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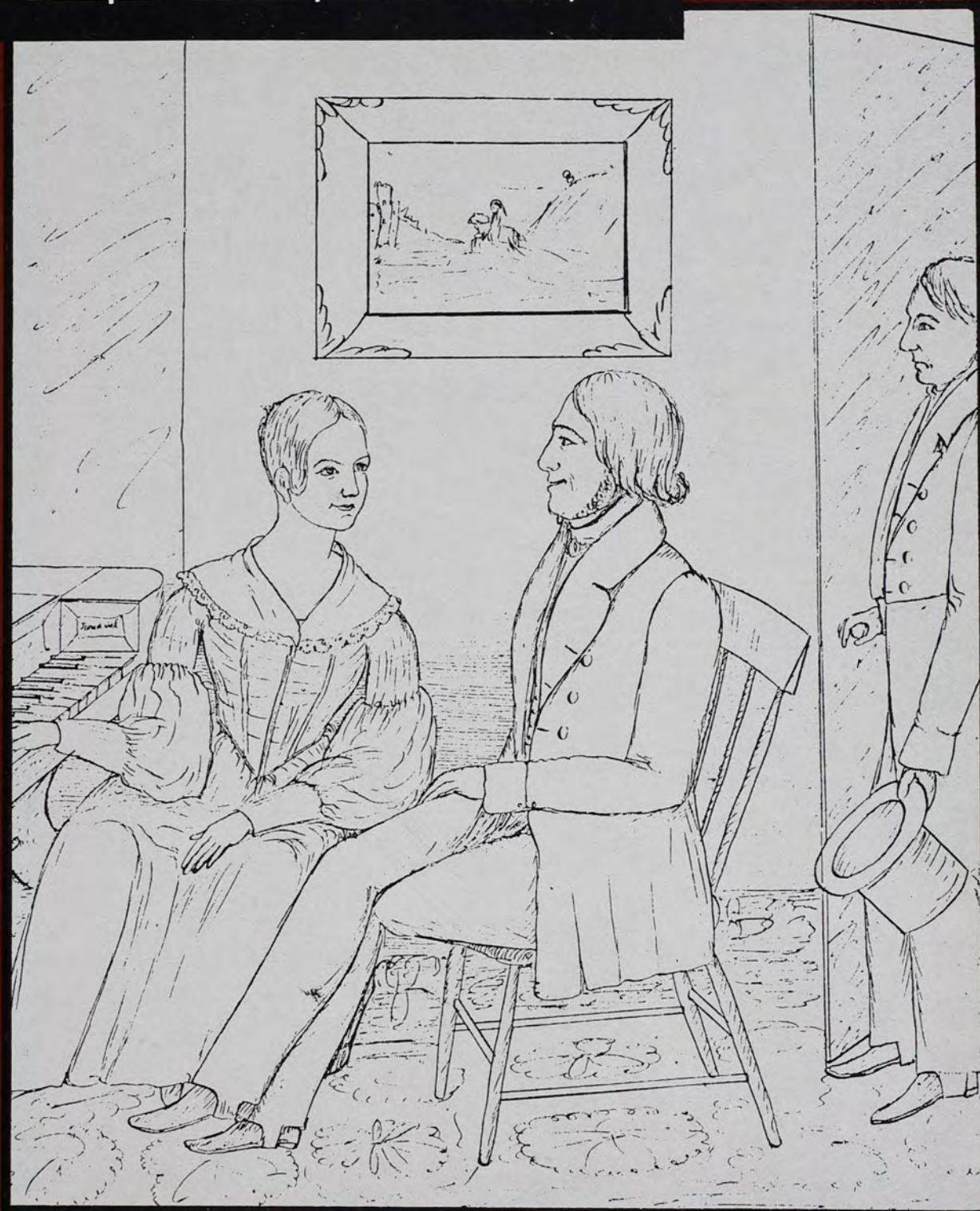
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Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, Amos Long Jr., Synnove Haugom, Don Yoder, John A. Burrison, and Clement Valletta

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

AUTUMN 1965



The Year of the Rupjonjim

*Cover : Collegiate Romance, Marshall
College, Mercersburg, 1841.*

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**

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CLEMENT VALLETTA

THE

RUPJONJIM.

*Published during the winter session
1840-1841 at Marshall College.
Embellished with thirty four illustrations*

*Edited by
Jared & Franklin.*

Titlepage of "The Rupjonjim."

*Colored Title-Plate of "The Rupjonjim" (Mer-
cersburg, 1841), with lifelike portraits of the three
editors: Oliver Hartley ("Rup"), Jeremiah Good
("John"), and James Reynolds ("Jim").*

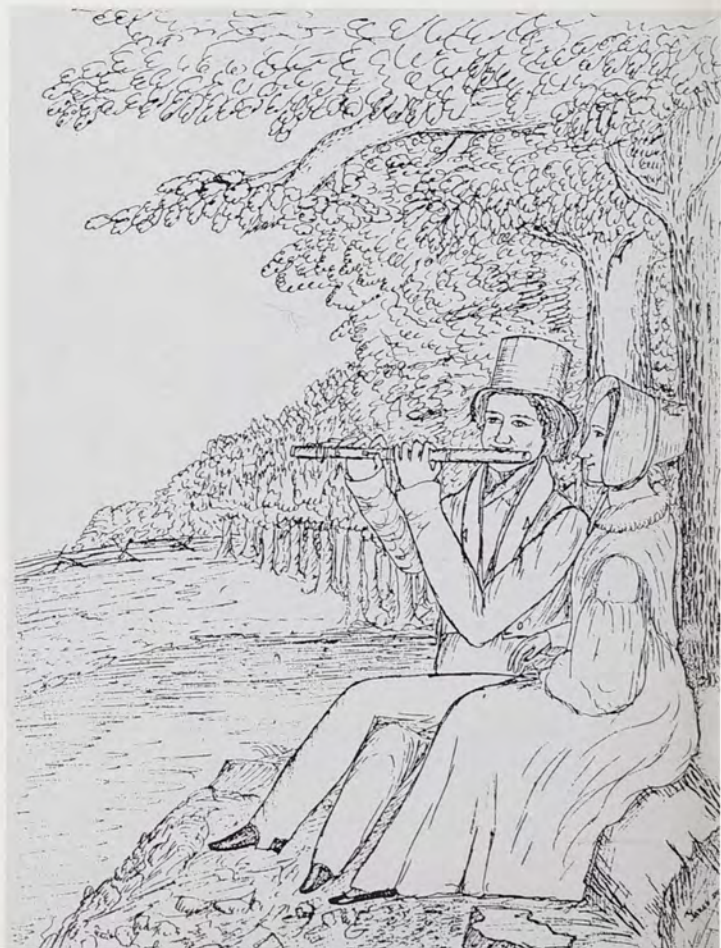


*Illustrations from "The Rupjonjim"
courtesy of Fackenthal Library,
Franklin and Marshall College*



*Profiles from Marshall College, 1841. Note long hairdos,
not really excelled by the present collegiate generation.*

*A collegian in the dress of the 1840's entertain-
ing his girlfriend with a flute solo. "Jared" (Jere-
miah Good) drew this sketch and put in a Penn-
sylvania "snake fence" at the edge of the woods
to the left.*



The Year of the Rupjonjim

By ELIZABETH CLARKE KIEFFER

Two of the characteristic phenomena of the 1840 decade in the United States, were the burgeoning of small newspapers and the blossoming of small colleges. It was inevitable that these two movements should meet and merge, and soon every small college had at least one student newspaper.

At Marshall College, founded at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1837, chiefly as a preparatory institution for the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church (which shared its only building) and spoken of with contempt as "the little Dutch college in the hills," the student body of forty had no spare cash to support any printing ventures, but this in no way discouraged them from joining the modern trend. Theodore Appel, of the class of '42, in his *Recollections of College Life* (1886) reports that there were five student papers in his day. These were handwritten by the editors, as many as ten copies of each issue, and were passed from room to room by the subscribers.

Of only three of these papers have the names survived, possibly because of their oddity. The first, begun in 1840, was the *Ranala*, named for Aristophanes' "Frogs" ("He croaks like a true Rana," says a rival editor reviewing one of its leading articles). The second, which we shall discuss, was the *Rupjonjim*; and the third, which began in February, 1841, rejoiced in the title: *Aldeborontiphosciphorniocticos* (a title borrowed from H. Carey's *Chrononhotonthologos*).

The present article will adopt the current student practice and call the latter journal the *Alde*. Of the *Ranala* and the *Alde* only a few stray copies are extant; but of the *Rupjonjim* the Franklin and Marshall College Archives possess a complete bound volume, recording a whole college year as it passed in the Seminary Building on the hill below Mount Parnell.

We owe the preservation of this unique volume to the historical sense of Emanuel V. Gerhart, graduate of the class of 1838, then a tutor in the ramshackle building across the town, which housed the Preparatory School, and later to become the first President of Franklin and Marshall College, in Lancaster. Probably because of his close connection with the Good family, in whose house in Mercersburg he roomed and with whom his future life was closely united, he preserved and bound the entire file, together with the illustrations (for which subscribers paid extra) signed *Jared*, the pen name of the junior editor, Jeremiah Good.

The frontispiece of the volume is an allegorical composition in black and white entitled "Hope Deceived" which depicts a dying Cupid, wearing a garden hat and nothing else except a weed which rises from the grass around him to serve as a fig-leaf. Many of the other illustrations are also representative of the contemporary classical revival, but of little other interest to the social historian. The title page, which is in water color, is not only of greater artistic merit, but far more interesting. It would seem to have been done exclusively for the bound volume, as it would have been a complete revelation of the names of the carefully anonymous editors. Instead of the title it is merely headed THE; and beneath, three college boy editors seated at a round table in order of their editorial pseudonyms: "Rup," "Jon" and "Jim"; and at the bottom, "Mercersburg, 1841." The boy at the left, a cheerful red-head with a cowlick, is writing on a paper labeled "Criticism." The one in the centre, looks straight forward, as if doing a self-portrait from a mirror, while the boy at the right, somewhat older and more sophisticated in appearance than the others, distinguished by a Roman nose and side-burns, stares into space, as if contemplating his next editorial.

