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Hollyday

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**

SPRING, 1970



ITALIAN COOKERY IN PENNSYLVANIA

Contributors to this Issue

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on Halloween in Pennsylvania," appeared in the *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, XIV:3 (Fall 1969), 122-123.

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DR. GUY TILGHMAN HOLLYDAY, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, is a native of Maryland who is teaching German at the University of Pennsylvania. His article in this issue, on the inscriptions of the Fraktur Wall-Charts of the Ephrata Cloister, is one of a series of textual studies of the High German language heritage in Pennsylvania which we have been concerned to present to the readers of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

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COVER:

Pizzelle Irons, used by Italian-Americans to bake waffles, combine designs of various sorts. This one has the fleur de lis and a coat of arms containing playing card symbolism.

Cooking in RED and

By TONI F. FRATTO

Traditional cookery, it appears, is a fairly tenacious element of culture. The six Italian-Americans who very kindly allowed me to take hours of their time in interviews are all highly acculturated people. They live in thoroughly American homes, dress in modern American fashion, send their children to public or parochial schools (run largely by an Irish clergy, they say) and even to college. Four of the six speak Italian only brokenly, as a secondary language. Yet they remember cooking and—for the majority of dishes—still cook an amazing variety of definitely Italian foods. The changes they have made in the traditional cookery are fairly obvious: American tastes look down on such things as organ meats, so these are seldom cooked anymore; some things, such as fresh blood or lamb's head are difficult to get in American markets and are therefore seldom on the tables; in general, Americans prefer slightly bland foods, so some Italian dishes are now made with less garlic and with light oils rather than the rich olive oil; perhaps most importantly, the children demand American foods, so Italian cookery is reduced to a two—or—three night a week event.

But the recipes are still alive. No one had to search their memories for long-forgotten dishes. Most of these foods are cooked today, not as often as they used to be, but quite often enough to remain vital, and those few dishes no longer prepared (for instance, no one makes broth with chicken heads anymore) are remembered vividly and with a vague regret for their absence.

All of these foods are traditional. I say this with a fair assurance, because all six informants learned their cooking by direct instruction and example from their mothers, mothers-in-law, and friends. Not one had, or had ever read, an Italian cookbook. Their recipes are maintained solely in their memories and in their hands. In fact, only one of the six could write or spell in Italian; none of the others could even indicate the spelling or the Italian (as opposed to dialect) pronunciation of their words. These dishes have been handed down orally and traditionally, without much change, for at least several generations, which fact is, I think, a fairly good indicator of their traditional nature.

But what level or sector of tradition do they come from? This is just about impossible to establish definitely, as these people's knowledge of their past does not extend back very far. One of the elderly ladies, Mrs. Mantone, lived on a farm in a small village which



Josie Avellino making Baccalá Stew. The salt fish, usually cod, is soaked for three days to remove the salt, then cooked with onions, raisins, olives, and olive oil. Stuffed artichokes are cooking in the covered pot to the left. Fish dishes are very widespread in Italian cookery, both for everyday cookery and holidays. Christmas Eve, for instance, is a "fish night" when fish specialties are served.





Photography by Carter W. Craigie

seems pretty definitely of the peasant culture type, in that her family grew, raised, and prepared for themselves practically all the necessities of life. Mrs. Riali, the other elderly lady, lived in the town, in a family of small businessmen. The four second-generation Italian-Americans come from families that were definitely proletarian in this country and village-dwellers in the old country, but none have any memory of what kind of lives their ancestors led. As their fathers all came here as unskilled and uneducated laborers, I would suggest that they most likely were peasants or agricultural proletarians in Italy.

It is interesting to note that, by and large, the repertoires of all six pretty much coincide. I do not think that this is due to mutual influence because, although all of these people are acquaintances or friends of each other, each one stresses that she had learned primarily

from the older generation, from parents, and only secondarily from friends. How much of the coincidence is due to common influences in America and how much is due to a common culture area in Italy, I can only guess. It is my hypothesis that the general area of mainland southern Italy (Abruzzi, Calabria, etc.) had a common tradition of cookery.

THE PEOPLE

1. *Mrs. Florence Esposito Fratto*

Mrs. Fratto is a second-generation Italian-American. She learned to cook from her mother, who came from a town called "Basilrigad," some place in Abruzzi (she does not know where and isn't sure of the pronunciation of the town) when she was a young girl. Mrs. Fratto's childhood, then, was spent entirely in America, and her cooking, admittedly, has been influenced by American tastes and the tastes of other Italian friends. She has grown children, and for them she cooks pasta of some kind once a week, and occasional Italian-style vegetables. Most of the other Italian dishes she must slip in "once in a while" for her husband and herself. Her cooking, she says, has changed quite a lot since the time when she was first married during the Depression. She cooked a lot of Italian food then, as that was what she had learned from her mother and as it was cheap and filling. As her children grew up, however, she began to cook meals that were faster, less work, and more pleasing to their American tastes.

2. *Mr. Anthony Fratto*

Mr. Fratto is also a second-generation Italian-American. His parents came from Italy as adults, and, as he has always been interested in food, he could remember quite a bit about what his mother used to make. She was from the town of Catanzaro in Calabria, and came to America as a young woman. She cooked Italian food for her family all her life, and American cooking seems never to have influenced her.

3. *Mrs. Josephine della Selva Avellino*

Mrs. Avellino is a second-generation Italian-American who learned to cook from her mother, who came from Fraso Terrasina (a town near Naples) as a young woman, and from her mother-in-law, who came as an adult from Pompei. All of Mrs. Avellino's formative years, then, were spent in America, but her cooking comes from people who learned in Italy. She says that she cooked a lot of Italian food as a bride, a great deal less as her children were growing up, and, interestingly enough, an increasing amount now as her grown children and her husband are becoming re-aware of their Italian heritage and are developing a taste for the old dishes.

4. *Mrs. Virginia Pellicciotti Mantone*

Mrs. Mantone is an elderly lady who came to America twenty years ago. She lived until then on a farm

in Cieli, near Vasto, in Abruzzi. She learned to cook from her mother and continues cooking, as much as the markets will allow, in the old style. She lives with a married daughter, and her grandchildren are being brought up largely on Italian food. Her cooking has changed to the extent that now she must buy at the store many of the things they made for themselves on the farm. For instance, in Cieli, they made their own cheese, pressed their own olives, made their own wine, did their own butchering, raised all their own vegetables; the only things they bought were the occasional fish from the nearby sea-town.

5. *Mrs. Milly Canonica Giovanetti*

Mrs. Giovanetti is a second-generation Italian-American. Her mother died while she was a child, so she learned to cook largely from her mother-in-law, who came to America as a young woman, from Benevento in Abruzzi. Mrs. Giovanetti says she cooks Italian food for her husband and herself three times a week, but, except for their once-a-week pasta, she must cook American food for her children. Her own childhood was spent in America, but her mother-in-law's was spent in Italy, where she learned all of her cooking techniques. Mrs. Giovanetti says her cooking has changed over the years in that she has been making increasingly less Italian food and in that she has Americanized the food to some extent (such as substituting light oils for the olive oil.)

6. *Mrs. Florence Petrillo Riali*

Mrs. Riali is an elderly woman, a first-generation Italian-American who came to America thirty-five years ago. She came from Foggia in the province of Puglia, near Bari; most of her cooking is Barese, as her mother, from whom she learned to cook, came from Bari. Her cooking proved to be a bit more lavish and to have rather more variety than the others (for instance, she made a couple of dishes using beef) because her family ran a restaurant in Foggia. However, she assured me, all her cooking was traditional. She learned from her mother, who had learned from *her* mother, etc., and never did they use cookbooks. I tend to be convinced of this, because her cooking coincides to a great extent with that of all my other informants. Mrs. Riali lives with a married daughter, and both mother and daughter are intense in their loyalty to Italian food; nothing else is cooked in their home. They feel somewhat possessive of their recipes and gave them to me only on the condition that I use them "for education" but not "for publication"; in fact, they refused to give me the recipes for the various Christmas cookies they make. This pride and possessiveness is the first I have encountered—the rest of my informants were slightly apologetic about their traditional foods, and pleased and surprised that anybody should bother to collect information about it.

MARKETS AND MEALS

My two first-generation informants noted that their cooking had changed somewhat because they couldn't buy all of the traditional ingredients. The second generation, however, does not seem aware that any-



The home production of spaghetti. Mrs. Anthony Fratto kneading the dough. The dough is rolled into long tongue-like pieces which are turned into spaghetti on the machine. The most ancient way was of course to slice it by hand, the way a Pennsylvania German housewife makes noodles from noodle dough. Then boiled in the pot, it is ready for the plate and the sauce.



thing is missing. They said they could find everything they needed in their South Philadelphia neighborhood Italian markets or, for something very scarce, at Ninth Street, the open-air Italian and Jewish market.

Daily eating habits have undergone a great deal of acculturative influence; this is perhaps most obvious when laid out in a chart.

The schedule of meals over the week seems also to have undergone some change. In the old country there seems, on the whole, to have been no fixed meal plan and the first generation informants stick to the older plan, whereas all four of the second generation Italian-Americans say that in their childhood and in their young adulthood (before they began switching to American cooking) there was a pretty definite weekly meal plan.

THE FOOD

Given below is a list of the various dishes I was given. I include the ingredients, but it is impossible to give amounts and proportions because everyone of my informants cooks "by feel"; you put in flour until the dough "is right," you bake "until it's done." Where four or five informants have given a recipe, I have assumed that it is a fairly well known dish (at least in the Naples-Abruzzi-Bari-Calabria part of Italy), and have not cited the source, but where only one or two people mention a dish, I have noted that fact.

A note about the spelling and pronunciation would seem appropriate here. Everyone of the six people I talked with speak one or another dialect of Italian; not only is it difficult for me (who can understand Italian only where it is like Spanish) to catch what words were being said, but also, I believe it would be difficult for a native Italian to understand many of these heavily accented words. Therefore, wherever I could puzzle out (with the aid of Italian dialect dictionaries) the words, I have given them in their Italian spelling. Where I could not identify the words, I have given them in a roughly phonetic approximation to the dialect and put them in quotes. Some dishes have neither Italian nor dialect names, but this is only where my informants did not know or had forgotten the old names. This happens in quite a few instances—it is interesting that people seem to continue making traditional dishes long after they have forgotten their traditional names.

The two most common ingredients in this cooking are "red sauce" (sauce made with tomatoes or tomato puree) and "white sauce" (olive oil and garlic); for brevity's sake they will be referred to by their shortened names throughout the paper. In the same way, "cheese" will always refer to the hard locatelli cheese, grated.

PASTA

I am including here only those pastas that people made at home. Interestingly, one informant (Mrs. Fratto) remarked that pasta was eaten mainly in the winter.

Spaghetti—eggs, flour, and water rolled out, then sliced in strips or put on the "guitar" (two pieces of wood with wires stretched between them) and pressed through it and cut. Boil, drain. Serve with white sauce or any variety of red sauce.

Spaghettini—same as above, but in thinner strips.

Ravioli—egg and flour dough rolled out, cut in flat rounds, and filled with a mixture of ricotta cheese, locatelli cheese, eggs, parsley), then boiled. Serve with red sauce.

Manicotti—Make a batter of eggs, flour, water, and a drop of oil; in a small pan, make pancakes one at a time with this batter. Cool them, and fill with ricotta cheese, eggs, grated mozzarella cheese. Place in a pan, cover with red sauce, and bake.

Lasagna—Knead a dough of eggs and flour; roll it out and cut in 3" x 10" ribbons. Boil, then cool. In a pan, layer pasta with red sauce and broken up meatballs, ricotta cheese (mixed with locatelli cheese, eggs, and parsley) and mozzarella cheese. Bake about a half hour.

Gnocchi—To flour add mashed potato and egg, mix. Cut into pieces, roll each pencil-thin, cut into one inch lengths. "Cavall" them (this is almost impossible to describe; you roll the piece of dough under your two fingers, to form it into a shell.) Boil. Serve with red sauce.

Cavatelli—(pronounced "gavadeel"). Make a dough with very hot water and flour. Proceed as for gnocchi.

Fusille (the Abruzzese informants only)—flour and egg dough, rolled into strips and wound around a stick,



Mrs. Toni Fratto, the author, inspects a piece of dried fish at Joseph Hippolito's market. He emigrated from Siracusa in Sicily, has owned and operated a fish market in South Philadelphia for many years.



Souvenirs of the Old and the New World at Hippolito's Store.

then slipped off, to form spirals; boiled and served with red sauce.

Taconella (Mrs. Mantone only) — flour and egg dough rolled out and cut into squares and boiled. Served with red sauce.

Fettucelle (Mrs. Mantone only) — spaghetti dough cut in wide strips, boiled, served with red sauce.

Cavatelli e broccoli "di rabe" — Boil the broccoli "di rabe" (not the same as American broccoli) and cavatelli together. Serve with white sauce.

Pasta e cece (cici) — Any or all kinds of macaroni broken up, and boiled, then heated with chick peas and mixed with red sauce and cheese.

Pasta e fagiuolo ("fazule") — Same as above, but mixed with white or red beans.

Pasta e peselle ("basile," It. pisello) — Same as above, but mixed with peas.

Pasta lenticchia ("lendik") — Same as above, but mixed with lentils.

Pasta patate (It. patata) — Same as above, but mixed with diced boiled potatoes.

The use of pasta, unexpectedly enough, appears to be a reasonably sensitive indicator of culture or economic change. Mrs. Mantone and Mrs. Riali agreed that it was in no sense the staple food for the people on the traditional level of culture (both country people and town people; I have been unable to make much distinction between the eating habits of the two groups). Pasta dishes were served in the old country perhaps two times a week, or as a mixture for beans or green vegetables, or on special holidays. When, however, Italians got to America, their cooking of pasta, it appears, greatly increased. It is my suggestion that the

first and second generations of Italian-Americans were thrown into a non-agricultural ambience—all of my informants lived in cities and were industrial proletarians or the wives of industrial proletarians—and, with the coming of the Depression, the period of rather definite deprivation caused an upswing in pasta consumption. This very tentative hypothesis (how could it be otherwise, with only six informants!) is somewhat strengthened by an observation of Mrs. Mantone's. Last year she went back to Italy to visit her old village, and was dismayed by the changes she found there and throughout Abruzzi. Everywhere, she said, people have abandoned their farms to work as industrial laborers, and they have left off eating many of the traditional varieties of foods; now they eat pasta, every day, and a good deal of chicken, she observed regretfully. The subject, I think, ought to be studied further—how do social changes affect food habits?

OTHER STARCHES

Polenta — corn-meal mush. This can be served with a tomato sauce only, or with tomato sauce and sausage or peperoni, or with a white sauce with hot pepper. Mixed with white beans.

Pizza polenta — the polenta is spread in a pan and baked, then cut in slices and served under soup or fried peppers.

PATANE

Patane (potatoes) can be browned in white sauce with onion; tomato sauce, cheese, and water are added; this is simmered until done. Potato can be peeled and boiled with tomato and celery. Stuffed potato (Mrs. Mantone only) — Peel potatoes, carve out the middles; chop the carved-out part, mix with parsley, eggs, cheese,



The author inspects the calamare at the Italian market.



Octopus and Squid (calamare), Mediterranean delicacies, are available at some stores in the Italian sections of Philadelphia.

Imported cheeses stacked at an Italian grocery. The big ones are locatelli, a hard, aged cheese which is grated for use on spaghetti.



Modern food technology invades the Italian food line. Philadelphia's Italian-American groceries now carry Instant Polenta, Instant Potato Gnocchi, and other "instant" preparations.

and oil, then refill the cavities with this mixture. Brown in oil, add tomatoes, simmer till done. Eat with bread.

La grano (Mrs. Mantone, Mr. Fratto only) — wheat grains, cooked with oil, garlic, hot pepper, and water in a crock in the fireplace; cooked about two hours, then eaten as is.

Potato cake (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — Boil and mash potatoes, mix with cheese, sausage or bacon, put in pot, put bread crumbs on top, bake.

Rice cakes (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — Boil rice, mix with cheese, eggs, mozzarella cheese; roll into rolls, bread, then fry in deep fat.

Rice with cabbage (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — Boil rice and cabbage, top with red sauce.

Rice with red sauce and meatballs (Mrs. Fratto only)

PASTA SAUCES

Basic red sauce — made by heating garlic in olive oil, then adding tomato puree (tomatoes pushed through a sieve or colander). Or, one can fry several tablespoons of tomato paste (the recipe for that is given below) in the oil, and then add the puree.

"Salsa" (tomato paste) — This thick paste is added for flavor, richness, and thickening to most red sauces; it is usually added to the oil and fried a bit before the tomato puree is put in. To make a large batch for preserving (several month's to a year's supply): crush fresh tomatoes, put through a sieve, hang up in a cloth to drain. Then spread the thick tomato in a large pottery pan and put in bright sun. Stir once in a while and keep in sun until thick, dry, and almost black. Preserve in jars.

Variations with meat — fry with meat in the oil, then add the tomato puree or paste and puree, and simmer:

Meatballs — made of beef, veal, and pork (nothing else will do).

"Braziolo" (It. *braciolette*) — beef seasoned with garlic, parsley, and cheese, then rolled.

Pork sausage — this is the common use of sausage.

Pig's feet, ears and skin — boil, then make red sauce.

Rabbit — stuffed with bread crumbs.

Lamb head — cleaned and split.

Chicken — makes a light sauce.

Chicken feet and intestines — clean very well, wrap intestines around feet, fry, add red sauce.

Chicken liver, heart and gizzards, tied to the feet with a length of intestines. Suco Finto (false sauce, imitation meat sauce) — dice fat back, render it and fry onion in it, add tomato.

Brown sauce (Mrs. Riali only) — brown a piece of lean beef in chopped and rendered fat back, add red wine, diced onions, bay leaf, and simmer; add water, cook again, serve over spagattini with cheese.

Crabs and spaghetti — cook and clean crabs, add in or out of shell to basic red sauce.

Clams and spaghetti — open clams and add to basic red sauce, or to basic white sauce.

Red sauce with fish — merluzzo, baccala, or calamar.

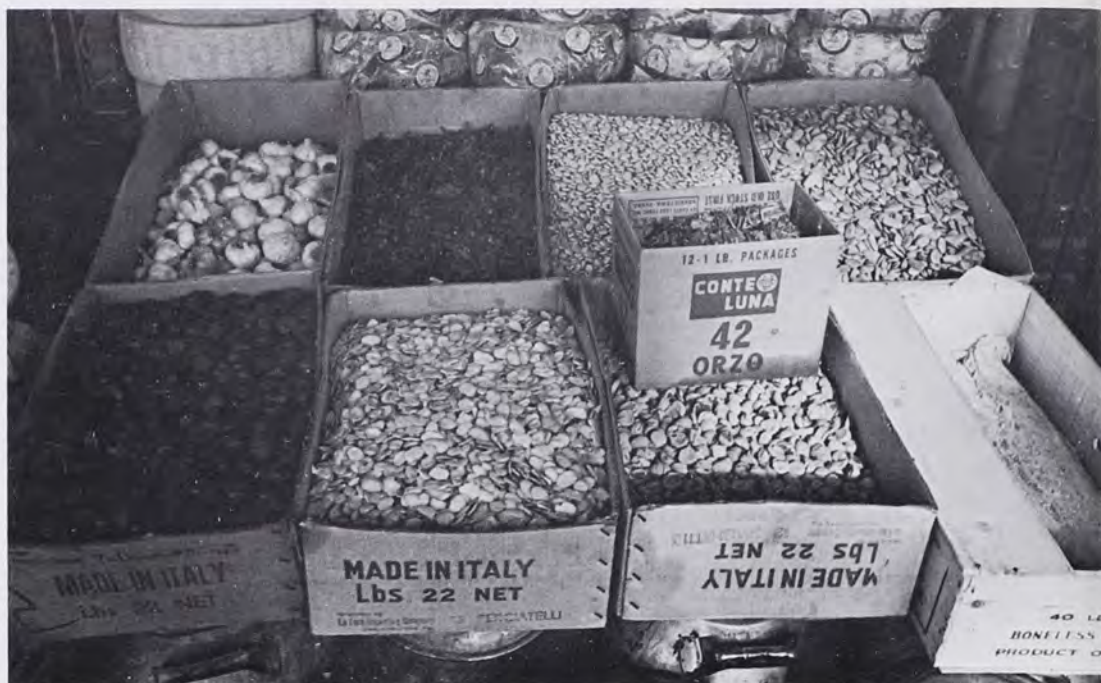
White sauce with anchovies.

White sauce — the ubiquitous oil and garlic.

SOUPS

Mrs. Mantone and Mrs. Giovanetti emphasized that soup was fairly scarce because of the expense of meat. Mrs. Riali said that *never* did she use chicken for soup in Italy. Mrs. Avellino, Mrs. Fratto, and Mr. Fratto explained that meat was stretched by first simmering it to make broth, then roasting and slicing it to serve

The dried foods in an Italian grocery include imported chestnuts (lower left), garlic (upper left), chili peppers, fava beans, cannellini beans (for pasta fazul), and baccalá (dried cod), lower right.



it as the meat dish for the meal, or making red sauce with it.

Basic broth—chicken or pigeon simmered with celery, parsley onion. Now everyone uses chicken flesh, but four informants report using the head, feet, and intestines in the old days.

Additions to chicken broth

Noodles

Rice

Escarolle

Tiny meatballs (beef, veal, pork)

Beef vegetable soup—shin meat and bones, with a handful each of celery, carrots, parsley, peas, string beans, corn, turnips, dried beans, barley, tomato, onion, and whatever else you can get. This seems to be confined to second-generation informants living in America.

