Großmutter nahm / Unberühmte Gedichte von Wilhelm Schmidt und Tola Niblaumen / Sperrstreifen, verfasst von Karl Wenzig / Zum 350-jährigen Jubiläum der Herborn-Siegerer Hohen Schule / Zum 25-jährigen Bestehen der Herborn-Siegerer Studenten / Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen im Siegerland / Kurze Berichte aus Mülheim am Rhein / Der Olfen: Ein Blick auf die Stadt Siegen an die Gesellschaft Öttinger in U. S. A. — 12000 Wörter 50 Jahre Tagung der Siegerländer am Niederrhein.

Verlag: Vorländer, Buchdruckerei, Siegen — Verlag für Heimatliteratur



View of the ancient college buildings at Herborn, drawn from a photograph taken in the 1930s.

Title page of Siegerland, local history periodical in which Otto Bäumer's article originally appeared. The cut shows a view of the old section of the town of Siegen.



Siegen in the 17th Century, showing walls and towers of what was then still essentially a medieval town. After an engraving in Siegerland, XVI: 4 (October-December 1934).

Herborn in the 17th Century. From Herborn came Philipp Wilhelm Otterbein, Pietist Reformed pastor who was one of the founders of the first native American denomination, the United Brethren in Christ.



21<sup>st</sup> Annual  
Pennsylvania Dutch

# Folk Festival

June 27-28-29-30, July 1-2-3-4-5, 1970

# Kutztown pa.

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