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Carolyn J. Mattern
Ursinus College

Terry G. Jordan


Matti Kaups

Richard M. Lieffort

Hilda Adam Kring

See next page for additional authors

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Authors

Carolyn J. Mattern, Terry G. Jordan, Matti Kaups, Richard M. Lieffort, Hilda Adam Kring, and Helen Bradley Griebel

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A PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH YANKEE

Contributors

HELEN BRADLEY GRIEBEL is a graduate student in American Studies at Penn State University at Harrisburg. Her interest is in contextual material culture studies using the discipline of folklore. This paper is a revision of a study originally done for Simon J. Bronner, her advisor at Penn State.

TERRY G. JORDAN is a geographer and holder of the Walter Prescott Webb chair at the University of Texas at Austin. A specialist in traditional American cultures, he most recently published *American Log Buildings* (1985) at the University of North Carolina Press.

MATTI KAUPS, a native Estonian, is professor of geography and ethnohistory at the University of Minnesota at Duluth and has published numerous articles dealing with the transferral of Finnish culture to North America.

HILDA ADAM KRING received her doctorate in folklore and folklife from the University of Pennsylvania. She has recently retired from Grove City College, Grove City, Pa., where she taught in the Department of Literature and Communication Arts.

RICHARD M. LIEFFORT holds a master's degree in geography from South Dakota State University and is presently a doctoral student in cultural geography at the University of Texas, working on the material folk culture of the Rocky Mountains.

CAROLYN J. MATTERN is an archivist at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison. She has a doctorate in American History from the University of Wisconsin, and is the author of *Soldiers When They Go*, a Civil War history of Camp Randall, WI.

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Editorial correspondence:

Nancy K. Gaugler

P.O. Box 92,

Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426

Subscription, business correspondence:

P.O. Box 92,

Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426

Folk Festival correspondence:

461 Vine Lane

Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530

Phone 215-683-8707

Folk Festival public relations:

Zecher Associates

461 Vine Lane

Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530

Phone 215-683-5313

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AUTUMN 1986, VOL. 36, NO. 1

CONTENTS

2 **A Pennsylvania Dutch Yankee: The Civil War Letters of Private David William Mattern (1862-1863)**

Edited by CAROLYN J. MATTERN

20 **New Evidence on the European Origin of Pennsylvania V Notching**

TERRY G. JORDAN, MATTI KAUPS and RICHARD M. LIEFFORT

32 **Sem Kaufman's "Instructions To My Children"**

Introduction by HILDA ADAM KRING

39 **Worldview on the Landscape: A Regional Yard Art Study**

HELEN BRADLEY GRIEBEL

Aldes un Neies/Old & New
(Inside back cover)

CONTRIBUTORS

(Inside front cover)

COVER:

David William Mattern, wearing his Knights Templar uniform, in a photograph taken about 1870. "After the passing of over a century, [his] letters still speak clearly about one optimistic and naive young man . . . who in spite of hardships and the threat of death, maintained his commitment to winning the war."

Layout and Special Photography:
WILLIAM K. MUNRO



David W. Mattern (ca. 1870).

**A PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH YANKEE:
The Civil War Letters
of
Private David William Mattern
(1862 - 1863)**

Edited by Carolyn J. Mattern



INTRODUCTION

Like many other young men who went to war during the Civil War, David William Mattern of Allentown, Pennsylvania, wrote to his family at home about his experiences as a soldier. Although his original correspondence has been lost, Mattern's sisters copied seven months of the letters into a notebook which has been passed down in the family. This correspondence is now made available to a general audience for the first time. For improved readability, spelling errors and punctuation have been corrected and some repetitious material has been omitted. However, all deletions or

changes in the original text have been clearly noted.

David Mattern did not amass a notable war record, and he certainly did not see himself as exceptional or heroic. Nor was the record of his regiment, the 128th Pennsylvania, outstanding. The military historian will find little in his letters that is new. But after the passing of over a century, David Mattern's letters still speak clearly about one optimistic and naive young man, one individual who in spite of hardships and the threat of death, maintained his commitment to winning the war.

Mattern's correspondence is also of note to the stu-

dent of regional culture, for it provides a measure of the degree to which Pennsylvania Germans of the period retained a unique cultural and regional identity. In the Mattern's case, although one brother saw the family as typical Pennsylvania Dutchmen, this distinctiveness is most notable in its absence. Except at church or perhaps at the dinner table, by mid-nineteenth century the Matterns seem largely assimilated into the larger national culture.¹

The Matterns migrated to Pennsylvania from the German-speaking portion of Switzerland in 1732, their name, according to family legend, deriving from the famous Swiss mountain, the Matterhorn. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the family had settled in Lehigh County where they established themselves as hardworking farmers and tradesmen. William Mattern, the father of David, maintained this agrarian heritage but moved his family to Allentown where he established a brickyard which remained a family business for three generations. The Matterns were also a religious people, active members of St. Paul's Lutheran Church. Their religion did not dictate a plain or abstemious life, however, and David's brother, the Rev. John W. Mattern, described them as "judiciously fond of the good things of life." In David's case, religion may have been more a matter of custom than deep devotion, for his Civil War letters make few references to religion, and unlike some in the regiment, he seems not to have minded the absence of religious services. Education was also valued by the Matterns. The family motto combined its respect for learning and self-reliance: "Whatever knowledge you acquire, you secure for yourself." William Mattern's children, both girls and boys, received more formal education than was then the norm. He sent his oldest son David to public schools and then to an institution of higher learning, the English-speaking Allentown Academy. The Mattern family shared with many of their ethnic background a predisposition toward dignity and reserve in their relations with others. But within the home the family was, as Mattern's letters amply demonstrate, loving and close.

At the time of the Civil War the Matterns were Democrats. It is difficult from David Mattern's letters to judge his views on abolition (after having viewed parts of Virginia and Maryland he expressed a view of the economic inferiority of slave labor). There is no doubt, however, that he came from a family of strong Unionists. By the summer of 1862, although not yet of age, David Mattern had apparently determined to enlist. Although he was rewarded by a \$50 bounty, lengthening casualty lists produced by a year of war point up the degree to which his action was one of sober patriotic conviction.

Mattern enrolled with the Allen Rifles, one of three organized militia units in Allentown, on August 8, 1862. On August 13 the company arrived at Camp Curtin in

Harrisburg where it was mustered into federal service as Company D of the 128th Pennsylvania Volunteers, a nine-month regiment. Also in this regiment was another Lehigh County unit and eight companies from Berks and Bucks counties. At Camp Curtin the state provided the troops with uniforms and equipment, and an election was held at which officers were chosen. Prudently, the officers did not select a colonel so that the governor might commission someone with military experience.

The regiment departed for Washington, D.C., on August 16 where it was assigned to the capital defenses. The 128th passed the latter part of August in the Alexandria vicinity, felling trees and building fortifications, and it is unlikely that, until the appointment of Colonel Samuel Croasdale on August 25, the regiment experienced much in the way of training.

This was most unfortunate because on September 6, the regiment joined the Army of the Potomac in the Maryland Campaign, which was to culminate in the Battle of Antietam, the single bloodiest day in U.S. military history. In the pursuit of Lee's invading army, the 128th was assigned to the 1st Brigade, 1st Division of the 12th Corps, under the temporary command of General Alphaeus S. Williams. The march through Maryland was made without tents, and the only rations were speck (fat) and crackers and what the troops could forage from nearby fields. For the new troops this campaign must have been difficult.

Any illusions about warfare that the new regiment might have harbored were dispelled on September 14, when they marched across the battlefield at South Mountain. Then at dawn on September 17, the regiment saw their first action at the battle of Antietam. The regiment went forward with the 12th Corps to engage the Confederates in that portion of the battlefield since known as "the cornfield." They no sooner came under enemy fire when Colonel Croasdale was killed and Lt. Colonel W.W. Hammersley was wounded and forced to leave the field. One month from civilian life and shocked by the loss of their commanding officers, the regiment fell into what one historian understatedly referred to as "some confusion." This was a situation beyond the ability of Major Joel B. Wanner, on whom command devolved, but with the assistance of Gen. Joseph Knipe, commanding the 1st Brigade, the regiment went forward through the cornfield "in gallant style, cheering as they moved," driving the Confederates out of the field ahead of it. At the far side of the field they came under heavy artillery fire on their flank, and the regiment eventually fell back. With the aid of Knipe, Wanner again attempted to rally the troops, but before he could do so the entire corps was relieved.² By 9:30 a.m. the participation of the 128th in the Battle of Antietam was over.

During the fighting in the cornfield Mattern received a slight head wound, and as it bled profusely he went to

seek medical attention before the regiment left the field. At a time when most battlefield injuries were fatal or tragically crippling, Mattern was, as the surgeon told him, very lucky. Indeed, the entire regiment, given its inexperience, the loss of its officers, and the severity of the fire it experienced, was very lucky. Nevertheless, losses included 40 killed and 79 wounded. In their reports the officers of the 12th Corps praised the new troops warmly. Of the 128th specifically, General Williams wrote: "The men were of an excellent stamp, ready and willing, but neither officers nor men knew anything, and there was an absence of the mutual confidence which drill begets. Standing still they fought bravely."³

After the victory at Antietam the Army of the Potomac followed Lee back to Virginia. The 128th Pennsylvania, however, together with the 11th and 12th Corps, were ordered to Harper's Ferry as a reserve force in the event of further northern invasions. It is likely the beauty of their camp on Maryland Heights overlooking Harper's Ferry probably was not immediately apparent to the men, as many of the troops became sick from the weeks of exposure and improper diet. Fortunately, conditions gradually improved during their two month encampment, and under the leadership of their new colonel, Joseph A. Mathews, formerly a major in the 46th Pennsylvania, the regiment began its first real military training.

On December 9 the troops received orders to join the rest of the Army of the Potomac in Virginia. As the result of a difficult march, the 12th Corps arrived late and missed participation in General Ambrose Burnside's senseless and bloody assault at Fredericksburg. Subsequently the 12th Corps went into camp at Fairfax Station where it remained for the next month.

On January 19, Burnside made a second attempt to break the Fredericksburg defenses—the infamous "Mud March." To that end the men of the 128th Pennsylvania participated in four days of marching through bottomless quagmires and fording rushing rivers before the campaign was finally called off. The 12th Corps then marched to Stafford Court House where they constructed log huts (for the third time that winter), and settled in for the season.

During the winter the army welcomed a new commander, General Joseph Hooker, who instituted numerous reforms in the management and training of the army. Rations and sanitary conditions improved, morale soared as a result, and as the weather warmed innumerable drills, inspections, and reviews punctuated the routine of picket and fatigue duty. The pageantry of large units' reviews was particularly stirring to the troops. After one parade General Williams boasted that Hooker praised the 1st Division as the best drilled troops in the army. In April, President Lincoln came to Virginia for a review. Private William Reichard of the

128th was unimpressed. He wrote that Lincoln was "very tall and quite common . . . a Lehigh County farmer on horseback."⁴

During the spring of 1863 it may have actually been pleasant to be a soldier in the Army of the Potomac. Although two months of their enlistment remained, by March many in the 128th Pennsylvania were already beginning to count the remaining days.

THE LETTERS

Camp Welles August 20, 1862

Dear Father, Mother, Sisters and Brothers,

As I have nothing to do this morning I concluded to write a few lines to you to inform you of our whereabouts. We left Camp Curtin on Sunday last on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and arrived at little York at 9 o'clock. We told them that we were the Allen Rifles;⁵ . . . they gave three cheers for us. We then marched through the city about 3 miles to the depot and many a young fair lady could be seen standing [in her] door with the stars and stripes in her hand. We arrived at the depot, [then] we were marched to the Soldiers' Relief Association where we took breakfast which was the finest we received since we left home. We left Baltimore at 9 o'clock for Washington where we arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and as our dinner was not yet ready I and Mr. George Hoxworth and a few others left for the Capitol . . . We were shown the greatest part of the Capitol, and when we left we called it the finest building in the country. We then went to a house called the Soldiers' Retreat where we got our dinner. After we were done the regiment was formed in line and marched through the city about 2 miles until we arrived at the long bridge which is 1 mile long. When we were on the long bridge the regiment was halted to give the men a little rest. Here we had a fine view of the Potomac which was crowded with steamers and schooners which



"The finest building in the country." Pennsylvania Ave., Washington. From a sketch made in 1861. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1887), Vol. I, 158.)



"We are encamped on a hill between Fort Worth and Ellsworth." A view of Alexandria near the point at which the 128th P. V. was camped. (Battles and Leaders, II, 162.)

was something new to us, for most of us had never seen more than a common canal boat. We took up our march again and in less than half an hour we were on the sacred soil of Virginia.

We arrived at this place at 7 o'clock on Monday evening and the men were all tired from the march. We marched in a fair field, and as it was too late to pitch our tents we had to sleep without them, and I tell you that we slept well that night. The next morning we received orders to pitch our tents, and I hope we will stay here a few weeks as it is a very fine place. The name of this place is Camp Welles, and it is 2 miles from Fort Albany which we can plainly see from our camp While I am writing this I hear the roar of their cannons, as they are practicing on them. So far I have seen but little, but I would not take \$500 for what I have seen. Sarah, send me some post stamps as they are scarce and pay for them from my money. I am well and in good spirits and all the rest. Must now close by subscribing myself, your most obedient son and brother,

David.

It would fill a whole newspaper to write all I have seen.

Camp Andrew August 25th 1862

Dear Sister,

By the above date you will perceive that we have moved. On Friday last I and 6 others from our company were detailed as guards, and I had the luck to be stationed at the house of a Union man whose name I learned to be Caleb Goodheart. While there he gave me two large pieces of watermelon. We are now five miles from Camp Welles. While at the camp several of Capt. Hammersley's men dug a ditch.⁶ When 2 feet deep they came

on the corpse of a soldier, and I afterwards learned that several more had been found No doubt they were wounded at the Battle of Bull Run last year as they made their retreat through that place towards the long bridge.

On Saturday morning we received marching orders We struck tents and made ready for a march, but by a misunderstanding we did not get our wagons in. Then we pitched our tents again for the night. On Sunday morning we took them down again, and at 8 o'clock we were on the march, and as we passed the camp of another regiment . . . their regimental band struck up "Marching Along." [While our boys were at work pitching our tents many] said while those at home were in church we were working, but all of us were gay and happy, and there is not one in the company who would like to be at home. I for my part like it better than ever, and . . . I would not come home if I could.

Last evening we went down to the railroad which is 2 squares from our camp to see General McClellan's army which arrived from the Peninsular [Campaign] in steam boats . . . and marched here to take the cars for Pope's Army. They look as if they had seen much service. The regiments look like 2 or 3 companies, as they are cut up so bad.⁷ When they saw the 128 on our caps they gave 3 cheers for the old Keystone State.

We are encamped on a hill between Fort Worth and Ellsworth. In front of the camp is a large and beautiful building and while I am writing I am taking a view of it as it is so beautifully situated with trees all around.⁸ I think that this part of Virginia must be the property of one rich planter as I have not seen one fence since we left Washington . . .

From you bro David



"All that is wanted is Swiss barns and Pennsylvania farmers." View from Turner's Gap, Maryland. (*Battles and Leaders*, II, 576.)

Camp near Fort Woodbury Aug. 31st 1862

Dear Father,

As it is Sunday and I have nothing to do I concluded to write a few lines On Monday morning I and Mr. Jarrett went to Alexandria where we bought some tobacco & cheese On our way home we passed the Marshall's House where we stopped for a few minutes to see the house where the gallant Col. Ellsworth fell at the beginning of this wicked rebellion.⁹ Alexandria is a dirty looking place and is not worth calling it a city.

On Wednesday Company D and C received orders to march to Fort Worth where we arrived at 5 o'clock, pitched our tents, and made everything ready for supper We were ordered on picket duty which was something new to us, but it is only fun. On Thursday morning we went in front of the fort which is on a hill. We soon saw that something was wrong, as hundreds of baggage wagons were making their way towards Washington. We were soon told that Jackson was advancing towards Manassas. I tell you that it was the finest sight that I ever saw, as we could not see anything but teams and soldiers as far as the eye could see. Towards evening [McClellan's Army which was camped about ½ mile from Camp Andrew] was almost gone to join Pope and Banks My wish was you was here to see those movements, but now it is too late to see them, as by this time hundreds of them are numbered with the dead While the battle was going on we heard the roar of the cannons all day.¹⁰ On Friday morning we left the fort for Camp Andrew where the whole regiment received marching orders We are now encamped opposite Georgetown . . .

Your son, David

Camp near Frederick City Saturday Sept. 13th 1862
Dear Sister,

We left Fort Woodbury on Saturday evening last at 6 o'clock and marched to the Maryland side. We passed the chain bridge at 9 o'clock and arrived at Taneytown at 1 o'clock where we slept in a large field and we slept well that night. The next morning we took up our line of march again and have been marching every day since and are now encamped on the western side of Frederick City. We expected a battle here, but the rebels left the city here yesterday for Hagerstown and then for Pennsylvania where I expect they will see some blue [?] before entering that state. There was some heavy cannonading 4 miles from here. We were informed that Gen. Burnside was after them and have [sic] brought in about 500 prisoners which are a hard-looking set of men.

While we were at Fort Woodbury we were armed with shovels, spades, and axes. 30 men of each company were detailed to work with them on entrenchment and cutting down timber [This was] the finest timber that I have ever seen. My wish was that Father and Solomon Gross had them at home to make posts and rails out of them Some of them measured more than 3 feet I received a letter from Sarah Schwartz, but . . . am sorry to say that I have not time to answer it but hope to do Tell her to write me every day and also Amanda. Each letter that we get from home is worth 50 cents to us.

There is quite a difference between Maryland and Virginia In this state we met the nicest farms that may be seen. All that is wanted is Swiss barns and Pennsylvania farmers. There are plenty of peaches and apples and I never seen the like before. The peach trees are so full that some of them break down. I should like to visit the city, as it seems to me to be a very beautiful place I hope you will answer this letter It is a disgrace that 3 persons in one family can't write 3 times a week. You can't expect me to write while we are



"We stopped to see the house where the gallant Col. Ellsworth fell." The Marshall house. (*Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War* (1868), Vol. I, 483.)

marching every day. Please and send me 3 two dollar bills in your next letter, as I am almost out of money. I am well and as hardy as ever.

Your Bro David

Sandy Hook September 22, 1862

Dear Father,

As it is one week since I wrote last I concluded to write again to inform you of our whereabouts. We left camp near Frederick City on Sunday morning the 14th and marched through the city which is one of the finest places that I have seen since we left home. The greatest part of the people are Union men. We marched till ten o'clock that night when we encamped on the battlefield for the night. In the morning we went over the field to see the dead and wounded. Our wounded had been taken from the field during the engagement . . . The dead and wounded rebels were still on the field [where] our surgeons were dressing their wounds. This was the most horrible sight I ever witnessed. In the morning the rebel army had made their retreat so we did not get a chance at them.¹¹

We followed them in their retreat till Wednesday morning the 17th . . . Our [corps] was the second in the fight. Gen. Mansfield, an old greyheaded man who had command of our [corps], rode in front of our regiment with his hat in his hand cheering us on to follow him which we did. We went through a small woods. On the other side was a cornfield. Behind this cornfield the enemy was drawn up in line of battle, firing on us like two forty. By this time our right wing was falling back. We were ordered to support them. The enemy were advancing in solid columns and keeping up a sharp fire on us. We were ordered in the cornfield where we poured several deadly volleys into their ranks. [Then] we were



"We were ordered in the cornfield where we poured several deadly volleys into their ranks." Antietam — north of the Dunker church. (Battles and Leaders, II, 630.)

ordered back again behind a fence where we mowed them down like grass from the ground. They could not stand our fire so they had to fall back.

Our Colonel Croasdale was wounded, killed in the first fire. Lieutenant Colonel Hammersley was wounded. Gen. Crawford of our brigade was shot in the leg, and no doubt will lose it. Gen. Mansfield was wounded. Capt. Andrews of our regiment was killed. George Keck and Frank Bloss of Company D were killed. Wm. Sowden, Mahlon Biery, Aaron Frederick, E. Bloss, Allen Blank, and I was wounded. I can't say how many men were lost in the regiment.¹² Our regiment was in the hardest fire of the day. We were in a sharp crossfire, but all of the boys stood the ground like good soldiers. I received a slight wound on the left side of the head while [we] were behind the fence, but I fired several rounds more before I left the field. The Dr. said I made a narrow escape. I hope you won't trouble yourselves about me. I am doing my duty with the regiment as before.

The Gen. says the victory belongs to the new troops. I wish you could have seen the battleground. There is no man in the country who can describe it. One rebel was shot while getting over the fence where he was found the next day. The whole field was full of dead rebels, their loss must be very great. It is said it was the hardest battle that was fought in the Western Continent. I think we have seen more in six weeks than the 4th [Pa.] in one year.¹³ The rebels are now in Virginia again . . . Must now close, hoping to receive an answer soon.

Your son David.

. . . My best respects to Miss Schwartz. The battle on Wednesday is called the battle of Sharpsburg. Gov. Curtin can send his home guards home, the rebels won't come to Penna.