Pea soup—bone of prosciutto ham (“brazute”), with dried split peas and water, simmered.

“Cream” of chicken—cook peas, carrots, onions, celery and potatoes, and strain into chicken broth; cook down, strain again, and add pieces of the chicken.

Bean soup (Mrs. Avellino and Mrs. Mantone)—Soak white cannellina beans overnight, boil about three hours, add tomato sauce, chopped celery, oregano, diced fat back, garlic. Pour over hard bread or pizza polento.

Fish soup—fry onion in oil, add parsley, water and merluzzo (“malutz”); the dictionary says it’s cod, but all four second-generationers called it whiting; the two elderly ladies couldn’t translate it.

MEAT—FLESH AND ORGAN

Apparently, meat was just not too plentiful, in Italy, or in the America of thirty years ago. Mrs. Mantone said that they had veal only when a calf got sick and died, and she had almost no recipes for beef. Mrs. Riali said her family sometimes had beef, but that

was because they ran a restaurant and were somewhat richer than most of the town. The major winter meat was pork; each family bought or butchered a pig in the fall, and prepared the meat to last the winter. Organ meats seem, after pork, to predominate; they are varied by an occasional lamb or veal roast or a chicken, pigeon, or rabbit dish. In no case was the meat the main dish, as it is with us; meat was always considered a flavoring or a side dish.

Pork Products—(in all cases the pork is prepared and preserved raw):

Sausage—the meat is chopped in little pieces, to which are added hot pepper and fennel seeds (“fenoic”); this is stuffed into an intestine casing (it must be stuffed in very hard, so that there are no air pockets at all; this is why the men make sausage). The sausage is hung in a cold cellar, and will last there all winter; or it is later transferred to a crock of oil, where it is preserved all winter. This sausage is the major meat food.

Salami—the meat is finely ground and mixed with a bit of blood, salt and pepper, then kept in the cold for a few days; it is then stuffed into a casing of intestine, dried, and put into a big crock of oil for preservation.

Liver sausage (Mrs. Mantone only)—To chopped liver is added garlic, orange skins, and hot pepper; this is stuffed into an intestine casing, and must be eaten fresh (it can’t be preserved).

Capicola (“gabagule”)—the chine meat is cut into big chunks, mixed with fennel seed and salt, stuffed into a casing made of the large intestine, and dried two to three months.

Sanguinacce (blood pudding) (Mrs. Mantone and Mr. Fratto only)—The blood must be caught as it comes from the pig, and stirred constantly. While stir-

ring, add bitter chocolate, orange skin, nuts, bread crumbs, wine (which has been boiled down until thick and one third of its original volume), and lard. Cook this over a very low fire, stirring constantly, until it is thick, like a pudding. It is usually served spread on bread.

Meatballs — chopped or ground veal — pork — beef, mixed with eggs, cheese, parsley, garlic, and onion, fried in oil. Only Mrs. Mantone used veal mixed with lard, garlic, and parsley, and tied with a string before frying.

Bonzette — breast of veal, stuffed with bread crumbs (and garlic and oil of course), rubbed with lard and roasted.

Rottolo al forno (Mrs. Riali only) — in a round pan are layered sliced onion, sliced potato, lamb chops, tomato, garlic, beaten egg, oil and a bit of water; this is baked in the oven.

Veal roast — a leg of veal is boned, spread with cheese, garlic, and sliced hard-boiled eggs, rolled, and baked.

Roast leg or shoulder of lamb or veal (agnello and vitello) — the roast is stuck with garlic slivers and rubbed with oil, then roasted.

Veal cutlet (no one *once* said the word scallopine, although they were referring to a very thin cutlet). It was clear that cutlet was a fairly rare dish. The cutlets are sliced very thin, breaded and fried, then layered in a pan with tomato sauce and mozzarella cheese.

Chicken gizzards — fried with onions and eggs.

Chicken liver — fried with onions.

"Tucinelle" — calf intestines well-cleaned, boiled, rolled up and baked in lard.

"Cirivelle" (It. cervello, brains) — the brains are boiled, then fried with eggs, or sliced, dipped in batter, and fried. Mrs. Avellino said you could also add red or white beans to this.

"Zufrete" (It. soffrito) — the "pluck" — the liver, lungs, heart of beef, fried with oil, garlic, hot peppers; this can be simmered with tomato paste and red sauce, or fried with beaten eggs.

"Cabutzel" (It. Caba de agnello) — Lamb head, thoroughly cleaned, then split in half; bread crumbs, oil, and garlic put in the brain, and the whole head (eyes, tongue, brains, and all roasted slowly).

Tripe — (beef, lamb, etc.) Scrub tripe clean (everyone agreed that is a whole day's work), boil with celery, clean again, cut in strips, add to sauce of onion, garlic, tomato, celery, and hot peppers, and cook at least two and a half hours.

FISH AND SHELLFISH

Merluzzo ("malutz", whiting) — Fried in oil, baked in red sauce and onion. Boil, cool, serve in salad with oil, garlic, parsley, lemon.

Baccalá (dried cod) — Soak (up to three days) and boil. Bake in oil with raisins. Cut up and add to salad, with lemon, oil, and olives. Bread and fry in oil. Dip in batter and fry. Simmer in water and oil, with tomato and black olives. Simmer in oil with onion, green

pepper, parsley, and tomato. Fry, simmer with tomato sauce and potatoes.

Baccalá con la noce (with walnuts) — In a pan, layer shredded baccalá, chopped walnuts, oil, garlic, and parsley. Simmer slowly.

Calamar (squid) — Clean, cut off eyes, etc. Cut in pieces, simmer in oil with garlic, onion, tomato, red pepper, green pepper. Stuff body with bread crumbs, cheese, parsley, and chopped tentacles; brown in oil, add red sauce and basil, simmer.

Steamed mussels — scrub thoroughly, steam in water, garlic and oil. Serve with bread to sop up the juices.

Smelts — clean, flour, and fry.

Fragaglio (a tiny fish) — The fish are eaten whole. Put them in a dough or crumb crust, sprinkle with oil, garlic, bread crumbs, and a few drops of vinegar. Bake.

Conch (Mrs. Avellino only) — Boil conches in water, remove from shells, slice them, and eat cold.

Fish stew (Mrs. Avellino only) — with oil, garlic onion, green pepper and tomato simmer cleaned and cut up "scambini" (It. scampi, shrimp), merluzzo, baccala, calamar, and any other fish available.

Eel (either the small *anguilla*, or the larger "cabadone") clean, flour, fry, put with mint and vinegar in a casserole.

"Cabadone" — clean, roast in oven with oil and garlic. Broil, basting with vinegar, oil, and oregano.

"Sarda" — (It. sardina, sardine) Flour and fry. (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — salt in a crock for ten days, wash, layer with olive oil and hot pepper, bake.

Clams (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — lay clams on a bed of bread crumbs, parsley, garlic.

Fritura mista — all kinds of mixed, fried, fish.

Leftover fish — put in crock with vinegar, garlic, bay leaf. Set in cold place at least two days, then eat as a snack.

VEGETABLES

1. *Antipasto* — Mrs. Riali says a proper antipasto should have only olives, pepper rings, beets, celery, orange slices, and lemon; everyone else adds lettuce, slices of meats, sliced eggs, carrots, tuna fish, etc.

2. *Biede* (a long-leaved green vegetable which may be Swiss chard) — Boil, add tomato, oil, and garlic; simmer.

3. *"Broccoli di rabe"* (also know as rabes) — Boil Italian broccoli, drain, pour olive oil on it and serve with lemon.

4. *"Cavolafiore"* (It. cavolfiore, cauliflower) — Parboil, dip in batter, fry. Parboil, add to red sauce with garlic and onion. Combine mixture with cooked thick spaghetti.

5. *Ciccoria* (dandelion greens) — Boil in water a bone from prosciutto ham; add sliced fat back, bit of tomato sauce, chopped onion.

Parboil, drain, put in water with prosciutto ham bone, add cannellini beans. Eat with bread.

Serve raw in a salad, with romaine lettuce, escarolle, or verza.

6. *Corn* — (Mrs. Mantone) The same corn, Mrs. Mantone said, was grown for humans as for animals. Humans apparently ate it seldom, and then always roasted rather than boiled.

7. "*Cupoline*" — Only Mrs. Fratto gave this to me, and she didn't know what the American name for it might be. She said it was a bitter vegetable that looked like little red onions and was served only in the winter time, in stews or salads.

8. *Eggplant* (Mrs. Riali said this was just about a staple; it was served at every major meal).

Stuffed eggplant — cut vegetable in half lengthwise, scoop out the pulp and boil and drain it, mix it with egg, cheese, garlic, parsley, and bread crumbs; put back in shells, which have been cleaned and parboiled. Put red sauce and cheese over them and bake.

Egg plant ball — Make the pulp as above, roll into balls, fry.

Eggplant Parmigian — slice, dip in eggs and bread crumbs, and fry. Layer in a pan with red sauce and mozzarella cheese, and bake.

9. *Mushrooms* (Mr. Fratto only) — wash lightly and fry. Mr. Fratto said his father used to gather these wild. He tested them by putting in a silver coin; if it turned black, they were poison.

10. *Peas* — boil peas, fry beaten eggs and cheese and parsley in oil and onion; add this to the peas.

11. *Peppers* — fried in oil with beaten eggs and cheese.

12. *Salad* — of all kinds of mixed greens, served with oil and vinegar, or oil and lemon. Besides leafy greens, you can include cold celery, string beans, onion, broccoli, beets, etc. Salads tend to be rare, once a week or less.

13. "*Scarciofele*" (It. cariofo, artichoke) — Clean in cold water, cut off tips; put oil and bread crumbs at heart and between leaves. Steam in oil and water.

14. *Spinach* — Wash and boil fresh spinach, put it in and oil — garlic — hot red pepper mixture.

15. *String beans* — Fry bits of veal, add onion, par-boil beans, boiled potatoes, and tomatoes. Simmer. Boil, add oil, garlic, basil, and steam.

16. "*Shcaroll*" (escarolle) — boil the green, add oil and lots of garlic. Boil, add cooked beans, oil and garlic.

17. "*Vedds*" (It. Verza) — dark, curly Italian cabbage. Boil, simmer with garlic, lard, and red pepper. Add cooked beans.

Boil, serve with white sauce.

Boil, serve with red sauce.

Boil with prosciutto ham bone; serve over slices of polenta pizza.

18. *Zucchini* — Slice and fry in oil. Cook with pepper, onion, celery, tomato, and oil. Fry with green pepper.

19. *Barbabiedola* (beets) — Boil and skin beets. Slice, mix with sliced onion, garlic, bay leaf and vinegar. Serve cold.

A note about vegetables: All six informants stressed that a lot of vegetables (aside from what we would



The view from inside looking out involves festoons of ham (Caruso Brand), assorted salamis and cheeses.

consider starchy vegetables, like potatoes and rice) were and are served. Indeed, Mrs. Mantone said that on the farm, dishes of greens and various combinations of beans were the staple food, the most common item of diet.

BREAD

Bread is ubiquitous, the ever-present accompaniment to every meal. It is eaten plain, with butter, with oil and garlic, with blood pudding. It accompanies soups, meats and fish, vegetables and pasta. Interestingly enough, however, only Mrs. Mantone, the farm woman, ever made her own. The other five informants all got and get their bread at the bakery, and it was generally of one kind—the crusty, light Italian bread.

Mrs. Mantone explained that, in the old country, her dough was made with locally-ground wheat, water and yeast. It was baked, a dozen three-pound loaves (this would last about fifteen days) at a time, in an indoor, coal-heated brick oven which was so large that it could at the same time accommodate the twelve loaves and the coals (pushed to one side).



Even the ceilings are hanging full.

DESSERTS AND SWEETS

My six informants were unanimous in saying that dessert is of very little importance in Italian cookery. The most common dessert is fruit—apples, oranges, apricots, prunes, dates, dried figs and nuts, especially walnuts and roasted chestnuts. The only confections anyone mentioned were *confetti* (candy-coated almonds in pastel colors) and *torrone* (a kind of almond candy), both of which were bought, very rarely, from sweet shops.

Cakes and dough specialties were made, not for dessert, but for special holiday meals and, occasionally, just because a woman got the urge to bake. Accordingly, all those foods we would call desserts, and some we wouldn't (because they are not sweet), are grouped together below.

DOUGHS, CAKES, PIES

Zeppole — make a raised dough, cut into strips, bend into pretzel shape, boil a few minutes, then fry in oil. These can be eaten plain, or sprinkled with powdered sugar and cinammon, or covered with honey.

Dough balls — Make a plain dough, add shredded baccalà or anchovies, deep fry.

"Bischoca" or *Tarralla* — make a soft yeast dough with flour and eggs, roll out, shaped like donuts, boil, then cool. Slit around the edges. Bake in oven until they puff out and brown. Cool. They are generally dipped in wine as they are being eaten.

Calgionetti or *calzongelli* — Little cakes made like ravioli but filled with nuts and dipped in honey or sugar.

Circirichiati (honey-balls) — Make a dough of eggs and flour, roll into little balls. Fry. Boil honey, put the balls in it, and turn out into a ring-shape.

Scripelli — Make a raised dough of mashed potatoes, eggs, and yeast. Roll into cylinders, stretch these longer. Fry until brown.

Cilarchiani (Mrs. Mantone only) — Make a dough with baking powder. Bake like turnover (a folded-over square, or like a jelly-roll), filled with a mixture of boiled down wine (the thick wine which has been boiled down to one third of its original volume), nuts, bread crumbs, chocolate, and orange rind.

"Schartalazzo" (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — Make an egg dough. Roll and cut as for cavatelli. Fry.

Castellate (Mrs. Riali only) — Make a dough with white wine, shape into rosette, fry, dip in honey, and sprinkled with colored sugar bits.

"Cutzubi" (For Easter only) — Make a sweet bread dough, shape into figures of little men, horses, other animals. Top with hard-boiled eggs. Bake.

Canoli — Make a soft dough of flour, egg, oil, sugar, baking powder, and salt. Knead, then let rest. Roll thin, cut in rectangles, roll these on a stick (about one inch in diameter) and deep fry on stick. Cool, remove from stick and fill with mixture of ricotta cheese, citron, and sugar, or with Italian cream (egg, flour for thickening, sugar, milk, stirred over heat until thick.) Dust with powdered sugar.

Pizza dolce (rum cake) — Make a sponge cake with egg yolks, beaten egg whites, sugar, and flour. Bake. Slice into layers, pour rum over the cake, and fill with Italian cream (see above).

Pizzele — Egg, sugar, anise seeds, lemon flavor, flour, shortening, made into a thick batter. Pour the batter into the hot "waffle" iron (this is a special iron, with fancy designs on it) and bake until done.

Foundation cake (Mrs. Giovanetti only) — Mix vanilla, shortening, eggs, milk, flour, and sugar. Bake in large pan, serve plain.

Pizza "chiena" ("full pie," the money pie, made only for Easter) — Make a dough of flour, salt, baking powder, melted lard, eggs, and warm water; with half of it, line an extra large pie pan. Fill this in layers with sliced salametti (a special hard sausage like pepperoni), sliced unsalted "basket" cheese, sliced prosciutto ham, and sliced boiled eggs (two and a half dozen). Over this pour locatelli cheese mixed with a dozen and a half beaten eggs. Put the rest of the dough on top as a crust. Bake until golden brown.

Ricotta Pie — Make a dough as for money pie. Line pie pan. Fill with mixture of ricotta cheese, egg yolks, beaten egg whites, sugar, cinammon, salt and citron. Top with strips of dough, and bake.

Fiadone (Mrs. Mantone only) — Mix fresh soft unsalted cheese (not ricotta, although like it; Mrs. Mantone couldn't describe it further) with beaten eggs. Bake in a biscuit pastry made of flour, eggs, oil, and sugar.

DRINK

Wine was and is the major Italian drink. Its use now is confined to dinner, but thirty years ago, it was the Italian-American's lunch drink as well, and, as Mrs. Mantone said, in the old country, at least on the farms, it was also drunk at breakfast. Four of my six informants said that wine was made in their childhood homes; today, however, none of them make it.

Giordano's on 9th Street in South Philadelphia, in the Italian market area.



HOLIDAY MEALS

CHRISTMAS EVE

According to Mrs. Mantone, on Christmas Eve you must eat nine special foods, and nothing else:

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. sliced orange salad | 6. verza with white sauce |
| 2. figs | 7. pasta with white sauce |
| 3. roasted chestnuts | and anchovy |
| 4. "cabadone" roasted | 8. baccala |
| 5. Cauliflower | 9. fragaglie, fried |

The other five informants agreed in giving an assortment of fish (Mrs. Riali only said that everything for Christmas must be fried; nothing goes in the oven).

Antipasto

Cabadone — broiled, fried, or baked.

Fried smelts

Fragaglie — fried or in pie

Salted sardines

Fritura mista

Baccala — any number of recipes; see above.

Merluzzo

Stuffed peppers (Mr. Fratto only)

Escarolle

Verza

Pasta — with red sauce and fish or with white sauce and anchovy

Sweet bread

Fruit and nuts

Bischoca or tarralla

Castellate (Mrs. Riali only)

Calzongelli or calgionetti

Zeppole

CHRISTMAS DAY

Antipasto

Escarolle soup

Pasta (even two or three kinds, such as ravioli and spaghetti)

Roast chicken (Mrs. Mantone said leg of lamb)

Salad

Greens

Fruit and nuts (oranges are the big treat on Christmas)

Calzongelli or calgionetti

Cicirichiati

Scripelli

CARNEVALE (Carnival)

In general, the food for this last day before Lent is not composed of unusual dishes. The stress, however, is heavily on meat, as this was the last time before Easter that meat of any kind would be eaten (this no longer holds true; people no longer fast very seriously during Lent).



The window of the "Napoli Bella" grocery bulges with typical Italian food-stuffs, some imported, others domestic. The home-made advertisements at the bottom of the window inform the passerby that "Appetite comes with eating when you eat Auricchio Provolone," and advertise Pecorino (sheep) cheese of the Roman Campagna.



Italian delicacies advertised at Meloni's Butcher Shop in South Philadelphia.

Mrs. Riali said that dinner would be of the kind served to company on a Sunday.

Mrs. Giovanetti stressed the rice cakes, "scartalaz," and pasta with red meat sauce.

The other listed:

- Chicken
- Sausage and eggs
- Soffrito
- Zeppole

HOLY SATURDAY

Up until very recently, Let ended at noon on Holy Saturday, and the feasting began then. The major foods are:

- Pizza "chiena"
- "Cutzubi"
- Tarralla
- Caba de aniella (lamb head)
- Soffrito
- Roast lamb

EASTER SUNDAY

This festive day is marked by a plenitude of things to eat rather than by any markedly different types of foods. The dinner would be much like a company Sunday dinner, with a few specialties:

- Antipasto
- Escarolle Soup
- Pasta
- Roast Lamb
- Pizza chiena
- Friadone
- Ricotta pie
- La grano
- "Cutzubi"
- Rice Cake (Mrs. Giovanetti only)

SANTA LUCIA

Mrs. Mantone said that Santa Lucia was a day for a big feast and a time when people came from "all over" to the big market. Mrs. Giovanetti said it is a day on which you fast, except for eating *la grano*. No one else celebrates it.

BIRTHDAYS AND SAINT'S DAYS

Celebrating one's birthday was apparently not an Italian custom; people do it now to be American, but did not do it twenty or thirty years ago. What used to be celebrated was a person's name day; on the day of your patron saint, you had a festive meal and sometimes got presents.

A wine-press, manufactured in Italy and imported for Italian-American use.



No one could think of any other special foods for holidays or special days. Apparently, on a festive day one ate the same things, just more of them.

WEDDINGS

Recently (within the last twenty years) Italian-Americans have begun to have catered wedding receptions, but the old custom was to have a big feast at home, very much like a very big Sunday dinner. The only unusual foods were the *cilarchiani* and the *confetti* — the latter being mixed with money and thrown at the bride.

FUNERALS AND WAKES

No one could think of any special food served for wakes or funerals. Mrs. Riali stoutly held that nothing at all was eaten, that people should fast from the time of death until after the funeral, and then go quietly home and eat alone. Everyone else said that, after the funeral, everyone went to the home of the deceased, where a light soup and a roast fowl of some kind was served. Today, Italian-Americans go back to the home of the deceased, where friends or a caterer have prepared a meal, or they go to a reserved room at a restaurant for a catered meal.

CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the cookery traditions of these six Italian-Americans. Their tradition is definitely still alive, although possibly precariously. It is undergoing and has undergone, however, some obvious change. The cooks have added American foods to their repertoire, and, in most cases, subordinated the Italian foods to them. The unavailability

of some foods has caused their virtual disappearance. The cooks and their families have been somewhat influenced by American tastes and have altered their cooking, in some cases, in the direction of Americanization (witness the decrease in use of olive oil, organ meats, garlic). The general pattern seems to be:

1. The first generation arrives in America. If it arrives to impoverished circumstances or to conditions of certain deprivations (the people may have been poor in Italy, but they may have had ready access to basic foods such as vegetables), as did the parents of Mrs. Giovanetti, Mrs. Avellino, and Mr. and Mrs. Fratto, it alters its cookery to meet new conditions. If, however, it arrives, as did Mrs. Riali and Mrs. Mantone, to fairly good or to rapidly bettering conditions, it holds onto a good deal of the full pattern of old ways. Mrs. Riali and Mrs. Mantone, for instance, never did change to the great use of pasta and continue to stress vegetable dishes as the staple.

2. The second generation, who are born and raised in the United States, seem, quite reasonably, to absorb cooking techniques as practiced by the first generation at the time the second generation is growing up. They cook in their parents' style as young adults, then gradually, as they become acculturated even more and integrated into the American culture, and as *their* children grow up and demand American food, they cook in the old way less and less.