It took considerable research to identify these gentlemen, but a fairly definite conclusion was reached. "Jim," to begin at the right, was the senior editor, James Reynolds. His father was the editor of the *Lancaster Journal*, and an intimate friend of James Buchanan. Jim, with journalism in his blood, had been the originator of the newspaper fever at Marshall. He with George Staley of the class of '42 had started the *Ranala* a year before. They were the only ones of the personnel who used their own first names instead of pseudonyms. In the fall of 1840, they seem to have agreed that a little rivalry would make the adventure more fun. George therefore announced that he had fired Jim for drinking, and Jim started a new paper, beginning with a violent denial of the "libellous charges." He took into partnership his roommate, Oliver Cromwell Hartley of Bloody Run (now Everett), Pennsylvania, who was known as "Old Bloody" to distinguish him from his brother Rufus ("Young Bloody").



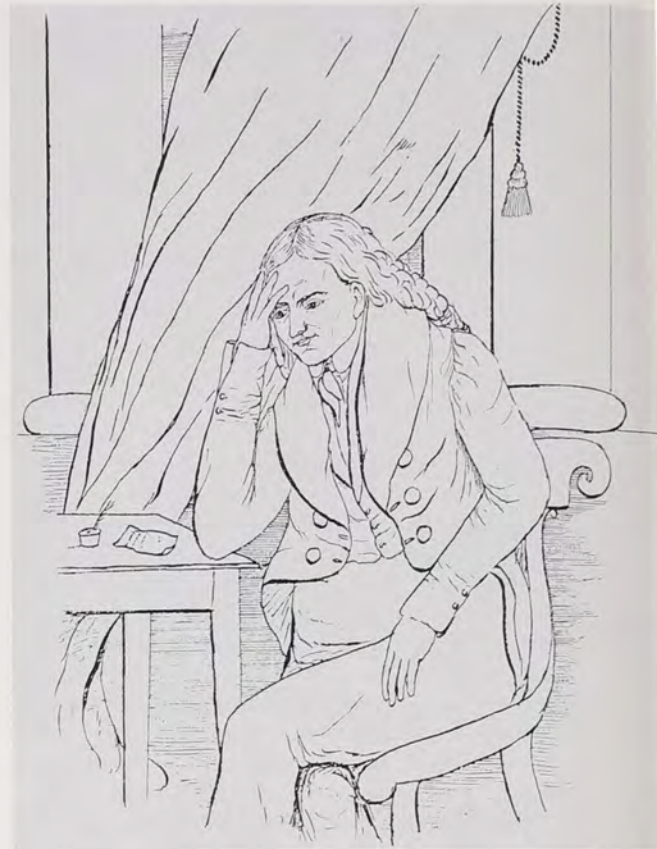
"Jonny Peep," curls and all. Another of Jared's sketches.



Marshall College students preparing for class; or are they editors working on the "Rupjonjim"?

Why, journalistically, he chose to call himself "Rup" will never be known, but he is unmistakably the jolly red-head of the title-page. This year (after the September commencement, and the six-weeks vacation which followed) it became necessary for Jeremiah and Reuben Good, brothers of William Good who was a tutor, to move from their mother's rooming-house in the town, to the Seminary building, all upper-classmen being required to live there. Reuben became the roommate of George Staley, and served as junior editor of the *Ranala*, while Jeremiah became "Jon" of the *Rupjonjim* and also its talented artist "Jared." In both characters he appears to have been well-known, because the secretary of the Goethean Literary Society, in all seriousness, calls him "Jonathan" Good, and records the purchase from him of "two portraits of Dr. Rauch," evidently the same which appeared in the *Rupjonjim* in March.

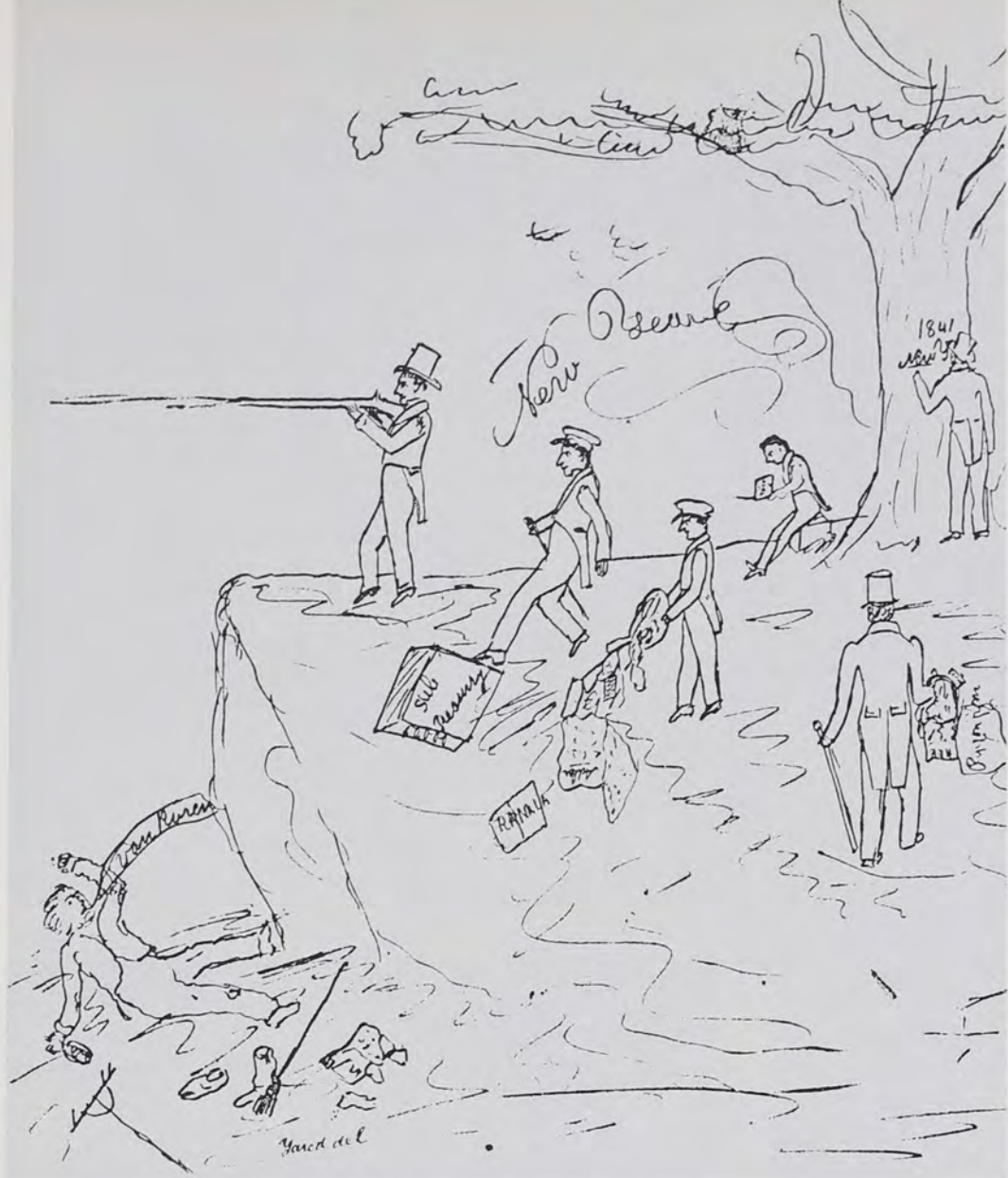
It is a fortunate coincidence that the year of the *Rupjonjim* was one of the most important in the history of the college. Friedrich Augustus Rauch, the frail and brilliant young scholar, who had been its first President, lay dying in the North Cottage, teaching his classes from his couch in his study, and working to the last on a new edition of his *Psychology*, the first American textbook in the field. Into the South Cottage, Dr. John Williamson Nevin had just moved his family. He had come to be president of the Seminary, but because of Dr. Rauch's illness found himself forced to take up the duties of both presidencies, which he carried until the removal of the college to Lancaster in 1852. His



The "Pensive Philosopher," one of Jared's best portraits, reflecting Biedermeier taste in backwoods Pennsylvania.

quiet, charming brother William M. Nevin had come too, as professor of Ancient Languages and Belles-Lettres, and his love of literature and ability to impart it, was soon to affect the style of his pupils.

These items of college history are a part of the *Rupjonjim's* concern. So are the affairs of the village. So are national politics, for it was an inauguration year. But like all student papers, its chief concern was the daily life of the students, and it is in the scarcely conscious revelations of attitude, mores and conversation, that it makes its chief contribution to the social historian. Let those who think that college life of the date was all plain living and high thinking, consider these quotations: "Neither collision of lips nor pleasing words were wanting, until about three o'clock in the morning when Michael again left." "We hear that about fifty mince pies have joined the teetotal society." "Christmas is coming, if we do not expect to receive a basket of cakes and nuts, yet we shall at least obtain a suspension of our studies, and that is something rare. Perhaps we may have a goose or a turkey, or more probably ducks, for we see a number running about in our yard." In one of "Jon's" mud-slinging attacks on his rival editor, who was also his brother, he accuses him of being over-fond of the ladies, and says that his conversation about girls "would create a blush upon the cheek of every one of you." Love of the ladies, however, was usually presented in the light of a virtue; in describing the hero of a short story, it is said that "he was a symmetrical young gentleman, with a good disposition, and of most tender feelings for the fair sex." Another gem of style, from an editorial, may apply here: "The various taste dispersed



"Shooting in the New Year".
 In this drawing Jared combines politics, both national and collegiate, with the Pennsylvania folk-custom of greeting the New Year with rifle shots.

among individuals is what few are capable of satisfying."

There are many passages which reflect the social history of the day. When we recall that the line of the B&O railroad had only just been completed as far as Greencastle, and would not reach Cumberland until 1842, the following description of railroad travel is not so naive as it appears: "The first thing that strikes the modern traveller particularly is the rapidity of travelling. This is perhaps the greatest advantage of railroads. . . . There is something admirable in the appearance of a locomotive as it rolls along in all its full power."