"The whole field was full of dead rebels." Hagerstown Rd., Antietam, opposite the cornfield. (Battles and Leaders, II, 679.)



“You could have seen more dead than you had ever seen before.” Union burial party at Antietam. (Battles and Leaders, II, 682.)

Maryland Heights September 27, 1862

Dear Father,

As it is now two weeks since I received my last letter from home I will try and write a few lines again with the hope to receive an answer soon. On Tuesday we were visited by Mr. Wm. Rhoads and Roney and we were all pleased to see them. They informed us that you and several other gentlemen had visited the battlefield. I judged that by the time you arrived there was not much more to see than a few dead horses, as the dead must all have been buried by that time. If you had come two days sooner you could have seen more dead than you had ever seen before. There were thousands of dead rebels on the field when we left. I asked Roney why you did not come with them to visit us and he told me that you were on the way home when he met you. The boys all said that you had been afraid to visit us. But there is no danger on this side of Potomac. You could have come down here with little cost, we are only about 12 or 15 miles from the battlefield. I hope if you have not seen much of the field you have visited the hospitals, . . . as every house is occupied for that purpose

It is two weeks today that I told Sarah to send me some money, but have not received any yet. I can't see what is the matter. [Has] she spent it for some foolish dress? . . . I am entirely out of money at present We are encamped on a beautiful place. This is the spot where Gen. Miles surrendered 11 thousand troops to the rebels.¹⁴ I don't know how long we will stay here. Lieutenant Col. Selfridge of the 46th is our colonel.¹⁵

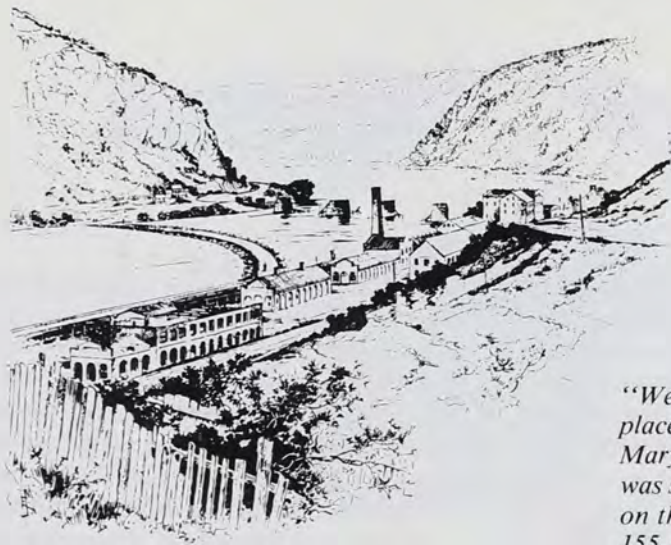
From your son, David.

To Emma, Sarah, Matilda, and John Mattern,

I am sorry to say that you are not worthy to be called brothers and sisters. Sarah, a few weeks ago I received a letter from you stating that you told Mother that you gave me a scolding for not writing more. I will explain. For the last 4 weeks we have been marching almost day and night. Sometimes we commenced at 4 in the morning and marched till 12 at night. Then you expect me to sit down and write to you again. This is one excuse. Second, . . . when I left home 7 weeks ago I thought your hearts were going to break, but now I see that you wept more for joy than sorrow, as you care very little about me at present. When we get our mail we all run to our officers Some receive 3, 4, 5 letters a week while I receive 1 every 3 weeks. You say you don't know



“I will try and write a few lines again with the hope to receive an answer soon.” Writing home. (Billings, Hardtack and Coffee (1888), 63.)



"We are encamped on a beautiful place." Harper's Ferry, in 1862; Maryland Heights, where the 128th was stationed, is across the Potomac on the left. (Battles and Leaders, II, 155.)

anything to write, but what do I know? I sit here and hear nothing but camp [news], while the others read their letters from home. We get the daily papers, but I have no money so I have to do without them. How do you think that I must feel when they all get letters . . . I feel like a lost sheep. If it wouldn't be for Father and Mother, I would have written my farewell letters long ago. How would you feel if you should read that I had fallen at the muzzle of the enemy's guns which has happened to thousands. A few days ago I myself had a very narrow escape that the Dr. said that $\frac{1}{4}$ inch would have taken my life . . . That likeness of mine, draft, books, and everything that belongs to me shall belong to Lewis if I never come back again . . .

David Mattern



"We get the daily papers, but I have no money so I have to do without them." Newspapers in Camp. (Battles and Leaders, III, 102.)

Berlin, Md. October 4th 1862

Dear Father, Mother, Sisters, Brothers

On Sunday afternoon Company A and D and I received orders to be ready with 5 days rations to go on picket duty. . . . We marched 6 miles on the railroad to this place where we have a beautiful place to camp. Yesterday I and 14 of our company were ordered to picket which was the second time I have been out since we are here. Our post is on an island in the Potomac. We have fine times here . . . Each relief is on guard 4 hours for one day and night. The use guarding here is [so] that the rebels can't cross the river to tear up the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. . . .¹⁶

I was much pleased to receive a letter from Sisters Emma and Tillie and hope they will favor me by writing soon again and also Brother John. In your letter you wish me to inform you whether I fell when I was shot. When we came out of the cornfield Capt. Andrews told us to form a line behind a fence. [Then] we received orders to lay down¹⁷ . . . [It] pushed off my cap when the bullet struck me. But I loaded and fired again. By this time my hair and face were all full of blood. When [someone] told me to [get] out of the ranks I took my cap and gun and a foot behind us was a gutter or ditch . . . I jumped over this gutter and here I fell on my hands and knees but jumped up and ran behind a tree. Here I had a notion to fire off my gun when two of our company came and tied a rag around my head. I wanted to go in again. They told me to wash off the blood first, and so I did and soon the whole regiment came out, they having been relieved by another regiment. But my wound is healed up again so that we can't see it any more. I hope you will ease me for what I said in my last letter if you have received it, but hope you will obey it. I am well, and I believe in better health than ever . . .

David

Maryland Heights October 13th 1862

Dear Sister,

A few lines to you to inform you thereby that we left Berlin and went back to our old place again, and when we arrived soon Mr. Henry Reiss was informed he received a box, which was sent by Express from home. All the boys were anxious to see what it contained, and when he opened it he was surprised to see so many good eating things of which the greatest part was spoiled and not eatable with the exception of sausages, onions, two sponges, and cheese. No doubt if it wouldn't have been for the potatoes it would [have] been all safe. You have stated in your letter . . . you would send me chicken and sponge cakes . . . I am anxious to have it because I had nothing of that kind for a good while.

We got our tents last week. We have now a shelter again to protect us from rain and cool night air . . . I was sick for the last few days, but I am glad that I can say that I am able to walk around in camp again . . . You need not trouble yourself about it. It was not much, but it was too much for being fit for duty . . . Particular news are scarce at present time, therefore I will close . . .

From your Brother David W.

Maryland Heights Oct. 15th/62

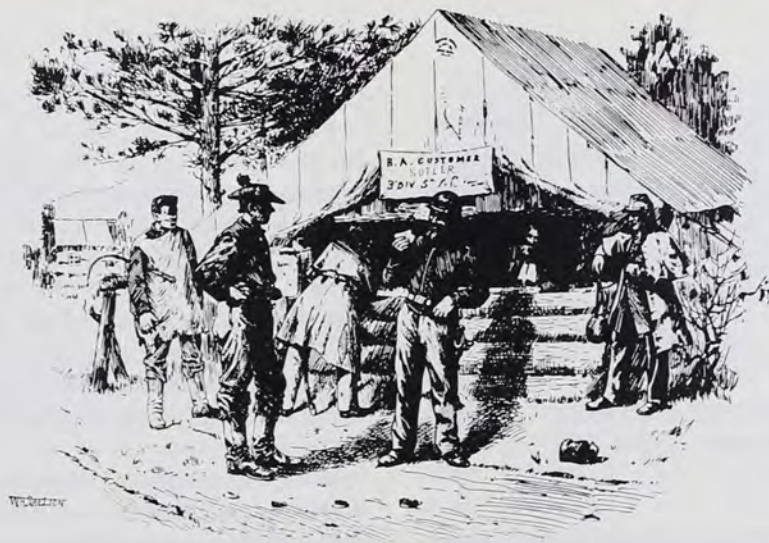
Dear Sister,

As I have received several letters from you and have answered none of them yet, I made up my mind to write you this morning. Yesterday afternoon I and Mr. Jarrett received our box which you and Mr. Hammon sent us . . . but when we opened it we were surprised to see that everything was spoiled except the sausages, cigars, cheese and the bottle of brandy which is a very splendid article. This morning I took a morning bitters, and it made me feel very good. We judged that those cakes and pie were warm yet when you put them in the box. You told me about your apple butter which you cooked and my wish is that I was at home one hour to help to eat, but as you have cooked so much I hope to help to eat some of it next spring if I shall live yet by that time . . . You can send a chicken and sponge cake with Uncle Manassah if he should visit us, but let them get cold before you pack them and then they won't spoil and it will go much faster than by Express. We expect to get paid off today or tomorrow and then I will send my money home as I did the other time. My best respects to Miss Rake and Miss Enkal.

Your brother David



"My hair and face were all full of blood." Antietam; rallying behind the turnpike fence. (Battles and Leaders, II, 675.)



"Our sutler has almost anything that is wanted but it is a little dearer than at home." A Sutler's tent. (Battles and Leaders, II, 154.)

Maryland Heights Nov 10th/62

Dear Sister,

Last week we got new pants, shirts, drawers, and shoes. We got new overcoats the other week, for we all expected our knapsacks [had been] lost, but last week Capt. Jones went to Virginia and sent them up by railroad and so we have all got two overcoats. I wish that Father had one of them for this winter, as it would be very good to go out in the rain or snow, and if I get the chance I will send one home for him.

On Friday it snowed all day and in the evening it was 2 inches deep. We expected to get paid off today or tomorrow. Then I will send my money home. Those cans you mentioned in your letter and the freight for the box you will please pay [for] from my money. I didn't go to war to make money, but I am very much obliged to you all and especially to Mother for making up a box for me. I can hardly wait till I get it. You said about another box . . . I want you to cook a large kettle full of sauerkraut and put some potatoes in the box, and if the sauerkraut is cooked it won't spoil and the potatoes I can cook myself. I am for sauerkraut. And when you kill your hogs and ox I want you to send me some tripe or *cutlifleck* in German, and also the pigs feet boiled and made sour which you call *ziterly* at home . . . We can get things as cheap from home as we can buy it here and I think a little cheaper. We received the first bread this week since we left Fort Woodbury on the 6th of September, but I bought my bread since I was sick. We expect to have a regular bakery here in a few days . . .

I and Ignatz Gresser and George Hoxworth have built a log cabin and we can make it as warm as any room in Allentown and so we live comfortable. I would pay five

Maryland Heights Oct. 21st/62

Dear Sister,

In my last letter I forgot to mention that money which was enclosed in your letter (\$3.25 and 8 postage stamps). The money has done me a great deal of good since I received it. As I have been sick little more than a week, I could not eat speck and crackers and so I lived entirely out of my own pocket. Our sutler has almost anything that is wanted but it is a little dearer than at home. In your last you told me to get my likeness taken to send home. I had one chance to get it taken and that was down in Virginia and . . . I was short in money that time, but the first chance I'll get I shall have it taken and send it home expressly for Mother and Lue.

. . . You said about our beds in your last. I have as good and warm a blanket as there is one in town. There are but few men who sleep on the ground and that is their own fault. They are too lazy to make their beds. Mr. Henry Reiss is well and [in] good spirits, also Mr. Jarrett, who sends respects to you all. If Uncle Manassah should come out send me a pair of boots No. 7½ with long legs and a good pair of woolen stockings and some tea and expressly don't forget the tea. I think they will draft them in a few days then for the home guards. I believe this all at present . . . I am not as well yet as I should be but hoping that I shall be well before long. I am walking about and I can write again so I hope you won't trouble yourselves about me and especially Mother. Our doctor says that I must have rest.

From your Bro. David



"We received the first bread this week since . . . the 6th of September." (*Hardtack and Coffee*, 121.)

dollars if you all could be here one half day to see us. You can tell Mary Gresser that I and Charles live in one house and we have a good deal of fun. Major Mathews of the 46th Regiment is our colonel. There is no doubt that we will not stay here this winter. There are but 2 regiments here, ours and the 46th . . . I am well again, but am weak yet . . .

From your Brother David

Maryland Heights November 15th 1862

Dear Father, Mother, Sisters, and Brothers,

As I have not received an answer since my last I thought I would write again to inform you that I received my box and you can judge what pleasure it cost me to receive such a large box. When I opened it to my great surprise I discovered that everything was as if it had been packed the day before . . . The express company did not send any boxes up for a whole week. They thought that we had gone to Virginia, but on the 11th our regiment received 4 large 4-horse wagons full of boxes, so we have fine times at present . . .

[When I visited the tents the next day], I discovered quite a variety of different dishes. Some had potatoes; applebutter; preserves; all kinds of cakes and pies; dried apples, peaches, peas, plums, and eggs; corn flour; and spo. I did not hear one complaint that anything had been spoiled . . . To Mr. Horn you can return my thanks for sending me such splendid apples, and tell him that it might be that I shot a rebel already but the next chance I would get I will shoot one for him for his kindness. That applebutter, quinces, butter and bread tasted very much like home . . . If you send another box, don't send such a large one and don't put anything in for others. Let them pay their own express if they want anything. My boots fit my feet like a fist upon an eye . . .

Yesterday our colonel had command of us for the first time. He is just the man for the Bloody 128th . . .¹⁸

Your son and Brother David

Camp of Brotherly Love or Camp near Harper's Ferry

Dec 4th, 1862

Dear Father, Mother, Sisters, and Brothers

Yesterday morning the 3rd, Company D, I, and F left for the picket line for duty and will stay till Saturday evening. Our company has all gone excepting the sick, I and a few other others who are on duty at the brigade commissary. I have been on guard but twice since Father left.¹⁹ On Sunday our whole brigade was reviewed by Brig. Gen. Williams and after review he inspected us. I tell you that it's nice to see 4 regiments in line [and] see them go in doublequick time with knapsacks on their backs . . . I wished that Father had come one week later to see the review . . .

Yesterday afternoon when I came home they told me that a box was here for me and I was not a little surprised, as I did not expect it so soon . . . That applebutter from Mr. Horn was very good and you can return my thanks to him for it and if I can't shoot a rebel for him I will bring him a little Negro along for him when we come home, as that is all I can get for him here, as they can't raise anything else here. Them applebutter pies were very good. The next time send a few more. This morning I weighed myself and I weighed 152½ pounds. I am in better health that I ever was.

We have not yet been paid but I have seen in the [Philadelphia] *Inquirer* that the paymaster left Washington on Friday to pay 15 regiments their bounty and our officer says that he paid the 5th Connecticut off yesterday which is in our brigade . . . My best respects to all inquiring friends and especially to Miss Engelman and Miss Kickline. Please write more about those ladies in your next, as we don't see any here except a few who look like those of Lowhill in Lehigh County and they are generally on horse back or mules. Gen. Williams has 2 girls and I have seen them several times at the headquarters but they look like city lasses . . . Respectfully your Son and Brother,

David



"Our regiment received 4 large 4-horse wagons full of boxes, so we have fine times at present." (*Hardtack and Coffee*, 220.)

City of Brotherly Love or Camp Near Harper's Ferry
Dec. 9th 62

Dear Sister,

. . . I thought I would write a few lines to inform you how we are getting along. On Friday it snowed nearly the whole day. Towards evening it stopped, the boys came out of their huts and commenced to throw snow balls, and we had a fine time of it The weather is very cold and now it is winter all at once. Company D, I, and G were on picket duty last week and they came home to sit by the warm fire and smoke the pipe and tell stories which is all we can do in the evening except read the papers. But the daily papers are scarce as the boys are nearly all out of money. I received the *Democrat* from Cousin Walter which was very welcome The boys all came and asked for the *Democrat*, but I had the first of it. Last evening at dress parade the resignation of Major Wanner was read to us. The major made his appearance after the colonel proposed three cheers for the major. We are all glad he did resign²⁰ I am well at present, hoping you are all the same. The boys say that I look better than I ever did and when the paymaster comes then I can send my picture home. You can't say that I have large eyes, I am getting as fat as a hog. I must now close

David

on the Maryland Heights we received marching orders on the 9th; we made everything ready for the next day. In the evening we received a barrel of sauerkraut from home. As we could not take it with us the next day, we cooked it and made a sauerkraut lunch that night at 12 o'clock. We invited our quartermaster and some other officers to eat with us which they did.

We left Maryland Heights at 9 o'clock on the 10th [and] marched to Harper's Ferry and crossed the Shenandoah River above the town, passed into the Lowden Valley where we camped for the night. The next day, the 11th, we . . . passed through Hillsborough. Here we came to halt for dinner, formed ranks, and marched till night The next morning we left and passed through Leesburg at noon and took dinner about 1 mile from town, left and went into camp for the night at Goose Creek. We marched about 17 miles this day. The 13th we left Goose Creek and marched 16 miles [and] when within 6 miles of Georgetown D.C. went into camp for the night. Received orders the next morning, the 14th, for Fairfax Court House, passed through the lower end of town, marched to Fairfax Station which is 4 miles from the courthouse and encamped for the night on the same field where we are at present. The next morning, the 15th, we were the rear guard of the division train. We crossed Occoquan Creek, marched to the top of the hill where we encamped for the night. In the morning when we got awake it rained very fast. We were soon on the march again and did not mind the rain.²¹ Towards noon it cleared off again. [We marched until we were] within 4 miles of Dumfries. On the morning of the 17th we received orders to march back again. We were two days on the march for this place.

I always wished that we would not be taken back to Virginia again, as we could not get anything, but this time I have seen that I was mistaken, as the Lowden Valley through which we passed nearly from one end to the other is as good as you can expect it. We met with many beautiful farms and I judged that if Pennsylvania farmers would live there it would still look better. The people live in large splendid houses while their work is generally done by Negroes. On the last day of our march we halted in front of a house where an old grayheaded man was sitting in front of the house. Gen. [Thomas L.] Kane of the Third Brigade asked him a question. The Sesech did not give him an answer. The General asked him again [but] he turned his back toward the general and walked away. The general then ordered two of his bodyguards to bring him back which they did He then answered all the general's questions, but he made a sour face. I must now close as the mail is going to leave

Respectfully your Brother David



"We came to a halt for dinner, formed ranks, and marched till night." Supper after a hard march. (Battles and Leaders, II, 504.)

Camp near Fairfax Station Dec. 22nd 62

Dear Sister,

. . . To fulfill my promise I will try and give you an account of our march as good as I can. While encamped

Camp near Fairfax Station December 30th 1862

Dear Brother

. . . On Saturday evening we drew 3 days rations and received orders to be ready on Sunday morning at 9 o'clock for a march without knapsacks and tents which we left behind and also our sick. We were soon on the march again and all expected to go to Dumfries. We crossed the Occoquan Creek, which is about as large as the Little Lehigh. We were no sooner on the other side when we received orders to go back again. We recrossed and took dinner. As soon as we had dinner we were formed in line and marched over again. Our company was about halfway on the bridge when the general came and gave the order right about and so we marched back again towards our old camp. One private asked the colonel what was wrong, he said only several hundred rebel cavalry ran through our camp. Then we all expected that our sick were taken prisoners and our tents and knapsacks destroyed. We were halted on the road when the order was given to load at will. We expected to get a brush with them, but we did not. We were marched on a hill and encamped for the night, the 5th Connecticut in front and we behind, Capt. Best's battery to support. Then we received orders to be ready anytime in the night, but they knew what was best for them so they did not come. We stayed at this place till Monday at noon when we received orders to march back to camp again which was but a few miles. When we came back to camp we found everything as we left it and our sick were all glad to be with us again and especially those that were playing off sick, but I think the next time they will go with us, as they got a little scared. As much as I can learn, the rebels have gone to Leesburg . . . I have seen two prisoners on the way to camp. They look as dirty as they did last summer.²²

I must now tell you how we spent our Christmas. If we had stayed on the [Maryland] Heights we would have got plenty of boxes from home. The evening before Christmas we had a raffle for a silver watch which was set up for \$25, the chance was \$1 a piece. I and Peter Romig had one and we threw 40 which they could not beat so the watch came to us. I sold my share to Peter Romig for ten dollars but I did not get the cash, as he had sent his money home so I have to wait till next pay day. On Christmas morning we went to Fairfax Court House which is as large as Catasaquua and 4 miles from camp. I took dinner for 50 cents, bought some butter, cheese, tobacco, and some apples . . . I had several excellent mince pies on Christmas for which I paid 25 cents a piece and I can tell you that they were the best I had since I left home. It cost me about \$4 this Christmas more than it ever did before . . .²³

The weather is very pleasant and warm. The bluebirds are still among us, the roads are in good condition. I don't know how long we will stay here . . .

Respectfully your Bro David



*"Several hundred rebel cavalry ran through our camp."
Raid by Stuart's cavalry. (Battles and Leaders, II, 501.)*

Headquarters of the 128th Regt.