3. What the third generation will do with its heritage remains to be seen. As children they all want American food and nothing else. When they reach young adulthood, some go their acculturated ways; some, however, show an unexpected awareness of and desire for their ethnic food, and begin actively cultivating it. *How* actively they cultivate it, how much they learn to cook it rather than just eat it at their parents' table, will determine whether or not Italian cooking is to survive as a live tradition on American soil.

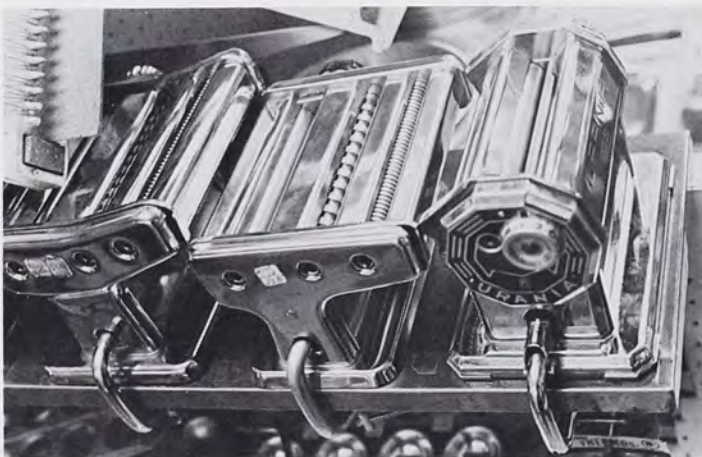


The implements for making home-made ravioli: left to right, fork, cutter, and crimper, and on the right the latest mold or ravioli-stamper.

The fact remains that it is changing and has changed. The value of this paper, if there is any, is that it is a record of traditional Italian-American cookery, collected while the tradition is still alive and meaningful to the six people who practice it.

A POSTSCRIPT

I had hoped, belatedly, to do some library research for comparative material. I find, however, that there is very little available material on the folk cookery of southern Italy. There is, of course, a plethora of cookbooks for Italian foods, but these are far from dealing with the folk level of culture. The most promising sources of data for further research seem to be: incidental books of travel, anecdotes, or curiosities; books by or for folklorists, since these sometimes drop in data



Three pasta machines, of Italian manufacture, for sale in South Philadelphia. These are used in home production of spaghetti.

The machine is called a "guitar" by Italians and is used for making pasta.





Pizzelle Irons for making "pizzelle," a kind of Italian waffle. The oldest one, on the left, was of the type made by the local blacksmith, and belonged to Mr. Fante's grandfather. It was brought from the Old Country. The second is also an old model which is heated on the stove—the old people still swear by it, so to speak. The two newer models on the right are heated by electricity. Note that the newer models imprint different designs on top and bottom of the waffle, an obverse and reverse, so to speak.

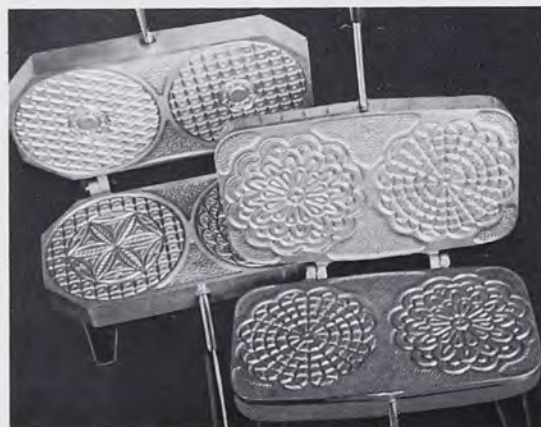
on cooking; antique cookbooks, which may prove to have included traditional cookery, or analogues to or sources for it; surveys by organizations interested in economics, diet, nutrition, and agriculture (such as the U.N.), although I have yet to find such a survey on the regions that concern me. There may be quite a bit of data in these sources, but it is deeply buried, and in minute fragments at that, and I believe it would require at least several months to properly do the research. All I have done here, accordingly, is to give some indication of what kinds of data various sources make available:

1. Neville, Rolfe E. *Naples in the Nineties*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1897. This is a "gentleman's travel book," which offers glimpses of Neapolitan cooking in such passages as "If the sportsman is game to tackle the garlic-laden sausage of South Italy, he can rise to the occasion. If not, he is likely to find South Italy a starvation country."

2. Canziani, Estella. *Through the Apennines and the Lands of the Abruzzi*, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928. This book is a kind of travel or anecdote book for the folklorist. Her main concern is not cookery, but she does include a few important references to foods eaten in Abruzzi at the beginning of this century: cheese, oil, tomato, bread, sausage, chicken, roasted pig (I got no reference to this at all; an interesting inclusion especially as she says it is the traditional Abruzzese dish), soups, calcionetti, pizzelle, fruit, macaroni. Much of my data is confirmed by her observations. For instance, she lists as Easter foods "cod, bloaters, crowns of dried figs, chestnuts, and nuts."

3. Douglas, Norman. *Old Calabria*. London: Martin Secker, 1915. This is a travel book, with opinions and observations about evenly mixed. The most important passage I found was a description of a laborer's major meal of the day (taken at noon, after a breakfast consisting of coffee and nothing else): antipasto, pasta, meat, greens, fried fish, salad, cheese, peaches for dessert.

4. Olschki, Leo S., ed. *Handlist of Italian Cookery Books*. Florence: Biblioteca di Bibliografice Italiana,



The newest style in pizzelle irons involves baking two waffles at once.

1963. This is an excellent bibliography, covering nearly a thousand books published from 1475 to 1860, and dealing, not only with cookery *per se* but also with the related fields of agriculture, horticulture, wine, commerce, etc. One would have to know Italian fairly well to use the references, as nearly all are in that language, but I am sure the effort would produce floods of information.

5. Facciolo, Emilio. *Arte Della Cucina*. Milano: Edizioni II Polifilo, 1966. This is a collection, completely in Italian, of works on cookery from the 14th to the 19th Century. It too, I am sure, would yield a great deal of historical information if carefully searched.

6. Vaughan, Thomas Wright. *A View of the Present State of Sicily*. London: Gale and Curtis, 1811. This is a collection of notes and letters by a professor of agriculture and public economy at Palermo (Vaughan edited it). It contains very valuable information about Sicily around 1809 and 1810, its economy, agriculture, population, "morals," character, customs, etc. This is not much help for my study, but it is an example of the kinds of things which *may* be available, tucked away on a back shelf of some library.

The research, I think, is possible; it just requires months of work and very likely some traveling to get at rare books.

TRADE CARDS, CATALOGS, and INVOICE HEADS

By DAVID C. WINSLOW

Many iconographic records, such as book illustrations, photographs, paintings, drawings and prints have been used in connection with historical research in material aspects of folk-cultural phenomena.¹ However, there are other sources, more ephemeral and less pretentious, which have been neglected but which can be of great value in such investigations. Three of these sources which will be discussed here are trade catalogs, trade and advertising cards (considered together), and invoice and letter heads (also considered together). I have limited the field of discussion to Colonial American and United States material, although I am aware of European and British Isles antecedents. Each category of iconography will be described, suggestions will be made on how this material may be applied to folk-cultural research, a selected bibliography of studies in the field will be offered, and a list of locations of major collections will be included.

In a study of this nature it is impossible to deal exclusively with material totally "folk" in quality. Items of material culture were manufactured on all levels of society. Some of the items fall closer to the popular end of the spectrum while others are apparently closer to the folk end rather than the higher level of culture. The student of folk-culture should be familiar with each level of culture if for no other reason than to be able to delimit his field of specialization. However, regardless of the point of origin of an object of material culture utilized by a folk group, justification for its study by the folklorist can be made on purely functional grounds. Furthermore, material of the nature generally found in trade catalogs, on trade cards, and on invoice and letter heads, falls into the province of the student of folklife in the view of one of the foremost scholars in the field, Iorwerth C. Peate, who has written:

¹For examples of this research see Don Yoder, "The Domestic Encyclopaedia of 1803-1804," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIV:3 (Spring 1965), 10-27; John Butz Bowman, "Schuylkill Boatmen and Their Ways," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, IX:1 (Winter 1957-58), 18-23; a special Adirondack issue of *New York Folklore Quarterly*, XXII:2 (June 1966); William Murtagh, "Half Timbering in American Architecture," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, IX:1 (Winter 1957-58), 2-11; and *Middleborough Antiquarian*, VIII:2 (April 1966).

Quite simply, then, the student of folk life is concerned with the study of every stratum in the community . . .²

E. Estyn Evans has noted that until the 1950's, a spade manufacturing company in County Tyrone, Ireland, listed in its catalogs some 250 different traditional patterns of spades which were designed with dimensions and shapes for specific geographic areas where the soil and terrain differed.³ At South Wilbraham, Massachusetts, the Marcus Beebe Plow and Wheel Barrow Shop in the late 1830's manufactured plows with wooden mould boards for a rural Southern market, long after the archaic wooden part had been replaced with iron for the New England farmers.⁴ Such examples of folk elements in commercial manufacturing illustrate vividly, it seems to me, how such sources of reference can illuminate folk-cultural studies.

TRADE CATALOGS

Probably more trade catalogs have been issued in the United States than in any other country. However, manufacturers in the United States and Colonial America were not the first to circulate catalogs, for by the 1780's this type of advertising had advanced to such a state that metal manufacturers of Birmingham and Sheffield in England, were distributing elaborately illustrated brochures to potential customers. Such catalogs usually omitted the name of the manufacturer but included the names of dealers and agents, probably to prevent customers from ordering directly from the producer. The late Lawrence B. Romaine, who was the leading authority on trade catalogs, has shown that the first known trade catalog published on this continent was printed by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia in 1744 and was devoted to books. But this catalog was about material manufactured by other persons than Franklin. Romaine comments further about this:

Dr. Franklin's brochure offering his then miraculous fireplaces or stoves is the first in the man-

²"The Study of Folk Life and its Part in the Defense of Civilization," *Gwerin*, II:3 (June 1959), 99.

³*Irish Folk Ways* (New York, 1957), p. 135.

⁴Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 14-15.

ROUND BOILERS & COVERS.



WITH BAIL HANDLES.

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
1 pint.	-	8	-
1 1/2 "	-	-	-
2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
2 quarts.	-	-	-
2 1/2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-
6 "	-	-	-
7 "	-	-	-
8 "	-	-	-
10 "	-	-	-
12 "	-	-	-
14 "	-	-	-
16 "	-	-	-



CIRCULAR BOW HANDLES.

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
1 pint.	-	8	-
1 1/2 "	-	-	-
2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
2 quarts.	-	-	-
2 1/2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-
6 "	-	-	-
7 "	-	-	-
8 "	-	-	-
10 "	-	-	-
12 "	-	-	-
14 "	-	-	-
16 "	-	-	-

BELLIED SAUCEPANS.



HEAVY ENGLISH COVERS

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
1 pint.	-	-	8
1 1/2 "	-	-	-
2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
2 quarts.	-	-	-
2 1/2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-
6 "	-	-	-
7 "	-	-	-
8 "	-	-	-

FRONT HANDED SAUCEPANS AND COVERS.



Tinned or Enamelled.

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
6 quarts.	-	-	8
7 "	-	-	-
2 gallons.	-	-	-
2 1/2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
3 1/2 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-
4 1/2 "	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-

LIPPED SAUCEPANS.



	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
1/2 pint.	-	8	-
1 "	-	-	-
1 1/2 "	-	-	-

LIPPED SAUCEPANS—Continued.

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
2 "	-	8	8
3 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-
6 "	-	-	-
7 "	-	-	-
8 "	-	-	-

UPRIGHT SAUCEPANS.

LIPS AND COVERS.



	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
1 1/2 pint.	-	8	-
2 "	-	-	-
2 quarts.	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-

OVAL BOILERS WITH COVERS.



CIRCULAR BOW HANDLES.

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned.
1 gallon.	-	8	-
1 1/2 "	-	-	-
2 "	-	-	-
2 1/2 "	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-
6 "	-	-	-
8 "	-	-	-
10 "	-	-	-
12 "	-	-	-

OVAL BOILERS WITH COVERS—Continued.



BALL HANDLES.

	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned.	Enamelled.
1 gallon.	-	8	-	-
1 1/2 "	-	-	-	-
2 "	-	-	-	-
2 1/2 "	-	-	-	-
3 "	-	-	-	-
3 1/2 "	-	-	-	-
4 "	-	-	-	-
5 "	-	-	-	-
6 "	-	-	-	-
8 "	-	-	-	-
10 "	-	-	-	-
12 "	-	-	-	-

DEEP STEW PANS.



Plain. Turned. Tinned or Enamelled.

No.	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
0	-	8	-
1	-	-	-
2	-	-	-
3	-	-	-
4	-	-	-
5	-	-	-
6	-	-	-
7	-	-	-
8	-	-	-
9	-	-	-
10	-	-	-
11	-	-	-
12	-	-	-

SHALLOW STEW PANS.



Plain. Turned. Tinned or Enamelled.

No.	Plain.	Turned.	Tinned or Enamelled.
0	-	8	8
1	-	-	-
2	-	-	-
3	-	-	-
4	-	-	-
5	-	-	-

Fig. 1. Sauce pans, boilers, and stew pans, as illustrated in the catalog of N. & G. Taylor, Philadelphia, 1855.

ufacturing field, and was printed in the same year [1744]. I doubt very much that this was the only one before 1750. I think it is better to say the only one that has been rescued and preserved. I am convinced that there were others. Dr. Franklin's have survived because of his prominence and popularity. Those issued by Mr. Smith, Mr. Jones, and perhaps Mr. White were probably 'considered too ephemeral in value to warrant the cost of preserving them.' Becoming one of the greatest Americans of all time, Dr. Franklin's catalogs and pamphlets were at least saved, and have surely proved themselves worth the cost of preservation.⁶

The great preponderance of trade catalogs was printed after 1850. Some of these catalogs were unillustrated but the great majority of them contain illustrations, usually in profusion, making them excellent research sources.

One of the chief ways trade catalogs can be of use to the historical researcher in material folk culture, is that they can assist in the identification of objects, which otherwise might remain unknown. As the first example I will cite the 1855 catalog of N. & G. Taylor of Philadelphia. In this 147-page record, there are numerous illustrations of various types of tin and iron ware (Fig. 1). In addition to being of aid in the iden-

⁶Guide to American Trade Catalogs (New York, 1960), p. x.

tification of objects which are on hand, trade catalogs, because they contain identification of objects according to their familiar contemporary name and use, can help in presenting visual witness of objects which have merely been named in household inventories, wills, or diaries. For persons interested in the evolution of agricultural implements, catalogs of plow manufacturers can be of help. For example, the Willard Plow Works, East Avon, New York, was established in 1806. In the firm's 1834 catalog, many of these implements are pictured. Important woodcuts of other agricultural and horticultural implements, churns, mills, and other farming equipment may be found in the 1848 and 1852 catalogs of the A. B. Allen & Company of New York City. For persons interested in old tools, catalogs such as that of the Humason & Beckley Manufacturing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1867, may be of aid. Items such as ox yoke bow pins are illustrated along with early types of pliers, pocket knives, hammers and awls (Figs. 2, 3).

The chief source for research in American trade catalogs is Lawrence B. Romaine's *A Guide to American Trade Catalogs 1744-1900* (New York, 1960). This volume is the "Bible" for students of trade catalogs and is virtually indispensable for any work in the area.

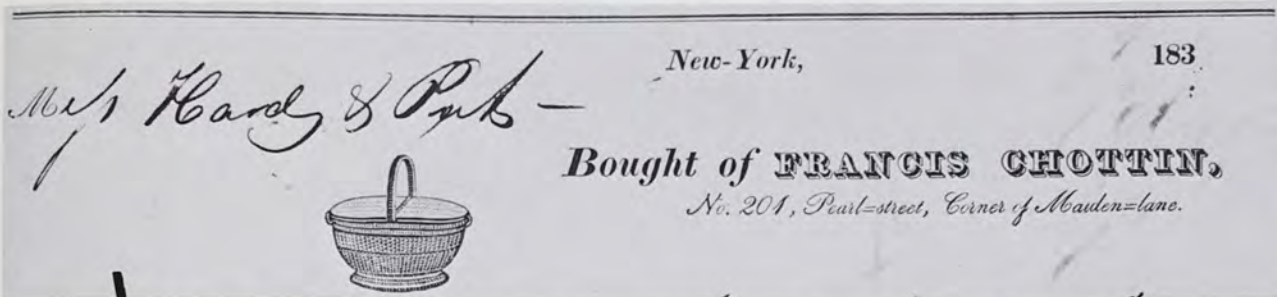


Fig. 4. Nineteenth Century invoices offer pictorial evidence of American material culture. This one from the 1830's pictures a basket with a divided lid, on hinges.



Fig. 5. Three different basket patterns, from a New York print of the 1830's.



Fig. 6. Invoice of Newell & Sperry, Jordan, New York, 1868, shows two types of wheelbarrow.

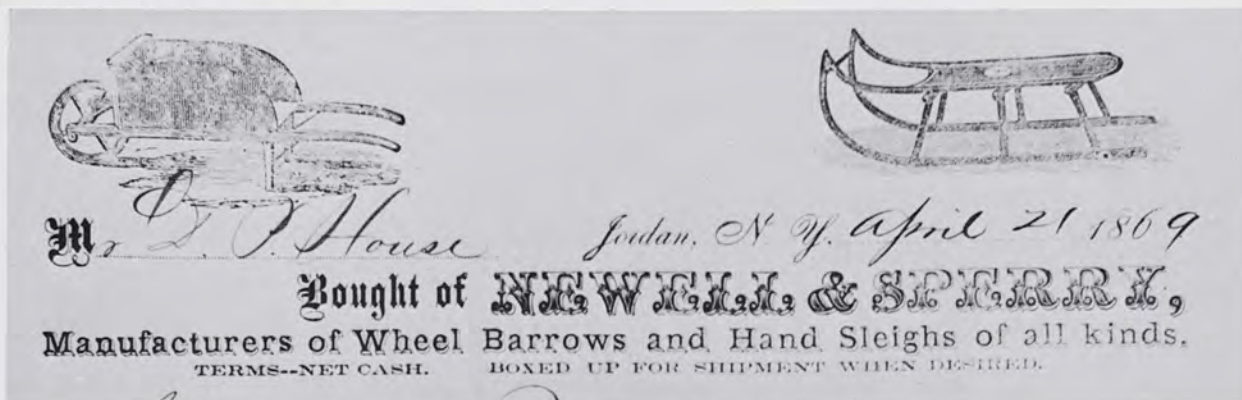


Fig. 7. Wheelbarrow and sled, 1869.

is some bibliography for the other sources being described in this paper. One of the reasons invoices, billheads and letter heads are of interest to the folklorist is that often smaller and more regional manufacturers and craftsmen, who could not afford the luxury of an elaborate illustrated catalog of their goods, could afford some sort of pictorial advertisement on their bills, invoices, or letter paper. The earliest pictorial invoice heads of interest, which I have been able to find, are dated 1830. They contain illustrations of four different types of baskets (Figs. 4 and 5). A specific example of how invoice heads can be used is the comparison of the three wheelbarrow types (Figs. 6 and 7) manufactured by Newell and Sperry in 1868-69, to the types used in Ireland and illustrated in *Irish Folkways* by E. Estyn Evans. Since these types of paper Americana usually are dated, while trade cards are not, they are useful in tracing the chronology of the use of

various types of material culture. Persons doing research in types of carpenter's tools might find the cut on the Wheeler and Ripley invoice useful (Fig. 8). The invoice shown in Fig. 9 is interesting in that it shows what a farmer's clothing, including brimmed hat and long-sleeved shirt, was like during the period. Also, the design of the sickle in the figure's hand might be of interest to the researcher. The conception of Santa Claus with a Christmas tree and its decorations (Fig. 10) might be helpful to persons seeking to study the evolution of the Christmas observance in this country. Wooden ware such as churns, tubs, and pails, along with baskets (Fig. 11), were also shown on invoice heads.

Two examples of pictorial letterheads are shown in Figs. 12 and 13. The Eddy and Wilber item shows an extremely interesting scene of hop-picking in Otsego County, New York, a major source of hops during

HARDWARE, AGRICULTURAL WAREHOUSE AND SEED STORE.
SIGN OF THE SAW, COLLEGE STREET.



Burlington, Vt. April 17 1866
D. G. E. Hale
WHEELER & RIPLEY,
 Bought of **HENRY H. DOOLITTLE,**
 (Successor to Davey & Doolittle.)
Commission Merchant and Dealer in
 SHELF HARDWARE, CUTLERY, SADDLERY, MECHANIC'S TOOLS, HOUSE FURNISHINGS, NAILS, GLASS, PAINTS, OIL,
 WAGON AXLES, STEEL SPRINGS, CARRIAGE BOLTS, AXES, PLOUGHS,
 Straw Cutters, Scythes and Snaths, Grind Stones, Horse Powers, Threshers, Mowing Machines, Hay Presses,
FIELD, GARDEN AND FLOWER SEEDS, &C.

Fig. 8. Miscellaneous hardware as advertised on a Vermont bill head of 1866. Such firms provided tools for the craftsman as well as the farmer.

Fig. 9. This Philadelphia invoice of 1881 used a cut of a farmer in the rural dress of the pre-Civil War period—broad-brimmed hat, yoke shirt, and work trousers.

Steam Biscuit and Cracker Bakery, Established in 1846.

Philadelphia, 7/21 1881

Messrs *B. Gobart & Co*
 Bought of **J. S. Ivins & Son,**
STEAM BAKERY,
 321, 323 and 325 North Front Street, 320, 322 and 324 Water Street.