A great deal is said about the vulgarity of using slang, although a great deal of it is unconsciously used in the text. The editors of *Ranala* are lampooned as saying to each other: "Haven't we written a sight of them?" "I'll be switched!" "The Dickens!" "Let their paper go to grass!" Upon which Jim comments, "*Si sella erst era aigner failer aus finda, eb as si andera beschemba.*"

A brief article headed "Modern Hyeroglyphics" is a protest against the vulgar modern habit of saying "O.K.!" A space filler on the next page is: "Thunder and blazes! as the keg of powder said when it blowed up!"

There is a discourse on *Coffee*: "Coffee is a delightful drink which exhilarates the whole system of man and breathes into it a feeling of cheerfulness and vivacity. Look at the perfect

coffee devotee, as he sits at the table inclining over a cup of this delightful beverage, whose steam, as it flies upward envelopes his face, he already feels its effects, as the drunkard does with his nose to the bung-hole of a cask of liquor."

An article entitled "A modern pedlar," is illustrated by one of Jared's most lively pictures. The setting is the corridor of the upper floor of the Seminary building. This individual, says Jared, stopped at his room, and despite his insistence that he wanted nothing, insisted on displaying his wares: "table cloth, handkerchiefs, merino veils, 'they will not cost you anything!' His term of license being nearly out, he will sell at first cost. After half an hour he left, having sold nothing. But before he left he said 'Thank you.' For what, I do not know, but I suppose for *his* trouble."

The Christmas number announces the forth-coming publication of a town newspaper, the *Mercersburg Spy*. Says Jim: "We do not fear that they will in the least injure the *Rup-jonjim.*"

There is also a news item: "A small 'wise-speckill' cow left town about a week ago. Where she is neither fear nor hunger can bring her from. It is believed that she is kept on the fourth floor of the Seminary by several ill-intentioned students."

The New Year opened with an eight-inch snowfall. Jared predicted that it would go on snowing forever, and the hu-

man race would perish. A touching item headed "The Little Heroine," describes the adventures of a small servant maid who was sent to carry something to Dr. Nevin's house, and could find no other path through the drifts, than the footprints made by the president himself on his way to church. Since these were adjusted to his own tremendous stride, and not to the capacity of a child's short legs, she was almost dead with exhaustion leaping from one print to another, when the students rescued her.

In January, still deep in snow, the old frame preparatory building burned down. The townspeople blamed the students. "Nothing like this ever happened before *they* came to town." Jim gives a vivid report of the fire-fighting methods of the village. Wakened in the night by the cries and the light, he dressed sketchily, and bucket in hand dashed to the scene. "Soon the people were gathered together, and commenced the accustomed bawling out: 'Fire! Fire! Water! Water! Buckets! Buckets!' The worthless engine could effect but little, being incapable to cast forth all the water it was fed with, half of which was wasted in the street . . . (The crowd) which was composed of all ranks of individuals Professors, students, male and female, black and white, all lent their aid to stop the raging elements which sent forth its in-

supportable heat, defying any to face it, but the perseverance of man checked the raging element and limited its fury only to the Preparatory . . . which was soon leveled to the ground . . . with it many books shared the same fate, the principle of which I will mention, which is the Roll Book, which is a pleasure to many of the students, particularly those who had a large number of marks for deficiencies. They have passed to oblivion and are void of all recognition."

The minutes of the Coethean Literary Society inform us that "Jonathan" Good spoke for the Affirmative(!) on the question "Which have the greater reason to complain of the treatment of the Americans the Indians or the Africans?" Jim reported the oration in his own gentle style of foolery: "He mounted the stage with a graceful alacrity and after a polite bow, commenced a speech which astonished every beholder. There was a beauty and sublimity in his appearance which we could not help but notice, his face, flushed with the big ideas that pressed upon his mind and ornamented by the black curls which dangled about his face. He commenced with the admirable and pathetic idea. 'Poor Indians!' and continued with an occasional sentence as: 'Civilization is praised by every man.' . . . We indulge the hope that we may one day see his name emblazoned upon the pages of immortality."

Among the notes headed *Squibs* in the next few numbers, we find: "A fat man, the other day, was thrown out of a sleigh. When he got up, he left such an awful impression



"The Peddler."—Once a familiar sight on the roads of Pennsylvania, the peddler here is shown canvassing the upper dormitory hall of the Seminary Building at Mercersburg.



Telling Ghost Stories at what appears to be an applebutter-boiling. Mercersburg, 1841.

we got so far as Middleboro when which I and the lady with daylight began to freeze us with me entered. The hack drove us some eight or ten miles. I could have a faint idea of the city over the clear view of my fellow passengers and stone streets, turning a great seeing their broad brimmed hats many corners. and seeing it conjectured them to be some people, perhaps many handsome children of our or quakers or some other plain could scarcely contain myself kind of persons. At six o'clock we arrived at Frederick where I surveyed its principal ornaments. At ten o'clock I entered the city for the first time ever. I traveled on a railroad and at two o'clock I arrived at the wonderful bustling city, where plenty of hacks were waiting, ready to convey us to any part of the city which we chose to be taken to. I engaged one in



Phil and his Jew's Harp.
 "Old Tip is the boy, to fling the flail
 And make the loafers all turn pale
 ——— Hurra-hurra
 This is his favourite come hear him"



Funny Odester

"When in the course of human event it becomes necessary for many people to assume among the powers of the earth the station to which the laws of Fashion and of Fashion's God, ordain them, the scene is marked by some of those

important and extraordinary events, which are scattered very sparingly throughout preceding history, traditionally monumental or written." The pages of History have an record the deed of past nations, and among the most prominent, are the worshippers of Idols. And we the present civilized nations of the earth, look with contempt upon their silly or foolish enthusiasm which they displayed in worshipping their Godless Idols. But at the same time we are guilty of worse deeds, than ever had been recorded on the pages of History. Those that have been recorded, have worshipped their Idols in ignorance being uninformed as to in the

Vignette of Negro Phil and his Jew's Harp. Beneath it: "Old Tip is the boy, to fling the flail, and make the loafers all turn pale . . . This is his favourite. Come hear him."

in the snow, that some ladies coming by had to blush to look at it."

"We were in hopes that we could announce to the public the death of the *Ranala* . . . but it is only deranged on account of one if its editors continually squeeling French in its ears."

"Several new members have joined the choir and a flute."

We do not know who the flute was, but the choir had been recently organized by a campus personality, several times mentioned in various items in the *Rupjonjim* as "A certain red-haired Seminarian," who was almost certainly Henry Harbaugh, who had entered college a year before, at the age of twenty-three, with so irregular a preparation, such overwhelming ambitions, and such overflowing energies that he was taking courses in the Preparatory, College, and Seminary, all at the same time, reading Goethe in the original on vacation, studying Astronomy and Hebrew which were not in the curriculum, teaching a Sunday School in the mountains, and directing the choir, and a young ladies' singing class for recreation.

The humorous feud between the two papers seems to have become a bit more real, for awhile, if one is to judge by a rather savage article, entitled *Curiosus* in which George Staley, the frail editor of the *Ranala*, is described as a sort of monster who "when he walks thrusts his long neck so far forward that his head hangs down so far that there is a horrible apprehension lest he tramp on his lower lip."

This feud, however, was quickly extinguished in a common antagonism to the new paper the *Alde*. The editor of this was a freshman named Daniel Negley, who wore a cork-soled shoe, and was hence referred to, with typical student

brutality, as "The Cork." Like Byron, and others in the same predicament, the effect of his deformity on his character, seems to have been a malicious, mischief-making desire to pry into other people's less savory affairs. The reviews of the first few numbers, and the few copies of the paper which survive, show clearly that the paper was conceived as a scandal-sheet, and that someone, possibly the editor himself, as is clearly shown in one of Jared's pictures, where he is observing a fellow-student's love-affair from behind a curtain, or, as possibly, his co-editor, Theodore Appel, was learning and exposing the inmost secrets of the student heart.

The first action taken was in the form of a poem, entitled *Jonny Peep*.

"No one hates him, only such
 As think that Jonny knows too much,
 And oft he maketh consternations
 By publishing his cogitations."

The poem is unsigned, and if a copy of it, with the cover letter to the editor, did not exist in the unmistakable handwriting of Henry Harbaugh, we would not know its origin. Neither does the poem identify its subject, but the accompanying portrait by Jared, while carefully avoiding the deformity, is said to have been an unmistakable likeness. The poem was followed by others in the succeeding numbers, in which the attacks grew more and more savage, with results which have been so often described that they need only be summarized here. Negley demanded to know the author of the lampoons. The editor, true to tradition, refused to reveal his name. Goaded beyond any common sense, the boy formally challenged his rival editor to a duel. This seems to have provoked considerable consultation. Most of those in-



The Student Literary Society in the German Reformed Church, Mercersburg, 1841.

volved were far too intelligent to allow anything so serious to eventuate from a mere piece of foolishness, yet Jim, apparently, did not want the humiliation of refusing the challenge. Someone at last devised a method of turning the thing into a joke, while, at the same time, teaching "the Cork" a deserved lesson. The challenge was accepted, the date set, the seconds appointed, but, of those involved, only Negley was left in ignorance of the fact that the pistols were to be loaded not with bullets, but with pokeberries. Both versions, that of Theodore Appel, and that versified in epic style as the last of the Peep poems, agree that Negley broke down at the last minute and tried to rescind his challenge, which was not allowed; but they disagree as to what happened when the shots were fired. Appel says that Jim fell to the ground apparently covered with blood, and the terrified Negley took to the hills, and had to be sought out and informed of the truth. The poem insists that it was Negley who, feeling himself hit, and seeing the red fluid stream from his chest, fainted. On which:

*"Cordial is now applied, Daniel revives
Quite glad to find he's not dead, but alive."*

The number for the first week of March includes two interesting pictures. One is of the inauguration of William Henry Harrison as President of the United States. Jared explains, in the text, that he observes that the illustrated weeklies come out with wood-engravings of such historic events on the day after their occurrence, and knowing that



*The Holdup—Illustration for a Story in the "Rupjonjim."
Note snake fence in background.*