PV near Fairfax Station

Jan 5th 1863

Dear Sister,

. . . I was very much pleased to hear from home and especially to hear that you are all well excepting for Lue . . . If I should get a little Negro by the time we will be discharged I will bring one along for him, but I think it will not be long till the North has more Negroes than the South . . .²⁴

You wanted to know whether I saw any nice young gentlemen or ladies on the march. I did not see any young men on the march, as they have no doubt joined the Rebel Army, but I have seen 4 of the nicest young ladies this side of Hillsborough that I have seen since I left home. They were all in one carriage and had a Negro driver with two splendid bay horses. One of the girls looked exactly like Miss Carrie Engleman and I at first thought it was her. On our march I have seen many things I have never seen before. I saw a funeral on the way here. There were but 8 persons, first came the pastor, then came 2 white women, then came 2 Negro women, then 2 children, then came a Negro with the corpse of a child under his arm.

On Saturday our division consisting of General Knipe's, Kane's, Gordon's, and Greene's brigades were reviewed by Gen. Williams and yesterday were reviewed by Gen. Slocum. The troops all made a fine appearance²⁵ . . . The weather is very beautiful—springlike. I have never seen such weather this time of the year. . . The news is scarce — nothing but camp reports. . .

Respectfully Your Bro David

"The news is scarce. Nothing but camp reports." (Battles and Leaders, I, ix.)



Camp near Fairfax Station January 14th 1863
Dear Sister,

We have been building huts. Last week we were all busy, but now we have good quarters again. The boys all say that we have the best hut in the whole camp . . . I and Hoxworth, P. Ronig, I. Burger and John Shaffer are together and our hut is called the Astor House. Mr. Gresser is working for the quartermaster at present patching harnesses that are torn. He is well at present but is very much dissatisfied with his family, as he does not hear anything about them

Tell Mother not to make anything for me when we come home, as I can bake, cook, wash, and can learn her to bake cakes such as she never had before. I often wish that I only could see Lue and the dog once.

I don't know anything about Ben Jarrett's will which he made. You asked me to tell you whether you should fetch me if I should die or get killed. I don't like to live in Virginia, but I think that I can rest as well in Virginia as in Pennsylvania if I am dead and for my part I don't care where my body rests. There is not a single man on the sick list at present from our company Please send me some money, as we are going to buy a stove to put in our hut

Your Bro David

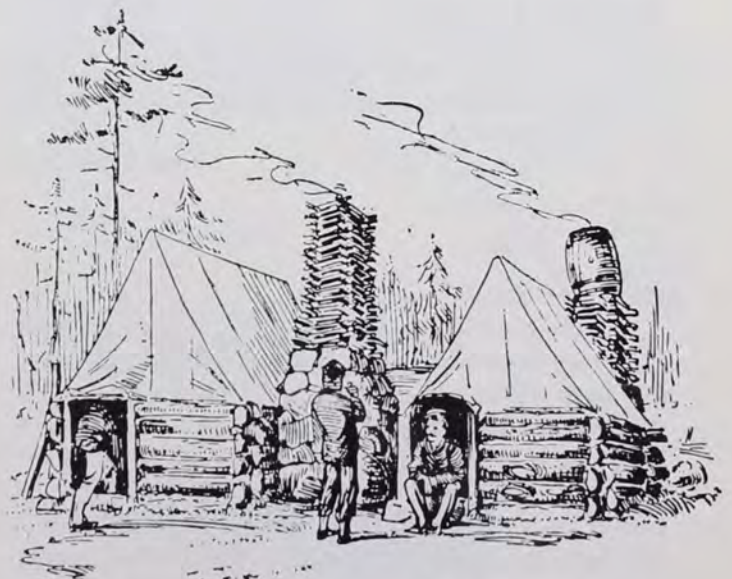
Camp at Stafford Courthouse February 15th 1863
Dear Brother,

. . . I was unable to answer [your letter] sooner, as we received orders to get ready for regimental inspection. We packed our knapsacks and cleaned our muskets, then the colonel inspected us which took the greatest part of the day. On Saturday morning the whole regiment was put on police duty to clean our streets for Sunday morning inspection when the surgeons inspect our huts and also the whole camp. It would be fun for you to see us policing as we have no forks and rakes to scratch the dirt together. We do it with sticks about 4

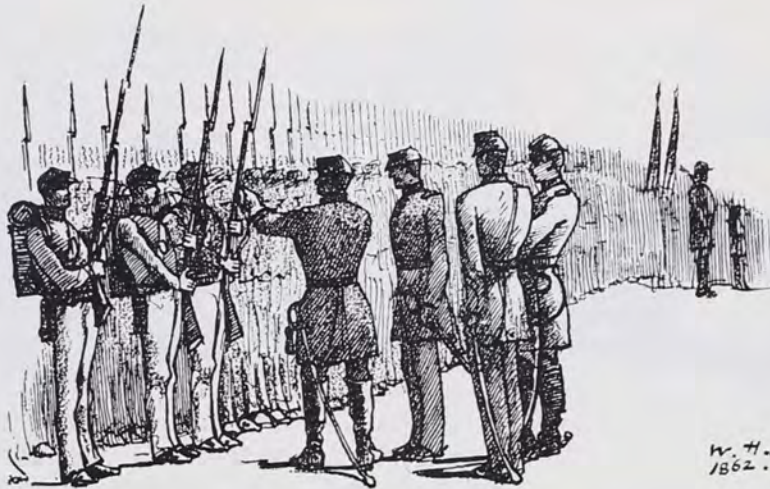
feet long Yesterday Gen. Joseph Hooker was in town and last evening he was serenaded by one of Gen. Sigel's bands. We call him Fighting Joe. We had orders to be ready for review by Gen. Slocum, but as it rained this morning it was postponed.

I will now tell you what I had for supper, although it would not do at home and especially on Sunday evening. I had 3 onions which I fried and a piece of fresh beef, a pint of good sweet coffee, and a half a dozen crackers. These were the first onions we drew since we left the Heights. In your letter you said about going to war as a drummer. For my part, I don't care what you do, but I think that you would [do better to go] to school and learn a little more and besides that obey the Fourth Commandment a little better. If you had gone through what we did you would not talk about going to war, although we don't mind the hardships any more

David W. Mattern



"The boys all say that we have the best hut in the whole camp." Stockaded A tents. (Hardtack and Coffee, 66.)



"We received orders to get ready for regimental inspection." (Battles and Leaders, II, 153.)

W. H.
1862.

February 18th 1863 Camp at Stafford Courthouse
Dear Sister,

It always makes me feel good to hear from you and especially to hear that you are enjoying good health at home . . . I told [Brother John and Sister Tillie] that I would go on picket duty the next day, but I did not and I was put on camp guard . . . The guards were mounted at nine o'clock; we had 3 reliefs. I was on the third which came on at 7 to 9, and then from 1 to 3 in the morning, and then 7 to 9 again, but it commenced to snow in the morning, so we were taken off and one put on, as we don't put any camp guards out if it rains or snows. Bro John talks about going to war, but what do you think if he had to get up at 1 o'clock at night go on guard. I think he would make a little sour face, but we don't mind it any more — such old soldiers as we are. It don't make any difference to us if we have to get up at 1 or at 7, it is all the same, always gay and happy . . . I am in want of nothing at present except a little money would do me good . . .

Your Bro David

Dear Sister Sarah,

. . . The news in camp is very little . . . You can tell Mr. Horn that I sent my best respects to him, and I hope that he is still an old standard and a good supporter to the present administration, although an old man. But I hope that if it should be called on him to put down the traitors of the North, he would be one of the first to answer the call while we are so nobly fighting in the mud and snow for our beloved country. But I would sooner fight the traitors of the South than those of the North, as I would sooner have an enemy in front than on our backs. We don't care how much it costs—this Rebellion

must and shall be crushed.²⁷

Respectfully, Your Bro David

Stafford Court House February 21st 1863
Dear Sister,

Having just finished my breakfast which consisted of slapjacks, coffee, and fresh beef, I thought I would inform you that your always welcome letter and receipt of the 13th came to hand yesterday . . . The news in camp is very little. There is a report here that our brigade is to be torn up and the 10th Maine, 28th New York, and our regiment, which will be free in Spring, will be sent to Washington next week. I don't know how true it is but I don't believe it till I see it.

Yesterday we drew flour for the first time since we are in the service. If we don't get bread we are going to have flour and I like it very well. We bake slapjacks and you can bake them the same way as pancakes. They are very good for soldiers, but I think it would not do for you at home. We can buy molasses here from a negro sutler at 40 cents a quart . . . I am well at present and all the rest of our company [are also]. Respectfully,

David W. M.

Camp at Stafford Courthouse March 3rd 1863
Dear Sister

As I have just come from picket duty, I thought I could not make better use of my time than by answering your always welcome letter . . . When I arrived in camp Mr. Henry Reiss told me if I had anything to write I should get it ready, as he would leave for home on a furlough of 10 days.²⁸ But as I just came in I was bound to take my dinner first and by that time he was gone already.

Yesterday Sylvester, son of Solomon Burger, died of typhoid fever. The other night he tried to cut his throat with a camp knife, but he was in a fever [at] the time he done it. He was buried this morning with military honors

In regard to those valentines which you mentioned were sent to those ladies, I am unable to say who sent them, as I have been on picket duty on that day and besides I did not know that it was Valentine's Day till a few days afterward when I sent one to Lue. I have not received my box but I expect it tomorrow. But that money you sent me was very welcome. If Mr. Reiss can take along anything, send me some smoking tobacco . . . Must now close

From your Bro D.W. Mattern

Camp at Stafford Courthouse
Friday March 18th 1863

Dear Sister,

I take the pleasure to inform you that I am well at present [and] hoping these few lines will find you all in the same state of health. The news in camp is very scarce at present excepting we expected to have a brush with the famous Stuart's Rebel Cavalry which we understand made another dash toward Fairfax on Wednesday night. The long roll was called several times and in the morning at daybreak the troops around here were all under arms with one days rations in our haversacks. We marched in front of our camp where we stacked our arms and waited further order which we did not receive. In the afternoon we had company drill. Last night an extra detail of pickets was made which took two men out of our company. This morning we sent out 6 pickets of our company instead of 4 men so you can see we have to keep a strong picket line in case they should try to attack us. And if they should try it, you will hear that the



"[We] waited further orders which we did not receive."
(Hardtack and Coffee, 335.)

Bloody 128th will speak for itself. We are all down on the Stuart Cavalry

Today Henry Reiss' time will be out and we expect him this afternoon. Yesterday George Henkey left for home on a furlough of 10 days. I will also hand in a furlough to go home [in] May if I should live by that time, if it is God's will. I guess you think more about our coming home than we do but some of the boys are now beginning to count the days. It is a good while yet but the time goes so fast that I can't see where it goes to and by the time you receive this the half of March is expired

Your obedient Brother David



Know ye, That David H. Mattern, a Private of Captain [Name] of Company, (C) 128th Regiment of Pennsylvania VOLUNTEERS who was enrolled on the [Date] day of August one thousand eight hundred and [Year] to serve [Term] years or during the war, is hereby Discharged from the service of the United States, this [Date] day of March, 1863, at Harrisburg by reason of [Reason] (No objection to his being re-enlisted is known to exist.) Said David H. Mattern was born in [State] in the State of Pennsylvania is [Age] years of age, five feet [Height] inches high, light complexion, [Eye] eyes, [Hair] hair, and by occupation, when enrolled, a [Occupation]. Given at Harrisburg this [Date] day of [Month] 1863 [Signature] [Rank]

[Footnote: This provision will be erased should there be anything to the contrary or physical condition of the soldier rendering him unfit for the Army.]

[A. G. O. No. 36.]

[Signature] Capt. Co. D. 128th Regt. P.V.



CONCLUSION

On this hopeful note David Mattern's letters come to an unexplained conclusion. However, the regiment's service was far from over, and it is unfortunate that he did not leave a record of his final exciting days in the army.

On April 27 Hooker began his spring campaign before the enlistment of 40 of his nine-month regiments expired. His plan called for a rapid march around Lee's flank that would force the Southerners to come out of their impregnable fortifications at Fredericksburg. The role of the 128th Pennsylvania in this campaign began on April 27th with three days of forced marches (each man carrying sixty pounds of rations and equipment), and the fording of the dangerous Rapidan River. Typically, the troops did not complain. "I never saw my troops in better condition, never more anxious to meet the enemy," almost "panting to meet the rebels," wrote General Williams.²⁹ At their intermediate destination, the Chancellorsville crossroad, the 12th Corps was engaged in fortifying their semi-circular lines until General Hooker arrived. This was an activity at which the 128th Pennsylvania had become expert, and the heavily wooded area in which they were camped, the Virginia Wilderness, offered plenty of timber.

On May 1 the army marched east in three columns, but after experiencing some minor skirmishing returned to their previous lines. In the afternoon of the following day, the 1st Division was ordered to march south to harass a Rebel column that was believed to be retreating toward Richmond. In fact, however, the Confederate column was not retreating. Instead Lee was massing his forces on the unprotected Union right. About 5 o'clock these troops under Stonewall Jackson suddenly fell on Hooker's unsuspecting right which collapsed in utter panic. Because of the heavily forested conditions it was two hours before the 12th Corps learned of the disaster in their rear. Williams immediately ordered his division to return to its original log works, which they did, advancing at a run. The division was able to reach a line somewhat behind their old position and perpendicular to the direction of the Confederate advance from which point they mounted the first successful check to the onrushing Confederates.

After a brief lull Knipe's Brigade was ordered forward to retake its logworks. By this time it was completely dark and the advance had to be made through a thick forest in total ignorance of the enemy's position. The 128th made its advance under especially dangerous conditions, for it was the extreme right of the federal line. At the same time a large marshy area isolated them from the remainder of the brigade. The officers of the

128th must have been wary of the situation, for Lt. Colonel Levi Smith arrived at the logworks waving a white handkerchief and demanding to know the identity of the occupants. While Smith and General J. H. Lane, commander of the advance Confederate troops, were debating the propriety of Smith's capture, some of Lane's troops surprised the remainder of the 128th and about 200 officers and men, including Colonel Mathews and almost all of Company K, were taken prisoner. While Smith argued that their capture was an abuse of the flag of truce, Federal artillery began firing on them, and both Confederates and Union prisoners took cover together. This somewhat humorous event is of some moment for historians, because as General Knipe rode out on horseback looking for his men he drew the fire of nervous Confederates. In the confusion some Southerners then fired upon another small group of horsemen, fatally wounding their own Stonewall Jackson.³⁰

In the official records, Private Mattern is listed as one of seven men from Company D who was taken prisoner at Chancellorsville. In addition to the 200 men from the 128th Pennsylvania, a number of men from the 46th Pennsylvania and the 5th Connecticut were also captured in the confusion.

The prisoners were taken to Richmond where they were held at Belle Isle Prison, a low island in the James River. As they had left their knapsacks behind during the advance on May 2, they had no rations or blankets and the Confederates had none to share with them. But once again David Mattern was a lucky man. Because the enlistment of the 128th Pennsylvania was about to expire the Confederates were willing to make an exchange. On May 18 the prisoners arrived by gunboat at Camp Parole, Maryland. From there they were taken to Harrisburg where they arrived in time to be mustered out with the regiment on May 19 and 20, 1863.

David Mattern returned home to Allentown and went into business with his father. In 1872 he married Emma Seagraves, and in the following years seven children were born to the couple. After William Mattern's death David took over the brickyard, ultimately passing it on to his own son, Edwin. Another son recalled David Mattern as a hardworking man, active in his church, but a modest man who in his later years talked little about what must have been the most memorable experience of his life.

ENDNOTES

¹Information on the Mattern family comes primarily from Rev. John Mattern and Sarah Mattern in Charles R. Roberts', *History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania* (Allentown, 1914), III, 865-867 and conversations with David Mattern's last surviving son, Fred G. Mattern.

²Report of Joel B. Wanner in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1887), Series I, Vol. 19, 493. Also Samuel P.

Bates, *History of Pennsylvania, 1861-1865*, (Harrisburg, 1870) IV, 167.

³See reports of Crawford and Williams in the *Rebellion Record*, Series I, Vol. 19, 475, 486 and Milo M. Quaife, ed. *From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of Alphaeus S. Williams* (Detroit, 1959), 126.

⁴*Cannon's Mouth*, 170 and "Civil War Letters of William J. Reichard, 1862-1863," *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* (Allentown, 1958), 272.

⁵The citizens of York may have confused Company D with the Allen Infantry, another of the three Allentown militia units, which had become famous as part of the "First Defenders." During the early days of the war these First Defender units prevented Washington, D.C., from falling into Confederate hands.

⁶W.W. Hammersley enlisted as captain of Company G, another Lehigh county unit in the 128th Pennsylvania. While at Camp Curtin he was elected lieutenant colonel of the regiment.

⁷The troops which Mattern saw were units of the Army of the Potomac which were being transported by ship to Alexandria to take the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to join Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. As he wrote, these veterans had indeed seen hard service during McClellan's failed three-month Peninsular Campaign to take Richmond.

⁸The building to which Mattern referred was the brick, Gothic-style Fairfax Seminary, which was being used by the Army as the hospital.

⁹Col. Elmer Ellsworth was killed in 1861 by the proprietor of the Marshall House while the soldier was attempting to destroy a Confederate flag. The story became an immediate sensation and was much used to arouse war spirit. During the war the Marshall House was an attraction visited by most soldiers who passed through the capital.

¹⁰From his vantage point at Fort Worth on August 27, Mattern witnessed General Pope's baggage trains fleeing eastward toward Washington. He then also noted the departure of the remainder of the Army of the Potomac from the Alexandria area to reinforce Pope near Centreville. On the 29th and 30th the troops around Washington could clearly hear the artillery firing during Pope's defeat at Second Bull Run.

¹¹The Battlefield which Mattern saw was the field at Turner's Gap. This engagement, together with the battle at Crampton's Gap, is generally known as the battle of South Mountain. By these successes McClellan gained access to western Maryland. Confederate losses at South Mountain have been unofficially estimated at 2,500.

¹²Losses for the 128th at Antietam included 34 killed and 85 wounded, of which an additional six men eventually died. Mattern was not correct in his information about losses among the officers. General Joseph F. K. Mansfield, a veteran of the Mexican War and the oldest soldier in the Army of the Potomac, was killed early in the fighting after commanding the 12th Corps for only two days. Colonel Samuel Croasdale of the 128th was fatally wounded in the head just as his unit was entering the battle. Lt. Colonel Hammersley's wound was so severe that he eventually resigned his commission. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford of the First Brigade, First Division recovered from his injury.

¹³The 47th Pennsylvania, which was recruited in the fall of 1861, contained five companies from Lehigh County.

¹⁴From their camp halfway up the Maryland Heights which overlooked the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, the 128th could see Harper's Ferry. Prior to the battle of Antietam, Col. Dixon S. Miles surrendered the federal garrison there to the Confederates.

¹⁵James L. Selfridge was lieutenant colonel of the 46th Pennsylvania also camped on the Maryland Heights. Apparently he was temporarily commanding both units.

¹⁶Berlin was a small railroad town on the Potomac about six miles east of Maryland Heights. Although Mattern enjoyed his picket duty there, these assignments had a serious side, for Gen. Williams was concerned that Stonewall Jackson might make a sudden attempt to cross the Potomac. Except at Harper's Ferry, the Federals were nowhere prepared to meet such an attack.

¹⁷Captain William H. Andrews of Company E commanded the 128th during its move to Washington, D.C. Not long after Mattern saw him at the cornfield fence Andrews was fatally wounded.

¹⁸When it became apparent that the injured Lt. Col. Hammersley would be unable to resume command, the line officers of the 128th

asked Gov. Curtin to appoint Major Joseph A. Mathews, 46th Pennsylvania, who had been supervising the drill instructions for the 128th, as commander of their regiment. Although reportedly a strict disciplinarian, Mathews appears to have been popular with the men. Hammersley was officially discharged from the army on a medical certificate on January 31, 1863.

¹⁹A letter of November 21 not reprinted here, explained that William Mattern visited his son late in November, enjoying a turkey dinner with the regiment and sleeping in David Mattern's log hut. The trip was not unusual, and there appears to have been a constant stream of visitors to the regiment while they were in Maryland.

²⁰William Reichard was more explicit in his discussion of the resignation. Of Wanner, the mayor of Reading, he wrote: "he cant drill a reg and the worst is he is too fond of liquor and what is worse than intemperate officers." (*Proceedings*, 196.)

²¹Once again Mattern took a more optimistic outlook than most. Reichard described it as "an awful march, the mud almost knee deep, and sometimes [with] short rations." (*Proceedings*, 209). General Williams wrote his daughter that road conditions were "abominable" and that he had never had "so disagreeable and difficult a march." (*Cannon's Mouth*, 152-154.)

²²This adventure, which the regimental history describes "toilsome marching" (*Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 167) was occasioned by Gen. Stuart's attack on the Federal troops at Dumfries. The 1st Division departed its camp to march there under orders to leave behind their sick and their equipment. While enroute, word was received that Stuart had circled behind them and had ridden through their camp.