Terms, 30 Days.

All claims for deductions to be made within Five days.

Fig. 10. The toy firm of F.A.O. Schwarz in 1878 advertised its wares with this Santa Claus and Christmas Tree illustration.

New York, March 27th 1878

NEW YORK: 765 Broadway.
 1159 Broadway.
 PHILADELPHIA: 1006 Chestnut St.
 BALTIMORE: 211 W. Baltimore St.
 BOSTON: 499 Washington St.

Messrs *C. C. Merriam Lyons Falls N.Y.*
 Bought of **F. A. O. SCHWARZ,**
 IMPORTER OF GERMAN, FRENCH and ENGLISH
TOYS, FANCY GOODS and NOVELTIES,
 FANCY CHINA WARE, LEATHER GOODS, ENGLISH CUTLERY, &c.
 Depot for Baby Carriages, Horses, Wagons, Velocipedes, Croquets, &c.
 Terms. CASH. 765 Broadway, near 9th St.

All claims for deficiencies must be made within five days after receipt of goods.

CONSTANTLY RECEIVING EVERY NEW ARTICLE IN OUR LINE

New-York, Oct 3 1860

Mr G. I. Peck
 Bought of **WARD & KNAPP,**
 MANUFACTURERS OF
MILITARY AND TOY DRUMS,
 64 & 66 MAIDEN LANE,
 Terms Net Cash. Cor. William and Liberty Streets.

Fig. 11. Churns, tubs, pails, and baskets, on a New York invoice of 1860.

IMPORTERS OF
French and German Baskets,
ENGLISH CUTLERY, &c.
 Extensive Manufacturers and Dealers in
AMERICAN WILLOW BASKETS,
 Willow Wagons, Cradles, Chairs,
 Wood Propellers, Hobby Horses,
FANCY SIGNS, CARRIAGES,
 Wheelbarrows, Toy Wagons, &c.
 ALSO,
PAILS, TUBS, BROOMS,
 Wood Bowls, Stoves, Ladles, Clothes Pins,
 Trays, Bales and Sugar Boxes,
 Door Mats of every description,
 Cordage, Twine, Wicking, &c.
 Case, Rocking, Sitting, Sewing & Child
 ren's Chairs of all kinds.

Fig. 12. Pictorial letterhead of Eddy and Wilber, Milford, Otsego County, New York, shows hop-pickers, a common occupation in the area, 1861.



Fig. 13. Local craftsmen manufacturing articles for American farmers sometimes expanded into full industrial status. This Connecticut letterhead illustrates the Greenwood Scythe Company's plant in 1866.

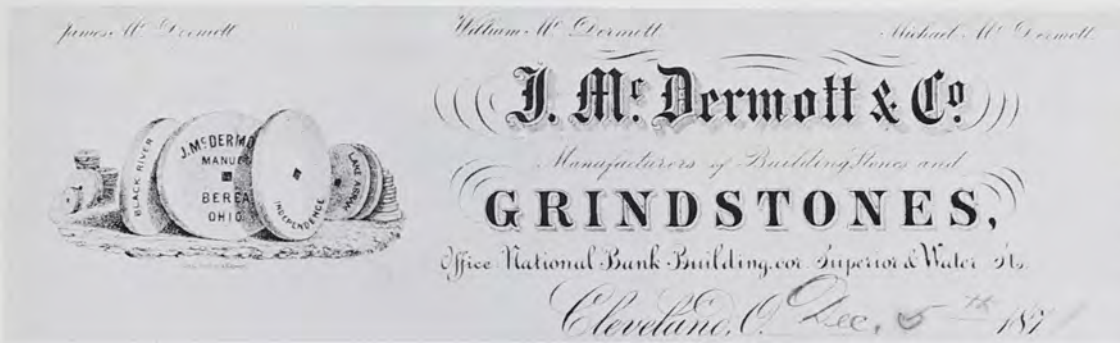
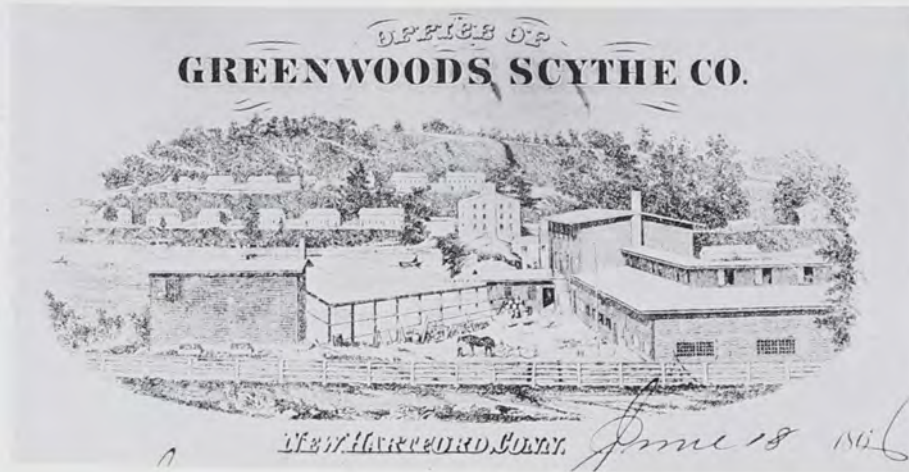


Fig. 14. Grindstones advertised by the McDermott Company of Ohio, 1871.



Fig. 15. Carts (two-wheeled vehicles) illustrated on the letterhead of Pettee & Wilson, New York, 1860.

the 19th Century. The clothing worn by the workers, baskets, poles, tools, wagons and large containers for the freshly picked hops, are among the objects of material culture of interest to the folklorist. The division of labor, too, is revealed. In the letterhead of the Greenwood Scythe Company, one sees a view of the plant, in addition to the layout of the village, house types, a fence, and a wagon. Types of millstones and grindstones made by the McDermott Company are illustrated in Fig. 14, while the Rumsey Company letterhead reveals a type of house architecture. Two fine examples of early cart types are shown in the letterhead of the Pettee and Wilson firm (Fig. 15). From these examples the student should readily see how such items can be used in historical research in material culture.

Among the institutions which have collections of this material are the Bettman Archive, New York City;

American Antiquarian Society; and the New York Historical Society, New York City. Most large libraries and museums do have some of this material, but in most instances it is not catalogued and is difficult to locate and use. Neither are there any significant publications in the area.

TRADE CARDS

The primary difference between what are generally described as trade cards and what are described as advertising cards, is that the former usually advertises the crafts, skills or trades of specific individuals, or their products, while the advertising card is devoted to a brand of product. The trade card went out of vogue about 1870 when a plethora of advertising cards began to be circulated by thousands of American manufacturers. However, both types of advertising are of interest to the student of material culture. The trade card is usually uncolored, while the advertising card

is generally multi-colored and in some cases approaches being a work of art, the so-called "clipper ship cards," for example. For the folklorist interested in onomastics these cards offer a fertile field for research.⁷ One authority on trade cards has written:

The word 'card' connotes usually pasteboard; it also connotes smallness. In antiquarian parlance, however, a trade card is a printed notice of goods for sale without implication as to size or quality of paper. It gives the name and address of the advertiser and the nature of his business, sometimes with full description and again merely naming the commodity. Usually attempt is made at artistic presentation in the illustration or arrangement.⁸

In general this statement seems acceptable, but it appears that some qualification should be made concerning the size of the trade card. When such material is printed on a format of more than eight or nine inches, in height or width, it should be placed in the category of the broadside and not studied as a trade card. This would involve another whole area for research.

Trade cards taken as a whole can provide a commentary on the history of industry and technology, or art and architecture, or modes of living, of styles of dress, of manners and mannerisms, in short the trend of civilization. However, if such cards are surveyed in chronological order, here and there a card is found not to be representative of its time—it may be better or worse. Miss Jenny has argued that:

The earliest examples of American trade cards, on the whole, postulate a fullness of life, naturalness free from striving, and a fine and honest art. A gradual change to sentimentality and later to 'arty' ideals is noticeable, until out of the exploiting nineteenth century there finally came forth again a feeling for art.⁹

The earliest known American trade card has been dated circa 1730, and advertises Richard Worley of Boston, a bookseller. London set the fashion for the British colonies, so it is natural to expect to find the use of trade cards appearing in New England and the more southern colonies. Concerning trade cards in America, George Francis Dow has noted that:

The exact manner in which these trade cards were used is somewhat in doubt. When found pasted in a chest of drawers, a clock case or the top of a trunk, the purpose is evident; many of the cards engraved in the eighteenth century are larger in size and on the reverse of existing examples may be found a bill for goods made out in proper form It is likely, however, that many trade cards, especially those of more ornate form, were primarily used for announcement purposes or to advertise the shop.¹⁰

Wagon and cart types would be a viable area of research in this country for the student of material folk-culture, and trade cards could be of assistance in

⁷For a fine pictorial record of these cards see Allan Forbes and Ralph Eastman, *Yankee Ship Sailing Cards*, three volumes (Boston, 1948, 1949, 1952).

⁸Adele Jenny, "Notes on Early American Trade Cards from the Collection of Bella C. Landauer," in *Early American Trade Cards from the Collection of Bella C. Landauer* (New York, 1927), p. 7.

⁹Jenny, p. 8.

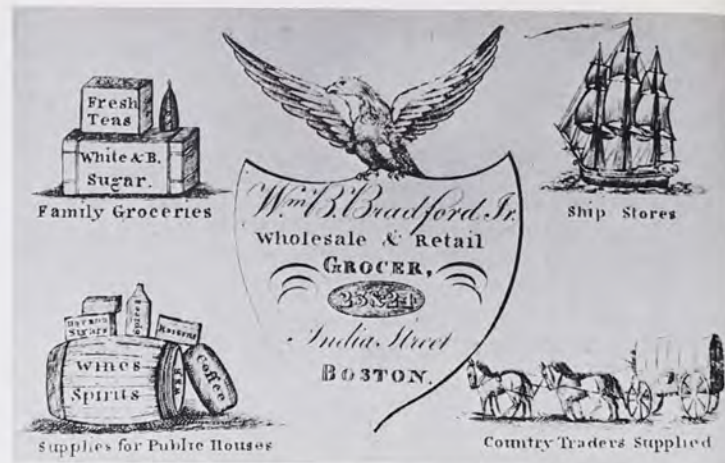


Fig. 16. A small freight wagon is pictured on the trade card of William B. Bradford, wholesale and retail grocer of Boston, first quarter of the 19th Century.



Fig. 17. A cart on the trade card of Thomas Ash, chair manufacturer of New York, first quarter of the 19th Century.



Fig. 18. The chair maker's shop, pictured on the trade card of James R. Heaton, New York.

this work. In Figs. 16 and 17 types of wagons and carts are pictured on trade cards. Craftsmen such as chairmakers usually had trade cards, and the one illustrated in Fig. 18 reveals types of chairs, and the interior of a shop with tools. A fence type and a



Fig. 19. Rural and river scenery as illustration on the trade card of Matthew H. Chase, Butcher, of New York, 1833-1834.



Fig. 21. Wooden barrels for porter and ale, on a trade card of T. Briggs & Co., Maltsters & Brewers, Elmira, New York, also printed by McClement Brothers in Philadelphia.

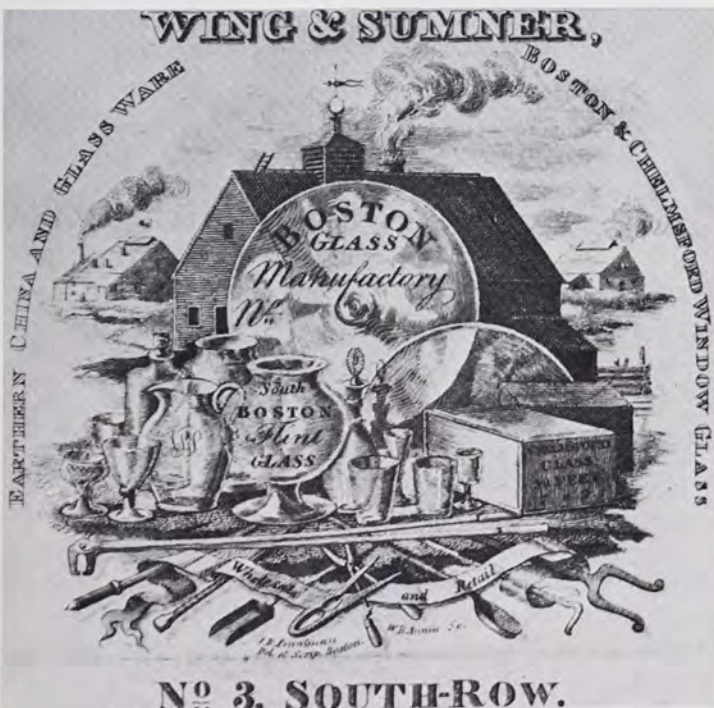


Fig. 22. The Wing & Sumner Glass Works and some of its products, from a Boston trade card of about 1820.



Fig. 20. Note carpenter's tools as well as lock and table ware on the trade card of Wardwell Brothers, Rome, New York, printed by McClement Brothers in Philadelphia.

mode of plowing are illustrated on the card (Fig. 19) of Matthew Chase, a Butcher in New York City from 1833-34. Types of carpenter's tools are shown on the Wardell Bros. card (Fig. 20) while types of wooden barrels are included on the card in Fig. 21. Early glass-making technology is involved in the scene in Fig. 22. These examples should be sufficient to show how trade cards can be useful to the student of material folk culture, especially in its historical perspectives.

In addition to the books and articles cited, several other bibliographic sources are available to the student of trade cards. *Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776* (New York, 1938) contains examples of trade cards from this period; the *Directory of the J. R. Burdick Collection of Trade and Souvenir Cards and Other Paper Americana in the Metropolitan Museum* (New York, [1964]), contains a detailed guide to a fine collection of 306,353 items, with some examples pictured; Harold E. Gillingham's "Old Business Cards of Philadelphia" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July, 1929, is a valuable paper containing many illustrations with exact notes on engravers and tradesmen who used trade cards, based largely on the collection of cards in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Ambrose Heal's *London Trade Cards of the XVIII Century* (London, 1925), *The Trade Cards and Engravers* (London, 1927), and *The London Goldsmiths* (London, 1935). All of Heal's books contain numerous beautiful reproductions, but most of the material is on a very high cultural level.

Fine collections of trade cards may be viewed at the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; New York Historical Society, New York City; Library Company of Philadelphia; and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

¹⁰Dow, p. 116.

The Encyclopaedia Cinematographica And FOLKLIFE STUDIES

By LESLIE P. GREENHILL

The *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* is the brain child of Dr. Gotthard Wolf, Director of the Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen, West Germany. Dr. Wolf's Institute has a long history of experience in the production of scientific films, and in the use of cinephotography as an instrument for the study of a wide range of natural phenomena, and for the documentation of various aspects of culture.

In 1951 Dr. Wolf proposed the establishment of a scientific encyclopaedia in film form. He envisioned that this would contain film recordings of natural phenomena or various aspects of behavior having the following characteristics:

1. They cannot be observed by the unaided human eye and therefore demand the use of such film techniques as slow-motion or time-lapse cinephotography.
2. They need to be compared with other phenomena, for which purpose written descriptions alone are inadequate.
3. They do not occur frequently; they are not readily available for observation by other scientists or students; or they are disappearing from the culture.

A basic notion was that each film in the collection should deal with a single phenomenon or aspect of behavior, and that the films would be so arranged as to facilitate, for example, comparisons of behavior among different species of animals, or comparisons of cultural similarities or differences among a number of primitive peoples. Furthermore, the films would be authentic, actual documents, without sound tracks except where sound is an important part of the subject. Additional background information would be provided in a written document or film text which would accompany each film. To ensure scientific validity it was proposed that each film accepted should be produced by or under the direct supervision of a scientist who is thoroughly competent in the subject matter being filmed.¹

Since its establishment, the *Encyclopaedia* has grown at the rate of approximately 100 to 150 new films a year, and as of 1968 it contains approximately 1200

films. These films have been contributed by scientists from many countries, and the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* functions as a kind of professional journal in film form for the publication and circulation of such films throughout the world. It operates on a non-profit basis.

The headquarters of the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* are at Göttingen, West Germany, and archives which loan the films have also been established in Vienna and Utrecht, and for the United States, at The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.² Partial collections exist in or are under consideration by several other countries, notably Australia, Canada, England, France, and Japan.

The *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* can embrace any scientific discipline which can be served by such films. However, because of the availability of suitable film material, the following disciplines are currently represented:

<i>Biological Sciences:</i>	
Microbiology	(35 films)
Cytology	(26 films)
Zoology	(515 films)
Botany	(17 films)
<i>Technical Sciences:</i>	
Agricultural, Earth, and Engineering Sciences	(54 films)
<i>Social Anthropology (including Folklife)</i>	
Europe	(93 films)
Africa	(143 films)
Asia	(80 films)
Arctic	(1 film)
Americas	(83 films)
Oceania	(103 films)

It is expected that some 220 new films will be added to the above during 1968/69. As sufficient film material becomes available new categories of films are created.

RELEVANCE TO FOLKLIFE STUDIES

Many aspects of folklife are undergoing rapid change, especially in the United States. Others are disappearing or have already disappeared from the culture. Today, there is fortunately, an upsurge of interest in the appreciation and preservation of our folklife and in its scientific study. It is in this latter connection that films

¹Gotthard Wolf, *Der Wissenschaftlichen Documentationsfilm und die Encyclopaedia Cinematographica*, Munich, 1967, 212 pp. (In German, this book gives basic principles of scientific film documentation)

²The U.S. archive was established with the aid of a grant from the National Science Foundation. A listing of the films, which are available on loan, can be obtained from the author without charge.



Scene from Dr. Maurice Mook's documentary film on Halloween Customs in State College, Pennsylvania, one of the several American films in the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica*.

of the type included in the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* can play an important role both for research and for teaching purposes.

The film medium is valuable particularly for documenting those aspects of folklife that involve movement, or sound, or manufacturing processes. To be useful for scientific purposes such film documents should meet several important requirements:

1. They should be authentic and accurate. The presentation should be by the individuals who in

real life actually perform the events being documented and not by actors.

2. The film documents should portray natural behavior on the part of those being filmed. This demands close rapport with the subjects on the part of the folklorist, and a minimum of paraphernalia on the part of the individual doing the filming.

3. A film document should deal with a limited, cohesive aspect of folklife, but it should deal with this in as complete a fashion as is necessary. Where human movement is involved, some slow motion sequences may be needed. For some activities, such as folk dance, complete coverage of the action may be essential. In other instances, such as in the making of traditional pottery, documentation of the major elements only may be needed.

4. Where sound is important it should be the actual sound, recorded in synchronism with the pictures.

5. The technical quality should be high if such films are to be duplicated and made widely available for research and teaching purposes.

All of the above requirements suggest the need for a close collaboration between the folklorist and a competent cinephotographer in order to obtain the best results.

FOLKLIFE FILMS IN

THE *ENCYCLOPAEDIA CINEMATOGRAPHICA*

The films in the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* that deal with European folklife offer excellent models to emulate in the documentation of folklife in America.

European folklife films cover many aspects of the material culture that are rapidly disappearing such as use of watermills for power, old methods of spinning and weaving, manufacture of tools, furniture, and pottery, early methods of farming and so forth. They also document traditional dances, costumes, folk festivals, and religious customs.

There are also in the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* many films documenting customs of peoples in other areas of the world—in Africa, Asia, the Americas; and Oceania.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

From time to time the International Editorial Board of *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* announces an international project on some aspect of folklife, and folklorists in various parts of the world are invited to submit appropriate films for consideration by the Board for possible inclusion in the collection.

Bread Baking. The first such project was on the baking of bread in a rural household. As of May 1968, some 25 films on this subject had been accepted. They document breadbaking in Norway, Denmark, Holland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Turkey, U.S.A. (Pennsylvania), Uruguay, Afghanistan, Iran and Brazil. Included are such interesting subjects as the annual baking of bread on an alpine farm in the South Tyrol, and the baking of flat bread in Afghanistan and Iran.

Making of Butter and Cheese. A second international project deals with the making of butter or cheese in a rural setting. So far there are only about seven films



Trick or Treaters, State College, Pennsylvania, in Dr. Mook's documentary film.

in this group, contributed from four different countries.

Children's Games. About three years ago a project was announced to document children's traditional games and customs. About a dozen such films on this subject have been accepted already and others are in production, including one on Halloween customs in Pennsylvania.

Religious Rituals. The most recent international project deals with the documentation of religious rites in different countries, and several films on this subject are in the collection. This is a rich area for further documentation.

Making of Pottery. Although not announced as a special international project, there are in fact in the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* about 30 films that show the making of pottery in traditional ways in several countries.

Traditional Dances. Likewise, there are many films documenting traditional dances both in various regions of Europe as well as among more primitive peoples.

It should be apparent that the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* is a rich source of materials for the folklorist both for research and for university teaching, and many users of the films in the American Archive have already acknowledged this fact.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF FILMS

As was indicated earlier, contributions of appropriate films are invited from scientists in various countries. If an individual has a film accepted, he becomes a member of the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica*, receives 50 reprints of his accompanying written document, receives the journal *Research Film*, and may borrow films in the collection for his own personal scientific use for reasonable periods without charge. (A modest rental charge is made to other borrowers).³

It should be mentioned that the Editorial Board of the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* insists on high scientific and technical standards for the films it accepts. Also, it requests only the rights for the non-commercial use of the *Encyclopaedia* version of the film. The owner is free to make whatever other uses of the film he wishes. In this way, the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* hopes to develop a valuable resource for use by scientists and teachers throughout the world. Already, an excellent beginning has been made.