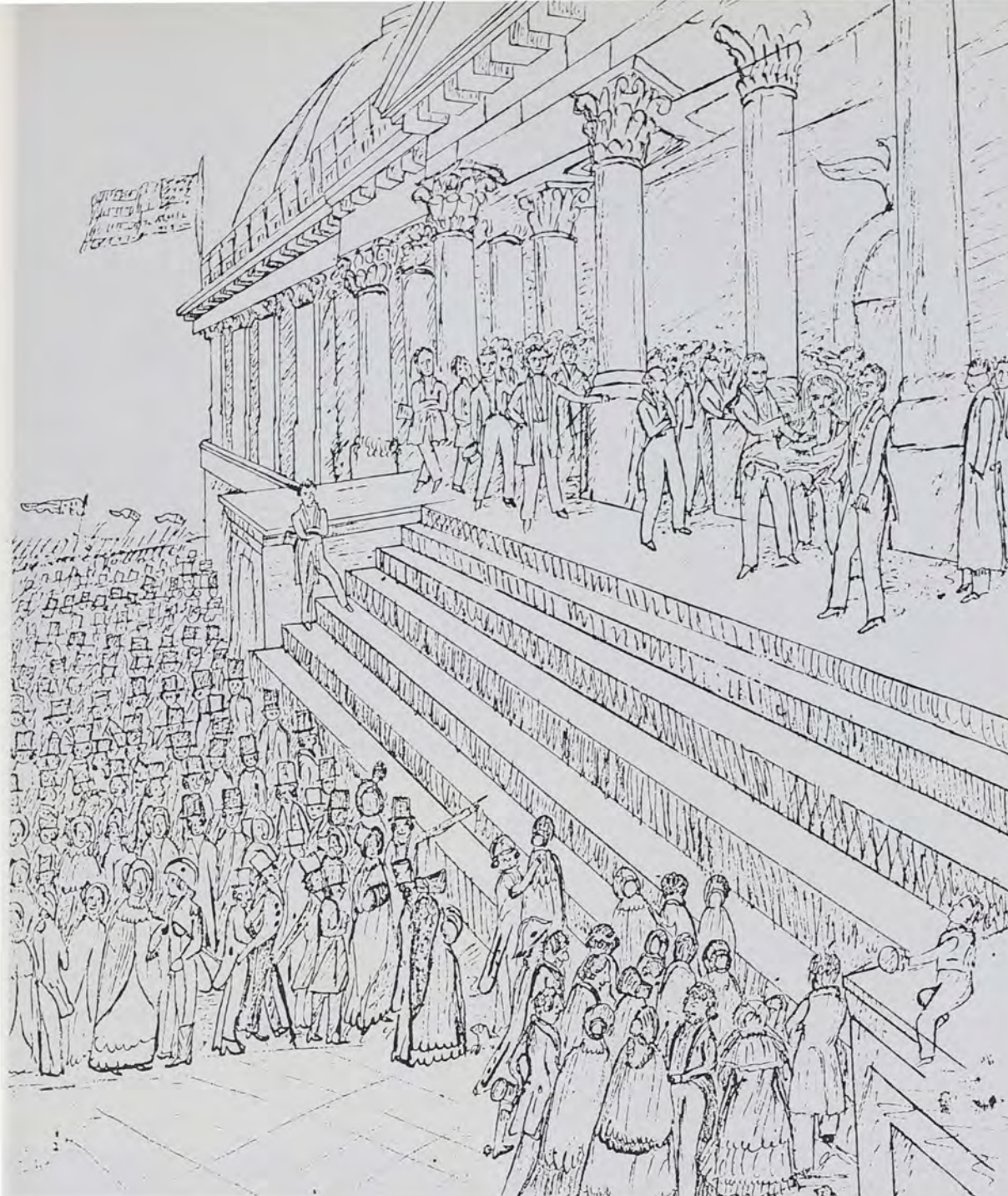
they must have been done some days earlier, he has felt justified in making his picture, also, from earlier pictures of the capitol and portraits of the central figures, also justified in showing himself and his colleagues as present in the foreground, Daniel's cork boot being, this time, greatly in evidence. "It is possible," says Jared, "that he is seeking the office of Editor-General of the United States."

The other, far more carefully drawn, is of an urn, set among trees and bushes, (the type of funerary art known to antiquarians as "a gloom") and, on the pedestal, the only known portrait of the brilliant youth who had just ended his career as first President of the College. The news item says: "As the Fourth of March is distinguished by the inauguration of the President of the United States, it is also remembered by the students of Marshall College as the burial of their esteemed President, Dr. F. A. Rauch."

The final number, which contains the poem on the Duel, contains an announcement that, as the two senior editors are leaving for the vacation, the Junior editor will publish a tri-weekly paper called *The Porto Rozar*. There is a very handsome apology to *Curiosus* for having hurt his feelings, ending "We doubt not . . . that he will shine in the firmament of the literary world with the brilliancy of the noonday sun." The rest of the issue is devoted to a detailed review of the Junior oratorical contest, which took place in the Reformed Church. It is illustrated with one of the best of Jared's detailed pictures. This is the end of the *Rupjonjim*.

What became of the boys who laughed and quarrelled through its pages? We know something of them all. "Old Bloody" Hartley (the "Rup" of the title) studied law and moved with his brother to Texas, just in time to serve in the Mexican War. He became an authority on Texan law, on which he wrote several books. Hartley County in Texas is named for him.

Jim Reynolds, like his roommate, studied law, but did not



*The Harrison
Inauguration at
Washington, 1841.*

practice it actively. He succeeded his father as James Buchanan's man of business, and made the nominating speech for him as President; but did not accept office in his administration. In the Civil War, in which his brother William was an admiral, and his brother John, a general, was killed at Gettysburg, Jim served as Quartermaster General under Governor Curtin.

Jeremiah and Reuben Good, and their friend George Staley stayed on at the Seminary, and were ordained in 1845. The Goods went to Ohio, where they founded a college at Tiffin (now Heidelberg University), and Jeremiah, having tasted journalism, established a successful periodical, *The Western Missionary*. George Staley (the frail and scholarly *Curiosus*) was forced to leave the ministry because of his health. He founded the "Mt. Washington Female Seminary" just outside of Baltimore, and when it failed during the War because of the loss of its large Southern enrollment, founded another girl's school in Frederick County, Maryland. After the war he became principal of a colored gram-

mar school in Baltimore, and spent the rest of his life in the service of the Negro race, by whom his name is still revered.

Henry Harbaugh needs no explanation. He served his church well, as minister, editor, and Seminary Professor. He, too, founded a college, Mercersburg College, using the old buildings abandoned when Marshall College moved away. He died young, in 1867. The "Deutsch" world still loves his poems, and the church still sings his "Jesus, I live to Thee."

Theodore Appel became professor of Mathematics at his Alma Mater, and went with the college to Lancaster. His grandson is at present the President of the American Medical Association.

Dan Negley, "The Cork," remained in college for another year, but did not graduate. Dr. Appel says of him: "The duel was a salutary lesson for him. After this, he improved in all respects . . . lived as a humble Christian, and adorned his profession." If it produced no other result, the *Rupjon-jim* had served its purpose.

Attached Frame Summer-House near Reinholds on Berks-Lancaster County border.



Photographs by Amos Long, Jr.

Early Log Structure on Benjamin Hower Farm, near Harpers in Lebanon County. Once the dwelling house on the farm, demoted to summer-house and now used for storage.



Side Attached Summer-House on Harold C. Hetrick Farm, Berks County, with large stone spring-house in foreground. Actually the main dwelling has two attached summer-houses, at side and rear.



Detached Log Summer-House on James Monteith Farm near Kauffman's Church, Lebanon County, with springhouse at left. Note two front doors, for entrance to separate rooms.

Pennsylvania Summer-Houses and Summer-Kitchens

By AMOS LONG, JR.

If our elders could have replaced their summer house or basement kitchen with one of our modern kitchens, they would have probably felt as uncomfortable and out of place as most of our mothers and housewives of today would feel if they had to be content with the summer house of yesterday.

Like many of the smaller structures and outbuildings found on the early 19th Century Pennsylvania homestead, little has been written or recorded concerning the summer house. Although they are found in practically all areas of rural Pennsylvania, they are far more numerous in the Dutch Country and in recent years have proven to be of unusual interest to traveler and student alike.

In most pioneer log cabins, the kitchen comprised the entire lower portion or the major part of it. In the later log, stone and brick houses, the kitchen was usually located in one corner of the dwelling.

As the size of the family increased and as the dwellings of the early pioneers or the facilities of the kitchen became inadequate to perform the increased domestic chores associated with farm and home, succeeding generations, during the latter part of the 18th and 19th Centuries erected a separate or attached building; or, a completely new and larger main dwelling was erected separate from or against the original structure. The original structure was then frequently used as the summer house or work kitchen.

It has been stated that the era of the summer house belongs



Attached summer-house at rear of Harold C. Hetrick farmhouse, Berks County.

to the 18th and 19th Centuries when most of the home industries were relegated to the summer house.

Although the structure was used for many functions, the preparation of food became the most important. Since most of the food for winter consumption was preserved during the summer months when the yields from the family garden and orchard were harvested, and the cooking and eating were done here during the summer to eliminate the heat from the kitchen in the big house, the structure became known as the "summer house" or "summer kitchen."

Convenience and economy in most instances determined the location of the summer house. Easy access to the kitchen of the big house, sunlight, winds, and nearness to other out-buildings helped to determine its location.

The summer house is found in a number of practical arrangements. If the kitchen was attached, it was usually extended, one or two stories, either from the middle of the rear side beyond the corner of the house; or one end of the house was similarly extended with a roof arrangement similar to the main house. Frequently with this type of arrangement, the summer house was extended from the main house by a common connecting door.

Location and type were also determined by the domestic chores within the home. If the summer house was used to perform the many rigorous domestic labors associated with the early homestead and farm in addition to cooking and eating, different considerations were given.

Frequently a semi-detached structure to be used as a summer house was similarly constructed adjacent to the big house with a connecting porch and usually a partition with a door, built between the two buildings.

A number of mid-19th Century farmhouses had the summer kitchen on the lower or basement level. This arrangement did not present the most pleasing appearance but it provided a very economical, practical, and comfortable summer kitchen. It was similar to the bank barn which is built on the side of a hill. This made the kitchen much cooler during the summer months, warmer in winter, and provided a readily accessible entrance to the lower basement level from the outside.