²³General Williams described the community as he did most Virginia towns somewhat differently, calling it "a small group of poor houses and one dilapidated thing called a courthouse." (*Cannon's Mouth*, 159.) Reichard wrote his family "By all appearances before the war [it was] a beautiful village, but [it] looks desolated at present. A large business is carried on by the sutlers who have taken possession of the vacated houses. The court house is used as a commissary." (*Proceedings*, 213.)

²⁴Possibly this may be a reference to the Emancipation Proclamation.

²⁵Gen. Henry W. Slocum assumed command of the 12th Corps prior to its departure from Maryland. At the same time Williams resumed command of the 1st Division, with General Joseph F. Knipe commanding the 1st Brigade, Gen. Thomas L. Kane commanding the 2nd Brigade, and Gen. George H. Gordon commanding the 3rd Brigade. The other brigade in this review, that of Gen. George S. Greene, was the 3rd brigade of John W. Geary's 2nd Division.

²⁶No existing letters from Mattern explain the regiment's participation in the infamous Mud March and its subsequent relocation at Stafford Courthouse. On January 19 Gen. Burnside issued orders for an attempt to take the Confederate defenses behind Fredericksburg by rapidly marching his army north along the Rappahannock in order to outflank Lee. The 11th and 12th Corps, which constituted the reserve of the Army of the Potomac, also received orders to join the campaign. However, after two days of rain turned roads into bottomless quagmires and streams into impassable rivers, the entire campaign was called off. After this the 12th Corps went into winter quarters at Stafford Courthouse on January 23, only eight miles from the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac. *Cannon's Mouth*, 156-164, contains General Williams' lengthy description of his division's travails.

²⁷Private Reichard, a Unionist, wrote "I can say candidly that there are [not] 2 out of every 10 soldiers in the army who complain of the course the administration pursues in crushing this accursed rebellion, for we know all their doings are done with a view of putting the war to a speedy close." Later Companies D and G circulated a petition signed by virtually all their members denouncing the anti-administration editorials published by the Allentown *Democrat*. (*Proceedings*, 264, 276.)

²⁸In addition to his other management improvements, in order to attack the problem of desertion Hooker instituted a lenient policy of permitting furloughs to soldiers who wished to go home.

²⁹*Cannon's Mouth*, 186.

³⁰These events are reconstructed from the reports of Knipe and Williams in *Rebellion Record*, Series I, Vol 25, 678 and 687; Williams' personal correspondence in *Cannon's Mouth*, 177-203; and the published recollections of Major Marmcellus Moorman in *Southern Historical Society Proceedings*, XXX, 113.

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE EUROPEAN ORIGIN OF PENNSYLVANIAN V NOTCHING

by Terry G. Jordan,
Matti Kaups
and
Richard M. Lieffort

The importance of Pennsylvania as a source region of American log construction has long been acknowledged. The distinctive Pennsylvania, or “Midland American,” carpentry tradition, revealed in such unique features as V notching, chinking, half-dovetail notching, ax-scored hewing, and diamond notching, can be traced as far as the Pacific coast and well into parts of Canada. Other groups, such as the Prairie Province Ukrainians, upper Great Lakes Finns, Mexicans, French Canadians, Alaskan Russians, and Piscataqua Valley New Englanders also built log structures in North

America, but Midland carpentry can always be detected easily.¹

We focus attention here on one element of the Pennsylvania log building tradition — the type of corner timbering known as V notching, so-named because of the inverted V shape of the joint (Fig. 1).² Our principal concern is with the origin of the V notch, and we will present new information bearing on this subject acquired during European field and archival research in 1985.



Fig. 1: Hewn, boxed V notching from Monroe County in upstate New York, now in the Genesee Country Village and Museum at Mumford. Clearly, Pennsylvania carpentry spread north by the Susquehanna and other routes to influence New York. It represents type H in Fig. 15. (Photo by T.G.J., 1984.)

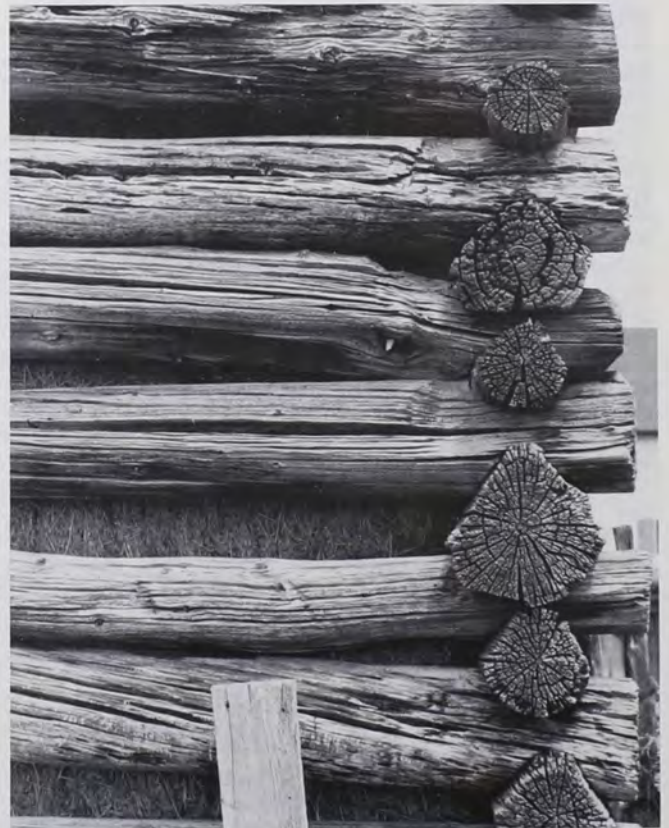


Fig. 2: Round-log V notching, interspersed with undersided saddle notching, on a barn built about 1878 in Sanpete County, Utah. (Photo courtesy Tom Carter and the Utah State Historical Society.)



Fig. 3: Blunt-apex, round-log V notching on a barn in Cooke County, Texas. Compare it to the Norwegian structure in Fig. 8. It represents type D in Fig. 15. (Photo by T.G.J., 1981.)

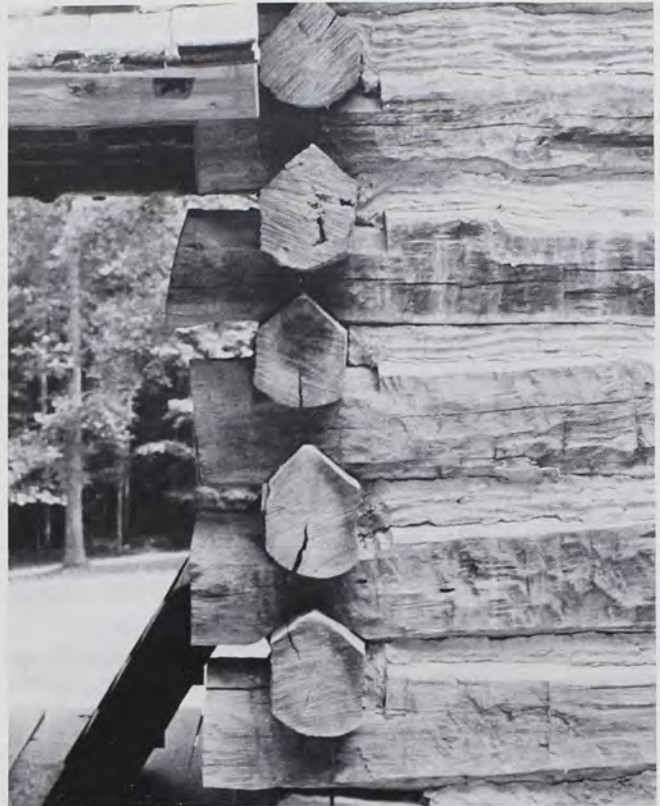


Fig. 4: Hewn V notching with unboxed corners, Cades Cove, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee. (Photo by T.G.J., 1980.)

Subtypes and Distribution

Midland American V notching occurs in several subtypes, most notably (1) a round-log variety, in which the logs are allowed to project beyond the corners, and (2) a hewn-log form featuring neatly boxed corners (Figs. 1, 2).³ In the cruder round-log type, the apex of the V is often blunted, while the hewn form invariably displays a pointed V (Fig. 3).⁴ Subtypes intermediate between the two varieties occur frequently, including some very slightly hewn forms and occasional fully hewn specimens that project beyond the corners rather than being boxed (Fig. 4). Some examples are hewn fairly thin, but the majority are left rather thick (Figs. 4, 5). In spite of these differences, V notching has correctly been interpreted as a single basic type of corner timbering possessing a common origin.



Fig. 5: Hewn, boxed V notching on thin or plank-shaped logs, on a house built about 1860 in Cooke County, Texas. (Photo by T.G.J., 1981.)

The geographical distribution of Midland V notching provides impressive testimony to the importance of Pennsylvania as a cultural hearth (Fig. 6). Very common in the Keystone State, it also occurs from Ontario to Florida, from the southern Appalachians to northern Arizona, the Olympic Peninsula of Washington state, and British Columbia.⁵ Within this huge realm it is the dominant notching form in a wide scattering of localities, including such places as southeastern Ohio, the Valley of Virginia, central Texas, and the Sawtooth Valley of Idaho.⁶ Widely found east of the Mississippi, V notching is also "a common western form."⁷ In Canada, significantly, it is called the "Pennsylvania corner" or "Pennsylvania-Dutch keying" (Fig. 7).⁸ V notching may be the single best indicator of Midland American log carpentry.

In general, the further west one travels, the more common the round-log type and the less frequent hewn, boxed V notching. Dwellings and outbuildings alike in the western mountain states usually exhibit the cruder subtype, but in the East round-log V notching is rarer and usually confined to outbuildings. Similarly, the round-log form was more common in the early or "cabin" phase of log construction, giving way to the hewn, boxed type in the later "house" stage. Indeed, round-log V notching travels much more often in company with the equally crude undersided saddle notch rather than with the hewn V notch. What we view in the West is apparently the log carpentry of the pioneer era, and the West may preserve the largely vanished early East.

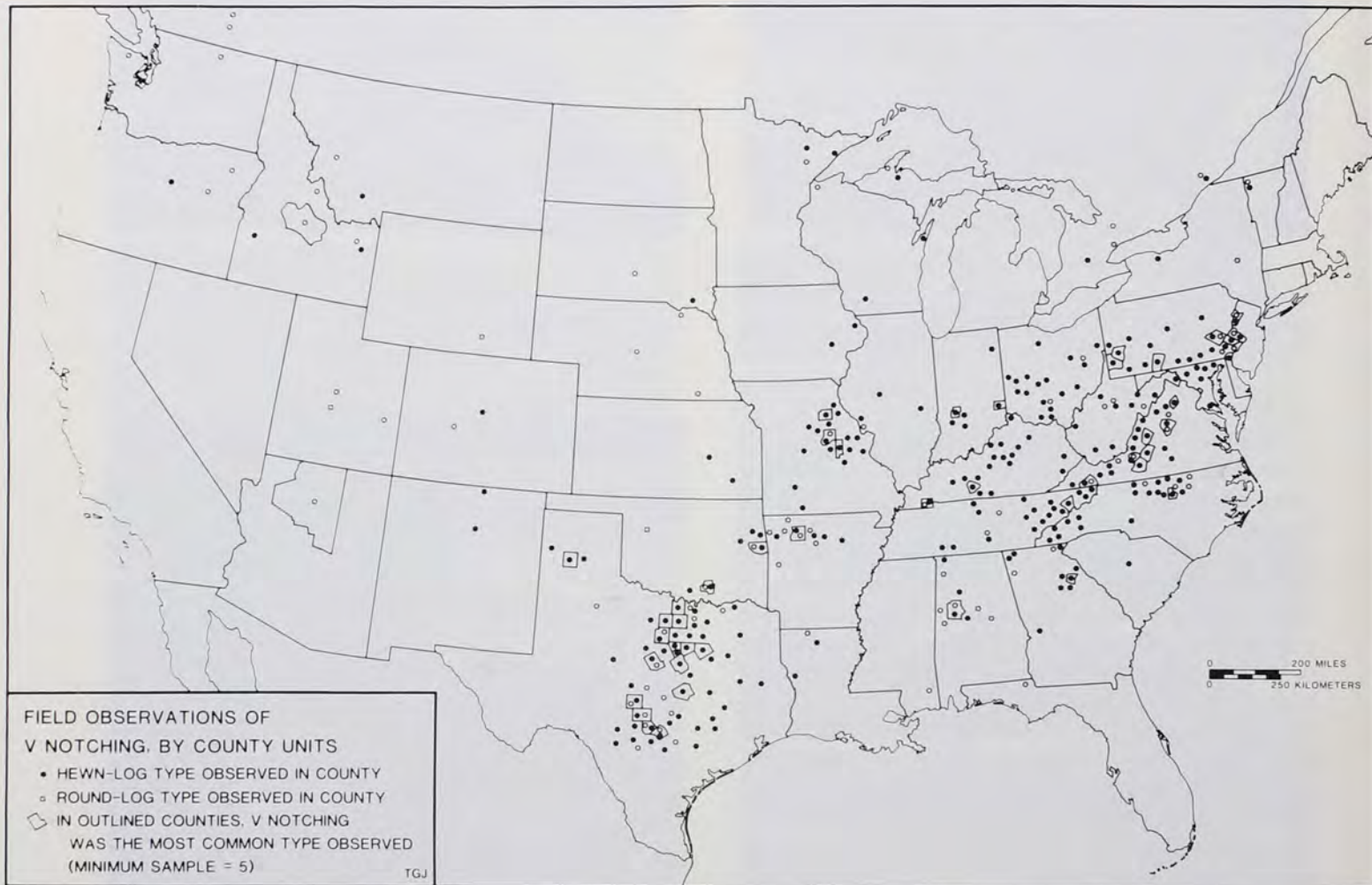


Fig. 6: The map startlingly reveals "Pennsylvania Extended," but by no means is it complete. It represents an unscientific, highly selected sampling and exaggerates areas where more detailed studies have been made. The sources for the map are very diverse.

Our own field observations contributed considerably. We also relied on national, state, regional, and local secondary sources, including: Terry G. Jordan, *Texas*

Log Buildings (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978); Donald A. Hutslar, *The Log Architecture of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1977); Warren E. Roberts, *Log Buildings of Southern Indiana* (Bloomington, Indiana: Trickster Press, 1985); Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Log House in Georgia," *Geographical Review*, 43 (1953), pp. 173-193; Eugene M. Wilson, *Alabama Folk Houses* (Montgomery: Alabama

Historical Commission, 1975); Jennifer E. Attebury, "Log Construction in the Sawtooth Valley of Idaho," *Pioneer America*, 8 (January 1976), pp. 36-46; Henry Glassie, "The Appalachian Log Cabin," *Mountain Life and Work*, 39 (Winter 1963), pp. 5-14; John I. Rempel, *Building with Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Building in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); Peter O. Wacker and Roger T. Trindell, "The Log House in New Jersey," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, 13 (1968), pp. 248-268; C.A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969); Donovan Clemson, *Living with Logs: British Columbia's Log Buildings and Rail Fences* (Saanichton, British Columbia: Hancock House, 1974); David Davidson, "Log Building in the San Francisco Peaks Area of Northern Arizona," *Southwest Folklore*, 1 (1977), pp. 1-28; William L. Montell and Michael Morse, *Kentucky Folk Architecture* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976); Alex W. Bealer and John O. Ellis, *The Log Cabin* (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishing, 1978); William C. Wonders and Mark A. Rasmussen, "Log Buildings in West Central Alberta," *Prairie Forum*, 5 (1980), p. 212; Charles M. Stotz, *The Architectural Heritage of Early Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966); Lyn A. Yeager, *Log Structures in Warren County, Kentucky* (Bowling Green, Kentucky: Citizens National Bank, 1977); Charles van Ravenswaay, *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977); Howard W. Marshall, *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981); Paul Faris, *Ozark Log Cabin Folks* (Little Rock: Rose Publishing Co., 1983); Roger L. Welsch, "Nebraska Log Construction: Momentum in Tradition," *Nebraska History*, 61 (Fall 1980), p. 323; Norman D. Weis, *Ghost Towns of the Northwest* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1971); Diane Tebbetts, "Traditional Houses of Independence County, Arkansas," *Pioneer America*, 10 (June 1978), pp. 36-55; Alicia Hughes-Jones and Marshall Gettys, "Single Pen Log Cabins in Oklahoma," *Outlook in Historic Conservation*, May-June 1981, un. p.; Marian Moffett and Lawrence Wodehouse, *The Cantilever Barn in East Tennessee* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee School of Architecture, 1984); Ronald C. Carlisle, *Stonewall Jackson Lake, West Fork River, Lewis County, West Virginia* (Pittsburgh: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1983); Gregory Ramsey (ed.), *Historic Buildings of Centre County, Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1980); Norbert F. Riedl, Donald B. Ball, and Anthony P. Cavender, *A Survey of Traditional Architecture and Related Material Folk Culture Patterns in the Normandy Reservoir, Coffee County, Tennessee* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology

and Tennessee Valley Authority, 1976), p. 27; Leon S. Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region," Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1973, pp. 73-74; Lambert Florin, *Ghost Towns of the West* (n.p.: Promontory Press, 1970), pp. 456, 698; LeRoy G. Schultz, "Log Barns of West Virginia," *Goldenseal* (Spring 1983), pp. 40-45; Thomas Vaughan and Virginia G. Ferriday (eds.), *Space, Style, Structure: Building in Northwest America* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1974), p. 243; Gwynne S. Taylor, *From Frontier to Factory: An Architectural History of Forsyth County* (Winston-Salem: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1981); Carl Lounsbury, *Alamance County Architectural Heritage* (n.p.: Alamance County Historical Properties Commission, 1980); Davyd F. Hood, *The Architecture of Rowan County* (Salisbury, North Carolina: Rowan County Historic Properties Commission, 1983); William Carter, *Ghost Towns of the West* (Menlo Park, California: Lane Publishing, 1978), pp. 103, 173.

The following persons generously shared unpublished data for their states: Patricia Irvin Cooper of Athens, Georgia; David Stahle of Fayetteville, Arkansas; David Murphy of the Nebraska State Historical Society; Eugene Wilson of Mobile, Alabama; Catherine W. Bishir of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina; John B. Rehder of Knoxville, Tennessee; and James M. Denny, Chief, Survey and Registration, State of Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks and Historic Preservation, Jefferson City.

See also sources listed in endnotes 5 and 6. In addition, information was derived from: Solomon D. Butcher, *Pioneer History of Custer County, Nebraska* (Denver: Sage Books, 1965); J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman (eds.), *Dakota Panorama* (Sioux Falls, South Dakota: Midwest-Beach, 1961), pp. 78, 171; Robert H. Burns et al., *Wyoming's Pioneer Ranches* (Laramie: Top-of-the-World Press, 1955), p. 401; David E. Johnston, *A History of the Middle New River Settlements* (Huntington, West Virginia: Standard Printing and Publishing, 1906), follows p. 396; *Historic and Architectural Resources of the Tar-Neuse River Basin, Appendices for Regions J, K, L* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1977); Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

The following open-air museums contain valuable specimens: Genesee Country Village and Museum, Mumfords, New York; Hyde Log Cabin Museum, Grand Isle, Vermont; Ranching Heritage Center Museum of Texas Tech University; and Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg, Ontario.

The Origin Controversy

The origin of V notching has been debated for more than a half-century. Henry C. Mercer, who called this type of joint “notched and chamfered,” suggested in the 1920s, without supporting evidence, that V notching came to Pennsylvania from Sweden.⁹ Geographer Fred Kniffen and folklorist Henry Glassie, who also lacked any hard evidence, nevertheless refuted Mercer and accepted an unspecified “local tradition” that V notching was introduced to Pennsylvania in the 1730s by the Schwenkfelders, a small group of persecuted Silesian German pietists.¹⁰ Subsequent field research by Jordan in Europe established the validity of Mercer’s original view and revealed that V notching existed nowhere in German-speaking Europe, including the Schwenkfelder homeland.¹¹ Corner timbering most similar to Pennsylvania V notching was found to occur in far western Sweden, particularly in the provinces of Varmland and Dalsland, as well as in a contiguous area stretching across southern interior Norway.¹² On the basis of 1981

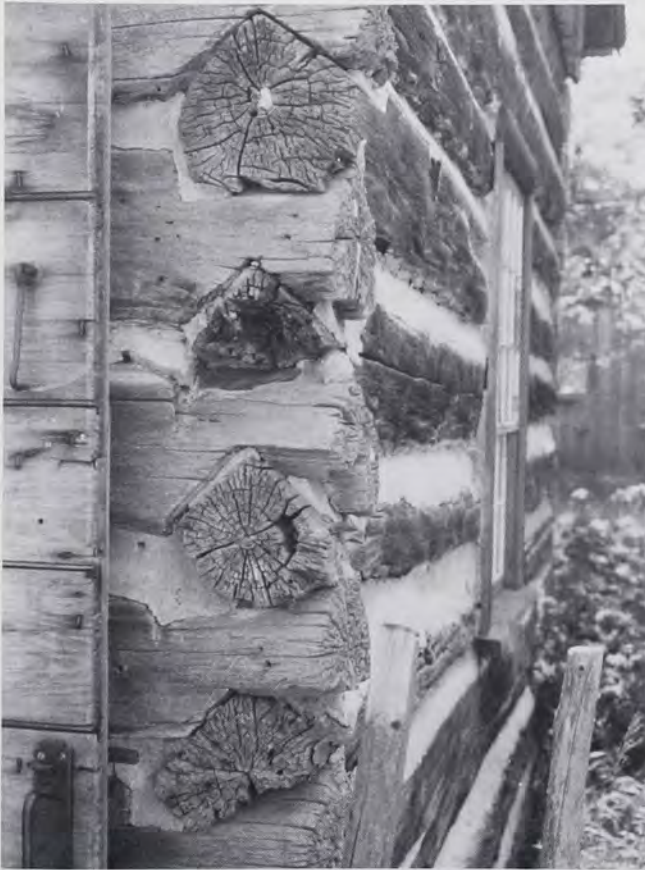


Fig. 7: A mixture of round-log and hewn-log V notching on a house in eastern Ontario, now at Upper Canada Village in Morrisburg. Ontario reveals abundant Pennsylvania influence in its log carpentry. (Photo by T.G.J., 1984.)