³In establishing an archive, a country accepts the obligation to encourage contributions of films from its scientists in the fields represented, as well as to make the films in the collection available for research and teaching uses. The author would be glad to confer with individuals who are interested in collaborating in this important international scientific endeavor.

The Cheese Was Good

By ELIZABETH CLARKE KIEFFER

Some years ago, in that useful Library of Congress compilation, *Sources for American History to be found in British Archives*, I stumbled upon an item listed as: "Report on the Petition of Theobald Kieffer and Others. 9 September, 1737. Public Records Office. SP 42-138" As several of my direct ancestors were named Theobald Kieffer, I was naturally curious, and sent for photostats of the report. It consisted of eight foolscap pages, and the Theobald Kieffer involved was none of mine. I only wish he was. I should be proud to have an ancestor sufficiently intrepid to appeal direct to the king of England against a British shipmaster.

This Theobald Kieffer, is apparently the one who figures in the Speyer Archives (Oberamt Zweibrücken, 1736) as: "Theobald Kieffer of Kirkel leaves with wife and children for Carolina." In the publication of this list by the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Volume I, he is incorrectly identified with Dewald Kieffer of Maxatawny Township, Berks County. That Dewald, who *was* my ancestor, came over as a minor, with his father Abraham Kieffer on the *Two Brothers* in 1748. It is an interesting commentary upon the incomplete nature of these emigrant lists that although this party consisted of "270 souls" all of whom are attested to have received permission to leave the Palatinate, the list shows only "sixteen different persons" leaving Zweibrücken in 1736 and none in 1737. While of the four petitioners, Theobald Kieffer's is the only name listed.

Divested of its official verbosity, the moving story of these bewildered travellers is as follows:

On August 23, 1727 four "Palatines": Theobald Kieffer, Valentin Jutzig, Casper Schneider, and John George Keller appeared at Hampton Court, "Praying to His Majesty for Relief." Their petition stated that "The Palatines settled in Carolina," had written to their relatives "in the Palatinates," promising to find work for all who would join them. That in June, about 300 of them arrived in Rotterdam, and there agreed with a shipmaster "to transport them at their own expense." This, however, was forbidden by "the magistrates of Rotterdam" who said that it was "against his majesty's order to transport them to that Colony," and that they could only go to Philadelphia.*

They therefore agreed with Mr. Archibald, Isaac and Zacharias Hope¹ for a passage to Philadelphia and "after a tedious passage of *three weeks*" arrived at

*This explains why so many immigrant groups came first to Philadelphia and transhipped for the southern ports.

¹April 20, 1735. Archibald and Isaac Hope, merchants of Rotterdam, asked permission of Pennsylvania Council to transport 400 emigrants to America. CR 4.

Cowes. "Contrary to the agreement . . . they suffered very much from hunger on board of the said Ship, which had taken on little or no Provisions in Holland." They are now "in and around Cowes, spending the rest of their substance, nor does it appear that the ship is to be victualled, the Master of it declaring that he cannot take in such Quantity of Provisions as is necessary² by reason that the Ship is not able to carry such Burthen."

Under examination, the petitioners testified further: They had left home in May with the permission of "their Superiors". Valentin Jutzig produced letters from Purysburg, South Carolina, giving a general invitation to immigrate. Seventy three families, in all about 300 souls, came down to Holland, of whom only three families wish to go to Philadelphia. They reached Rotterdam in June, and made an agreement with a shipmaster to take them to *London* (apparently hoping to ship for Carolina from there.) They were informed that only Hope and Stedman were authorized by both Holland and Great Britain to transport immigrants and they sailed only for Philadelphia via Cowes.

By this time they had used up most of their money and provisions so they gave in and agreed to go to Philadelphia, taking passage from Mr. Hope on the *Three Sisters* (the captain's name is never mentioned). Several of them had paid part of their passage, and others were willing to do so, but their money was in their chests which were stowed in the hold and they could not get to it. Others had spent everything they had during the six weeks delay in Rotterdam. On the passage to Cowes, the water was bad, only one day's beer was drinkable, and thirty or forty persons a day got no meat, and the rice was bad.

Arrived at Cowes, they complained to the Mr. Hope who lived there, and he promised to send them good provisions. Their chests were carried on shore to make room for stowing additional food, but after a few days, they were told to carry their chests back on board. This they refused to do, until they were convinced they would not be starved. Mr. Hope then "told them plainly" that the ship was not large enough to carry the provisions agreed for.

"While they were boiling their provisions in a field near Cowes," a man came along who had been in the wars in Brabant, "and could speak Dutch." They told him their troubles, and he said that "Hope had destroyed many poor souls in that manner," and advised them to go direct to London and appeal to the king.

²"Necessary" is probably the passengers' idea, not the master's.



Emigrant Ship of the 18th Century. In such vessels the forefathers of the Pennsylvania Germans arrived at the port of Philadelphia.

Mr. Wragg, the owner of the ship, was called to testify. He said he would have preferred to transport the emigrants to Carolina, where he had interests, but the authorities in Rotterdam had granted an "octroy or monopoly" to the Hopes, and prohibit all other persons to transport emigrants "except those that contract with them". He produced copies of his letters to Mr. Hope, asking permission to make an exception and take this party to Carolina, but said he was assured that they refused to go to Carolina and insisted on going to Philadelphia, also that they were "the Worst and the Refuse of all the Germans that have set out for America this year." He produced the lists of the provisions he had ordered to be shipped, and called the mate to testify. The mate admitted that the water and beer were bad, but this was "accidental by reason that the casks had not been cleaned". Mr. Wragg said that he was losing money at the rate of ten pounds a day, because the Germans refused to sail. He produced affidavits of Samuel White, John Morey, and Gabriel Player, masters of vessels, and Thomas Hewitt, King's pilot, that they had inspected the provisions and they were good, except for three casks of beef brought from Holland, which were "not fit to be served for humane consumption," and were ordered buried in the sand.

The Germans produced a letter, just received from Cowes, saying "That they apprehended they should be ill-treated at Sea for that there were Irons put on board."

The court then sent Mr. John Godfrey of Southampton to make a thorough examination. Although, at the end of his letter, he properly apologizes for "having been thus prolix," his study of the case was conscientious and impartial. He took with him a captain,

George West, who had been master of several ships, and was well acquainted with such matters. First he sampled public opinion among the residents of the island, without stating his official position. Some felt that the Germans "had been a little obstinate about some things," but on the whole agreed that they had been ill-treated. He next visited the Collector of Customs at East Cowes, who proved most cooperative, and offered him the full resources of his office. This official said that it was obvious the provisions shipped from Holland were bad, but that he was convinced that they had now been replaced by adequate ones.

The next witness sent for was "their Interpreter, one Anna Maria . . ." (The dots are his. Mr. Godfrey was a gentleman) "the only person that could speak good English among them" and explained to her that the king had "been graciously pleased to order their Grievances to be inquired into and Justice to be done 'em." Under his careful questioning this lady caused the investigator "to suspect her to be prepossessed in ye Master's favor, and that she did not represent things in their true light."

Lastly he introduced himself to the master and to Mr. Hope, showing his commission with the royal order that "the Palatines must be justly treated." They acknowledged the contract held by the Germans as theirs except that they said, it had been amended to allow molasses to be substituted for treacle; grout of barley with the husks taken off for oatmeal; and that while Tuesday's meal was to be a pound of meat with rice, Thursday's was to be only half-a-pound with flour and rice.

Only now as he prepared for the actual inspection of the ship, he took with him a large group of witnesses, and went on board.

In questioning the Germans on the ship, he found that his earlier conversation with Anna Mary proved a hindrance, "they not at all liking her, and being very jealous of her." At first they refused to answer his questions at all, but, at last, sifting out the conflicting statements and the captain's replies, he had what he felt was a fair appraisal of the situation: The water was "stinking," having been put into empty wine casks, which had not had the lees of the wine rinsed out, but "when they came into the Downes the master bought as much water as cost 17 shillings." A large part of the beer was very bad. The Germans said almost all of it, but the captain said only 10 casks out of 20. They admitted that the meat served during the crossing was good, but insisted it was unfairly divided. Anna Mary, who had done the distributing, insisted that she had been quite impartial.

The rice, Mr. Godfrey found, was India rice, of a poor quality and "very dusty," but he could not find any worms in it. The Germans produced a "lump of clotted rice, musty, and good-for-nothing" but Mr. Hope claimed that this was Carolina rice, and was taken from a cask in his storeroom, to which they had access, which had been set aside to be thrown away. The butter, cheese and bread were good. Someone produced a stale piece of black Dutch bread, but it was proved that the only bread served them was ship's biscuit. The Germans admitted that they had sold some of the biscuit and cheese to house-wives in Cowes, but said they did this to buy soft bread for the sick.

At the present time, no provisions were being distributed, except beer. This, said Mr. Hope, was with their consent, the sailing having been delayed five weeks because of the petition and investigation. Up until a few days ago, however, the full rations had been served. The Germans, asked if they had given this consent, said it was forced upon them.

Mr. Godfrey then had a ship's carpenter measure the ship. He goes into detail as to how this was done with the keel under water, and gives extremely full measurements. They add up to 177 tuns and upward, which all agree is ample for "cabbin space" and provisions for 200 grown persons. There are 270 *souls* in the party, but those under 14 are reckoned as half-passengers and those under four as none. This totals less than 200 as "Nine are run away and supposed to be begging somewhere."

All the committee agree that the ship is tight, staunch, and of sufficient capacity. "Captain West and myself, tasted the pickle of every cask (of beef)." There is, however, a separate item of "London beef and pork for the ship's company." He examined: "good Dutch cheese," "boiling pease," small beer, Carolina rice, 3 casks of butter. "The Bread room is full of Biscuit, what we could get at is very good." There were also a "parcell" of flour, "100 butts of fresh water, which cost above nine pounds"; and "about 500 wt. of Stockfish, which they will not eat, although good and contracted for."

The captain and Mr. Hope, admit that the quantities are not yet quite sufficient, but say that they will stock

the rest as soon as they know, exactly, how many will sail, as many have rambled all over the island, and some to Portsmouth, and had to be brought back by Justices' warrants, "which has been the only force upon them." As soon as they and their chests are on board the provisioning will be completed. The Customs officer promises to oversee this. The captain says he will be sure to have enough: "being not willing to expose himself to Mutiny on the high Seas which probably would be the Consequence if they should be like to starve. They having one day taken to their arms on the master's offering to take away the Stages which made a communication from the Ship's side to the Shore."

Mr. Godfrey summarizes: The provisions from Rotterdam were certainly bad, but, henceforth, there should be no just cause for complaint.

There seems little need for comment on this report. One wonders how much of the trouble was due to the language difficulty, how much to their inability to imagine the restrictions of life on the subsistence diet provided on an immigrant ship. Later pamphlets and letters of advice persistently warned immigrants to give much care to providing supplementary food of their own. That dubious lady, Fräulein Anna Maria, seems to have played considerable part in increasing the confusion. It is instructive to ponder on the depth of poverty, which caused many of them to exhaust all they had in five weeks of waiting in Rotterdam. Also upon the width of the misunderstanding which made the Germans fear mistreatment when they saw the irons carried on board, which the captain was supplying to protect himself from mutiny.

What was the end of the story? Who knows? The Strassburger and Hinke shiplists show no arrival of a *Three Sisters* in Philadelphia until the 19th century. The name of Wragg does not appear either as Captain or owner. I find no further mention of this Theobald Kieffer, nor of Valentin Jutzig. There were several Caspar Schneiders later, and a George Keller (whose fate is known) who had come earlier. Alexander Stedman has always been considered one of the more honorable merchants. (Possibly he learned a lesson from this episode.)

Was the ship, after all, allowed to go to South Carolina? Did she, rashly, sail for Philadelphia, so late in the season, and run into a hurricane or a winter gale? Was the whole voyage abandoned, and the travelers sent home? Or is it merely a case of another missing shiplist?

In any event the resolute conduct of Theobald Kieffer and his comrades proved to the world that with a little initiative, it was possible to obtain redress even for poor, poverty-stricken "Palatines." (George II was, after all, more German than English.) Who knows how many a later shipmaster contemplating stinting on his provisions to fill his own pocket may have thought of this story and added to the casks and the biscuits or even tasted the pickle. I still wish that Theobald was my ancestor!

NOTES and DOCUMENTS:

Eighteenth-Century Letters from Germany

Edited by DON YODER

I.

[The local historian James Y. Heckler (1829-1901) of Montgomery County produced several local historical sketches which present-day Pennsylvania researchers, historians, genealogists, and folklife scholars, find of value. His *History of Lower Salford Township, (Montgomery County), Commencing with a History of Harleysville* (Harleysville, Pennsylvania, 1888) is a 456-page mine of information on early life in the "Dutch end" of Montgomery County. His *History of Franconia Township* which ran in local newspapers, was reprinted in book form in 1960 by the Schlechter Press in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Another local historian of Montgomery County, whose interests involved particularly church history and genealogy, was Henry S. Dotterer, whose periodical, *The Perkiomen Region, Past and Present*, Volumes I-III (1894-1901), was actually the first regional historical periodical to appear in Pennsylvania. Henry S. Dotterer is remembered also for his researches into Reformed Church history and backgrounds in Pennsylvania; many of his church-historical sketches appeared in the *Reformed Church Messenger* and other church periodicals.

In the *Dotterer Papers*, Volume X, pp. 103, 105 (Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Volume 319), there is a pencil copy of "An Old Letter from Germany," with the notation: "Mr. James Y. Heckler, of Hatfield, has favored us with a translation of a letter from his unpublished History of the Heckler Family. It will be read with interest by the many members of the Heckler family, as well as by others." The letter was sent from Retschweiler in Lower Alsace, now in France, in 1784, from Michael Hechler to his brother George Hechler, then of Lower Salford Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. No letters had passed between the brothers since 1767, and the European brother tells the family news and asks specifically for the right to dispose of the American brother's property in the home parish. Many similar details can be found in the long series of *Amerikabriefe* that we have published in *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

According to James Y. Heckler's *History of Harleysville* (Harleysville: Benjamin L. Gehman, 1886), pp. 177-183, George Heckler, son of Michael Hechler, was born in Retschweiler, Lower Alsace, April 26, 1736. After learning the tailoring trade at the age of 15, he emigrated to America, arriving in Philadelphia on the *Neptune*, September 30, 1754. After paying for his passage by the very common practise of selling his ser-

vices for some years as a "redemptioner," he was married in 1764 to Catharine Freed, daughter of Peter Freed, a Mennonite, of Lower Salford. For seventeen years the Hecklers lived near the present town of Blooming Glen in Hilltown Township, Bucks County, then moved back to Lower Salford. The name was originally spelled "Hechler" — the historian blames an Irish stonecutter for changing the spelling to "Heckler" on the emigrant's headstone. George Heckler died August 28, 1816. — EDITOR.]

Ret[s]chweiler, May 3, 1784.

Much beloved brother:

Since the 8th of November, 1767, which was the last date of your writing to us, we have not had any information from you, and of your circumstances. I must presently mention that father and mother have died:—mother about ten years and father about four years; and our sister some twenty-odd years ago.

I, Michael Hechler, your brother am alone left remaining of our family; and you my beloved brother George. It causes me much regret to be at such a distance from you. You can imagine for yourself how sad it is to have an only brother and to be so far from him that it is an impossibility to speak even a few words with him, for which I have wished a thousand times, although I see the impossibility before me. At least mention to me your right address so that I can now and then have a written conversation with you.

The bearer of this is one of our countrymen, a native of Ret[s]chweiler, whose name is Christian Schneider, whom you, as a faithful countryman, may assist as much as you possibly can, that he also may find a home and employment. He leaves here on account of poverty. He has not carried on any unworthy business that he should leave on that account.

Inform me as soon as possible what you wish us to do with your patrimony, which we have kept for you. We can make disposition of it so that our descendants will not come into vexations about it. All people who tell me about you assure me that you have achieved a complete success. If it is so inform me of it.

I will inform you also that I have been married about eighteen years with our neighbor Casper Schneider's daughter, Maria Elizabeth, and with her have had nine children. Of these are living by God's grace, four sons and two daughters, of whom the oldest is a son fifteen years old.

Finding yourself now such a wealthy man please to surrender to my children your share. Please mention



*Bergzabern
in the
Palatinate.*

Foto Cramer

to me in what manner it shall be done: although I leave it all to your gracious pleasure (and judgment).

We are, thank God, all healthy and well, hoping and wishing the same may be the case with your family. Salute your dear wife and dear children affectionately for us. Believe and be assured that I am at all times in brotherly love and friendship your sincere and faithful brother.

Michael Hechler.

Beloved brother, I wish you much luck and blessing, and since it is impossible for us to speak together otherwise than by writing, I ask you, beloved brother, to write a letter back to me soon. I send greeting to you, brother George Hechler, and your whole family many thousand times. These few disjointed lines have been written by me, Michael Hechler.

II.

[As a followup to the recent "Mennonite Contacts Across the Atlantic" (*Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIX:1, Autumn 1969, 46-48) the letter of Jacob Rupp of Heppenheim in the Palatinate, dated 1786, and the reply by Rudolph Landes of Deep Run, Bedminster Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, dated 1787, are of interest on several counts.

The Jacob Rupp letter is important especially for its explicit reference to the migration of Palatine Mennonites to Eastern Europe. In the same century that the major thrust of German and Swiss emigration was

directed toward the British Colonies, producing the background of the Pennsylvania German culture, a second major migration was taking place into Eastern Europe. Whole areas of Hungary, Poland, and Russia were settled in the 18th Century by German farmers from various states, under the colonization policies of Catharine II and Joseph II. In the 1870's, when the liberal agreements of the colonizing monarchs were abrogated, a counter-migration began, bringing, particularly from Russia, large numbers of German-speaking Mennonites to Canada and the Plains States.

The family details given in the correspondence can be enlarged by reference to *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*. For the Rupp family, including Heinrich Rupp (1760-1800) of Harxheim and Johann Rupp (1747-1787) of Altzey, who emigrated to Galicia in 1784 ff., to Einsiedel and Rosenberg respectively, see IV, 379. For the Landes (Landis) Family in Pennsylvania, see III, 280-282. Background information on the materials in these letters can also be found in the encyclopedia under the headings Heppenheim, Oberflörsheim, Galicia, Einsiedel, and Rosenberg.

The Zimmermann-Hardt migration to Pennsylvania referred to in the correspondence very probably involves two passengers on the Brig Betsey which arrived in Philadelphia in 1771. In the list of the passengers taking the Oath of Allegiance on December 4, 1771 (Strassburger-Hinke, I, 738, List 292 C) there appears a *Jacob Zimmerman* and immediately following, *Jean*

Gaspard Horthe. In addition there are in the same list *Sebastian Harth*, *Rudy Funck*, and *Martin Funck*.

The Rupp-Landes Correspondence was published in J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman, *Mennonite Church History* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Book and Tract Society, 1905), pp. 401-405, without indication of where the authors found the originals. Will Mennonite librarians and archivists please inform us where the original letters, or copies of them, may be found at the present time? — EDITOR.]

Heppenheim, near Alzey,
April 15th, 1786.

Dear Worthy Friends:

I desire to express my heartfelt wish for your true welfare in all pertaining to the thriving of body and soul. The letter from you dear friends, Abraham and Rudolph Landes dated April 12, 1784, we received on the 17th of August, 1784, with great pleasure, and through it ascertained as to your general health. We wish to announce that all who are still living of us are, praise the Lord, in good bodily health. Yet it has pleased the Lord, who alone is Ruler over life and death, to demand from us Elizabeth Burkyen in the month of May as also Christian Schmitt on the 14th of June, 1784. They were called out of this toilsome world and transformed to Eternity, where in accordance with the Christian Faith they will increase the inhabitants of the other world. May the Almighty in his mercy prepare us for a joyful following. I also announce that the youngest daughter, Christina, of Elizabeth Burkyen, deceased, was wedded to Rudolph Forrer also of "Wersheimer Hof," and is in possession of the farm of her father, Jacob Burkyen, deceased. Furthermore I give you without concealment the information that within the past three or four years many of the families from this and other neighborhoods have moved into the kingdom of Poland. This journey of over four hundred hours was made by my brother John, leaving on the 10th of October, 1784, as also my brother Henry, who wedded Catherine Brollin, reformed religion, from Harxheim, on June 13th, 1785, they together with Jacob Muller of Rudelsheim, with his son-in-law, Jacob Bursched of Harxheim. The journey was partly by water, but mostly overland. They went to improve their condition. The country is very fertile and does not belong to the Kingdom of Poland any more. It is called now Mehro-Gallicia, which came into possession of the Roman Empire Majesty Joseph II, during the war times. Through his glorious and more than wise government, many colonists have settled there, as also Estates of Nobility and church. They are furnished with good new homesteads with about fifty acres of land without any cost, also cattle, implements, house utensils, just as farmers need, also several free years without taxation. They have as yet not been assigned to places but hope to shortly. If they haven't been, they will certainly before long as they receive support until they are assigned their land. The favours which these people receive from the wise Joseph, is more than great. Not alone this, he is also a philanthropist whose equal



Title-page of the Franconia Mennonite Hymnal, fifth edition, 1848. Rudolph Landes' acrostic hymn appears in the second appendix, No. 21.

cannot be found among the crowned heads. He permits all religions, which before his time was not permitted. I wrote you a letter which I presume you received in the fall of '84, through my brother-in-law, Jacob Rupp, who visited us from Pennsylvania, at that time, which contained a description of former times. Further I wish to acquaint you with the fact that the year '84 was such a complete failure that the oldest persons remember none such; fruits, vegetables and crops of all kinds were very scarce, causing great hardship at the beginning of '85. The pen cannot describe it at all. Now every thing is again blest and cheaper than in many long years and the growing crops look well with us. We live in hopes of soon getting a letter from you. Information is asked if Casper Hardt, brother of Jacob Hardt, did not come to you about 12 years ago.