The writer spent some time as a youth with relatives whose summer kitchen was located in the basement of the house. Although the area was no longer used for cooking and eating, the massive fireplace still served to heat large amounts of water in huge iron kettles for use in laundering and butchering.

A number of the basement kitchens contained a strong flowing spring, and although part of the floor area may have been inlaid with brick, stone, or later concreted, many had a portion with ground floor exposed which was used for storage. The basement kitchen provided the facilities necessary during this era to perform the more difficult tasks with slightly less effort.

Frequently the summer house was an entirely separate structure which was built later than the main dwelling to provide more and better facilities. Sometimes when the original house was replaced with a larger stone, brick, or frame dwelling, the original structure subsequently was used as a summer house.

Many of the original dwellings were built on the side of a hill with an entrance at both upper and lower levels and near or directly over a spring. The spring provided a good flow of water for domestic use and served to refrigerate milk and other perishable foods. The structure served well as a summer house and provided an excellent place to perform the



Cellar Kitchen on 18th Century Farmhouse, built 1761, on farm of Frank Dunkle, Blandon, Berks County.

many rougher household chores. In addition to eliminating fire, heat, flies, and odors from the big kitchen, the separate summer house frequently eliminated much confusion and disorder, it provided for better ventilation, and often more appropriate accommodations for the farm hands or maid.

The function of the summer house was geared to the needs of the farm family. From sometime in early spring until late fall, usually from April to October, depending on the weather, the various daily activities of the household from dawn until dusk were performed here. In this one room, with the aid of the cook-stove or range which had replaced the fireplace for heating and cooking by the middle of the 19th Century, all the meals were prepared and served.

After the members of the family and hired help had risen at an early hour, some went to the barn to take care of the feeding and milking, while others attended to preparing a nourishing and wholesome breakfast. When the chores at the barn were completed and the breakfast prepared, hands and faces were washed in the basins of water provided for this purpose. There may be some readers who can recall or have been told how certain members of the family, particularly the children, would have to go to the nearby stream to prepare themselves for mealtime.

The routine of daily living went on pretty much the same as it did in the big house. Here the daily, weekly, and seasonal tasks were performed. Only occasionally was the big house used during the summer months. In most instances guests were entertained and fed in the summer house unless it proved too small; then the adults were served in the big kitchen and the children in the summer house. It was used for storage, as a laundry area, or butcher house during the winter months.

The summer house consisted of a large square or rectangular room on the first floor. Many of the structures contained a loft or second floor, which was used as a storage area or for sleeping quarters for the maid or hired hands, and a basement beneath the first floor, which was used for food storage.

This Berks County Farmhouse, near Bernville, has the unusual feature of possessing both a summer-house (left) and cellar-kitchen (below).



Detail of Basement Summer-Kitchen on William Siegfried Farm, near Bernville, Berks County. This is a common pattern of brick farmhouse in Pennsylvania in the 19th Century.

The average dimensions vary from fourteen to eighteen feet wide and eighteen to twenty-four feet long with ceilings eight to nine feet high. In addition to being spacious, many had large windows and porches, walks, and roofed-over passages to the big house.

Fewer windows are to be found on the original dwellings which were later used as a summer house than those structures which were built during the 19th Century for summer occupancy. In these later structures we find more and larger windows because of the desire for a greater amount of light in order to perform the many domestic chores. Usually the kitchen because of its thick walls of logs or masonry had deep window sills which found many uses.

The doors to the earlier summer houses were frequently divided horizontally in two equal portions. On some the top portion was slightly smaller than the lower one. The upper portion was opened for light and ventilation during

warm weather. The lower part was kept closed in order to keep out the dogs, cats, fowl, and hogs when they wandered close to the kitchen.

In later years, a large pane or sash with glass was fitted into the upper portion to allow light to enter and in part to help to prevent accidents. A sliding shutter was frequently used to keep out the light or cover the area when so desired since people were accustomed to less light before the days of electricity.

Fewer of the summer houses had two full-length doors. This was a more common practice when the first floor was divided into two smaller rooms and an outside entry and exit was desired for each room.

The front of the summer house and porch were usually built to face south or east. This was done to provide as much sunlight and warmth as possible inside the kitchen and beneath the large porch. It was on the porch that much of the domestic work was performed during the early spring and late fall months.

When the weather was too hot to retire early, it was on the porch or in the adjacent yard that the family and hired help would sit for a while to talk. More frequently, however, after the evening meal and final evening tasks were completed, dusk had arrived and it was time to retire so that it was possible to rise early again the next morning to begin the daily work.

Everyone was expected to move directly to his sleeping quarters in the main house without disturbing or molesting anything on the way. The sleeping quarters were generally comfortable because of the thick wall structure and because the windows and shutters were kept closed and the shades drawn during the heat of the day.

Although the porches were rather large they were kept well cleaned by frequent scrubbing. Near the porch were to be found one or more covered drains. Beneath many of the porches, cisterns were constructed to catch and hold the rain water for domestic use when the water supply was low or if there was no spring or well water available.

On or near the porch there were also to be found one or more shoe scrapers used to scrape off the lumps of mud and



Stone Summer-House on Isaac Lantz Farm near Lebanon.

dirt. In front of the door entrance a rug or burlap bag was placed. This was used for the final cleaning of any dirty boots or shoes.

Roof structures varied to fit the architecture of the main house but most were of a gable or combination type. The original roofs were covered with oak shingles, some with side and end-lapping; still others were covered with native Pennsylvania red tile. In most instances these have been replaced with other more recent and conventional roofing materials.

On the peak of the roof, usually near the front or center of many summer houses, was a large dinner bell protected by a small canopy. This was used to summon the family and hired help in from the fields. To the rear or on one side of the roof, the chimney to the fireplace projected beyond the peak of the roof.

Attached to many summer houses was the bakeoven. This was a practical arrangement if the oven door was located on the back wall or beside the fireplace. Many of the attached bakeovens have been destroyed or have been left to deteriorate through the years since most of them are no longer used.

Within this small attached structure was a hearth built of stone or brick masonry with an ash pit beneath and an opening from which the ashes were removed. The hearth floor was located three or four feet from the floor and had a brick arched roof built over it which was plastered on the outside. The base of the average oven was about five feet long, four feet wide, and one and one-half feet high at the center inside. The oven door measured about fifteen inches long and twelve inches wide. It was usually constructed of wrought iron and hung with ornate hinges. It was in the bakeoven that the weekly requirements of bread, pies, and cakes were baked and the many fruits and vegetables were dried.

For convenience many of the summer houses had a simple frame shed attached which was used for storage and protection of the fire-wood which was placed there for use in the fireplace or kitchen stove.

Beneath some of the summer houses are still to be found a deep root-cellar some of which had as many as fifteen to twenty steps for entry. These deep cellars were used to help preserve the vegetables and fruits which were gathered from the family garden and orchard until they were consumed

during the winter months. In addition to the milk and foods such as cabbage, turnips, potatoes, pumpkins, squash, artichokes, apples, and barrels or jugs of vinegar and wine were stored here.

Within a close distance to the summer house one could usually find a white-washed picket fence or stone fence which surrounded the chicken-yard or pig-pen. It was in this area that the garbage was thrown and quickly disposed of by the chickens or hogs.

In all of the early summer houses and summer kitchens a fireplace, designed to meet the cooking and heating needs of the farm family, was a necessity. In many of the summer house structures, particularly the pioneer cabins which were used in later years as the summer house, the fireplace and chimney were located in the center, when the area was divided into two rooms. Many times there was a five-plate stove set up against an opening to the rear of the fireplace on the other side of the wall to aid in heating the adjacent room. It was in front of the fireplace, when the structure was used as a year round living quarters, that the family clustered before its light and warmth on cold, windy, winter evenings. In later structures, the fireplace was located at one end or to one side of the kitchen.

The fireplace consisted of a rear wall and a jamb on each side about thirty-six to forty-two inches high. The sturdily constructed jambs and foundation supported the enormous chimney which was built vertically to the ceiling or near the ceiling of the kitchen and then sloped on the second floor or loft toward the roof again taking a vertical position above the roof. There are many variations to be found among fireplaces. Some of the openings were wider and lower, others were narrow and high. Some were square. The outside, overall width of most fireplaces measured from ten to fourteen feet although some measure more. The openings measured from eight to twelve feet and four to five feet high with a depth of four or five feet.



Summerhouse-Springhouse on Paul Blatt farm near Bernville, Berks County, with entrance on upper and lower levels; now used for storage.

Some of the earlier fireplaces had a masonry or brick arched opening. The front of most of them was supported by a horizontally placed balk (lintel beam) which measured from eight to twelve inches in thickness. A plain, wide shelf or mantel, sometimes of stone but more frequently of timber that would not warp or dry out, projected above the fireplace. Here such items as a clock, some pottery, dishes, a lamp and other utensils were to be found. Here and there were hooks and nails upon which the fireplace hardware was hung. Only occasionally were there any inscriptions to be found on the face of the balk.

The fireplace was constructed of stone or brick masonry or a combination of both. Frequently an opening was built into the rear or beside the fireplace wall which led into the bakeoven. Some fireplaces had niches built into the jambs or in the wall adjacent to the fireplace where older members of the family or children could sit near the warm fire and out of drafts. Smaller niches for storage of equipment or placement of lamps were also found.

Many of the fireplaces had folding wooden doors which were used to close the opening when there was no fire. The doors were constructed to fit into the opening of the fireplace. Some fireplaces had an arrangement of close-fitting iron plates, with iron rings, on top, which could be lifted out to receive the globular bottoms of the kettles.

The fixed equipment found in or near the fireplace located within the summer house was generally a bakeoven, a swinging crane, and occasionally a five-plate stove. The iron cranes were installed within to support the large, heavy, iron kettles, and to allow the housewife or attendant to swing them out of the fireplace to add to or withdraw from the contents. Many times there were smaller cranes, trammels, and pottracks conveniently placed to support smaller kettles, pots, or lamps.