Fig. 8: Blunt-apex, crownless, round-log late medieval Norwegian V notching, in the Hallingdal, now in the Hallingdal Folkemuseum, Nesbyen, Buskerud province, Norway. It represents type C in Fig. 15. (Photo by T.G.J., 1981.)

field research in Sweden and Norway, Jordan concluded that a round-log, blunt-apex form of V notching came to the Delaware Valley with the colony of New Sweden and that the hewn, pointed-V, box-cornered form evolved in Pennsylvania from the cruder introduced type.¹³ Accompanied by geographers Matti Kaups and Richard M. Liefkort, Jordan carried out two additional months of field and archival research in northern Europe during the summer of 1985.¹⁴ In the present paper, we present our supplementary and somewhat revised findings, establishing even more conclusively that V notching is of Scandinavian origin.

Northern European Subtypes and Distribution

We discovered in the 1985 field season that the indigenous Scandinavian forms of V notching are more diverse than Jordan had observed in 1981. Hewn as well as round types occur, and boxed corners are occasionally found (Figs. 8,9). In fact, the hewn variety is the most common type encountered. Sharp-pointed V notching can also be found, though a blunt apex is most common (Figs. 10, 11). In sum, virtually every kind of Pennsylvania V notching occurs in at least proximate form in Scandinavia.



Fig. 9: Hewn, blunt-apex V notching from the sixteenth century at Vang, Hedmark province, Norway, and now in Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden at Hamar. On the log with butt end toward the camera, the crown and

lower portion of the butt have been removed, clearly revealing the notch structure. It represents type F in Fig. 15. (Photo by T.G.J., 1985.)

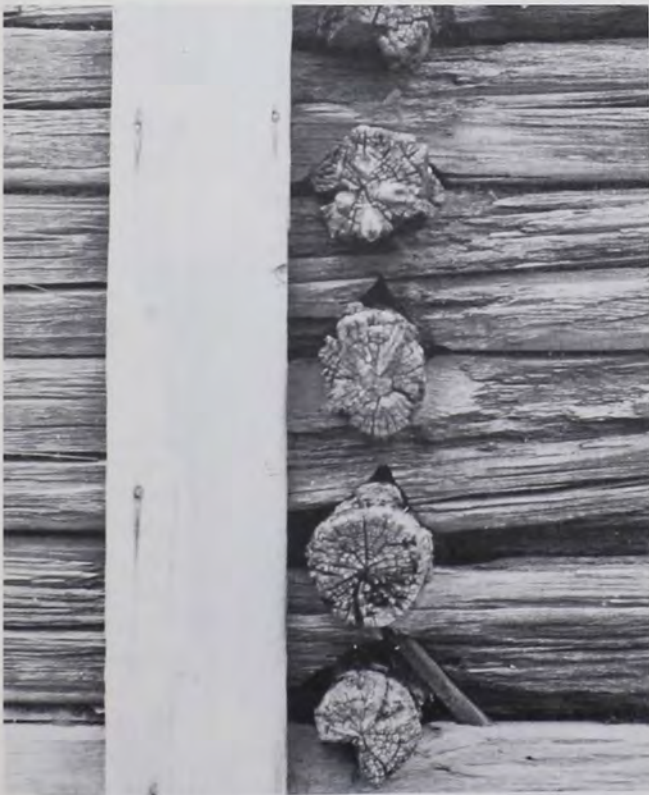


Fig. 10: Hewn, sharp-apex V notching, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century from Tången in Långelanda, near Arvika, western Värmland province, Sweden, now at the Sågudden open-air museum in Arvika. It represents type G in Fig. 15. (Photo by T.G.J., 1985.)



Fig. 11: Blunt-apex V notching, mixed with undersided saddle notching, on an outbuilding in a still-occupied Finnish farmstead near Rödjäfors, Värmland province, Sweden, in the Finnskog high ground very near the Norwegian border. Removal or deterioration of crowning on three logs reveals the notch structure. (Photo by T.G.J., 1985.)



Fig. 12: Crowned, blunted V notch from a demolished building in an abandoned Finnish farmstead called Östra Tysketorpet, near Svullrya in the Finnskog,

eastern Hedmark province, Norway, less than 20 kilometers from the one pictured in Fig. 11. The log is left round except at the notch. (Photo by T.G.J., 1985.)

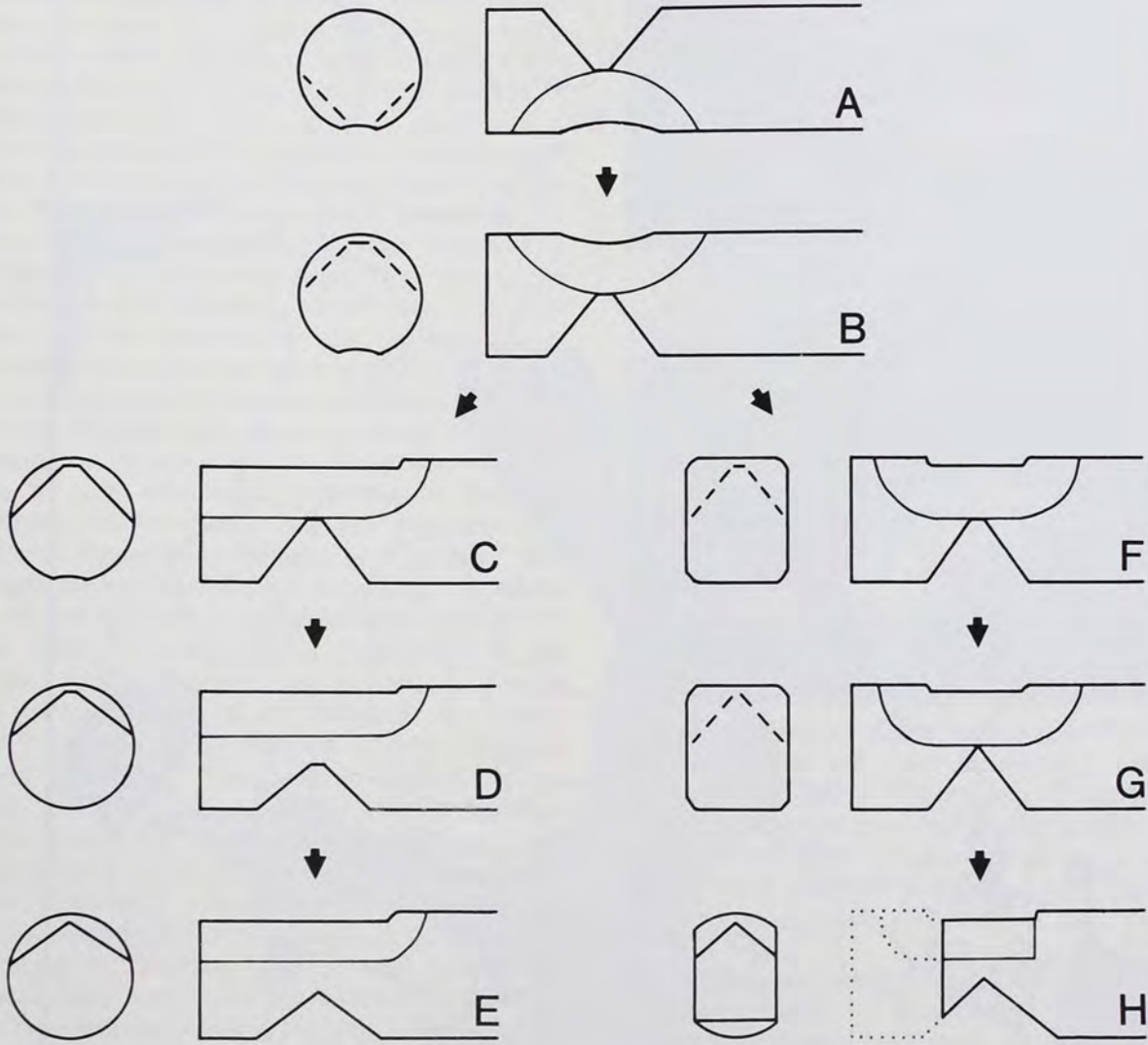


Fig. 13: Crowned, round-log, blunt-apex V notching from a mill at Ulvsjötorp near Grasmärke in the Finnskog, western Värmland province, Sweden. (Photo by T.G.J., 1985.)



Fig. 14: Round-log V notching with surviving crown (arrow), on a house built in the middle nineteenth century in Mason County, Texas, now at the Ranching Heritage Center Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock. (Photo by T.G.J., 1984.)

EVOLUTION OF V NOTCHING



TGJ

Fig. 15: A = medieval Norway, Gudbrandsdalen; B = medieval and postmedieval Norway, as in Norsk Folkemuseum exhibit no. 58, Oslo-Bygdøy; C = late medieval Norway, as in exhibit at Hallingdal Folkemuseum, Nesbyen, Buskerud province; D = Pennsylvanian, as in Lower Swedish cabin, Clifton Heights, Delaware County; E = Midland American, ubiquitous;

F = Finnskog along Swedish-Norwegian border, ubiquitous; G = Finnskog, as in exhibit from Tången in Långelanda, Eda socken, at open-air Sågudden museum, Arvika, Värmland, Sweden. The purpose of the prototypical blunt apex is evident in type A, where it accommodates the scribed, curvilinear groove in the bottom side of each log.

Only minor difference can be detected between the Scandinavian and American types. Northern Europeans normally build chinkless walls and for that reason incise the notches deeper and “neck” slivers from the sides to permit a tighter fit. More striking is their usual, though not universal, tendency to leave a projecting crown at the end of each log, rather than boxing the corner or carrying the V shape all the way to the butt end (Figs. 12, 13). Crowning, coupled with chinkless construction, tends to conceal the precise form of the notch from external view, helping to explain why recognition of the

Scandinavian origin of V notching was so slow in coming. Some American V notching also retains crowning, but it is very rare in this country (Fig. 14).

To produce Pennsylvanian corners from Swedish and Norwegian hewn specimens, all one must do is saw off the crowns (Fig. 15). This helps explain the curious truncated appearance of most American boxed V notching, an asymmetry caused by the shorter dimension of the slope or bar of the V nearest the butt end of the log. Add a crown and symmetry is restored (Fig. 15).

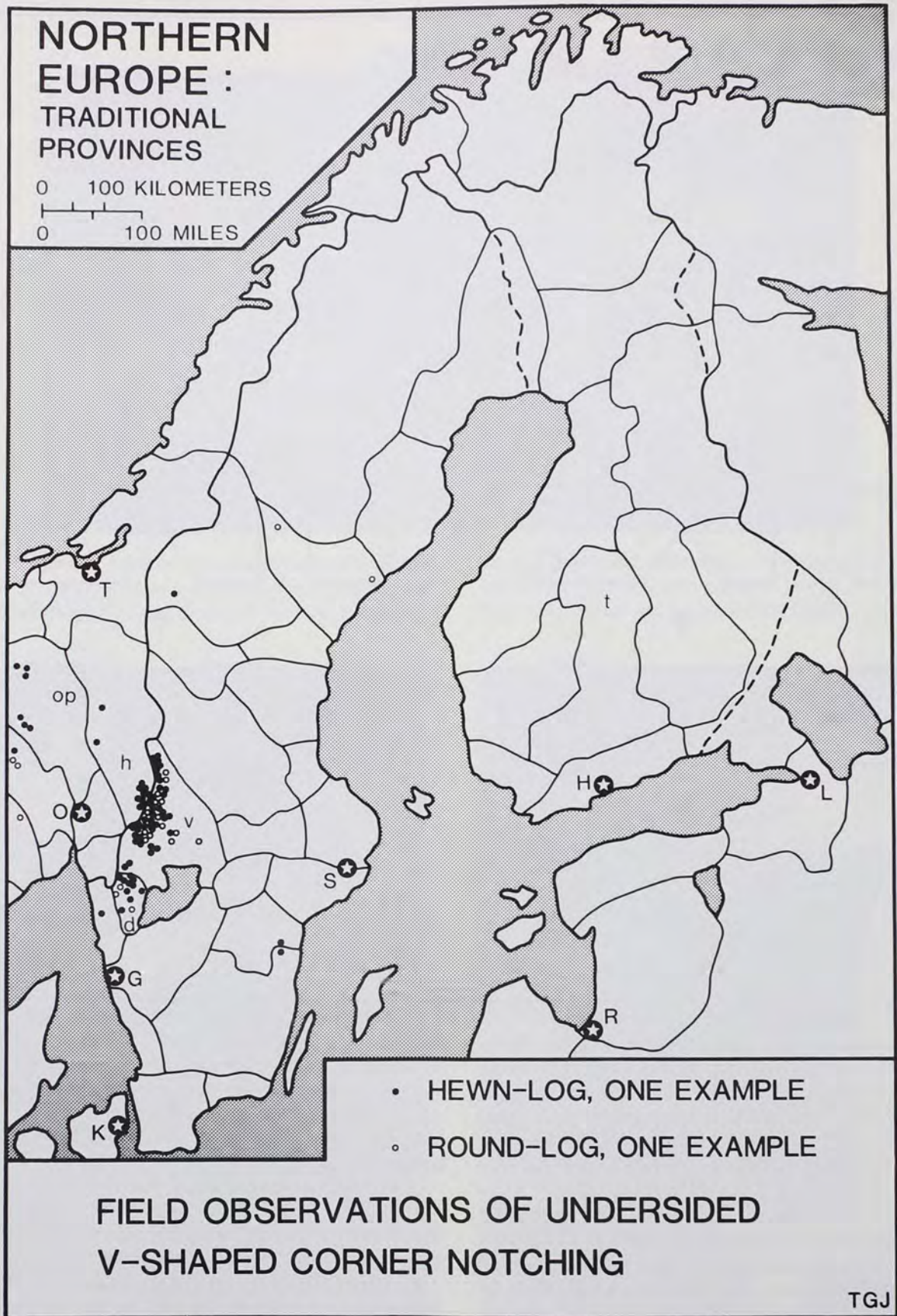


Fig. 16: The degree of concentration along the Swedish-Norwegian border is exaggerated due to more intensive field research there. G = Göteborg, H = Helsinki, K = Köbenhavn, L = Leningrad, O = Oslo, R = Riga, T = Trondheim, h = Hedmark province, op = Oppland province, t = Keski-Suomi (Tavastland) province,

v = Värmland province. (Sources: field research 1981, 1985; Erixon, "North-European Technique of Corner Timbering," p. 45; archives of Nordiska Museet, Stockholm; archives of the Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo-Bygdøy.

The Source Region

A consistent error made by casual observers has been the assumption that all Scandinavia or northern Europe possesses the same log carpentry tradition. In reality, each district offers a distinctive style, in keeping with the mosaic-like quality of European culture at large. V notching occurs only in one relatively small part of southern Scandinavia (Fig. 16). Almost without question, the V notch reached the Delaware Valley from that region. Within the Scandinavian belt of V notching, only one area — the western part of Swedish Värmland on the Norwegian border — contributed settlers to the American Middle Colonies. Accordingly, our field research in 1985 focussed on that province. Headquartered at Torsby on the upper end of Övre Fryken Lake, we systematically inspected settlements in the hills of western Värmland and adjacent southern Norwegian Hedmark, on several occasions hiking deep into the woods to view abandoned farmsteads in the high ground between Sweden and Norway.¹⁵ Virtually every community yielded good examples of V notching. Our findings can easily be duplicated by anyone who wishes to do so, without ever leaving paved roads if you prefer.

The heavily wooded, rocky interfluvies in the Värmland-Hedmark border region form a Finnish ethnic enclave known as the Finnskog, or “Finns’ Forest.” The population is descended from woodland pioneers introduced from interior Finland by the Swedish crown beginning in the late 1500s.¹⁶ Although the Finnish language finally died out here early in the present century, many other traces of Finnish culture survive in Värmland and Hedmark. Surely this ethnic group provided the agents of diffusion in the transfer of V notching to America, for it is well known that Värmland Finns were among the settlers of New Sweden on the Delaware, beginning in the early 1640s.¹⁷ In fact, four emigrants from the parish of Sunne, in the Värmland zone of V notching, were likely the very first Finns sent to New Sweden, in 1640.¹⁸

Norwegian Origin

While Finns probably brought V notching to the Delaware, they apparently did not invent this type of corner timbering. Nor did the Swedes. Our field research also carried us into most other provinces of Sweden, as well as the source regions of the Finnskog settlers in Finland, but nowhere else did we encounter V notching. By contrast, southern interior Norway offered abundant examples. We found the V notch in Norwegian Oppland, Buskerud, and in bordering portions of adjacent provinces. As we penetrated deeper into Norway, the age of the oldest surviving specimens of V notching increased, yielding a noteworthy fourteenth-century example from the Hallingdal in Buskerud and a late-sixteenth-century building from the Hamar area of western Hedmark.¹⁹ By comparison, none of the surviv-



Fig. 17: Undersided saddle notching with similarity to blunt-apex V notching; near Rautalampi, Keski-Suomi (Tavastland) province, Finland, now in the Rautalampi Museo. The area around Rautalampi was the principal source region of the Finns who settled central Sweden in the 1500s and 1600s and whose descendants later colonized the Delaware Valley. (Photo by T.G.J., 1985.)

ing Finnskog specimens we found predated 1650.²⁰

Pursuing further the possibility of Norwegian origin, we found universal agreement on this point among museum personnel and ethnographers.²¹ Lars Roede of the Norsk Folkemuseum at Bygdøy in Oslo informed us that V-type notching was common in parts of medieval Norway and is one of the oldest documented Norwegian forms.²² The round-log type is, predictably, the oldest, and the earliest specimens are inverted, with the V cut in the top of the log (Fig. 15).²³ The Gudbrandsdal in Oppland province is perhaps the original source of V notching in its primitive inverted form.²⁴ Still in medieval times, Norwegians began cutting the V-type notches in the underside of the log, providing a more obvious link to the later American type.

Even Swedish ethnographers and museum employees interpret V notching in Värmland and Dalmland as Norwegian.²⁵ At one outdoor museum, or *hembygdsgård*, in the Finnish part of Värmland, V notching is described in the building guide as “norsk.”²⁶ In fact, the Norwegian word *laft* was long used in western Värmland for “notch,” instead of the proper Swedish word *knut*.²⁷



Fig. 18: Blunt-apex, round-log V notching on the Lower Swedish Cabin, Creek Road, Clifton Heights, Pennsylvania. This house firmly links Scandinavian and American V notching. (Photo by T.G.J., 1980.)

Apparently the immigrating Finns, who occupied heights and hills between the valley-dwelling Norwegians and Swedes, accepted items of material culture from both neighboring groups. The adoption of V notching likely occurred by 1620, and the Finns may have acquired it from Värmland Swedes, perhaps in the Lake Värmeån area, rather than directly from Norwegians. A generation later the Finns could have transferred the notch to New Sweden.

Finnish adoption of V notching was possibly facilitated by their knowledge of a similar type of corner timbering in the province of Keski Suomi (Tavastland), the major source in Finland of the Värmland settlers (Figs. 16, 17). Best classified as undersided angular saddle notching, the ancestral Finnish type is structurally very close to V notching. This might even help explain the Värmland and American pattern in which V notching and undersided saddle notching travel in company and often even share the same log structure (Figs. 2, 11).

We conclude, then, that Pennsylvania owes one of the most distinctive elements of its traditional log carpentry to the Värmland Finns and ultimately to southern Norway. Additional support for our view is provided by the blunt-apex, round-log V notching found on the well-known "Lower Swedish Cabin" on Creek Road in Clifton Heights, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, reputedly

dating from the 1600s (Fig. 18).²⁸ In time, hewn V notching became closely identified with the Pennsylvania Germans, but they did not introduce it from Europe, but instead adopted it after arriving in colonial America. Their sole contribution seems to have been an insistence on boxed corners, costing the V notch its Scandinavian crown. Even that minor modification cannot with certainty be ascribed to the Germans, since Norwegians were building with shortened crowns long before 1600. This Norwegian practice reached western Värmland and Dalsland in the 1500s at the latest and should, therefore, have been known to the Delaware Finns.²⁹ We should realize, too, that a large majority of Germans and German-Swiss arriving in colonial Pennsylvania had no previous experience with any kind of notched log construction.³⁰ Even the typical German-Swiss came from villages in the plains and hills of cantons Zürich and Basel, where, today as then, half-timbering rather than log construction is found.³¹ For that reason we should not be surprised that Germans borrowed extensively from earlier Pennsylvanians who were log carpenters.