Mrs. Landes, her children, I and mine send you many greetings. Remember us in your prayers, we are willing to do likewise with God's sanction. With compliments and under the protection of the Almighty, I am

Your true and sincere friend.

JACOB RUPP.

P. S.—The above greetings include the entire circle of friendship—the Landes family, I must particularly mention Frederick Landes, who is just my age. I would like also to receive a few lines from him some time.

Adieu.

REPLY OF RUDOLPH LANDES.

April 13, 1787, Bucks County.

Bedminster Township at Deep Run.

Worthy Friends:

The Lord be with you through His holy, righteous Spirit, guide you through His sincere grace, love and mercy to the path of love and peace. This I wish you upon your friendly greetings, may the Lord and God of all grace give us and you all, strength to follow Him on the path upon which He preceded us through pure love to our eternal salvation and happiness, and loved not life unto death—His alone be praise, honor and commendation in all eternity. Amen.

Beloved friend and Cousin Rupp, your writing of April 15, 1786, we received and through it perceived that you were in part well, which was very pleasing to us. Also that some of our friends departed this life, and I hope that God in His mercy through Jesus Christ has received and taken them into life eternal, that we may with the wise virgins be prepared, and that our like may be kept burning and our lamps not extinguished; that adorned in the unsoiled wedding robe, we may, like unto mankind, wait for the Lord—that the Friend, the Lord, the Bridegroom may come when He pleases and would not then become alarmed, but would be joyful and enter with Him to the nuptials—may our good Lord help us thereto through Jesus Christ. Amen.

In regard to how we are getting on, we can say as far as bodily health is concerned, we are presumably well, thanks to the Lord, and we have also full and plenty to eat. Nor are we alarmed with war, although they are troubled inland with little warfares. What will come of it, only God knows. It is mostly on account of the money demands. A large portion of the Pennsylvania inhabitants cannot become reconciled to this, and the humbling of the Lord's name does not please many. They have as yet been unaccustomed to it in this country. Yet again there are those who use the name of the Lord to greedily fill their hands and pockets with the farmer's possessions, and as they are no better than others, it causes indignation. Christ's followers have only to give attention to the Lord's commands. He saith, give unto the king whatsoever belongeth to the king, and to God what is his, and to love thine enemies and to plead with the offender, that you may be children of your Father in heaven, says Christ.

It is asked if Casper Hardt had not come to this country. I answer yes, and is still here as much as I know—away up country somewhere. I wrote about him to you last year, about him and Jacob Zimmerman, as they came to this country. Jacob Hardt is still living, as far as I know. He lives thirty hours trip from here. Furthermore you write that your brother had moved into the kingdom of Poland, regarding this I should like to hear more, providing it is not asking too much of you. Regarding the remaining friends, the other letters will inform me. I heard that your brother-in-law, Jacob Rupp, had been in good health this winter. Also the same of the widow and children of Jacob

Landes. I and my housewife and children again send their heartfelt greetings, and to remember one another in prayers is my wish. The beloved God who has brought us this far and aided us will, I hope, help us lay our weary heads into the dust of the earth to rest until the Lord shall awaken us to the glory, comfort and happiness of yonder life. As this goes beyond all thought, may the Lord therefore give us the strength to lead such lives that we may there look upon one another in eternal joy and splendor. This I wish you and us all through Jesus Christ. Amen. I would like to know if Cousin Landes' daughters, Magdalen and Grette, are still living. I send them and theirs hearty greetings, as also all our friends in this writing which has been done in simplicity and love.

From your friend,

RUDOLPH LANDES.*

[P. S.] It has frequently come to my mind that I would like to know if old Christian Weber, William Kramer, Jacob Dahlem and John Haan are still living or any of them or who is in charge of the household of our Mennonite community in Upper Florschheim where I was received in great poverty and ill health and taken up in the congregation of Jesus Christ. Which now being nearly 38 years ago comes to my thoughts that though we wrote to one another from time to time, I fear the time at hand when we mortals will sink or have sunken to sleep and soon to hear "a cry at midnight, and behold the Bridegroom cometh." Now as the one to make the cry is not revealed to us, we should call to one another and be on guard as the enemy is watching and it is said goes about us like a roaring lion to devour us. Oh, that we may withstand him through our belief—though we are strangers by sight I hope that in united belief and united hope and in love, the Lord may strengthen our foundation that we may go on from strength to strength, from might to might, until we reach God in Zion, to this may God help us through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Remember us also in your prayers. I am willing so far as the Lord aids me in my weakness to do likewise. Take this up in love as it is done in love.

To a heartfelt friendly and brotherly greeting in the Lord from

RUDOLPH LANDES.

N. B.—Cousin Rupp, I trust you will execute the wishes expressed, and hope you will write and if we live and the Lord is willing, we will continue our correspondence.

*While reading proof on this article I was visited at the University of Pennsylvania by Ada Kadelbach, a student of Dr. Hans Galinsky's at the University of Mainz who is writing her Ph.D. dissertation in American Studies, on the subject of Mennonite Hymnody in the United States, to 1860. I am indebted to her for pointing out the curious acrostic hymn by Rudolph Landes which appeared in print for the first time in the third edition of the Franconia Mennonite hymnal, *Die kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions* (Germantown, 1820), Zugabe, Nr. 21. The hymn, which begins, "Rath, hülf und trost, o HErr, mein GOtt, Find ich bey dir alleine," was written, according to verse 13, when the author was 65, hence can be dated in 1797. Rudolph Landes died in 1802 and is buried at Deep Run.—EDITOR.

The Ephrata Wall-Charts and Their Inscriptions

By GUY TILGHMAN HOLLYDAY

The Cloister at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in addition to holding a unique place in German-American printing, musicology and hymn-writing, was a pioneer center of the art of Fraktur. Concerning Fraktur illumination, for instance, Donald A. Shelley declares: "Fraktur illumination not only appeared in America first at the Ephrata Cloister in Ephrata, Pa., but also reached its greatest perfection there."¹ Now that most of the Ephrata wall-charts—those Frakturs measuring some five or six feet on a side and intended for hanging on a wall—have been restored, the visitor to Ephrata may soon be able to view these grandest, though sadly abused, products of Ephrata craftsmanship.²

At one time, apparently, the Cloister was overflowing with wall-charts and Frakturs. In 1835 Dr. William M. Fahnestock declared: "The walls of all the rooms, including the meeting room, the chapels, the saals, and even the kammer's, or dormitories, are hung and nearly covered, with large sheets of elegant penmanship, or ink-paintings, many of which are texts from the scriptures, done in very handsome manner, in ornamented

gothic letters, called in the German *Fraktur-schriften*."³ There remain today only twelve wall-charts at the Cloister. A thirteenth, at the Cloister's 19th Century offshoot, Snow Hill in Franklin County, also appears to be a product of Ephrata. How and whither the others have departed no one seems to know.

Fortunately, several nineteenth-century scholars visited Ephrata and transcribed some of the wall-charts they found there. I. Daniel Rupp, the early 19th Century historian of the Germans in Pennsylvania, recorded the following:

[1] *Zenobia wird grünen und Gedeyen,
ihre Arbeit wird nicht vergeblich,
Noch auch ihre Hoffnung, verlohren seyn,
ihr Erbe blühet mitten unter den Heiligen.*⁴

[Zenobia will blossom and prosper,
Her labors will not prove fruitless,
Nor shall any hopes that she had prove vain.
Her works do flourish midst the Saints here at
Ephrata.]

Fahnestock, who described the Society before Rupp, records the same Fraktur and explains that at the death of a celibate such pieces were hung in the chamber previously occupied by the deceased.⁵

¹*The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Allentown, 1961, XXIII, 101.

²The term Fraktur will be used to refer to smaller wall-charts. The author is indebted to the conservator of the wall-charts, Mrs. Roswell Weidner of Philadelphia, and to an unpublished report of hers on their conservation, for posing many of the questions dealt with in this study. We will not consider here problems emphasized in her report: symbolism and the identity of the scribes.

³"An Historical Sketch of Ephrata, together with a Concise Account of the Seventh-Day Baptist Society of Pennsylvania," *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, XV (January-June, 1835), 162.

⁴*History of Lancaster County, To Which Is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Early History of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1844), p. 221.

⁵Fahnestock, "An Historical Sketch," p. 162.

HIR TRONT DER HIRTE
 dieser Schaar
 tuth sie als Schäflein weiden,
 drum gehen sie bey Paar u Paar
 Und rühmen Gott mit Freuden.
 Wo Philadelfia blüht als ein grünes Feld
 Da sihet man aufgehen die Frucht der neuen Welt.
 [Where Philadelphia blooms like a verdant field,
 There one can see growing the fruit of this
 new world.]

Inscription No. 5

Later in the century Julius Friedrich Sachse recorded the following Fraktur in his monumental two volume study of Ephrata, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*:

[2] *HIR TRONT DER HIRTE dieser Schaar tuth sie als Schäflein weiden, drum gehen sie bey Paar u Paar Und rühmen Gott mit Freuden.*⁶

[Here reigns the shepherd of this flock;
 Puts them like lambs to pasture.
 And so they go now two by two
 And praise the Lord with gladness.]

⁶Volume I (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 410. Actually, Sachse transcribed the Fraktur as "CHRISTUS DER HIRTE . . ." A close inspection of his photograph of it at the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society in Plainfield, New Jersey, however, reveals the form given above to be correct. Where it is known what letters on a Fraktur were capitalized, they will be transcribed as such here.

**Prints reproduced from the Collections
 of the Library of Congress**

Sachse and Oswald Seidensticker of the University of Pennsylvania German Department both recorded a third Fraktur still at the Cloister at the end of the 19th Century:

[3] *Wo Philadelfia blüht als ein grünes Feld
 Da sihet man aufgehen die Frucht der neuen Welt.*⁷

[Where Philadelphia blooms like a verdant field,
 There one can see growing the fruit of this
 new world.]

⁷Sachse, *The German Sectarians*, I, 414; and Seidensticker, *Ephrata, eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte* (Cincinnati, 1883), p. 7. The reference here is to the biblical Philadelphia mentioned in Revelation 1:11 and 3:7.



Inscription No. 6

Finally, Sachse records a fourth Fraktur now missing, the epitaph of another Sister:

[4] *Bernice, Freue sich in ihrem gang unter der Schaff-Weide, und sey freundlich u. huldreich unter den Lieb-Habern.*⁸

[Bernice shall be joyous now on walks midst the grazing lambkins, May she friendly and gracious be with the loved ones.]

At this point two striking facts should be noted. First, all of the missing Frakturs of which we have knowledge contained brief inscriptions. And second, most of the large Frakturs which are now preserved at

⁸*The German Sectarians*, I, 478. The form given here is taken not from Sachse's faulty transcription, but from the Sisters' Chronicle manuscript at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as will be explained below.

Ephrata are recorded by the three major historians cited above. It is probable that of the many Frakturs and wall-charts seen by Dr. Fahnestock in or about 1835 only the small easily transportable ones were taken away, and that by this Darwinian law of selection according to size, all the largest have remained to us. If any of the smaller Frakturs have been preserved in attics, collections or elsewhere, perhaps they may yet be brought to light.

The Sister Bernice Fraktur is interesting on several accounts. Sachse gives a lengthy romanticized description of her burial, preceded by the following information: "The first of the Sisterhood to leave this transitory life and go forth to join the celestial Bridegroom beyond the skies, was Bernice, who died of consumption, while the Sisterhood were yet in Kedar, November 30, 1743, in the thirty-second year of her age. She was Leonard Heidt's daughter, a beautiful girl, who lived with her



Inscription No. 7

parents at Oley, and after a visit from the Solitary Brethren to her father's house was so enraptured with the thought of a spiritual life that she followed them to the settlement and became one of the founders of the Sisterhood." Sachse concludes with the statement that the head of the Cloister, Conrad Beissel, composed her epitaph and the sisters executed the Fraktur thereof.⁹

The date of death given by Sachse is incorrect by only two months.¹⁰ If we assume the Fraktur to have

⁹*The German Sectarians*, I, 477.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, I, 478. Sachse gives no source for these statements and their validity is open to question.

¹¹The Pennsylvania Historical Society contains a manuscript of the Sisters' Chronicle which is obviously the original copy. It is entitled: "Die Rose oder: Der angenehmen Blumen zu Saron geistliche Eheverlöbniß mit ihrem himmlischen Bräutigam . . . Ephrata den 13. des 5 Mon. 1745." On page 376 we find: "Unsere vielgeliebte Schwester Bernice ist im Herren entschlaffen den 30 des 11 Monats Anno 1743 ihres alters 32 Jahr." Above the "des 11 Monats" is written the word "Jenner" (January). At the time the chronicle was begun, 1745, the eleventh month of the year was January, and in this first month of the year 1744, according to present day reckoning, Bernice died. The later copies of the chronicle, one each at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and at the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society in Plainfield, New Jersey, mistakenly interpret the eleventh month as November.

been executed at the time, this would give us a known Fraktur executed as early as the year 1744. If we may trust the phraseology of the official chronicle of the Cloister, published at Ephrata in 1786, Frakturs were hung in a "Saal," a worship hall, several years before this. The fourteenth chapter of the chronicle deals with the events of the year 1735, the year in which the church-building and Brothers and Sisters house Kedar was built. "After the meetings had been held for a short time in Kedar," relates the chronicle, a housefather offered his possessions for the construction of a new building of worship, one in which "texts in black-letter were hung."¹² The chronicle then states that this new building was razed just four years later.¹³ Assuming it to have been built in 1736 at the latest, and assuming that the "black-letter" texts were Frakturs, these works must have been executed at the Cloister by the year 1740. Unfortunately, only one wall-chart that has survived, the so-called "Three Heavens," discussed be-

¹²*Chronicon Ephratense: A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penn'a*, by "Lamech and Agrippa," translated by J. Max Hark, D.D. (Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1889), pp 79, 80.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 80.

low, carries a date: 1755. That Frakturs or wall-charts were executed long after that time is indicated by the epitaph of Sister Zenobia, quoted above, who did not die until 1798.¹⁴

The inscriptions on the Ephrata wall-charts present a two-fold problem: where did they come from, and, in the case of those that have been partially destroyed by weather and vermin, what were the original texts? In looking for their origins one turns naturally, as Fahnestock suggested, to the Bible. But there one finds the sources for only the two wall-charts with references to the Book of Revelation:

[5] *UND DIE STADT DARF*
Keiner Sonnen noch des Monden dass
sie Ihr scheinen, denn die Herrlichkeit Gottes
erleuchtet sie, u. Ihre Leuchte ist das Lamm.
off. 21, 23.¹⁵

[And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine upon it, for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb. Revelation 21: 23.]

and:

[6] *UND DIE KÖNIGE AUF ERden*
werden Ihre Herrlichkeit und Ehre in
dieselbige bringen. Und Ihre Tohre werden nicht
verschlossen des Tages denn da wird keine Nacht
seyn.
off. 21, 24.25.

[And the kings upon earth shall bring their glory and honor into it, and its gates shall never be shut by day—and there shall be no night there. Revelation 21: 24-25.]

Many Pennsylvania-German Fraktur inscriptions are known to be taken from the hymns of the particular religious group which produced them. Beissel and his followers were constantly writing hymns—and hymnals. The first hymnal, the *Göttliche Liebes und Lobes Gethöne of 1730*, containing sixty-two hymns, was one of the first works published by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. The *Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel of 1739* was the first book published by the famous Germantown printer Christopher Sower and contained 692 hymns, many by writers of previous centuries. Between these dates three other hymnals were produced by Beissel and his followers. And from the time of the first hymnal published on the press at Ephrata, the *Gesäng Der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube* in 1747, until the printing of the last great collection of Ephrata hymns in 1766, two years before Beissel's death, the *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel* with its 725 hymns composed at the Cloister, numerous manuscripts and imprints with hymns were produced there.¹⁶ In not a single one of these, however, is there more than an occasional echo of the wall-chart inscriptions.

¹⁴Date taken from the original Sisters' Chronicle at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 381.

¹⁵The quotations of existent texts are taken from personal inspection of the wall-charts and from photographs made in the 1930's, now at the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress.

¹⁶*The Ephrata Cloisters: An Annotated Bibliography* by Eugene E. Doll and Anneliese M. Funke (Philadelphia, 1944), an indispensable reference work for the student of Ephrata, lists all the hymn collections which bear separate imprints.

The next logical place to search is in the many products of the famous 18th Century Ephrata press, already mentioned, and here we are more fortunate. In the *Erster Theil der Theosophischen Lectionen of 1752*, in the "Theosophische Gedichte," are to be found the inscriptions of two of the wall charts:

[7] *GOTT UND DAS KEUSche Lamm muss*
stetig in uns walten:
*Und uns in Ewigkeit nicht lassen mehr erkalten.*¹⁷

[God and the virgin lamb must always in us rule,
And through eternity not let our faith grow cool.]

and

[8] *Zeuch hin, o liebe Seel, und trage deinen*
jammer.
Dein Glück blüht dir aldort in jener Ewigkeit:
Da wirstu gehen ein in deine Ruhe-Kammer,
Nach viel gehabter Müh, u. manchem bittren Leid.
Bin ich an jetzo schon oft schwer und hart beladen,
So dass die Schmerzen mir geht tief ins Hertz
hinein,
So wird die Hoffnung doch zuletzt dem Elend
rathen
*Wenn ich geh nach viel leid in meine Kammer ein.*¹⁸

[Go forth, beloved soul, and nobly bear vexation,
Thy fortune blossoms there in that eternity;
There shalt thou find thy way into thy peaceful
sanctum,
But first must come both strain and harsh infirmity.
Am I at this time full well strained and sorely
burthened,
So that the agony goes deep into my breast,
Yet comes the time when hope my suff'ring will
have mirthened,
When I go, for much pain, into my sanctum's rest.]

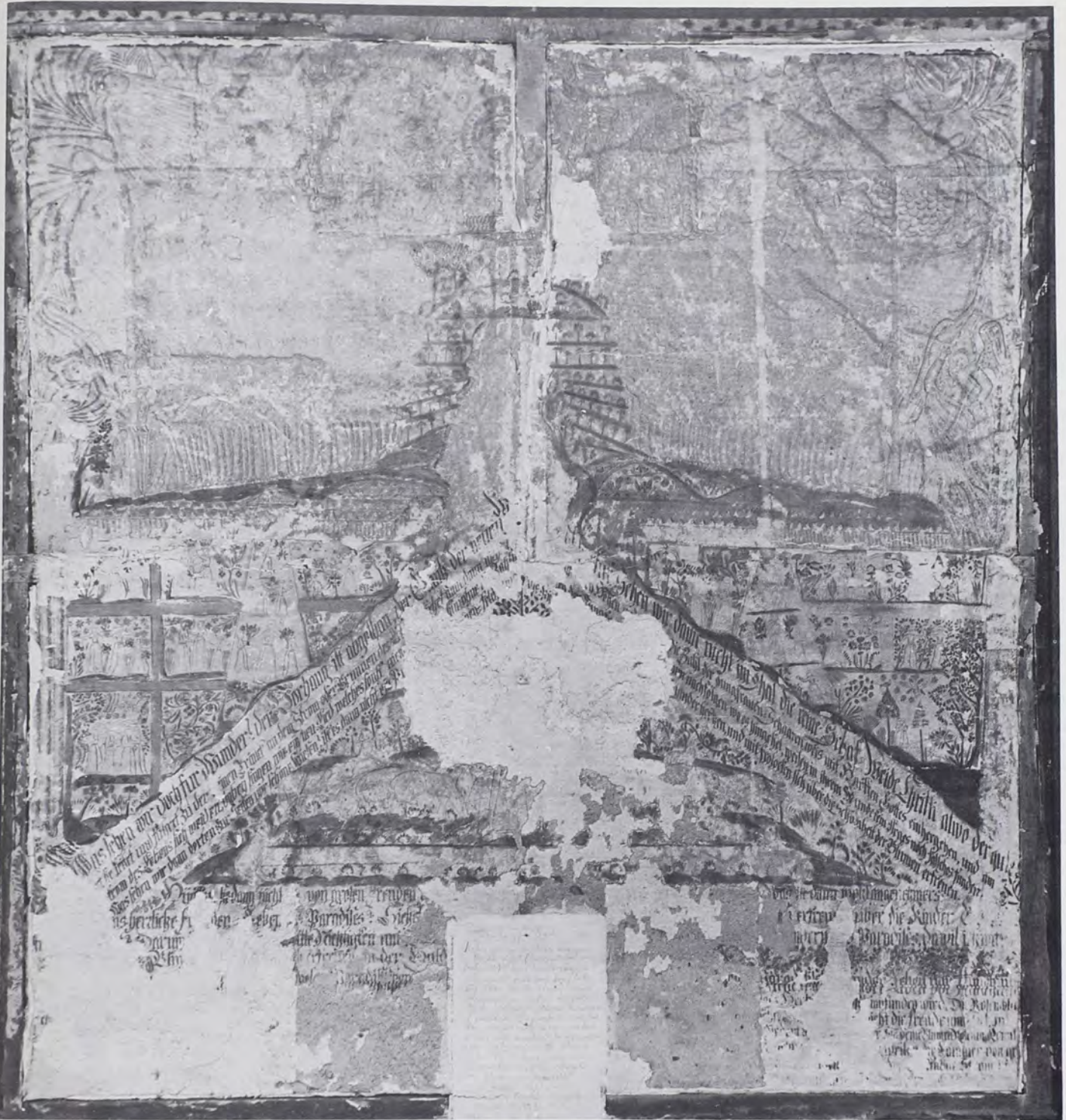
In no other 18th Century Ephrata publications, however, are any of the wall-chart inscriptions to be found.