Some of the fireplaces had a lug-pole from which the large kettles were suspended. It was usually made of green timber, properly sized; or metal, supported at the sides or rested on cross-pieces which had their ends in the walls approxi-



Early 19th Century Summer-house and Spring-house Combined, near Quentin, Lebanon County. Photographed 1959; before recent renovation.

mately eight or ten feet from the floor and far enough up the chimney to prevent ignition.

The ends of the pot-hangers were hooked on the lug-pole. When the hangers were too short, a short length of large link chain was attached to the poles and the kettle-hangers were hung from the chain. The fires were usually no larger than required because of the conservatism of the Pennsylvania Dutch and because of the danger of destroying wooden equipment found near the fireplace.

In addition to the large, heavy, round iron kettles which hung from a crane and used to boil water for washing clothes,



Summer-House on Arthur Kunkle Farm near Jonestown, Lebanon County. This stone and frame structure is 30 feet long and 20 feet wide and has underneath it a stone arched cellar 6½ feet high reached by 12 steps.



Attached Summer-House and Auxiliary Shed on Robert Hewitt Farm near Kutztown, Berks County. Note thickness of walls and central chimney.

equipment, floors, etc., or when butchering, to fry out lard and for boiling large pieces of meat and the pudding; there were smaller cast-iron or copper pots, kettles, and pans which were used for boiling, steaming, stewing, and deep fat frying. There were long-legged trivets for holding the kettles over or near the fire; smaller vessels such as the tea kettle and coffee pot, and long-handled utensils such as the waffle iron and coffee roaster. A Dutch oven used for braising may have been found in the area.

There were long-handled forks used for cooking and toasting, pokers used for stirring the fire, a shovel for removing ashes and an iron rake or scraper used to form a cooking bed of glowing coals. There were usually fire-tongs used for lighting candles and lamps. Among fewer families there may have been a bellows used to fan the fire and a fire-screen which was used between the attendant and the fire if it was large and gave off a great amount of heat.

With the passing of time and the introduction of the iron cook-stove, the use of the fireplace and related utensils and tools was abandoned. Cooking and baking were done on a stove or range which was set between the jambs of the fireplace or immediately in front. This progressive step meant less effort and time involved in caring for the fire, in cooking, and much less dirt for the housewife.

The furniture and equipment found in the summer house varied, depending on whether the kitchen was used only for cooking and eating or if it was used also to perform the other domestic chores of the farm household.

The most important piece of furniture was a large table which was used for eating and as a work-table. As a dining table it had to be large enough to accommodate the family and others who may have been present at meal time. It was



Frame Summer-House with Dinner-Bell. Located on the Park E. Sheesley Farm East of Harrisburg in Dauphin County.



Detached Brick Summer-House on Carl Hefflinger Farm, between Myerstown and Frystown, in Berks County. Constructed of roughly hewn timber and pegged throughout, this summer-house contains an arched cellar and an attached woodshed.

customary for anyone visiting a Pennsylvania Dutch home at meal time to be asked to eat with the family. The table was usually made of walnut or cherry wood and could be extended by use of additional boards which could be inserted. Many of these tables could accommodate twelve to fourteen persons at one sitting. Some tables had overhanging tops which could be lifted and were supported by a swinging arm. Most of the tables had a drawer on one or both ends with wooden or porcelain knobs or brass handles. For use at the table there were always one or more arm-chairs, an ample supply of plank-bottom chairs, and long benches for the children.

Many times there was a smaller table which was sturdily built and used as a utility or work-table. It was made of wood that would not easily warp or crack because it was continually being washed or scrubbed. The dishes were usually washed on the table with the use of a dishpan and tray, unless there was a sink or wash-bench available. The earliest of these benches were small. They had a raised back and sides with long legs or enclosed stand beneath. Some of the later types had a cupboard above the sink to provide space for the dishes.

On the water-bench a bucket of water with dipper, one or more wash basins, and perhaps a soap dish were kept. It was here the farmer and his helpers washed their hands unless they did so outside by the rain-barrel, the pump or in the stream. There may have been a bucket-bench with several shelves on which the water and milk buckets and crocks rested.

There were one or more cupboards of various kinds for keeping the glassware and china used on the table and other items of pewter, copper, and brass which found use in the kitchen. Some of the cupboards were open, others had wooden or a combination of wood and glass doors on front. When there was more than one cupboard, the second one was usually built in the corner for the better items of china and glass.

Of the many chores performed in the summer house, cooking was probably the most frequent and important. Aside from cooking there were weekly or semi-weekly chores such as baking, washing, sewing, etc. There was also seasonal work such as the drying and canning of fruits and vegetables, the butchering and smoking of meats, and the boiling of soap.

If there was no wash house or it was too cold on the porch, the washing of clothes was done in the summer house. Before the day of the washing-machine, the clothes were boiled and stirred with a stick in one of the large iron kettles or in a wash boiler to remove grease and stains. On wash day which was usually Monday such items as wooden tubs and stands, and a wash board which was used to rub out the stains on the clothing were among the pieces of equipment to be found in the summer house. The clothes were hung outside, on a line provided for that purpose, over the picket fence, or laid on the grass to dry. When the weather was inclement during the winter months and the summer house was not used for living quarters, the clothes may have been hung in there to dry.

The introduction of the glass jar brought about another household industry into the summer house. Up until this time most of the fruits and vegetables were preserved by a slow drying process in an oven or stove.

When butchering, after the hogs were slaughtered, bled, scalded, and halved and the beef slaughtered, skinned, and quartered; they were carried to the summer house which was used to cut the meat into sections if there was no butcher house or other suitable place. On the chopping bench the pork sections were cut into hams, shoulders, chops, or for use in preparing the pudding, sausage, and lard.

It was in the summer house that much of the pork was fried out to remove the water and fat, placed in large crocks and covered with hot lard. This preserved some of the meat, particularly sausage, for many months. Within the large iron kettles in the fireplace, cornmeal was added and stirred into the meat broth to make scrapple (*ponhaws*).

The beef was cut into proper-size portions, including some for dried beef and bologna. When butchering such items as a sausage stuffer, lard press, numerous knives and choppers were among the needed equipment and utensils found in the summer house. Many times the same area was used for scalding and plucking chickens and other fowl.

The fresh meat which was not fried and packed in lard was either brine or dry-cured to remove the blood and water from the meat and some smoked. If there was no smoke house, the hams, shoulders, bacon, sausage, cuts of beef, bologna, and tongues were frequently hung by large iron hooks on thin saplings which had been laid across the beams or from nails driven into the beams in the upper portion of the summer house just beneath the roof. Many times, beside the chimney, a small room or area was boarded off in which the smoking was done. One or two bricks removed from the chimney allowed the smoke from the fireplace beneath, to enter.

With the scraps of fat which were saved from the butchering and the fats from frying which were saved and accumulated through the months, soap for the family was frequently boiled in the summer house fireplace.

In the fall of the year if there were no provisions made outdoors, applebutter was boiled in a large copper kettle which hung in the fireplace.

The writer vividly recalls as a youth while visiting with a great aunt and uncle on the farm, that each morning before breakfast everyone present would kneel at a chair, bench,

Rear View showing attached smokehouse.

Semi-Detached Brick Summer-House on Levi Mast Farm in Oley Valley, Berks County, built 1897. Note arched windows.



in a corner, or other suitable place in the summer kitchen and there would be what seemed an endless prayer, praise, and song service. Then a hearty breakfast was served before the major tasks of the morning were undertaken. This was and still is in some instances a common practice in many Pennsylvania Dutch homes.

While visiting and gathering material for this article and in conversing with the older folk who lived and worked in the summer house during their earlier years, many interesting and humorous experiences were related.

Mrs. Eva Wolfe, aged 70, R. D. Lebanon, recalled that during extremely hot weather, the windows in the summer house were raised which allowed numerous flies to enter since there were no screens. She said that it was primarily her responsibility as a young girl to keep the flies from the table during mealtime. To do this she used an improvised fly chaser made from newspaper, known as a *micke-wehrer* in the dialect. She told that occasionally the table was prepared and the family ate out in the lawn immediately in front of the summer house beneath the grape arbor. She said eating out was most enjoyable but she hated chasing the flies.

Theodore Ramsey, Lebanon, who is of Pennsylvania Dutch and Irish descent, said that his family's summer house was always used for eating purposes during the summer months except when they had company for a meal or when the threshers were there, then the big kitchen was used. He said their summer house was also used to separate the cream from the milk after it had been cooled and brought from the milk-



house. A cream separator was used for this purpose. The cream was used for making butter and cheese. None of their milk was sold to the creamery. In winter the same area was used for butchering because of the large fireplace which made it convenient for heating water and cooking and frying the meat, lard, etc.

Harry Mills, aged 68, Lebanon, recalled the following incident which took place in the summer house on the farm on which he was employed as a youth. He told of an old lady smoking her corn cob pipe while rolling dough which was to be used for making potpie (*bottboi*). He said he will never forget seeing her pipe fall out of her mouth and some of the ashes falling on the dough which she was rolling. Disgruntled and with a soft utterance, she brushed off what



Two-story Brick Summer-House with two porches, Cyrus Winter Farm, North Annville Township, Lebanon County



Semi-Detached Summer-House on William Siegfried Farm near Bernville, Berks County. Note breeze-way arrangement attaching summerhouse to main dwelling.

she could and rolled the rest into the dough. He related that he helped to eat the potpie and even though he was the only other one who knew of the incident, it still tasted good because he was so hungry.

One old lady told of her experience with a snake that in some way got into the summer house. She recalled that on one occasion while peeling potatoes her attention was focused on the floor and she noticed a rather large snake crawling near to the wall toward the corner. After a moment of shock and not knowing exactly what to do because she was alone, she realized that she had better attempt to hit or kill it. But she said, "Until I set the potato dish aside and got up to go after it, the snake had disappeared somewhere into an opening behind the fireplace." She said that they never did find the snake, but for the rest of the summer she was very much alert while in the summer house.

An elderly man related how as a hired boy he slept on the top floor of the summer house and how frequently at night he was kept awake or awakened by the gnawing of rats or squirrels between the framework structure.