It is time to put the oft-proclaimed but unsubstantiated Germanist fantasies to rest.³² Pennsylvanian log construction rests on a solid Fenno-Scandian tradition. We must now restore to New Sweden her proper due.

ENDNOTES

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³Fred B. Kniffen and Henry H. Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," *Geographical Review*, 56 (1966), pp. 53, 54.

⁴Terry G. Jordan, *American Log Buildings: An Old World Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 53-54.

⁵John I. Rempel, *Building with Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Building in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 15, 37, 49; Donovan Clemson, *Living with Logs: British Columbia's Log Buildings and Rail Fences* (Saanichton, British Columbia: Hancock House, 1974), pp. 17, 19, 25, 31; Patti C. Black, *Mississippi Piney Woods: A Photographic Study of Folk Architecture* (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1976), p. 9; Jervis Russell (ed.), *Jimmy Come Lately: History of Clallam County* (Port Angeles, Washington: Clallam County Historical Society, 1971), p. 455; David Davidson, "Log Building in the San Francisco Peaks Area of Northern Arizona," *Southwest Folklore*, 1 (1977), pp. 1-28; Martin Wright, "Log Culture in Hill Louisiana," Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956, p. 74; Margaret B. Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania, Architecture* (Exton, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing, 1976), pp. 89, 92, 120, 177-179; Kaups, "Finnish Log Houses," p. 8; Charlotte S. Daly, Department of Art, Florida State University, Tallahassee, letter to T.G.J. dated June 4, 1985.

⁶Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), pp. 65, 66; W.L. Whitwell and Lee W. Winborne, *The Architectural Heritage of the Roanoke Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), p. 14; Donald A. Hutslar, *The Log Architecture of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1977), p. 247; Royster Lyle, Jr., "Log Buildings in the Valley of Virginia," *Roanoke Valley Historical Society Journal*, 8, no. 1 (1972), p. 30; Jennifer E. Attebury, "Log Construction in the Sawtooth Valley of Idaho," *Pioneer America*, 8 (January 1976), p. 39; Leon S. Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region," Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1973, pp. 73, 74.

⁷Tom Carter, Architectural Historian, State of Utah, Department of Community and Economic Development, Division of State History, Salt Lake City, letter to T.G.J. dated October 12, 1984.

⁸Dale Mann, Richard Skinulis, and Nancy Shanoff, *The Complete Log House Book: A Canadian Guide to Building with Log* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 15; John I. Rempel, "The History and Development of Early Forms of Building Construction in Ontario," *Ontario History*, 53 (1961), follows p. 16.

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¹⁰Henry H. Glassie, "The Appalachian Log Cabin," *Mountain Life and Work*, 39 (Winter 1963), p. 10; Kniffen and Glassie, "Building in Wood," p. 59; on German origin see also Rempel, "History and Development of Early Forms," 52 (1960), p. 241.

¹¹Terry G. Jordan, "Moravian, Schwenkfelder, and American Log Construction," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 33 (Spring 1984), p. 110; Terry G. Jordan, "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70

(1980), p. 159; Terry G. Jordan, "A Reappraisal of Fenno-Scandian Antecedents for Midland American Log Construction," *Geographical Review*, 73 (1983), pp. 65-69.

¹²Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, pp. 51-55.

¹³Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, p. 53.

¹⁴The 1985 research was funded in large part by the endowment of the Walter Prescott Webb Chair of History and Ideas, administered by the Dean of Liberal Arts at The University of Texas at Austin.

¹⁵The most notable of the farmsteads are Abbortjärnsberg, Johola, Mattila, Purala, and Ritaberg, all in Värmland province, Sweden.

¹⁶Good general sources on the Finnish colonization of Sweden include Richard Broberg, "Invandringar från Finland till mellersta Skandinavien före 1700," *Svenska landsmål och svensk folkliv*, 90 (1967), pp. 59-98; Sven Lönborg, "Finnmarkerna i mellersta Skandinavien," *Ymer*, 22 (1902), pp. 65-90, 361-408, 465-504; and Petrus Nordmann, *Finnarne i mellersta Sverige* (Helsingfors: Tidnings- & Tryckeri-Aktiebolagets Tryckeri, 1888).

¹⁷General sources on the Finnish settlers in the colonial Delaware Valley include Martti Kerkkonen, "New Sweden and Finland," *American Swedish Historical Foundation Yearbook*, 1969-70, pp. 38-41; E.A. Louhi, *The Delaware Finns* (New York: The Humanity Press, 1925); and John H. Wuorinen, *The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

¹⁸Helmer Linderholm, *Sveriges Finnmarker* (Stockholm: Tidens Förlag, 1974), p. 58. The four Finns were Eskil Larsson, Klement Jöransson, Jöns Påfvelsson, and Bertil Eskelsson. Their place of origin was misidentified as Sund parish in Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664* (New York: D. Appleton, 1911), vol. 1, p. 149. Many later writers copied Johnson's error.

¹⁹Open air exhibits at the Hallingdal Folkemuseum in Nesbyen, Buskerud, Norway, and the Hedmarks-museet og Domkirkeodden in Hamar, Hedmark, Norway.

²⁰The oldest specimen, from Tången in Långelanda, Eda socken Värmland, is displayed at the open-air Sägudden hembygds-museum in Arvika, Värmland, Sweden.

²¹Interview, Ivar Skre, Director, Glomdalsmuseet, Elverum, Hedmark, Norway, May 18, 1985; Jordan, "Reappraisal of Fenno-Scandian Antecedents," p. 67.

²²Interview, Lars Roede, Architect and Chief Curator, Norsk Folkemuseum, Bygdøy, Oslo, Norway, July 12, 1985.

²³Anders Sandvig, *Vår gamle bondebebyggelse* (Lillehammer, Norway: Maihaugen, 1947), p. 7; Gerda Boëthuis, *Studier i den nordiska timmerbyggnadskonsten från vikingatiden till 1800-talet* (Stockholm: Fritzes Hovbokhandel i Distribution, 1927), p. 284, fig. 327, sketch no. 1.

²⁴Sandvig, *Vår gamle bondebebyggelse*, p. 7; Kristofer Visted and Hilmar Stigum, *Vår gamle bondekultur* (Oslo: J.W. Cappelens Förlag, 1951), vol. 1, p. 44.

²⁵Sigurd Erixon, "The North-European Technique of Corner Timbering," *Folkliv*, 1 (1937), pp. 40, 45.

²⁶Skräckarberget hembygdgården tomta, near Södra Finnskoga, Värmland, Sweden.

²⁷Sigurd Erixon, "Varmlands folkliga byggnadskultur," in Sigurd Erixon (ed.), *Sveriges bebyggelse statistisk-topografisk upplagsbok: landsbygden, Värmlans län* (Uddevalla, Sweden: Olof Ericson, Bokförlaget Hermes, vol. 1, 1962), p. 68.

²⁸"Lower Swedish Cabin" files of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg. See also: Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, p. 55.

²⁹Sigurd Erixon, "Hur Norge och Sverige mötas," *Bidrag til bondesamfundets historie* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1933), vol. 2, pp. 263-4.

³⁰Refer to the map in Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, p. 87.

³¹Albert B. Faust and Gaius M. Brumbaugh, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, 2 volumes (Washington, D.C.: National Genealogical Society, 1920, 1925).

³²Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), pp. 298-303; Kniffen and Glassie, "Building in Wood," pp. 58, 59, 63; Robert C. Bucher, "The Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 12 (Summer 1962), p. 14.

Die Stufenleiter des Menschen.



Fünf Jahr ein Kind
Zehn Jahr ein Knab
Zwanzig Jahr ein Jungling
Dreißig Jahr ein Mann
Vierzig Jahr wohlgethan.

Frühling Sommer
Herbst Winter
Fünfzig Jahr Stillstand

Sechzig Jahr gehts Alter an,
Siebenzig Jahr ein Greis
Achtzig Jahr Schneeweiß
Neunzig Jahr der Hundertpoll.
Hundert Jahr Gnade bei Gott.

SEM KAUFMAN'S "INSTRUCTIONS TO MY CHILDREN"

Introduction by Hilda Adam Krings

Introduction

by
Hilda Adam Krings

Retirement takes one to the roads "left for another day" when one was busy with a career. However, if one has been a teacher for forty-three years, books and papers are not easily left behind. So, as I was cataloging our 3,000 volume library I came across some instructions from the past. Instructions from my husband's great, great, great, grandfather on his mother's side, Sem Kaufman. Although the family spoke Pennsylvania

Dutch, the instructions are in high German. I think Mr. Kaufman must have been familiar with the German "Steps of Man": five years a child (I had always heard it as ten years a child); ten years a boy; twenty years a youth; thirty years a man; forty years accomplished; fifty years the midpoint (standing still); sixty years the beginning of age; seventy years an old man; eighty years snow-white; ninety years a laughingstock; one hundred years the grace of God. At any rate, the instructions are food for thought, and it is interesting to note what former Pennsylvanians thought important; what advice they left for their children to ponder and meditate upon.

EINEN UNTERRICHT AN MEINE KINDER.

Zum ersten sagt der Heiland: "Thut Busse, das Himmelreich ist nahe herbeigekommen." Der Apostel Petrus sagt: "Thut Busse und lasse sich ein jeglicher taufen auf den Namen Jesu Christi, zur Vergebung der Sünden, so werdet ihr empfangen die Gabe des Heil. Geistes." Apstg. 2:38. In Markus 16:16 sagt der Heiland: "Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der wird selig werden; wer aber nicht glaubet, der wird verdammt werden." Der Heiland sagt auch: "Ihr seid meine Freunde, so ihr thut, was ich euch gebiete." Ferner: "Wer an den Sohn glaubet, der hat das ewige Leben; wer aber dem Sohne nicht glaubet, der wird das Leben nicht sehen, sondern der Zorn Gottes bleibet über ihm."

INSTRUCTIONS TO MY CHILDREN

Firstly, the Saviour says, "Repent ye; for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." The Apostle Peter says, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Acts 2:38. In Mark 16:16 the Saviour says, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." The Saviour says also, "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." Further, "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not on the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." According to the

So wie das Wort uns lehrt, kann ein unbekehrter Mensch in Ewigkeit nicht selig werden, wenn er Gott mit Ernst dienen will. Wer in dieser Lebenszeit aber Gott mit Ernst dienen will, der kann die Seligkeit erlangen, wenn er Gott recht bittet, dass er ihm seine Sünden vergiebt; denn Gott bietet uns allen das Himmelreich an, dass wir ihm dienen sollen. Wer Gott hier nicht mit Ernst dienen will, der kann keine Hoffnung haben die Seligkeit zu erlangen. Gott fordert von uns, dass wir ihn ehren, furchten und lieben, ihn allezeit um Vergebung unserer Sünden anrufen sollen; ihm auch danken für alles Gute, denn Gott will haben, dass alle Menschen selig werden; aber wir sollen ihm hier in dieser Zeit dienen, wie das Wort sagt.

Wenn wir solche Seligkeit, die uns hier in diesem kurzen Leben angeboten ist, nicht annehmen wollen, dann wird uns Gott die Seligkeit in der Ewigkeit auch nicht geben. Wie wollen wir denn Hoffnung haben, einstmals in das Reich Gottes zu kommen, denn nach dem Tod wird uns keine Gelegenheit angeboten unsere Seligkeit auszuschaffen. Ein jeder hat für sich selbst zu sorgen und man kann sich nicht auf Freunde verlassen. Wenn jemand ist, der hier, in diesem Leben die Seligkeit nicht annehmen will, wie schrecklich wird es für diesen am Gerichtstage sein, wenn er sehen wird, dass von den Freunden und Bekannten in das Himmelreich eingehen, er aber hingewiesen wird in die ewige Hölle und Verdammnis, und wo es heissen wird: Hier ist jetzt dein Teil; die Seligkeit war dir angeboten, aber du wolltest sie nicht annehmen. Wir wollen es doch recht bedenken, die Seligkeit in gesunden Tagen annehmen und nicht warten bis es zu spät sein wird.

Es wird eine grosse Freude sein, wenn wir alle von ganzem Herzen dem Herrn dienen, wie das Wort sagt, so dass wir alle miteinander in das ewige Himmelreich eingehen und dort in grosser Freude und Herrlichkeit ewig wohnen können. Was wir hier annehmen in dieser kurzen Zeit, das wird uns auch gegeben in alle Ewigkeit; so wollen wir doch das Gute in rechter Zeit annehmen und es nicht versäumen, denn ich bin schon ziemlich alt und von den jungen weiss keins ob es so lange leben wird als ich. Darum sollen wir uns allezeit rüsten für die Ewigkeit, wenn wir noch so viel Zeit haben.

Von Sem Kaufman,
Davidsville, Somerset Co., Pa.

teachings of the Word, an unrepentant man cannot be saved in Eternity, if he will not earnestly serve God. But whoever will in this life earnestly seek to serve God, can attain salvation if he implores God to forgive his sins; for God offers the Kingdom of Heaven to us all, so that we might serve Him. Whoever will not serve God earnestly here can have no hope of attaining salvation. God requires of us, that we honor, fear, and love Him; Call upon Him at all times for forgiveness of our sins; thank Him also for all that is good, for God desires that all men be saved. But we are to serve Him, here in this time, as the Word tells us.

If we do not want to accept such salvation offered to us here in this short life, then will God also not give us salvation in eternity. How then shall we have hope to enter some time into the Kingdom of God, for after death there will be offered us no opportunity to work out our salvation. Each one must provide for himself and one cannot depend on friends. If there is someone who will not accept salvation here in this life, how terrible it will be for such a one in the day of judgment, when he will see that friends and acquaintances enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he be turned aside into eternal hell and damnation, where it will be said: here is now your portion; salvation was offered to you, but you did not want to accept it. But we do want to consider it carefully, accept salvation in the days of health, and not wait until it will be too late.

It will be a great joy when we all will serve the Lord with whole heart, as the Word says, so that we all may together enter into the eternal Kingdom of Heaven and may dwell there in great joy and glory. What we accept here in this short life, that will also be given us in all eternity; so do let us accept the good at the right time and not neglect it, for I am already quite old, and of the young ones no one knows whether any will live as long as I. Therefore shall we at all times prepare ourselves for eternity, however much time we may yet have.

From SEM KAUFMAN,
Davidsville, Somerset Co., Pa.



Diese Schrift hat unser Vater uns Kindern zum Nachdenken hinterlassen, und so dachte ich sie für uns, unsere Kinder und Kindeskinde drucken zu lassen, zum Andenken so lange unser Geschlecht auf dieser Erde ist. Unser Vater ist den 8. Januar 1896 gestorben, ist 87 J., 6 M., 23 T. alt geworden. Ich habe die gute Hoffnung, dass er durch die Thür eingegangen ist, von welcher Jesus sagt: "Ich bin die Thür, so jemand durch mich eingeht, der wird selig werden." Joh. 10:9. Aber im ersten Vers heisst es: "Wer nicht zur Thür hineingeht in der Schafstall, der ist ein Dieb und ein Mörder." Ein Dieb oder Mörder hat keine Verheissung im Reiche Gottes, und weil der Heiland sagt: "Es sei denn dass jemand geboren werde aus Wasser und Geist, so kann er nicht in das Reich Gottes kommen (Joh. 3:5), so glaube ich an eine sichtbare Gemeine Gottes hier auf Erden, abgesondert von der Welt, von aller Ungerechtigkeit. Für solche Glieder, die eine solche Ordnung Gottes mit willigem Ringen zur Ehre Gottes helfen aufbauen, habe ich die Hoffnung, dass sie durch die Thür in den Schafstall eingehen, wo ihnen die Seligkeit verheissen ist. Wo es aber der Fall sein möchte, das solche Glieder sich der Gemeine Gottes anschliessen, ausser der Ordnung, wie es gesehen wird, mit Schmuck und Zirat, welches, wie das Wort Gottes lehrt, nicht sein soll, nämlich mit Haarflechten und Goldumhängen oder Kleideranlegen (1. Pet. 2:3), denn solche Glieder möchten angesehen werden von Gott, dass sie nicht durch die Thür eingehen, sondern anderswo hineinsteigen gleichwie die Diebe und Mörder. Auf solche Weise sind viele Stücke: Ehebruch, Hurerei, Uneinigkeit, Unzucht, Abgötterei, Zauberei, Feindschaft, Hader, Neid, Zorn, Zank, Zwietracht, Rotten, Hass, Mord, Saufen Fressen (Gal. 5:19,20,21), oder Augenlust, Fleischlust, hoffärtiges Leben, welches nicht vom Vater ist (1. Joh. 2:16), auch unehrliche Hantierung, oder zu gross antreiben in der Welt ist tödlich in der Gemeine Gottes.

Geschrieben von
David S. Kaufman,
Shipshewana, Lagrange Co., Ind.

This writing did our father leave behind for us children for meditation, and so I thought to have it printed for us, our children, and children's children, in remembrance as long as our family remains on this earth. Our father died on January 8, 1896, aged 87 years, 6 months, and 23 days. I have the good hope that he has entered in through the door of which Jesus says: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." John 10:9. But in the first verse it says: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, the same is a thief and a robber." A thief or murderer has no promise in the Kingdom of God; and because the Saviour says: "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God," (John 3:5), therefore I believe in a visible church of God, here on earth, separated from the world, from all unrighteousness. For such members, who, with willing endeavor help to build up such a rule of God, to the glory of God, I have the hope that they will enter through the door into the sheepfold, where salvation is promised them. But where it might be the case that there be members who might join themselves to the church of God, but not being in order, as is seen, with ornament and decoration, which the word of God teaches is not to be, namely, with plaiting of hair and the wearing of gold, or with putting on of apparel (1 Peter 3:3), for such members might be looked upon of God as not entering by the door but climbing up some other way just as the thieves and murderers. Of this manner are many things: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, (Galatians 5, 19-21), or the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, the pride of life, which is not of the Father (1 John 2, 16), also dishonest dealing, or carrying on too high in the world, is deadly in the church of God.

Written by
DAVID S. KAUFMAN,
Shipshewana, Lagrange Co., Ind.



Concerning the Life of Man.

(Note—These verses are written in the German with the last words of the first and third lines in rhyme, and also the second and fourth. As requested, a literal translation is made, entirely disregarding rhyme and meter in the English but retaining the sense of the words.)

Alvin J. Miller

VON DES MENSCHEN LEBEN

1.

Wann Kinder erst geboren werden
Und wissen noch nichts von der Welt;
Und doch auch so demütig sein,
So wie es dem Herrn auch gefällt.

2.

Wann Kinder auch 10 Jahr alt sein
Und haben noch nicht viel erfahren,
So sollen sie gehorsam sein,
Ihr Vater und Mutter ehren.

3.

Und wann wir 20 Jahr alt sein
So ist schon Müh und Arbeitzeit,
Und sollen auch Christen sein
So in der letzten Jugendzeit.

4.

Und wann wir 30 Jahr alt sein,
Und sein im Mannesalter,
So sollen wir alle einig sein,
Mit Brüder Frieden halten.

5.

Und wann wir 40 Jahr alt sein,
So in den besten Zeiten;
So sollen wir bereitet sein
Für all' Zeit abzuschneiden.

6.

Und wann wir 50 Jahr alt sein
Und schon das Alter spüren,
So soll der Herr auch mit uns sein,
Und all' zum Frieden führen.

CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MAN.

1.

When children first are born
And know as yet naught about the world;
And yet are also so humble,
So as it is also pleasing to the Lord.

2.

When children are also 10 years old
And have not yet experienced much,
So should they be obedient,
Their father and mother honor.

3.

And when we are 20 years old
There is already trouble and toiling time,
And should also Christian be
In about the later youthful years.

4.

And when we are 30 years old,
And are in manhood age,
Then should we all be in union,
With brethren be peaceful.

5.

And when we are 40 years old,
So in the best years.
So should we be prepared
For all time to depart.

6.

And when we are 50 years old
And already feel our age,
So may the Lord be also with us,
Us all to lead to peace.

7.

Und wann wir 60 Jahr alt sein
Und bald in Schwachheit leben,
So sollen wir barmherzig sein,
Einander recht vergeben.

8.

Und wann wir 70 Jahr alt sein,
So sein es schon so viele Jahr;
Wie David sagt, dass es wird sein;
Und wenn's hoch kommt sind es 80 Jahr.

9.

Und wann es kommt zu 80 Jahr,
So ist's sehr hoch zu dieser Zeit
Und wann es auch sehr köstlich war,
So war es Müh' und Arbeit.

10.

Und wer auch kommt zu 90 Jahr
Und lebt auch recht in Einigkeit,
Dass es nach Gottes Willen ward,
So ist es recht in Ewigkeit.

11.