There remains but one other area of Ephrata productions to search: the manuscripts produced at the Cloister. There were, first of all, an unknown number of smaller Frakturs produced by the Brothers and Sisters. Although these could probably not be viewed as sources for the wall-charts, they might at least supply us with texts for parts of wall-charts that have deteriorated beyond recognition. But the location of only a few of these Frakturs is known. As Dr. Shelley, the outstanding authority in the field, has stated: ". . . we still know surprisingly little about the individual artists who did this extraordinarily beautiful work, the sources of their inspiration, or the scope of their activity. Ephrata illuminated manuscripts today are so widely scattered and so rarely heard of, that considerable field work will have to be done before these questions can adequately be answered."¹⁹ The author has located and inspected many Ephrata choral manuscripts, but besides music these contain only the

¹⁷P. 405, No. 36. We have transcribed here and below the form used on the Frakturs, not that of the *Theosophische Gedichte*. According to Anneliese M. Funke, the *Theosophische Gedichte* are attributed to Conrad Beissel (*The Ephrata Cloisters*, p. 96).

¹⁸P. 428, No. 128.

¹⁹Shelley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 102.



The Ephrata Wall-Chart of the Three Heavens. See text, Inscription No. 9.

opening passage of works printed in the Ephrata hymnals. The sole Ephrata manuscript found thus far to contain any wall-chart inscription is the Sisters' Chronicle, containing the epitaph of Bernice. In looking for other possible sources, the author has searched in the Berleburg Bible of 1726 ff., and in the Dutch edition of the famous *Martyrs Book*, translated into German by Brother John Peter Miller and published on the Ephrata press, but in vain.

If sources are to be found for the two most unusual wall-charts, the "Crooked and Narrow Way,"

and the "Three Heavens," however, we must have more information on their mutilated texts. The "Three Heavens" wall-chart today has such great losses that one can not tell how many lines of writing there are below the illustrations and can decipher only a part of the four lines of text forming the left and right sides of the triangle of inscriptions. Fortunately, an excellent photograph has been preserved at the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress dating from the 1930's in which several details now lost are clearly visible. And most fortunate of all, the Seventh

Day Baptist Historical Society in Plainfield, New Jersey, possesses a photograph made by Sachse in the late 1880's on which the inscriptions in the lower left hand corner of the wall chart, destroyed by the 1930's, are clear enough for us to count the number of lines (11) and discern the words that begin most of them.

Using Sachse's photograph the author has also been able to determine that the lines of the left and right sides of the triangle of inscriptions go together. The top line of the left side, clearly the beginning of the text, is followed by the top line of the right side, after which the second line of the left side follows, and so forth. At the top of the triangle is the word "Welt" (World), within the triangle stands Christ, clearly visible only in the Sachse photograph, with His sheep, and outside and above the triangle are three heavens, the lowest of which appears to consist of scenes from life at Ephrata. The texts, as best we can read them, are as follows:

Left and right sides of the triangle:

[9a] *Was sehen wir doch für Wunder? der Vorhang ist abgethan, der Glantz der neuen Welt bricht (?) herfür (?). Sehen wir dann nicht im Thal die reine Schaf-Weide Christi alwo der gute Hirte (?) sie leitet und führet zu der reinen Tränck an dem Strom oder Brunnen des Lebens (?) Siehet (?) man (?) dann nicht (?) . . . Höhen und Bergen die Zahl der Jungfrauen-Schaarenweis mit Harffen Gottes einhergehen, und am Strom des Lebens sich weiden, dabey singen wie ein neu Lied welches sonst men[schen?] . . . ohne die (?) Zahl (?) . . . [Schaa?]ren der Jungfrauen die dem Lamm nachfolgen wo es hingehet, weilen in ihrem Munde kein Arges noch Falsches funden. Was sehen wir dann dorten zur Seiten vor schöne Spielen? ist es dann nicht ein Paradiesisches Blumen-Feld, das (?) die Kinder der neuen Welt in Freuden einander hertzen, und mit Frolocken sich über die Schönheit der Blumen erfreuen.*

[What miracles lie before us? The curtain is taken down, the new world's luster breaks forth. Do we not see in the vale the saintly sheep herd of Christ's own, wherein the Good Shepherd leads and guides them to the taintless drink at the river or spring of life? Does one not see (how on the) heights and the mountains the hosts of virgin maidens row on row with harps of God are moving, pasturing at the river of life, where they sing songs of new mood which (humans without number?) . . . hosts of virgins follow after the Lamb wherever it goes, while out of their mouths issues no evil nor false word. And what do we see there at the margin, such gladsome playing! Is it not a paradisiacal flowering field, where the children of the new world in their joy embrace each other, and with glad hearts show their delight in the beauty of the flowers.]

Inscriptions at the base of the "Three Heavens:"

- [9b] 1. *Hüpfen sie dann nicht auf (?) von grosen Freuden (?) Was ist dann wohl angenehmers*
 2. *als das herrliche Freuden-Leben des (?) freu . . . über die Kinder Gottes (?)*
 3. *. . . Schönheit (?) Darum . . . nur (?) . . .*

Mitte (?) Wichtigkeit und (?) Paradieses, da wil. . .

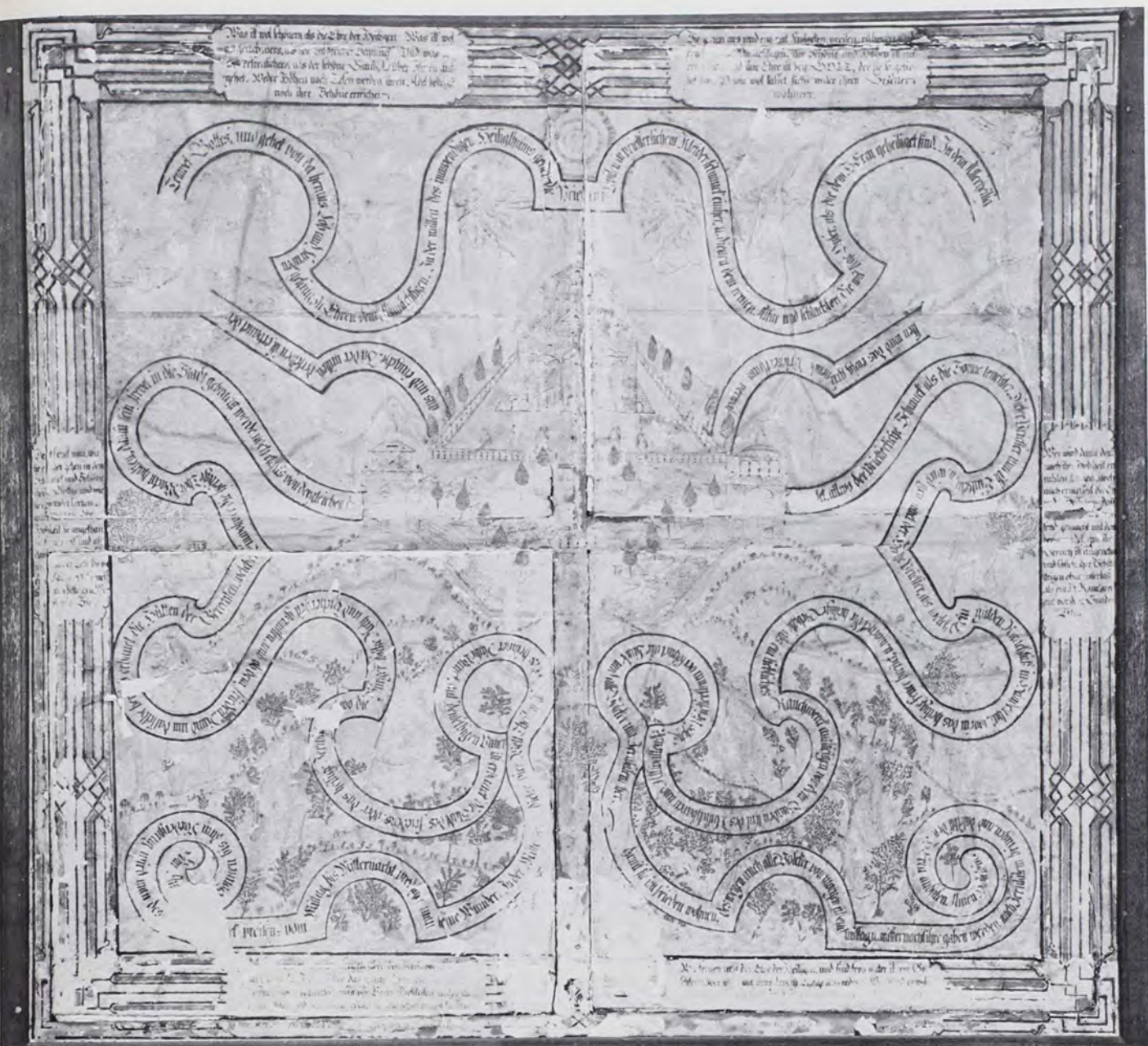
4. *. . . Blin . . . erfreuen (?) von (?) der Huld (?)*
 5. *. . . wir dann nicht Freude . . . Paradiesischen (?) Paradiesisches (?) Kinder (?) -Leben vor*
 6. *Was (?) ist dann (?) wol der Frevel (?) und . . . B . . . en des Lebens (?) Hertz (?) . . . empfunden wird. Die Rose (?)*
 7. *. . . ches Kinder (?) -Leben! O was wird sieht (?) die Freude*
 8. *. . . gen Kinder (?) -Leben deine Blumen-Rose (?)*
 9. *Was (?) . . . doch (?) vor . . . Segen! (?) Weilen die Lämmer von gr . . .*
 10. *. . . W . . . tranck (?) S . . .*
 11. *. . . nim setze sehe (?)*

Just as fascinating as the "Three Heavens" is the "Crooked and Narrow Way." Although Sachse's photograph of it is very poor, with the help of the Library of Congress photograph from the 1930's, most of the text, except for the two inscriptions at the base of the wall-chart, can be distinguished. The text on the path, whose shape is suggestive of the well-known spiritual labyrinths of the time—one of which was printed at Ephrata in 1788,²⁰ begins in the lower left corner and ends in the lower right. The faded scenes and persons on the rest of the chart illustrate the message of the text. The inscriptions are as follows:

On the path:

[10a] *Vom Au[fgang der] Sonnen bis zum Niedergang wird man des [Herrn Werc?]k preisen: vom Mittag bis Mitternacht prediget man seine Wunder. In der Mitte dieser vier Welt Theilen ist Gottes heiliger Ruhe Punct, auf denselbigen Punct ist erbauet die Stadt des Friedens oder das heilige Jer[usalem] [all?]wo die Bürger stoltze Ruh und Sicherheit genießen, und ob den Frieden halten. Rund um dasselbe her [sind?] erbauet die Hutten der Gerechten, welche (?) Einwohner die heilige Thor-Wacht halten, damit kein Frevel in die Stadt gebracht werde, noch etwas von dergleichen da aus und eingehe. In der mitten derselben ist erbauet der Tempel Gottes, und geht von da heraus Lob und Freuden gesang zu Ehren dem Allmächtigen. In der Mitten des innwendigen Heiligtums gehen die Priester und Leviten in priesterlichem Kleiderschmuck einher u dienen dem reinen Altar und schlachten die willige Opfer, als die dem Herrn geheiligt sind. In dem allerheiligsten wird das ewigrünende Priestertum verwalten (?), allwo der priesterliche Schmuck als die Sonne leuchtet. Dieser Priester nun ist Eintzeln u. wird ge[nenn?]et der Hohe Priester, als welcher ein gülden Rauchfass in Händen hat. worin das heilige Feuer brennet, u. machet die heilige Gebäte als ein liebliches Rauchwerck aufsteigen vor dem Gnadenstul des Unsichbaren und Allwaltenden. Dieses Priestertum versöhnet alle Lande und alle Volcker um Jerusalem her, damit sie im Frieden wohnen, deswegen auch alle Volcker von morgen abend mittag u. mitternacht ihre gaben werden nach Jerusalem bringen, und daselbst den Herrn anbeten Amen Halleluia.*

²⁰Doll and Funke, *Op. Cit.*, p. 118.



Inscription No. 10, the Crooked and the Narrow Way.

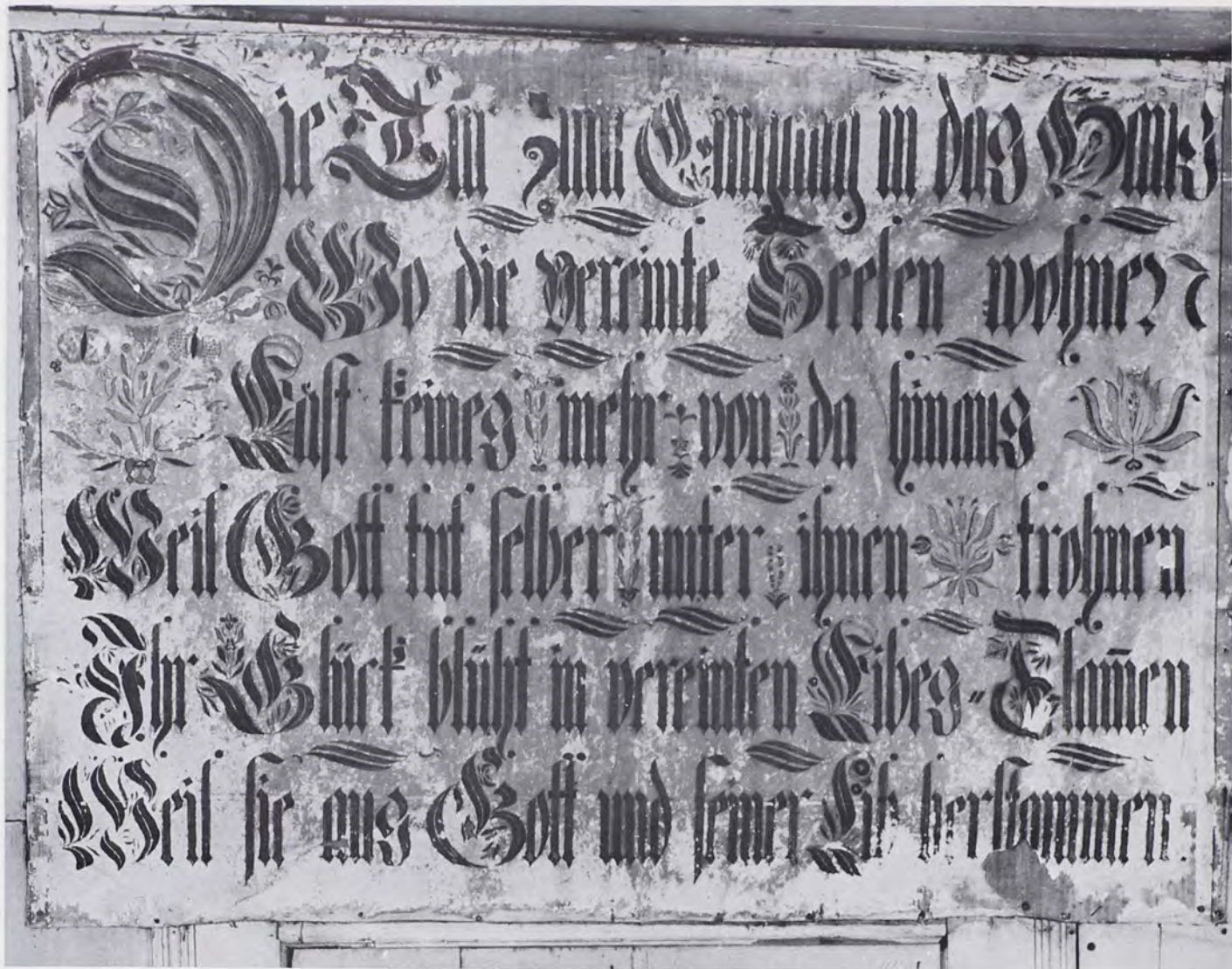
[From the rising of the sun until its going down we shall praise the work of the Lord; from mid-day until midnight we shall proclaim his wonders. In the middle of these four quarters of the earth is God's holy resting place. On this same spot is built the City of Peace or the Holy Jerusalem where the citizens enjoy stately rest and security, and where they keep peace. Round about the same are built the dwellings of the just, whose inhabitants maintain the holy watch at the gates so that no wickedness be brought into the city nor anything of the sort go in and out. In the midst thereof is built the Temple of God, and from thence issues song of praise and joy in honor of the Almighty. In the midst of this inner sanctuary move the priests and Levites in priestly finery, serving the sacred altar and slaughtering the willing sacrifices which have been dedicated to the Lord. In this holy of holies shall rule the eternal priesthood, where the priestly garb glistens like the sun.

Now there is only one such priest and he is called the High Priest, and as such he holds a golden censer in his hand, wherein the holy fire burns, and makes the holy prayers to rise as sweet incense before the throne of grace of the Invisible and Almighty. This priesthood reconciles all peoples round about Jerusalem, so that they dwell in peace. Thus all people from North and South and East and West will bring their gifts to Jerusalem and there worship the Lord. Amen. Hallelujah.]

Top left:

[10b] *Was ist wol schönens, als die Ehre der Heiligen? Was ist wol angenehmers, als [ihr?] . . . schmuck? Und was [ist] wol erfreulichers, als der schöne Glantz so über Ihnen aufgehet. Weder Höhen noch Tiefen werden ihren Adel besteigen noch ihre Schöne erreichen.*

[What is more seemly than the honor of the Saints? What is more pleasing than their brilliant garb?



Inscription No. 11

And what is more delightful than the radiance which is round about them? Neither heights nor depths can comprehend their nobility, or attain their beauty.]

Top right:

[10c] Sie gehen aus und ein mit Frolocken, preisen, rühmen [und?] erheb[en den?] Allmächtigen, ihre Schöne und Hoheit ist [unermesslich?] und ihre Ehre ist bey Gott, der sie so geliebet hat. O! wie wol lasset sichs unter ihren Gezelten wohnen.

[They go in and out with rejoicing, praising, honoring, and magnifying the Almighty. Their beauty and majesty is immeasurable and their glory is in God who has so loved them. O! how glorious it is to dwell among their tents.]

Left side:

[10d] Dort siehet man, wie sie [ein?]her gehen in dem Schmuck und Schöne ihre[s] Gottes und wie sie [ein]ander hertzen, auch . . . Hoheit sie angetan sie [steigen] auf und ab . . . der(?) Tiefe die . . . besteigen. Wer . . . wie Sie . . .

[There one sees how they walk about in the garb and beauty of their God and how they embrace one another . . .]

Right side:

[10e] Wer wird dann dem-nach ihre Hoheit er-
rahten k[önnen?], noch auch ermessen die Ehre
der Heiligen . . . send gemacht mit dem [heiligen?] Oel, und ihr Geruch ist angenehm und liblich:
ihre [Gebäte] steigen ohne unterlass als ein H.
Ra[uchwerck] auf vor dem Gnaden Stul.

[Who will then be able to sense their majesty, or to estimate the glory of the saints . . . made with holy oil, and its scent is pleasing and sweet. Their prayers rise up unceasing as a holy incense before the throne of grace.]

Lower left:

[10f] 1. . . . über (?) der (?)
2. . . . das gantze
3. . . . was vor Vortrefflichkeiten unter (?)
ihnen(?)
4. . . . und be . . . werden (?)
5. uns (?)

Lower right:

[10g] 1. Wir freuen uns der Ehre der Heiligen
und sind froh unter ihrem Ge-
2. schlecht. Wer . . . ihres Lebens . . .
ausreden(?). W . . . es wol
3. 4. 5.



Inscription No. 12

Before concluding with the rest of the wall-charts let us discuss one more individually. The following inscription was hung over a doorway in the "Saal:"

[11] *Die Tür zum Eingang in das Haus
Wo die vereinte Seelen wohnen
Läst keines mehr von da hinaus
Weil Gott tut selber unter ihnen trohnen.
Ihr Glück blüht in vereinten Libes-Flammen
Weil sie aus Gott und seiner Lib herstemmen.*

[This door's the entrance to the place
Which, the united souls retaining,
Lets nothing more from there escape,
For God himself among them now is reigning.
Their joy blooms in united love-filled flame,
Because from God and His own love they came.]