Another informant related that his parents had an ice-box in the summer house and as a young lad it was his responsibility each night before going to bed to empty the ice pan which had been placed beneath the ice compartment to catch the dripping water. Although it happened on several occasions, he recalled that on this particular instance a larger than normal supply of ice had been brought from a neighbor's ice-house and placed in the ice-box. He said that this was the night he forgot to empty the pan. He related that the next morning he awoke earlier than usual and realized he had forgotten his chore. He arose immediately but the water had soaked a carpet and covered a large area of the floor. He exclaimed, "You can imagine the trouble I was in!"

One of those interviewed told of her mother looking for the better part of the morning for her misplaced eye-glasses. She had stirred through nearly every area of the summer house to locate them. After making inquiry as to whether anyone had seen her glasses, the daughter told her they were perched on her mat of hair on top of her head.

Another told of helping her mother put out a fire which was caused by lard igniting while preparing dinner. She told how the fire had nearly gotten out of control but with continuous effort they finally smothered the flames and saved the summer house.

An elderly man recalled having been stung on numerous occasions, as well as other members of his family, because of a hive of honey bees which was behind the framework above the door which led into the summer house.

There are many other anecdotes which have gone untold. If any readers can recall others, the author and editor will be happy to learn of them.

The summer house proved to be a very practical arrangement to the housewife up until the time of the Civil War as a place to perform the heavier home industries. With the use of the cast-iron stove or range, the summer house continued to serve as an area for cooking, eating, etc., during the summer months on many farms until the period between World War I and World War II when the practice in most instances was discontinued. The introduction of pressure water systems, modern sinks, refrigeration, gas and electric ranges plus many other modern devices in the home provide the necessary facilities for cooking to be done with ease and convenience in a modern kitchen. The ready availability of foods on the market which were previously made in the home also has helped to change the status of the summer house and to bring about its decline.

Religious and Educational References In Lancaster County

Wills

By SYNNOVE HAUGHOM

In 1950 the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society published *Pennsylvania German Wills* by Dr. Russell Wieder Gilbert. This monograph was introduced as "a rich storehouse for the philologist, the antiquarian, the economist and particularly the cultural historian".¹ It deals with all aspects of Pennsylvania Dutch life as reflected in wills from a number of counties in eastern Pennsylvania.

This survey is limited to religious and educational references in Lancaster County wills from the latter half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Most of the wills under consideration were originally written in High German and later translated into English.²

In some respects Pennsylvania German wills are like wills written anywhere else but in many ways they are distinctive. The form as well as the contents reveal the diversity of religious groups which emigrated from Germany and Switzerland to eastern Pennsylvania during the 17th and 18th Centuries. They differed in their interpretation of God and the Bible but they all sought religious freedom and eternal happiness. The assurance of salvation and a glorious life hereafter was uppermost in the mind of all. "It was a sin to die intestate, and a will was a religious duty. . . ." ³ It is not

surprising that even those who could not write left elaborate wills taken down by someone who could. Many of the wills were written in English but English spelled as the Germans pronounced it.⁴

Form

The opening of the will sometimes reveals the testator's religious affiliation and other times not. Most wills of the 18th and early 19th Centuries begin with the standard opening of that day: In the Name of God, Amen. This was followed by a declaration of normal mental condition, the observation that all men are mortal and a wish for Christian burial. In German the opening might be *Im Namen Gottes, Amen* or *In Gottes Namen, Amen*. One 1782 opening shows the influence of English: In the Nem of God Amin.⁵

The Lutheran will might reflect "the stress upon continuous witness to the truth of the gospel, given through the Holy Spirit." ⁶ "In the Name of the Holy Trinity, Amen" is the opening found most frequently in Lutheran wills from the middle to the end of the 18th Century. The Trinity is sometimes modified by *hochgelobten* (blessed) or even *heiligen hochgelobten* (holy blessed). At the other extreme we find simply, In the Name of the Trinity, Amen. Also common is In the Name of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, Amen—*Im Namen der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit, Gott Vatter, Gott Sohn, Gott heiligen Geist Amen*. Another variation is *Im Nahmen des dreyeinigen*

⁴ Lack of punctuation in the recorded will was not necessarily the fault of the writer. The original will was usually in paragraph form with some punctuation but the translator or recorder has often omitted these aids to reading.

⁵ Will Book X-2, p. 41.

⁶ *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1920), VIII, 202.

¹ Russell Wieder Gilbert, "Pennsylvania German Wills," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, Vol. XV (1950), p. iii.

² Practically all the wills written in High German have been translated into English. Eighteenth and early 19th Century wills are recorded in Will Books X-2 and Y-2. After 1800 the German wills were recorded but as the books have been typewritten the wills have been translated. L-1 contains thirty-two wills translated from High German. Other will books examined have from two to five wills still recorded in German.

³ John Marshall Gest, *Practical Suggestions for Drawing Wills and the Settlement of Estates in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 13.

Gottes Amen—In the Name of the Triune God Amen. Many Lutheran wills also opened without mention of the word Trinity: *Im Nahmen Gottes des Vaters und des Sohnes und des heiligen Geistes*—In the Name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

The Anabaptists who minimized the Augustinian concept of the Trinity emphasized the right of the individual to interpret the scriptures and tried to imitate the life of Christ. The wills which begin "In the Name of Jesus Christ" were probably authored by Amish or Mennonites. Other variations are: "In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ" and "In the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ." A late 18th Century will opens "In the Name of God and My Redeemer, Amen;"⁷ another, "In the Name of the high praised God."⁸ A 1779 combination reads: Blessed be Jesus Christ in the name of God the Father God the Son and God the Holy Ghost Amen.⁹

The Lutherans did not always invoke the Trinity and the Mennonites did not necessarily appeal to Jesus. "In the Name of God, Amen" might be used by any testator and sometimes the formal opening was dispensed with altogether. One 1778 will begins "Whereas by the Visitation of God I find myself very weak and sick yet of sound understanding and not knowing how soon I shall exchange this transitory Life for Eternity therefore am determined to make my last Will and Testament. . . ."¹⁰ Another written in 1794 has a long involved opening:

"This is my Last Will in the Name of God the Father of all what may be called children in Heaven and on Earth and the Prince of Peace as mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah in the ninth Chapter verse sixth In Jesus the Son of God who is the Author and Finisher of our Faith as mentioned by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews in the Twelfth Chapter by the Force and operation of his Holy and good spirit as he hath promised to send us the Spirit of Truth He will reprove the world of Sin and of Righteousness and of Judgment of sin because they believe not in me of Righteousness because I go to my Father and of Judgment because the Prince of the world is judged I have yet many Things to say but ye can not bear them How be it when the spirit of Truth is come he will guide you into all Truth . . ."¹¹

An English introduction from 1758 is brief and informal: "Whereas I — — Bethought me self to seddle my worldly affairs that after it should please God to take me from this world my wife and children after my decease might leave in peace and quitness I would have it write down as follows. . . ."¹²

Soul and Body

The first part of the will usually includes a reference to eternity. This is typical: ". . . First I commend my immortal Soul in the Hand of the most High who gave it me and my Body to the Earth to be buried in a Christian manner in hopes of a glorious Resurrection through the Power of God. . . ."¹³ A variation of this written by a Brother of the Ephrata community: ". . . First I recommend my Soul into the Hands of my Creator trusting to the Mercy of my Redeemer Jesus Christ for remission of all my sins and an happy admission into the Regions of Bliss and my Body to the Earth to be interred in a decent manner and without any Ceremonies there to rest untill the great Day of our Lord

Jesus Christ. . . ."¹⁴ The following was used quite often: ". . . I recommend my by the Blood of Christ dear redeemed Soul to God our heavenly Father to receive the same into eternal Happiness. . . ."¹⁵

A Lutheran put it this way: ". . . Secondly I give my Body to the Earth from Whence it was taken in full assurance of its Resurrection from thence at the last Day . . ."¹⁶ A mason in Cocalico Township wrote: ". . . not knowing when the Lord may call me out of this Wo[r]ld into Eternity First I recommend my Soul unto God who gave it me and my Body to the Earth. . . ."¹⁷ A joiner from Warwick Township was more specific: ". . . First and chiefly I recommend my Immortal Soul in the Hands of my Almighty Creator in perfect confidence of my Blessed Saviour's forgiveness of all my Sinns and beseech him to receive me in his Kingdom and to the Glory of the Faithful forever. . . ."¹⁸ A shoemaker who must have had a hard life said: ". . . Whereas it hath also pleased God not to leave men always in this miserable world but to call his children to him in everlasting Glory. . . ."¹⁹

The will usually ends without any reference to religion. In eleven will books only two wills are signed XXX, perhaps an allusion to the Trinity or good luck. Most of the wills which do not bear a signature are marked with one X, initials, circles or some other mark. Occasionally a will replete with religion also ends with a religious reference. One of the Ephrata brethren²⁰ finishes this way: ". . . now I must say the Lord's Will be done taking Leave of ye all and requesting ye to pray to God to be merciful to me."²¹

A much later will written in German concludes ". . . I herewith commend myself and the entire blood relationship into God's hand and say to all farewell, Amen."²² A Catholic who had been plagued with trouble and was planning suicide concludes his will: ". . . So the Lord Jesus have mercy on my Sowl and may the Holy Virgin take me to her Bosom this 26th day of February 1767."²³

"In the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" is sometimes included if the will is dated at the end.

The Things Willed

The wills indicate how important the Bible and other religious books were to the Pennsylvania Dutch. The Saur Press in Germantown printed the first German Bible in America with type obtained from Frankfort. The Ephrata press operated by the communal brotherhood started by Johann Conrad Beissel, published hymn books and other works on religion and theology. Many of the books had been brought from Europe.

The little Bible, the midling large Bible and particularly the big Bible were highly regarded because they carried the family name. For that reason they were often willed to the oldest son: ". . . a large Bible which he shall have extraordinary and which shall be in full for his first Birth Right he being my first born son. . . ."²⁴ and "it is my will and I give my eldest son my Froshauer Bible²⁵ aforehand which shall

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111 (1781).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203 (1773).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 451 (1748).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 593 (1778).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97 (1788).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118 (1783).

²⁰ There were forty members in this Seventh-Day Baptist Brotherhood.

²¹ Will Book X-2, p. 308 (1791).

²² Will Book B-2, p. 543 (1875). This will is recorded in German.