Und jemand kommt zu 100 Jahr,
So ist es eine lange Zeit;
Und wann's auch waren tausend Jahr,
So ist es fast nichts gegen der Ewigkeit.

12.

So sollen wir alle, Jung und Alt,
Alle recht nach dem Work leben;
Denn wer sich recht nach dem Work hält,
Der soll auch ewig leben.

13.

Denn, wir geh'n da bald aus von Jammer,
Wir reisen nach dem Vaterland,
Und geh'n bald in die Toteskammer
Für aufersteh'n ins Herren Hand.

14.

Aber so, wie es der liebe Gott macht
So wollen wir auch mit eingehen
Und wünsch' euch wohl zur guten Nacht,
Bis wir einander wiedersehen.

15.

So ist's heut sechsundachtzig Jahr
Und acht Monat und einen Tag,
Das ich zur Welt geboren ward,
Und weiss nicht wie's weiter geh'n mag.

16.

Noch so der Gruss von meiner Hand
An alle Brüder und Schwestern
Von Herzen so zu euch gesandt,
Ihr sollt mich nicht vergessen.

So geschrieben den 16. Februar 1895 von
Sem Kaufman

7.

And when we are 60 years old
And soon in weakness live,
So should we be merciful
Each other truly forgive.

8.

And when we are 70 years old
So are there already as many years
As David says that there will be;
And if by reason of strength, they are 80 years.

9.

And when it comes to 80 years,
So is it very high for this time.
And even if it was very precious,
Yet was it trouble and labor.

10.

And who also comes to 90 years
And lives right truly in unity,
So that it was according to God's will,
Then it is well in eternity.

11.

And someone comes to 100 years
So is it a long while;
And were it also a thousand years,
Yet is it scarce naught compared with eternity.

12.

So let us all, young and old,
All live truly according to the Word;
For he who holds himself exactly with the Word,
He shall live also eternally.

13.

For we shall soon here pass away from woe,
We journey toward the fatherland,
And go soon into the chamber of death
To rise again in the Lord's hand.

14.

But thus as the dear God disposes
So let us also be agreed
And wish you kindly a goodnight,
Until we meet each other again.

15.

So today it is eighty-six years
And eight months and one day,
That I was born into the world,
And know not how it may go further.

16.

But yet these greetings from my hand
To all brothers and sisters
From my heart thus to you are sent,
Do not forget me.

Thus written on the 16th February, 1895, by
Sem Kaufman.

1.
Es ist schon eine lange Zeit,
Dass ich hab' konnen leben;
So hatt' der Herr mir in der Zeit
Auch dreizehn Kinder geben.

2.
Die also aufgewachsen sein;
Und sind noch zwölf, am Leben,
Dass sie schon ziemlich alt sein
Und noch gesund am Leben.

3.
So bin ich auch so zu der Zeit
Schon einundachtzig Jahr alt
Und hab' nochmal die grosse Freud,
Die Kinder nochmal sehen all.

4.
Wenn auch die Kinder sind zerstreut,
Sehr weit voneinander wohnen,
So sind sie doch auf eine Zeit
Auch all' zu mir gekommen.

5.
Dass ich sie nochmal gesehen
Mit mir an meinem Tisch essen,
Ist uns auch so zur Freud' geschehen,
Dass wir nicht bald vergessen.

6.
So waren ich und auch mein Weib
Und auch die Zwölf zusammen,
So beieinander in der Freud,
Dass niemaal so war kommen.

7.
So sein sie wieder fort von da,
Sein all' gesund heimkommen,
So waren wir auch alle froh
In Freud zusammenkommen.

8.
Den zweiundzwanzigsten September 1889
Waren wir beieinander da;
Ich und alle meine Kinder,
Und meine Frau war auch noch da.

9.
War aber nur ein kurze Zeit
Bis meine Frau gestorben ist,
Den 10. Oktober war ihr Zeit
Wo sie so hingeschieden ist.

10.
Das war noch in demselben Jahr,
Achtzehnhundertneunundachtzig,
Dass es so gegangen war.
So geht die Zeit geschwind und hastig.

11.
So geh' ich auch bald aus vom Jammer,
Wir reisen nach der Ewigkeit
Und geh' bald in die Todes-Kammer
Für auferstehen zur grossen Freud.

1.
It is already a long time
That I have been permitted to live;
So hath the Lord in this time
Also given me thirteen children.

2.
Who also have grown up;
And are yet twelve alive,
Already well advanced in age
And still in health are living.

3.
So am I also at this time
Already eighty-one years of age
And have once more the great joy
To see all the children again.

4.
Even tho the children are scattered,
Live very far away from each other,
Nevertheless all at the same time
Have come home to me.

5.
That I could see them once again
With me at my table eating
Was for us such a pleasure
As we shall not soon forget.

6.
So was I and my wife
And also the twelve together,
Thus together in joy,
As never before had been.

7.
So are they again away from here
All arrived safe at their homes,
So were we also all glad
In joy come together.

8.
The twenty-second September 1889
Were we together here,
I and all my children,
And my wife was also yet here.

9.
But 'twas only a short time
Till my wife died,
The 10th October was her time
When she thus departed.

10.
That was yet in the same year,
Eighteen hundred and eighty-nine,
That it so came to pass,
Thus passes the time quickly and hastily.

11.
So will I also soon pass out of the woe,
We travel toward eternity
And soon will enter the death-chamber
To rise again to great joy.

12.

So hat auch der liebe Gott geholfen alle Zeit,
Ihm sei Lob und Dank gesagt bis in Ewigkeit
Durch Jesum Christum. Amen.

Geschrieben den 9. April 1890 von
Sem Kaufman.

I, Sem K. Johns, on March 28, 1934 give this writing
as message to my children and descendants.

It has pleased God to bring me into this world
February 25, 1851 and has given to me Christian
parents, namely Joseph Johns the 3rd and Lydia Kauf-
man Johns, who taught me the word of God and
brought me up under religious influence. When I
became a young man, on April 27, 1873, the Lord bless-
ed me with a bosom companion, Lucinda Weaver
Johns. She was a faithful Christian woman and mother.
We were permitted to live together till all the children
were grown and had established homes of their own.

I and my wife both united with the Mennonite church
October 1873, in which church she was a faithful
member until the Lord called her home May 7, 1925, at
the age of 72 years, 5 months, 10 days. The Lord had
been good unto us as a family with the natural things of
life up to this time.

The Lord has blessed us with the following children:
one son, Joseph, and five daughters, Fannie, Katie,
Lydia, Lizzie, and Ella, and at this writing are all living.

On the 20th of August, 1933, I was permitted to hold
the first child of the fifth living generation, great great
grand-child, Ronald Earl Blough. He was not quite four
weeks old.

On yesterday, March 27, 1934, all the children and
myself were once more gathered together at the old

12.

So has the dear God helped alway,
To Him be praise and thanks to eternity
Through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Written the 9th April 1890 by
Sem Kaufman

home, ate a meal together and were dividing some of the
belongings of the old home. My descendants at present
number 54, 6 children, 22 grandchildren, 25 great
grandchildren and 1 great great grandchild.

I am now past 83 years and as Joshua said, Josh. 23.2
waxed old and stricken in years. I feel that I want to
leave a message and an appeal to my descendants, poin-
ting them to Deut. 33:27 realizing that God is our refuge
and underneath are the everlasting arms. I admonish
you to believe the whole Bible as the inspired word of
God. 2 Tim. 3. 16, 17, Rev. 22, 18, 19.

Have faith in Christ, Jno. 3. 16, 36.

Repent of your sins, Matt. 4.17 Acts 2.38.

Be baptized Mar. 16.16

Live a life of separation from the world, 2 Cor. 6,
14-18. Rom. 12, 1, 2.

Live a life of obedience. Obey the whole Gospel and
the reward of the obedient as given Matt. 7, 24, 25 and
Rev. 22, 14 shall be yours. May we all prepare ourself
for that great reunion of all the faithful, when Jesus will
gather all his faithful ones to Himself and then we shall
ever be with the Lord where all sorrow and pain will be
over and we shall be forever with the Lord. 1 Thess. 4.
13-18.

As a closing message, may the grace of our Lord
Jesus Christ and the love of the Father and the guidance
of the Holy Spirit be with you.





Region of yard art study.

WORLDVIEW ON THE LANDSCAPE: A REGIONAL YARD ART STUDY

by Helen Bradley Griebel

This is a study of lawn ornaments in a specific geographic region — the south-central part of Adams and York counties, Pennsylvania, and the north-central section of Carroll County, Maryland. Although most people in the area under consideration do not use yard art, a significant group was found who do, and their displays are highly visible to the public and therefore easily studied. The specific objects found here may not be used in other localities, but decorating yards is an informally learned tradition among some groups, and the patterns found in the very use of the objects may show a worldview shared by other regional groups.

The lines on the accompanying map represent the roads from which I viewed the yard art for this study. The choices were not arbitrary; the roads are those I traveled every week. The yards, then, are ones I saw most often for the past three years. To see if my original reactions were correct, I decided to read the landscape during the summer of 1985, using scholarly methods.¹ Observations and actual counts of lawn ornaments were made, and interviews with homeowners who use them were conducted. Although the objects in my study were referred to by the informants as "lawn ornaments," I will use that term interchangeably with "yard art" (a

term I first saw in an essay by Steven Ohrn²) in the following report.

In spite of the fact that my study region crosses the Mason-Dixon Line, the entire area is, historically, part of the larger Pennsylvania German cultural region.³ There have been continuous population moves back-and-forth over the Line, and the area is a homogeneous one — both rural and conservative. It contains farms, small villages, and one town — Littlestown — lying between the two larger towns, Westminster and Hanover. Nineteenth century houses form the core of the towns and villages, but prefabricated and tract-type houses are being put up on vacant lots in the towns, on their outskirts, and along the edges of fields as farms are subdivided. Only the front yards of these were observed for this study, as front yards represent the public display area of the homeowner.⁴ My findings have been categorized according to the materials used for the ornaments, and I have attempted to identify the groups who use them with special emphasis on several individuals whose yard decorations are original creations. In conclusion I explore the diffusion of the tradition on a national scale, and examine some of the possible reasons people use yard art.



Gazing ball.

Is the Medium the Message?

An overwhelming number of the lawn ornaments found in this section of Pennsylvania and Maryland are store-bought and made of cast concrete.⁵ Of the large ornaments, the most popular is a pair of kissing Dutch children; also popular are deer (usually grouped as a pair), and a single cast of three seahorses posed in an upright position. They form a pedestal usually topped with a bird-bath basin, but are sometimes used alone as sculpture. The seahorses are always spray-painted in iridescent colors, fuschia being the most commonly seen. Among the most popular medium-sized ornaments are a Mexican donkey pulling a cart (used as a planter), pairs of urns (also used as planters), and two-piece birdbaths. Commonly used small concrete ornaments include frogs doing human stunts (grouped under mushrooms or seated on benches under umbrellas), ducklings following a duck, rabbits, and gnomes.

Of historical interest is the metallic-colored, hollow glass ball balanced on a concrete pedestal. Glass balls mounted on pedestals were used in the gardens of wealthy Europeans in past centuries and were called "gazing balls." Ed Heiser, a retailer of yard ornaments near Gettysburg, says the only place the balls are manufactured now is in Ohio; but, he adds, "You can't get red balls anymore. Red balls were made before World War II, but they haven't made them since."

When asked which of his concrete objects are the most popular, Mr. Heiser replied, "Sometimes one thing, then something else sells the next time." He went

on to say that in the spring, birdbaths and flowerpots sell the best, but noted that his "sales fluctuate with the economy," and that "yard ornaments are getting more popular and more expensive."⁶ The prices for concrete objects at Heiser's range from \$11.79 for an unpainted urn to \$125.00 for a life-size standing deer. Small elves are priced at \$13.98 and seahorse birdbaths at \$40.00. This represents a sizeable monetary investment, but it may help to explain the popularity of cast concrete ornaments: not only are they durable, but their higher prices denote a certain status as well.

Rita and Bob, a couple who manufacture concrete ornaments, were more specific about which objects are most popular. In answer to questions concerning how they know what to make and what will sell, Rita says, "We go with what was popular last year. Seahorses, deer, and pots are always big." Bob adds, "Any new molds are gonna go. Some planters are good, some slow, but you gotta have variety. Deer and donkeys are always popular." Bob also says that most of the concrete objects sold are already painted, explaining that "plain ones are not popular."⁷ Though they may look identical to the untrained eye, Bob states emphatically



Cream separator whirligig.



Heiser's lawn ornaments; Gettysburg, July, 1985.



A national metaphor for yard art; joke advertisement in *Rolling Stone*, 1985.

that he would know the concrete ornaments he has made “because of my paint jobs. The elves especially take a long time. The big pieces are spray painted but details have to be done with a brush.”⁸ This may be another reason for the popularity of cast concrete ornaments: their bright hues (and, often, their size) attract attention to the owner’s yard.

The second most commonly found lawn ornaments are those made of plastic. Some examples are the red or yellow outsized, pinwheel-type daisies often found mingling in a bed with the real thing; the plastic pelican which tops a multi-armed planter; and the plastic Dutch windmill which often accompanies the aforementioned kissing Dutch couple.

Although it is true that, overall, plastic lawn ornaments are not as popular as those made of cast concrete, there is one exception — the pink plastic flamingo. Indeed, that bird has become a national metaphor for yard art. In Minneapolis, for example, they were sold in a trendy boutique as a joke item, along with highball glasses, cocktail napkins, notepaper, and postcards, all with the pink flamingo design motif. Moreover, a mid-1970s movie, *Pink Flamingos*, features the visual of a yard full of the plastic birds, and an advertisement in *Rolling Stone* magazine offers them for sale, saying, “Ruin your neighborhood. Stick ‘em in your yard. . . Genuine pink plastic.”⁹ However, in spite of an acknowledgment among some sophisticated groups that the pink plastic flamingo is in “bad taste,” they are still used as decorative elements in yards in this region.

Another material used for making decorative outdoor objects is wood; many small items are home-crafted from plywood, using commercial patterns. Specific examples found were a pair of dachshunds with a family name sign between them; a pair of skunks also holding a family name sign; a Smokey the Bear cutout holding a sign that reads, “Prevent Forest Fires”; and a policeman holding a sign that says, “Stop — Keep Off.” Two yard owners display, for sale, wood cutouts of birds with wings that rotate in the wind. One of these has no other yard art, but the other uses concrete ornaments to decorate his lawn proper, rather than the wood objects of his own making. Although not found naturally in this region which has neither river nor ocean, driftwood is also used to decorate flower beds, and oftentimes two sections of split rail fencing are joined at a corner post to form a triangle at the edge of the yard. This triangular space is used as a flower bed, and usually includes groupings of small concrete figures such as frogs and gnomes.

If driftwood is not indigenous to the region, rocks are, and they are used as borders for flower beds (and often are painted white). On one property the rocks used to form a retaining bank were painted blue, yellow, and red; at another, an enormous rock slab was upended at the edge of the yard and the family’s name was painted on it. Two months later, a neighbor erected his own large name-rock.

Recycling was a common practice among self-sufficient farm families,¹⁰ and while self-sufficiency is not a necessary lifestyle in the area today, the recycling habit seems ingrained from former times and it is not unusual to find outmoded or worn-out objects used as yard art. Milk cans, for instance, are often used as mailbox supports (although dairymen do not use them in this way), and on one street all five houses use them for this purpose, with each can painted a different color. Other objects once functional in this agrarian region but now obsolete and used for decorative purposes, include outdoor pumps used as mailbox supports; hand plows used as sculpture in flower beds; and a whirligig made from cream separators. While not a recycled item, the miniature farm windmills used in some yards also reflect the community’s agrarian heritage.

Among the most unusual recycled objects used as lawn ornaments are two old steam engines, both painted bright red. One homeowner explained that her husband — whose hobby is restoring old steam engines and tractors — was upset when, seven years earlier, a cousin intending to visit was unable to find their house. Because the steam engine under discussion had been in a barn fire and was not repairable, he painted it and placed it in

the yard to help identify the house — and his avocation.¹¹ Helping to identify their owners in the same way are a large concrete cow which stands in the front yard of a dairy farmer; and the two small concrete black bears which sit atop the columns at the entrance to “The Bairs” driveway.

Who Uses Yard Art?

Bob — the concrete ornament manufacturer — says that he and Rita sell to people who stop by, but they do not advertise, and generally sell only to retailers. When I asked what kind of people he thought bought from retailers, he replied: “Young people fixin’ up their yards. New developments. They sell a lot to them.”¹² Not all owners of new homes use yard art; however, the findings I made by counting groups of homes in the region, support Bob’s assertion that owners of newer houses use yard art far more often than do owners of older properties.¹³ My survey also shows that older homes that do contain yard art have usually been “modernized” with contemporary facades; those that have not been altered rarely contain such decorations.

In the study region, new houses with identical (or very similar) facades are often built in rows on one side of the road. For want of a better term, I will refer to these houses as “strip houses.” The strip houses are built at the edge of farm fields with front yards facing the road. Older farmhouses face the new houses from the other side of the road, or the farmhouses may be on the same side of the road, located on either end of the row of strip houses. My observations were made by traveling north from Carroll County, Maryland into Adams and York counties, Pennsylvania. Groups of houses were counted and compared in their use of yard art by types of houses. The following is a representative sampling of my findings.

On Route 97, for example, each house in a row of four new strip houses on the outskirts of Westminster, Maryland, displays yard art, but there are no ornaments in the yards of the farmhouses at each end of the strip. And, an interesting parallel in yard art use was found by comparing houses in the nearly twin towns of Union Mills and Silver Run, Maryland, that lie on either side of Route 97. Union Mills has fifty houses facing the road; Silver Run has fifty-four. In both towns, almost all of the houses date from the turn of the century or earlier. In Union Mills, three yards display small amounts of yard art, and one yard — the yard of an older house that has been modernized with aluminum siding — has a large display. The uses of yard art in Silver Run are nearly the same; there, four yards each have only one ornament, and one other yard — the yard of a house that, like its counterpart in Union Mills has been redone, has a massing of objects on display.

Continuing on Route 97 north of Silver Run, there is no other yard art until the outskirts of Littlestown, Pa., with one exception. The man who makes and sells wood

whirligig birds lives in a new aluminum, single-story house. His yard has a few of his own homemade wooden ornaments, but the greater part of the display consists of concrete objects. Most of the houses along this stretch of Route 97 are far apart, and most are older houses on farms that are still being worked. On the outskirts of Littlestown are six new houses, only one of which contains yard art; and a row of eleven older houses, only two with yard decorations.

On Babylon Road (which crosses the Mason-Dixon Line between Adams and Carroll counties) there are fifteen nineteenth-century farmhouses, eight with imposing two-story barns. Also lining Babylon — interspersed between the farmhouses — are twenty-nine aluminum or brick ranchers, all of which have been built within the past fifteen years. None of the yards of the older farmhouses have yard art of any kind; but of the newer houses, nine do have such displays. The newer houses on the road are situated on far less property than their farmhouse neighbors, and I noticed that the smaller the lot, the greater the amount of yard art. Is this an unconscious reaction on the part of small lot owners? By making a public display of their many ornaments, are they perhaps stating that they own more objects, if not more real estate, than their neighbors?

In the village of Kingsdale, just north of the Mason-Dixon Line in Adams County, twenty-six houses line the single main road through the village; twenty-one of these were built in the late-nineteenth-to-early-twentieth centuries. J. Norman Utz, whose nineteenth-century, two-story frame house is in the center of the village, has his original painting of George and Martha Washington (of which more later) nailed to a tree in the yard. The Bairs’ post-World War II bungalow (with its already-described bear-topped driveway columns) is at one end of the village, and at the other end is a long brick and aluminum rancher, built within the last ten years. Displayed in this yard are one large and one small deer, two swan planters, one duck and three ducklings, a donkey pulling a cart, and an urn (all of cast concrete); and two large and one small iron hitching-post boys. No other yard in Kingsdale has yard art.

On the outskirts of Littlestown, Pa., on Route 194, are nineteen, mostly turn-of-the-century houses, but with a few, newer ranch types as well. Six have yard art; of these, two are new brick houses, and the four remaining are older houses that have been redone with either aluminum siding or asbestos shingles. On the six mile drive north on Route 194 to the outskirts of Hanover, Pa., there are ninety-six houses. Much of the property on either side of the road belongs to large farms or horse-breeding estates, and most of the houses are older, but again, there are a few newer ones. Of the ninety-six counted, only thirteen have yard art; and four of these are in a strip of ten new houses, all brick ranchers. Of the remaining nine, four are also new brick or

aluminum ranchers, and the five older houses with yard art have all be modernized with aluminum siding, or asbestos or tar-paper shingles.

The above observations were made of single-family dwellings. Generally speaking, renters of attached houses do not use yard art, even when their houses are new. Of fifteen townhouses in a tract in Hanover, only one yard contains ornaments. In four clusters totaling forty-two attached houses in Littlestown, no yard art was found. The obvious conclusion is that only those living in unattached, single-family residences feel the need to make these displays in their yards.