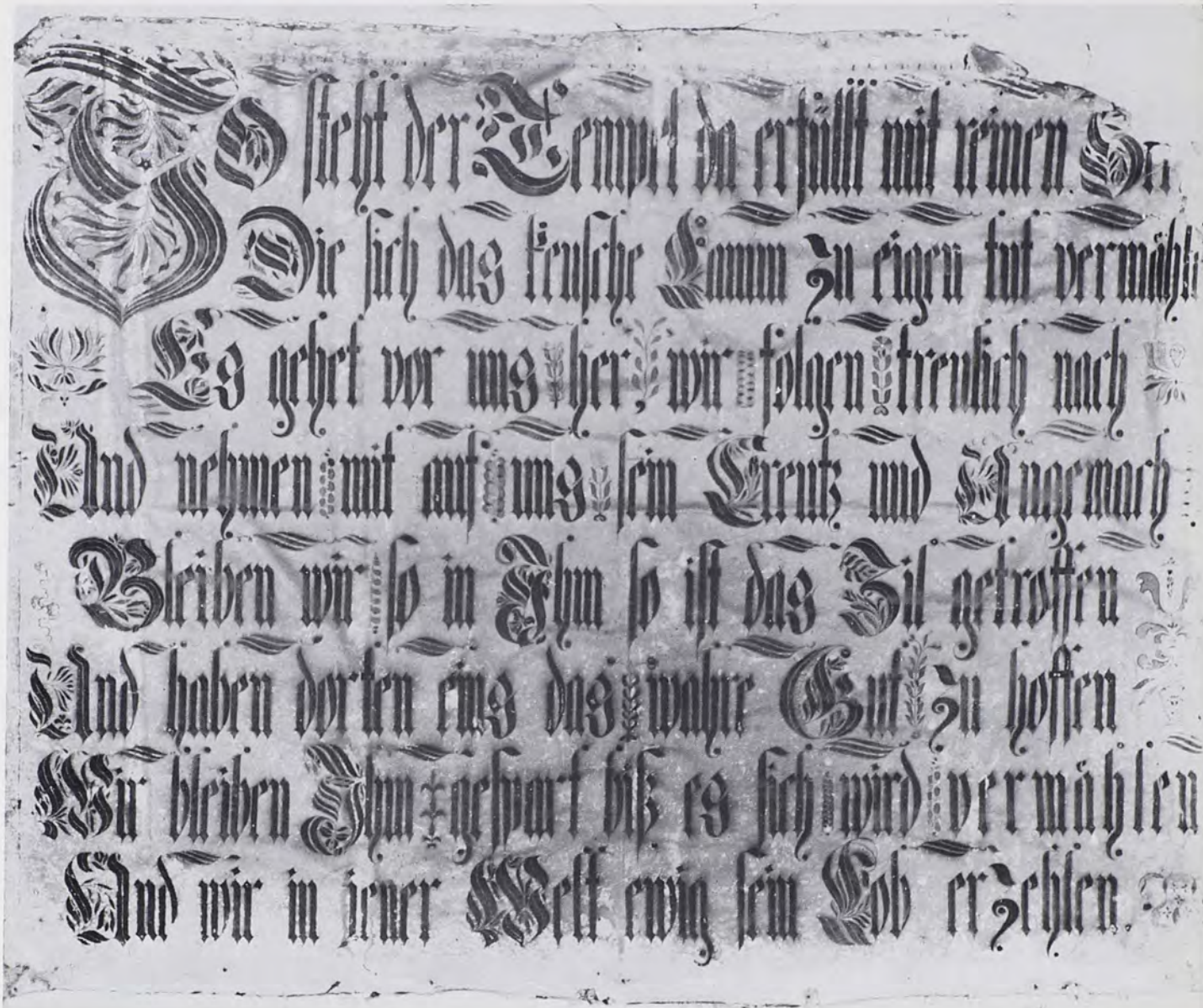
A text of this sort was probably, like the epitaph for deceased celibates, composed on the spot. This is the more likely when we consider the great emphasis placed on originality at the Cloister. According to the description in the Chronicle, the garb at Ephrata was an

original creation.²¹ There have been many prolific hymn-writers in the history of the Christian Church, but probably never before or since has there been a whole community of writers of original hymns as at the Cloister. And the music to which these hymns were put was both original and singular.²² Finally, in the very making of our wall-charts originality was stressed. In a passage which apparently refers to the charts, the chronicle states: "The outlines of the letters he [Beissel] himself designed, but the shading of them was left to the scholar, in order to exercise himself in it. But none was permitted to borrow a design anywhere, for he said: 'We dare not borrow from each other, because the power to produce rests within everybody.'"²³

²¹Chronicon, Hark, pp. 88-89.

²²See Julius Friedrich Sachse's *The Music of the Ephrata Cloister*; also Conrad Beissel's *Treatise on Music, as Set Forth in a Preface to the "Turtel Taube" of 1747* (Lancaster, 1903), also published in the *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Volume XII (Lancaster, 1901).

²³Chronicon, Hark, pp. 168-169.



Inscription No. 13

In the light of this evidence it is quite possible that the Ephrata wall-chart texts were also original creations, and the best we can hope for is that a transcription of the "Three Heavens" and "Crooked and Narrow Way" will turn up somewhere. It is to be hoped that this is not the case, but rather that someone reading the inscription here quoted will be able to supply a revealing link between Ephrata and the outside world.

Of the remaining wall-charts, one was misquoted by Sachse.²⁴ It should read:

[12] GOTT WOHNET DA MIT seinem Geist,
und tuht in Libe walten
Dass jedes seine Wunder preist ohn einiges
VERALTEN

[God's present now, his spirit's here, his love it is that rules,
And we in thanks his wonders praise in faith that never cools.]

²⁴The German Sectarians, I, 413.

The other wall-charts read as follows:

[13] SO steht der Tempel da erfüllt mit reinen Seelen
Die sich das keusche Lamm zu eigen tut vermählen.
Es gehet vor uns her, wir folgen treulich nach
Und nehmen mit auf uns sein Creutz und Ungemach.
Bleiben wir so in Ihm so ist das Zil getroffen
Und haben dorten eins das wahre Gut zu hoffen
Wir bleiben Ihm gespart biss es sich wird vermählen
Und wir in jener Welt ewig sein Lob erzehlen.

[So stands the temple there, replete with saintly spirits,
Who for themselves alone have picked the lamb of virtue.
He goes before us all, we follow after true,
And take upon ourselves His cross and bitter rue.
If we remain in Him we shall have reached our goal,
And one day can expect salvation of our soul.
We keep ourselves for Him till we may live together,
And in that other world sing then His praise forever.]



Inscription No. 14

[14] *Unsre Kronen die wir tragen
 Hir in dieser Sterblichkeit,
 Werden uns in Trübsalstagen
 durch vil Leiden zubereit,
 Da muss unsre Hoffnung blühen
 u. der Glaube wachsen auf
 Wann sich Welt u. Fleisch bemühen
 uns zu schwächen in dem Lauf.
 O wol dann! weil wir [gezählet]
 zu der reinen Lämmer Heerd
 Die dem keuschen Lam vermählet,
 u. erkauffet von der Erd.
 [Bleibet] schon alhir verborgen
 unser Ehren Schmuck und Kron,
 [Wird uns doch an jenem] Morgen
 krönen Jesus, Gottes Sohn.²⁵*

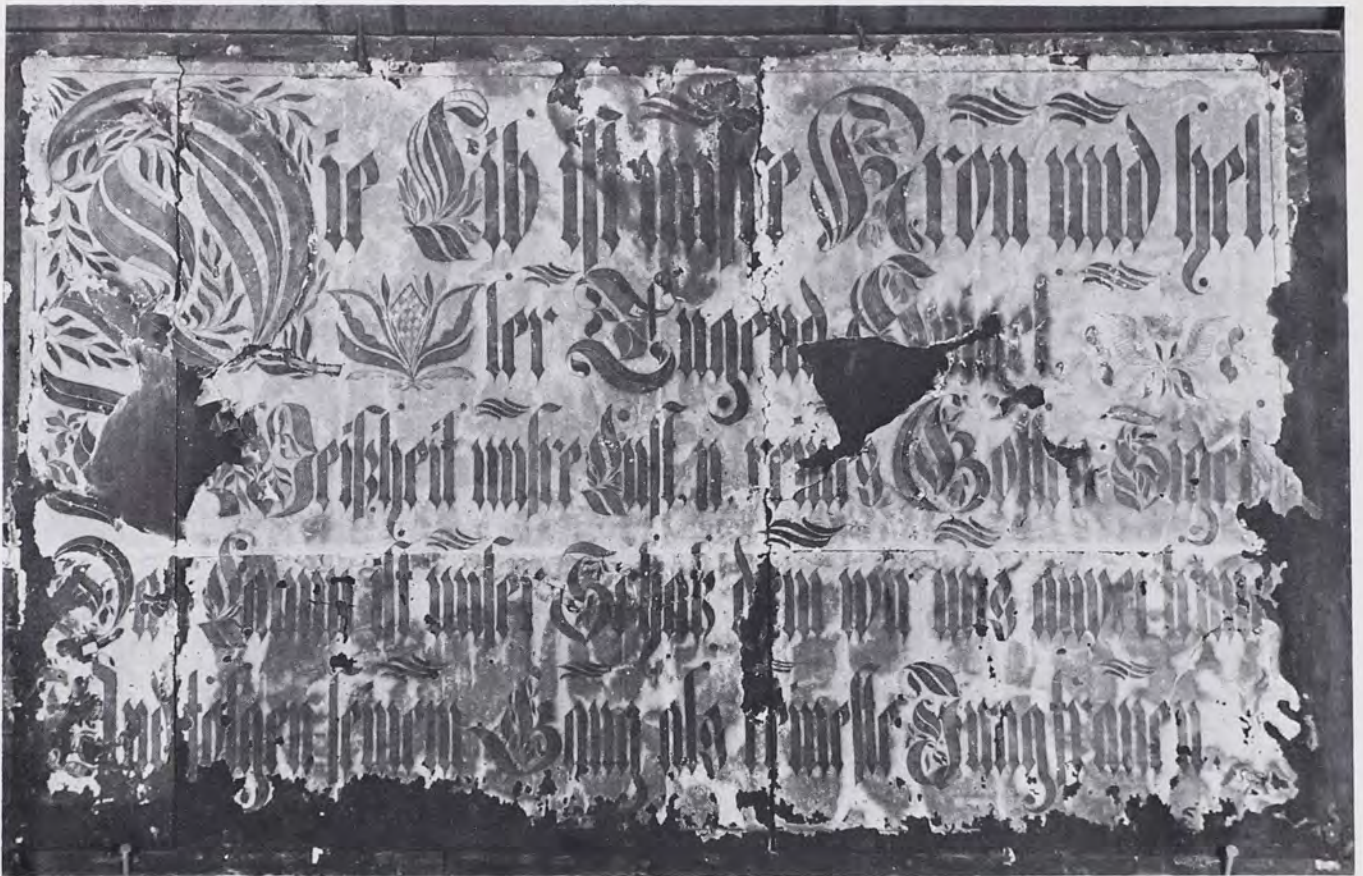
[Crowns upon our heads are resting
 Here in this our vale of tears;
 Fashioned are they through the suffering
 Which we bear for painful years.
 Hope must burgeon ever higher
 And our faith must find new life
 When the world and flesh conspire

²⁵Parts now lost, indicated by brackets, were taken from Sachse, *The German Sectarials*, I, 411.

Us to weaken in our strife.
 What joy then! We seek our nurture
 Midst the flock of purest birth,
 Who do wed the lamb of virtue,
 And are ransomed from the earth.
 Though our crown and garb of honor
 May below remain unknown,
 We shall be on that dear morning
 Crowned by Jesus, God's own son.]

[15] *So lebet dann die reine Schaar
 im innern Tempel hir beysammen
 Entrissen aller Welt Gefahr
 In heiss verlibten Libes-Flammen
 Und lebet dann in Hoffnung hin
 Nach der beglückten Freiheit die dort oben
 Da sie nach dem Verlibten Sinn
 Ihn ohne Zeit und End wird loben*

[Here lives the pure and holy herd,
 Within the temple it remains,
 Protected from all worldly hurt
 Consumed in glowing love-filled flames.
 Its only yearning now is this:
 Employing soon the freedom found in heaven,
 There it may with exceeding bliss,
 Sing praises to the Lord forever.]



Inscription No. 16

[16] *Die Lieb ist unsre Kron und heller Tugend
Spigel,
Die Weissheit unsere Lust u. reines Gottes-Sigel
Das Lamm ist unser Schatz, dem wir uns anver-
trauen
Und folgen seinem Gang als reineste Jungfrauen.*

[O! love is now our crown, it mirrors bright our
virtue,
And wisdom is our goal, which grants us God's
own blessing.
The Lamb is now our prize, we give ourselves
to Him,
And follow in His path, we virgins chaste, amen.]

(The Snow Hill Fraktur)

[17] *Das Taubgen ist gepaart, das Schäfgen nicht
allein
Und ich muss ohn Gespiel und ohne Hirte sein.
Wie lange sol mein Hertz in dem Verlangen
brennen
Biss mein so treuer Hirt mich wird sein eigen
nennen.
Die Liebe lasset mich zwar nimmermehr erkalten
Doch wil derselben Krafft oft vor der Zeit veralten
Ich hange zwar ohn End der Weissheit an dem
Hertzen (?)
Die mich in sich erhöht und heilet meinen Schmerz-
zen
Doch ist mirs nicht genug dass ich kan dises wissen
Ich möchte gern das libst (?) den Bräutigam selber
küssen.
Und weil sein Libes Blick mir so ins Hertz gefallen
Dass er mir bleibt der libst für (?) tausend andern
allen
So wird noch wol geschehn dass er mich wird um-*

*fassen
Drum wil ich ihn auch nun und ewig nimmer (?)
lassen.*

[The lambkin's not alone, the dovelet has a mate,
And I no playmate have, nor shepherd who will
wait.
How long now must my heart in pass'nate longing
burn
Till my dear precious Friend myself his own will
term?
I know within my heart my love will ne'er grow
cold,
Yet premature this pow'r is wont to waxen old.
I ever shall embrace the wisdom of my heart,
Which raises me in it, and remedies my smart.
But still it's not enough, to comprehend all this.
I want the most beloved, our heav'nly mate to kiss;
And since his look of love within my heart does lie,
Such that he'll stay my boon, and other loves deny,
And since 'twill surely be: he'll take me at the last,
So will I choose him now and ever forth hold fast.]

[The author is currently making a checklist of Frak-
turs (wall charts, bookplates, and other writings and
illustrations) and choral manuscripts produced at the
Ephrata Cloister and at the Snow Hill Nunnery in
Pennsylvania. He is also looking for letters and diaries
written by members of the Ephrata Cloister. Persons
owning any of these materials or knowing where any
might be found are urgently requested to write: Dr.
Guy Hollyday, Department of Germanic Languages
and Literature, 305 College Hall, University of Penn-
sylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.]

ITINERANTS:

Peddlers, Drovers, Wagoners, Gypsies, Tramps

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 15

Early America swarmed with nonconformists of various sorts. Not only were there many "characters" of local fame whose legends were told and retold by our grandparents, but the roads were full of tramps and other itinerants, peddlers, drovers, wagoners, tinkers, and gypsies, some of them social and some of them economic nonconformists. This class of our population is one great source of legendary materials, sayings, and songs. The traveling workman as well as the traveling non-workman (tramp) carried lore and gossip into the households with which they came in contact. Early accounts tell us that traveling shoemakers and tailors were great gossips, and one can imagine how eagerly their winter visits to the farmhouses of our forefathers were awaited. Apart from their role as culture carriers, these marginal workmen and itinerants of various sorts were also remembered for their personalities, their flair in life-style.

For the Folklife Archive of the University of Pennsylvania, we need the following information:

1. *Peddlers.* Among the most widespread of the itinerants in early America were the peddlers, first the Yankee peddler from New England, particularly Connecticut, and later the Jewish peddler. Describe the

peddlers you remember, giving names and characteristics. What sort of a "route" did they follow? How did they travel? How did they carry their wares? What sorts of wares did they supply to the farmer and farmer's wife? What languages did the peddlers speak? Were other ethnic groups besides the Yankee and Jewish peddlers represented in this class of itinerant?

2. *Wagoners.* Describe what you recall of the life and lore of the wagoner who in the 19th Century played so large a part in Pennsylvania's marketing system. What sorts of freight-wagons were there and where were they used? Describe what you recall about the following types of wagons: Bark Wagon, Charcoal Wagon, Pittsburgh Wagon, Jersey Wagon, Conestoga Wagon. Where did the wagoners stay overnight? What was a *Fuhrmannsbett* (wagoner's bed)?

3. *Drovers.* In the 18th and 19th Centuries animals were transported over long distances by the system of "droving." What animals were involved, and how was the system carried on? Where did drovers stay overnight?

4. *Itinerant Laborers.* Describe the types of laborers who worked in rural Pennsylvania by traveling, staying now with one farmer's family and then moving

A Gypsy Camp on the Deerfield Pike in Pennsylvania, 1905.



A market wagon returning from Philadelphia with up-state farmer and family. Larger wagons drawn by six-horse teams hauled freight across the Alleghenies.



on as work demanded: shoemakers, tailors, and other craftsmen.

5. *Seasonal Workers.* What do you recall of the visits of (a) the local butcher, who worked in rotation on the farms of his area at butchering time as specialist to help with the autumn and winter butcherings, and (b) the visits of the threshing machine and its crew to your farmstead?

6. *Small Craftsmen (Tinkers).* Describe the class of small craftsmen, who traveled around the country mending tools and other small items. What sort of persons were they, and what sort of equipment did they bring with them? How did they travel? Were they permitted to stay overnight on the farm?

7. *Rag, Bone, and Junk Collectors.* Describe the collecting type of itinerant, who made a living by

gathering junk of various sorts from the farms in a wide area. Did this class of work ever include in Pennsylvania the "skinner" (Pennsylvania German "*Schinnerhannes*") whose lowly job it was to dispose of dead animals?

8. *Tramps.* Pennsylvania's roads once swarmed with tramps. Describe the principal tramps that you remember as regular visitors to your farmstead, giving their names, characteristics, and the basic facts that you remember about them. What nationality were they? What languages did they speak? Did they ever perform work tasks for the farmer where they stayed overnight, or in order to get a meal? Where did they sleep? What is a "tramp's bed," a "tramp piece"? Was there a special class of "beggars" apart from the tramps proper?

9. *Gypsies.* Gypsy camps and gypsy wagons were once common sights throughout rural Pennsylvania. Do you recall gypsy visits to your home country? What was their relationship to the rural population? What language did they speak? Were there gypsies who talked Pennsylvania German?

10. In earlier stages of our culture schoolmasters were sometimes itinerants, serving for a short time in one community and then moving on. Do you recall stories about any of these? Do you recall the "boarding around" system applied to schoolmasters?

11. What was the farmer's attitude to the itinerants listed above? What was the social and economic role of the itinerants in Pennsylvania society in the past, i.e., how far did the farmer accept the itinerant and his services into his rural society?

12. Include with your reminiscences of Pennsylvania's itinerants stories, jokes, verses, sayings, and songs which you recall as associated with them. Be sure to include Pennsylvania Dutch materials that you remember, and don't worry about the spelling—Pennsylvania German should be spelled whichever way you prefer it.

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
College Hall Box 36
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104



The Thompsons, itinerant umbrella menders, wandered the roadways of Eastern Pennsylvania in the early 1900's. He was an Irishman and she was a German, who spoke fluent Pennsylvania Dutch peppered with a large vocabulary of profanities. Drawing by Paul B. Horning.

ENGRAVINGS OF PENNSYLVANIA MILLS

Mill architecture and mill technology in Pennsylvania have yet to be studied in depth. There was a great variety of milling technology in Europe which the pioneers transplanted to these shores, to which refinements were added by American experts like Oliver Evans, whose *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1834) went through many editions. The illustrations are from the Editor's Collection.



Pennock's Mill, on the Pennepack, by the engraver Gilbert. The mill was built in 1697 and shows many architectural features derivative from the British Isles.

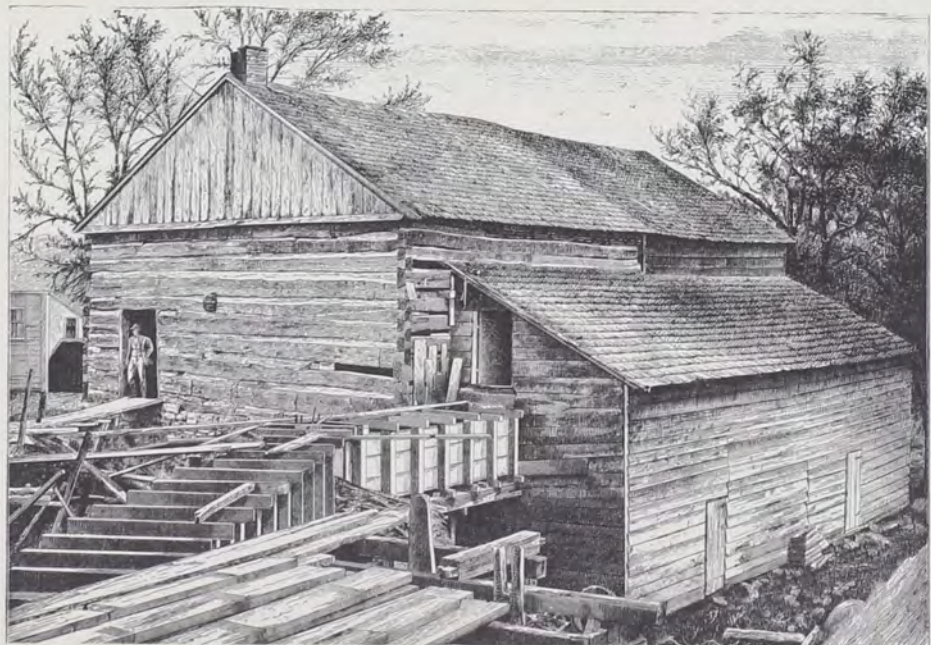


Before gristmills were erected in the early settlements, the pioneer farmers used primitive methods of pounding grain. This picture, from Sherman Day's Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1843), shows a corn mill made of a hollowed-out stump, with the pounder attached to a flexible tree limb. The apparatus was known as a "hominy mill".



Henry Harbaugh (1817-1867), Pennsylvania's first important dialect poet, wrote a reminiscent piece called "Die Alt Miehl"—The Old Mill. This is the illustration that accompanied it, from Harbaugh's Harfe: Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart (Philadelphia, 1870).

Ludwig Derr's log mill was built in 1772. Derr was the founder of Lewisburg on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. The illustration appeared in John Blair Linn, Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pennsylvania, 1755-1855 (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1877).



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The purpose of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation, is three-fold: collecting the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public both in this country and abroad.

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