Another conclusion I reached during my survey concerns the number of lawn ornaments displayed. I found that people who use yard art rarely confine themselves to a single item — apparently some people make a hobby of collecting such things,¹⁴ and when new pieces are acquired they are simply added to the collection; older objects are not rearranged. Just outside McSherrystown, Pa., for example, I interviewed the owner of a modern brick rancher.¹⁵ Her front yard has a pair of the kissing Dutch children grouped with a small plastic windmill and a pair of concrete deer — one seated, the other standing. She told me that she had just bought the little seated deer for her husband for Father's Day, because it "goes with" the adult standing deer she already had. Also on display is a wood bird whirligig and, in the flower bed, a plow with a concrete bird perched on the handle and a small concrete boy sitting on the plow wheel. The woman insisted I see her roses in the backyard, and there she had a statue of St. Francis, a Madonna situated in a blue-and-white curved nook, and a birdbath with small birds (each painted a different color) perched around the rim. All of these ornaments are made of concrete.

Another interviewee whose collection, once begun, grew rapidly, is Chester. Chester is a carpenter who built his wife and children a small, one-story,



Standing deer lawn ornament.

aluminum-sided house at the edge of a former cornfield. When I first saw the house three years ago there was nothing in the yard, and when I asked why he had not even planted trees, Chester said that his wife — raised on a farm, the youngest of nine children — liked the sense of space around their new home.¹⁶ A year later, however, Chester's wife planted two trees in the front yard and, in the fall of 1984, he erected a tall, split rail fence around the front and side of his property. The following spring they planted red and white petunias, and placed a pair of dachshunds — with a family name sign between them — in the middle of the yard. By July, 1985, the mailbox was supported with a milk can, and two white-painted wagon wheels graced the yard. A set of concrete frogs seated under an umbrella, plastic flower-shaped pinwheels, a wooden barrel with plants, and a concrete Japanese lantern now complete the decorations.

Four Yard Artists

Thus far an important pattern has been established: the overwhelming majority of objects used as yard art have not been original creations. Most people do buy their yard art ready-made, or, if the objects are homemade, they are copies from other patterns. Even recycled items are those things found in other yards as well. A significant exception, therefore, will now be discussed: four individuals who express themselves by creating original yard art. Incidentally, whether such mass-produced objects should be labeled "kitsch" (of little or no aesthetic value), or whether the objects made by the four people in this section can properly be called "art," are not the objectives of this study. As Roger Welsch writes, "Debate about what is and is not folk, is



Kissing Dutch children cast concrete lawn ornament.



Nellie's monument.

or is not art, has nothing to do with reality. . .”¹⁷ Welsch feels we should be looking for “the product of the spirit,”¹⁸ and that is what the following discussion will focus upon.

The first of my original artists is Lloyd, who has his truck hauling business next to an old farm property that he recently purchased. The property included an outhouse that Lloyd was going to burn, until he “thought up”¹⁹ a joke instead. He hauled the outhouse to the front yard of the farmhouse and attached hand-painted signs to both sides:

House for Sale
One room
with bath
Apply within

Lloyd says, “One fellow almost had an accident, He saw it and swerved off the road. Then I saw him laughing. One woman asked if the big house was for sale; I said, ‘This house has the sign on it, not the big one’ ” Lloyd sold the outhouse for \$5.00 but, “now I got two guys fightin’ over it.” (A week after the interview, the outhouse was removed by the present owner.)

Lloyd is of German ancestry and his family goes back in the region for several generations. He is part of the Pennsylvania German culture which is noted for its

“bathroom humor.” (Bodily functions are thought funny and are not referred to by euphemisms. This type of humor may be a reflection of the people living as farmers and working so closely with animals.²⁰) I have categorized Lloyd’s outhouse as an original example of yard art because, although outhouses have been the pivotal object of many jokes, I have never seen one used with a sign such as Lloyd made. Furthermore, Lloyd said he “thought up” the joke himself, so if it has been used before, Lloyd was not aware of it, and therefore it is an original joke used as yard art.

Lloyd does not live on the road where his business is located. He lives in a modern brick rancher and his own house yard has a concrete chicken and a large iron kettle with his name painted on it, recycled as a planter. It seems that Lloyd prefers more popularly used, and more permanent, ornaments for his own yard. The outhouse with signs was meant to be a non-permanent display, a “happening.”

On a back road in the region I came upon an object that is meant to last much longer: Nellie’s “monument.” Nellie is from West Virginia, and her husband, who runs a machine shop from a building in back of the house they built in 1949, is from Baltimore. The front and sides of the single-story house are form-stone and, according to Nellie’s husband, the doorbell plays twenty-four tunes.²¹ They have no art in the front yard, but the backyard may be a truer reflection of their taste. He built a shallow pool in the back and stocked it with goldfish. The pool holds 3500 gallons of water, has a fountain in the center, and is lined with rocks around the edge. A rock grotto at one end has another fountain, and a number of figurines surround the whole.

It was, however, the single ornament erected in the field next to the house that caught my attention. Although the field faces the road, it is surrounded on



Detail — Nellie's monument.

three sides by a grove of trees, and the object is not easily seen from the highway. First referred to by Nellie as her “monument” (“I told him [her husband] when I die, just plow it under with me”), it consists of three rounded tiers of concrete. Embedded in the concrete are pieces of broken glass, a Pontiac car emblem, assorted pieces of crockery, and a photograph of herself under plastic. Below the picture is a bronze plate into which she scratched her name and the date, May 28, 1970. That is the day she finished the monument. The field is kept mowed around it; indeed, a plastic brake-light cover and a teapot embedded in the concrete were broken when Nellie hit them with a lawn mower.

When asked where she got the idea for the ornament she replied, “Somewhere I saw one and I said, ‘I’m gonna make one.’ I liked it.” But she also made it clear that hers was not a replica of the one she had seen: “Oh, no. The ones I saw were square; two posts used at a road entry.” Her memories of building the monument are still vivid: “It took about six to eight weeks to make, scrounging in dumps for bottles to break, and tiles. Even found things in ditches. I wanted to put in more mirrors, but I couldn’t find enough.” Nellie made a single original object; on the rest of her property she follows the same pattern as Lloyd, using the kinds of ornaments popular with others in this region.

J. Norman Utz, on the other hand, is multi-talented and has many original creations to his credit. An eighty-two-year-old former house-painter and lay minister for the Church of the Brethren (as were his father and grandfather before him), he has written and had printed a book of poetry and a history of his Brethren church; carved canes from twisted wood and crafted twelve working violins; and painted many portraits. All of these creative activities with the exception of the poetry writing were begun when he was in his fifties, but it is



Barn painting by Norman Utz.

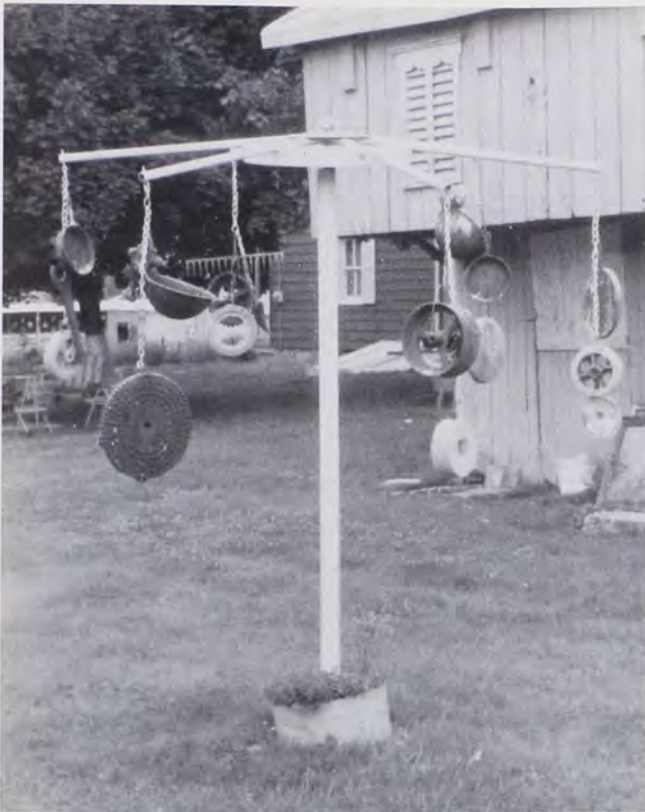


Norman Utz’s yard art.

only his paintings that are a part of this yard art study.

I first heard of Mr. Utz when I inquired about the large painting of Jesus (with “Prepare to meet thy God” under the portrait) that I had seen on the side of a barn. I learned that he did the painting in 1953, and retouched it in 1966 when he was sixty-three years old. He was also, as it turned out, the owner of the yard in which I had seen a life-size painting of two Pilgrims. The Pilgrim painting had been nailed to a tree but was removed before our first interview.²² Shortly before our second interview, Mr. Utz — perhaps because of my interest — placed a life-size portrait of George Washington and his mother in the yard. (That is the only yard art displayed at the Utz’s home.) I subsequently discovered that he has painted many life-size, full length or bust portraits of famous Biblical, historical, and contemporary figures — mostly males. (Twentieth century examples include Winston Churchill, John Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr.)

Mr. Utz’s creativity is helping him fill a lonely time. A widower who lives alone, he still feels deeply the loss of his wife and only son. Religion continues to play a vital role in his life — he still preaches on occasion and is active on church committees — and by painting deities (or near-deities) he is filling his time with creations that



One of the ornaments in the turquoise yard.

reinforce his strong religious beliefs. And, in painting males whose fame has made them immortal, he may be wrestling with the idea of his own mortality.

Unfortunately, the owner-decorator of the last property to be examined was not available for interview during the time of this study. An elderly male, he is believed to live alone. Before deductions can be made an interview would be imperative; however, since this yard is the only one found where all the decorations and arrangements represent an original creative expression, a description of it is included here.

On the property, a large farmhouse is painted barn red with pale yellow trim. Matching, neatly-sawn tree stumps — painted pale yellow and banded top and bottom in the same barn red — have been placed on either side of the front door and serve as planters for artificial evergreen shrubs. In addition, four trees and two telephone poles along the road frontage have been painted white up to a height of about four feet, and a concrete sidewalk in the back is painted red, white, and blue to imitate flagstones in a pavement. All of this, though, is merely background for the owner's primary display — a varied collection of objects, all painted turquoise.

The rain gutters, the metal gate, the metal garden chairs, a metal trough under an outdoor pump, a metal bucket in which a flagpole had been cemented, the metal poles of a fenced dog yard, and the metal strips which

enclose a flower bed; all have been painted turquoise. Moreover, three poles — each with arms parallel to the ground coming from its top — have been erected in the yard. On the arms of one of these poles hang plastic buckets of flowers; on the arms of another hang foam balls on strings; and the third pole has large iron objects (including frying pans and gears) hanging in groups from each arm. The poles, the arms, and everything hanging from them have all been painted turquoise. In short, the entire yard is an arrangement highlighted by the liberal use of turquoise paint, which also give the objects cohesion.

Although the creations of the above-mentioned four people are not representative of regional traditions, in every culture some individuals emerge who create something beyond their group's worldview as expressed in their material objects. Though the four are exceptions to the pattern, they still have something to tell us about the human need to create. In his classic study, *The Hand-Made Object and Its Maker*, Michael Owen Jones considers the uses creativity may have beyond the necessity of making a functional item; it may, for example, be a way of dealing with personal problems.²³ Bronner, in *Chain Carvers*, explores the uses creativity plays in old age by examining the patterns of the lives of four elderly men. Bronner showed that by recreating objects from their youth, the men were restructuring their remembered childhoods. Because they were retired, the men created to fill time that had previously been spent on the job.²⁴ Using the context in which the objects are created, both scholars show the reasons for human creativity.

Possible reasons for (and benefits from) Mr. Utz's



Detail — the turquoise yard.

creativity have already been discussed. We cannot really know what motivates the elderly man who created the turquoise yard, but some hypotheses may be surmised. Many of the objects he uses are no longer functional and recycling is the norm in this agrarian area, but in his liberal use of vast amounts of bright color he declares his individuality — his yard is unlike any other seen in the region. Lloyd and Nellie, both in middle age with none of their routines changed, seem to each have had a single burst of creativity. Lloyd had his “happening”; Nellie made her “monument.” Both now seem more comfortable using objects that are acceptable to the larger group. But Lloyd and Nellie — unlike the other two — probably have many years ahead to create if they feel the need to do so again.

Patterns and Conclusions

In his essay “The Concept of Community and Folklife Study,” John Michael Vlach proposes that community fosters what will be created.²⁵ Because of increased mobility and the availability of mass-produced, nationally distributed products which cross all cultural levels, I propose that much of what is created in late twentieth century America is influenced by the larger community, the national community; and that the idea — the desire — to use yard art is diffused on a national, as well as local, scale.

Locally, information about lawn ornaments seems to be spread quite informally. When I visited a yard in McSherrystown, for example, the homeowner, referring to the Dutch children, said: “A lady stopped just last week and asked where I had gotten them.” She went on to say they were bought at Richstine’s (outside New Oxford, Pa.), and then voluntarily went indoors and got me their business card. Bob, the wholesaler, says of people who use the decorations: “One’ll buy from someone and relate back to so-and-so where they got it.” Even Nellie had seen glass-embedded pillars that gave her the idea for her own monument, so it seems that the practice is spread by word of mouth and by example.

Although yard ornaments are not advertised nationally (no advertisements — except the previously-mentioned one in *Rolling Stone* — were found in popular periodicals), any drive along a major tourist route will suggest one very obvious way the ideas and products are diffused nationally. To cite just one example, on U.S. Route 50 (the major highway which carries traffic across Maryland’s Eastern Shore to Ocean City) outside the tourist town of Easton, Md., there are three yard art retailers. No doubt our mobile society provides them — and others like them — with a large market.²⁶

I have suggested that what is created is no longer primarily influenced by a regional community culture, but by a cross-cultural national community. I will further suggest that our worldview is becoming national;

that it too can no longer be considered regional. In *Small Things Forgotten*, James Deetz explains how a group’s worldview may be expressed in its material culture, in the objects they make or surround themselves with.²⁷ If this is so, then we may be able to analyze the worldview of a regional group of Americans in the 1980s by the objects they place in their yards. In his essay, “L.A. Add-ons and Re-dos”²⁸ Michael Owen Jones lists elements considered by homeowners in building or remodeling their houses: territoriality — which space is for whom and for what (“To some people, front yards are public and formal. . .”); symbolism and self-expression; association; identification; all are elements we can look for as expressions of a person’s or group’s worldview.

By putting some of his material possessions on public view, a homeowner is claiming that territory as his own. The objects which he chooses to place in his yard help him express himself and are symbols of what he believes to be important. In this study, the implication is that something handmade is not valued. The important objects are those that have been bought and are most like the things others are buying. The association and identity of this regional group seems to imply a need to match a neighbor. Both in housing types and yard decorations there is care taken not to appear unique — homeowners use material objects they feel are most acceptable to others; that is, the objects they see other people using most often.

In having similar worldviews, people who use yard art are probably not unlike other cultural groups who use material objects that help them to define themselves as part of the whole. The difference, though between our culture and those of the past is that in our society, individuals define themselves with purchased, mass-produced items. Indeed, Simon Bronner suggests that in our culture, the act of arranging such items gives the same “feeling of making, of producing,” that the actual handcrafting of objects gives in other types of economies. Bronner sees “in the ‘arrangement’ of mass-produced items a creation of folkways.”²⁹

Deetz, exploring the changing worldview of man as he moved out of the Middle Ages, noted that it took the large group a long time to stop eating from the communal bowl and to start placing windows symmetrically in their houses.³⁰ But in our age of rapid mobility and mass-produced products, the worldview quickly becomes that of a much larger group. In our age a distinct worldview within a small group may not be possible, so it is not surprising that of those people found who decorate their yards, an overwhelming number use purchased, mass-produced items; an overwhelming number live in newer, mass-produced housing or in housing that has been “modernized” with conforming, contemporary materials; and, an overwhelming

number regularly exhibit many items rather than a choice few. Such exhibits of yard art imply a worldview of the individual's right to freedom of expression within the larger society; however, the use of mass-produced objects that are within the group's idea of what is appropriate, indicates a worldview of conformity to a group standard. So well exemplified by the use of yard art, this dichotomy may be indicative of other patterns of conflict in a democratic society in an age of mass-production, rapid mobility, and raging consumerism.

ENDNOTES

¹The theories and methods of these scholars, particularly, gave me direction for this study: Simon J. Bronner, Henry Glassie, and Peirce F. Lewis.

²"Gifts to the Street: Landscaping With Yard Art," in *Passing Time and Traditions: Contemporary Iowa Folk Artists*, ed. Steven Ohrn (Ames, Iowa, 1984), pp. 2, 84-89.

³Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Phila., 1983), pp. 36-37.

⁴It is interesting to note, however, that I found yard art used on the grounds of churches, a VFW post, and farm buildings.

⁵However, Gerald Pocius, in "Newfoundland Yard Art," in *Flights of Fancy* (curated by Patricia Gratton, Memorial University of Newfoundland Art Gallery, 1983) noted the use of handcrafted ornaments to the exclusion of store-bought items in his study region.

⁶All of the information from Mr. Heiser was obtained in an interview on 21 July 1985.

⁷Except for some urns, all of the ornaments sold by Ed Heiser, the retailer, are painted.

⁸Rita and Bob were interviewed on 7 and 9 July 1985.

⁹23 May 1985, p. 69.

¹⁰Pocius also found recycled objects used as yard art: see "Newfoundland Yard Art," p. 8.

¹¹Interview, 7 June 1985.

¹²Interviews, 7 and 9 July 1985.

¹³Contrary to what I found, Patricia Gratton in *Flights of Fancy* (p. 6), found yard art "very limited to suburban areas. . .," noting that most Newfoundland yard art was located in communities where there is a strong personal identification of long duration.

¹⁴Ed Heiser says that "some people drive 100 to 150 miles on a weekend just to pick out a new lawn ornament." (Heiser is "open and selling" all year long.) Another study of this hobby might focus on its seasonal ramifications, for I noticed that by the end of October many of the small concrete ornaments were taken up — presumably to be stored for the winter — and replaced by pumpkins, cornshocks, and scarecrows. These in turn were replaced by Christmas displays which were followed, in the spring, by plastic rabbits and trees decorated with multi-colored plastic eggs. The tradition of summer yard decorating has been established; further study would extend yard decorating traditions for each season and would best be conducted using, as samples, the same properties which were decorated with summer yard art. This would establish if the same people who use summer yard ornamentation continue to decorate the outside of their houses throughout the year.

¹⁵7 June 1985.

¹⁶Conversation, May, 1982.

¹⁷Roger L. Welsch, "Beating a Live Horse: Yet Another Note on Definitions and Defining," in *Perspectives*, p. 231.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 222. Simon J. Bronner's *Chain Carvers — Old Men Crafting Meaning* (Lexington, Ky., 1985), and his study of "Cal" (pp. 70-86) in *Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America* (Lexington, Ky., 1986), gave me a fresh vision of what to look for in the creative process and in the creations of the four makers of original yard art.

¹⁹Interview, 8 June 1985.

²⁰Frederick A. Weiser, "The Pennsylvania Germans in Carroll County," lecture, Historical Society of Carroll County, Md., 22 March 1984.

²¹Interviews, 8 and 16 June 1985.

²²8 June 1985. Our second interview took place on 24 July 1985. Mr. Utz is a gregarious man who enjoys talking about his work and who willingly answers questions about it. He proudly shows off the objects that he has created. He says that he continued to paint because someone had seen his first painting which he used "to close up a window on the back porch. Then people said, 'You have a hidden talent there, boy.'" When asked which he prefers to create most — violins or paintings, Mr. Utz replied: "I was thinkin' the same thing just the other day. Which have I got the most kick out of — paintin' a picture or makin' a violin? When you see a man playin' your violin, or you're playin' and you see a maker smilin' you know he's enjoyin' it. And then people come in and they'll express themselves about a paintin'. I like them both — I like the violin makin' and I like the paintin' — seems like they go together."

²³Jones cites the example of Charlie, a man unable to function within the norms of his community, who created eccentrically designed rocking chairs. Dealing with his unhappy marriage, he often spent long periods in creating as a way of avoiding personal confrontations.

²⁴Like Charlie in the previously cited Jones' study, one of the old men used chain carving as a way to resolve difficulties in an unhappy marriage. Both works — Bronner's and Jones' — should be read in their entirety for the reader to get a good picture of what these scholars are saying.

²⁵In *American Material Culture and Folklife*, pp. 63-75.

²⁶Other large retail lawn ornament outlets noted at random on U. S. tourist routes include South of the Border (Rte. 95, N-S Carolina border); and the Williamsburg pottery located outside that historic town. Ed Heiser, the retailer, notes that he has a large trade from tourists who visit Gettysburg from all over the country.

²⁷James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: the Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York, 1977). See especially chapters 5 and 6. And Deetz, "Behavior," in *Invitation to Archaeology* (New York, 1967), pp. 105-34.


²⁸In *Perspectives on American Folk Art*, eds. Ian M. G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank (New York, 1980), pp. 337-38.

²⁹Conversation, 25 November 1985.

³⁰Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*.

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