²³ Will Book Y-2, p. 57 (1767).

²⁴ Will Book Y-2, p. 54 (1775).

²⁵ The Froshauer Bible published in Zurich in 1531. It was popular among Pennsylvania's Mennonite population.

⁷ Will Book X-2, p. 59 (1784).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 546 (1774).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 345 (1779).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 441 (1778).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 590 (1794).

¹² Will Book Y-2, p. 89 (1758).

¹³ Will Book X-2, p. 59 (1784).

be in lieu for his double share out of all my estate not herein before bequeathed. . . ." ²⁶

But the oldest son was not always the recipient. A 1786 husband left everything to his wife including ". . . the Bible the coarse Hymn Book the prayer Book called Haberman. . . ." ²⁷ A widow willed the "large quarto Bible" ²⁸ to her oldest daughter. A father bequeathed to his daughter ". . . my large Bible bound in one volume in consideration of her having exhibited such extraordinary filial love toward me in nursing me. . . ." ²⁹ The same man ordered that ". . . my mysterious Book with the Berlenberger Bible ³⁰ in four volumes shall remain forever in the — Family and kept by my son the Executor — to be given to all those who may feel a wish to read them and to be returned as soon as read. . . ."

One farmer left to his daughter ". . . a Bed and bedsteat a cheast a spinning wheel a table a good milk Cow and a sermon Book and Hymn Book . . ." and to his son ". . . a nurenberger Bible a Hymn Book a good milk cow a saddle. . . ." ³¹ A well-to-do Lutheran joiner bequeathed his ". . . great Nuremberg Bible on the Pulpit of the Church to the use of the Minister. . . ." ³² A sermon book known as the Schaitberger was willed by a man who left money to both the Lutherans and Presbyterians.³³

One of the Ephrata brethren left his books to one of the sisters and an "Extract of Boehms writings" ³⁴ to one of the brethren. He also ordered that his ". . . medicines and everything belonging to the Apothecary shop and all Medical Books shall be for the joint use and Benefit of the Society. . . ." ³⁵

Descendants and relatives might be excluded from the will if they changed their own religious affiliation or disapproved of the testator's. A father stipulated that if his two sons should ". . . change their Religion on account of their wives who are not baptized then the other Brothers shall drive them out and they shall have but Ten Pounds for their share and no more and if one or the other of my said children should renounce the Evangelical Confession of Faith such child shall have nothing at all. . . ." ³⁶ A member of the Ephrata Congregation ³⁷ ordered that if any of his ". . . natural Relatives should make any Pretensions to my Estate Then and in that case I give and bequeath unto each of such claimants or pretenders one English shilling and no more. . . ." ³⁸ Another Ephrata brother added a P.S. to his will: "Keep this a profound Secret among yourselves. You need not give anything of it to my Relatives except to my niece the wife of — and to my niece the wife of — each two dollars. . . They having visited us and done us good none of the others have either visited or done us good." ³⁹

It was considered a great virtue to give money to the

²⁶ Will Book Y-2, p. 73 (1783).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 225 (1786).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 227 (1785).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32 (1831).

³⁰ The Berleberg Bible explained the scriptures according to the mystics and was popular with non-conformists both in Germany and Pennsylvania.

³¹ Will Book X-2, p. 424 (1773).

³² Will Book Y-2, p. 52 (1752).

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 185 (1769). "Presbyterian" in this context usually means "German Reformed."

³⁴ The Schwenkfelders were followers of the mystic Caspar von Schwenkfeld of Silesia; some took refuge with Count Zinzendorf in Germany before migrating to Pennsylvania in 1733-1734.

³⁵ Will Book X-2, p. 111 (1781).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45 (1779).

³⁷ There was a secular congregation distinct from the brotherhood and sisterhood.

³⁸ Will Book X-2, p. 111 (1781).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 308 (1791).

church or congregation, especially for distribution among the poor ". . . I have since —'s Death distributed almost daily in the Hopes that God may be propitious to me and protract my Life that I might distribute everything. . . ." ⁴⁰ A Dane in Moravian Lititz left money not only to the Lititz Congregation Diaconi but also ". . . to the poor fund of the single Brethren House at Christianfeld Dannemarck. . . ." ⁴¹

". . . I give and bequeath Fifty pounds to the Poor of the Menonist Society and it shall be paid to the Elders (that is to say) Twenty five Pounds to the Congregation where I now live and Twenty five Pounds to the Congregation where I formerly lived being in Hempfield Township. . . ." ⁴² A schoolmaster from Switzerland did not forget his homeland: "It is my will and I do hereby give and bequeath all my Estate at Tokkenberg in Switzerland in Europe . . . unto the Overseer of the Poor belonging to the Protestant Congregation . . ." ⁴³

When the church was the recipient it was specified as in this will of 1759: "To the Lutheran Church the sum of one Pound and for the Poor of Lebanon Township the sum of one Pound. . . ." ⁴⁴ A women with tolerant views ordered ". . . that Five pounds shall be paid to the Lutheran Treasury and Five pounds to the Presbyterian Treasury. . . ." ⁴⁵ A Lutheran who had started as a poor joiner and achieved financial success did not forget his ". . . long ago made VOW to the praise of God and to the advantage in the Times hereafter born poor youth and Member of our Congregation . . ." ⁴⁶ and left all his real and personal estate to the Lutheran Church and Schoolhouse. Gratitude also marks the will of a sister in Ephrata: ". . . all the residue and Remainder without exception I do give and bequeath to the sisterhood with whom I have lived in Communion full Fifty Years. . . ." ⁴⁷ Even a widow with six children did not neglect the poor but left ". . . 20 pounds to the Elders of the Congregation for distribution among the needy. . . ." ⁴⁸

The Funeral

Although the burial was invariably specified in the will, additional instructions were often given to insure a simple ceremony. ". . . First I recommend my Soul in the Hands of my Creator trusting to the Mercy of my Redeemer Jesus Christ for remission of all my sins and an happy admission into the Regions of Bliss and my Body to the Earth to be interred in a decent manner and without any Ceremonies there to rest untill the great Day of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . ." ⁴⁹ A member of the [Moravian] Brethren's House in Lititz requested a ". . . decent Christian burial according to the custom used among the Brethrens Society. . . ." ⁵⁰ He also bequeathed a love feast ⁵¹ to the single Brethren. One of the brethren in Ephrata asked for ". . . bread and wine distributed at my Funeral and afterwards a Love Feast shall be administered Where to all the Brothers and Sisters of the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 308 (1791).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323 (1833).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 303 (1802).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 202 (1773).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190 (1759).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185 (1769). Presbyterian = Reformed.

⁴⁶ Will Book Y-2, p. 52 (1752).

⁴⁷ Will Book X-2, p. 108 (1795).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142 (1817).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111 (1781).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 264 (1787).

⁵¹ Love feast or agape: a meal taken in common. "The feast would be called "love" because it was the bond which united Christians together; and when the name was applied to the Eucharist and the meal jointly, it would be especially suitable because Christians are thus united to their Saviour." *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1920), I, 174.

Bermudian and Antietam shall be invited. . . .”⁵² A Lutheran desired a burial “without pomp.”⁵³

The funeral sermon was an important part of the service. One testator set aside three pounds for the preacher.⁵⁴ The location of the grave was sometimes indicated: “. . . and touching my body when deceased it is my desire that my Heirs should bury it . . . in the burying Ground near the grubbing Church. . . .”⁵⁵

The Authority of Elders and Members of the Congregation

Important decisions were left to the elders of the church or members of the congregation. Each religious group had more confidence in its own members than in outsiders. Legal matters might be handled within the church or congregation. A will from 1831 is a good example: “. . . It is my explicit will and I command that should any misunderstanding or difference occur among my children or their Heirs (which May God in his Mercy prevent) no Lawyer or Court shall have anything to do herewith but I authorize my herein named Executors to appoint three or five capable and impartial men from among the Evangelical Congregation who shall decide on such differences and settle them on Oath, and as these said men may decide so shall it stand and remain and the Heirs and dissatisfied must be content with the Verdict. . . .”⁵⁶ Even more emphatic is another 19th Century will: “. . . Further should contrary to all expectation any difference arise no Lawyer or any Court on Earth shall have anything to do therewith but I authorize my hereafter named Executrix or whomsoever she may transfer it to to select three of five capable impartial men from the evangelical congregation to settle said difference after first having taken the oath. . . .”⁵⁷

Education

The Pennsylvania Dutch did not neglect education in their wills. Religious training was imperative. The executors or guardians were instructed to see that the children “. . . may be educated in piety and virtue . . .”⁵⁸ and “. . . direct them from the World to God. . . .”⁵⁹ A member of the Congregation of Brethren in Lititz specified that “. . . my said child — shall be educated in said Fraternity either in Lititz or at Bethlehem untill she shall be of age and no Body whatsoever shall undertake to guide her to the Contrary thereof . . . for that Purpose I give . . . and bequeath two hundred pounds and the interest thereon. . . .”⁶⁰ Sometimes the length of training was definitely stated or the child was to remain in school until the age of fourteen.⁶¹ “And my son shall send my two youngest Daughters — and — three Winters to school. . . .”⁶²

The guardians might be instructed to spend the interest on “. . . bringing up my two Daughters but the Principal shall stand until they are twenty-one years of age. . . .”⁶³ A mother left all to her illegitimate daughter asking the executor to see that she “be instructed to read and also in the Christian Religion. . . .”⁶⁴ A widow living with a man in Warwick Township left all her money to her daughter and asked a friend to serve as executor and guardian of her child

“. . . which he shall send to school nine months yet and shall line her out to good moralists from time to time till such time as may be lawful and he shall at all times give her charge to behave well NB my Daughter may wear or make use of my clothing and also the Chest she shall be taught very well in sewing spinning and knitting. . . .”⁶⁵

A childless man with definite ideas left his money to orphans instead of relatives: “. . . my whole Estate Real and Personal Goods shall all be made into money to and for the use of poor Orphan Children to give them schooling and to purchase Books for them excepting Catholics English or Irish but only for Germans untill they are so far taught that they can read the testament well then it shall be again allowed to others that is to the poor in Donigal Township. . . .”⁶⁶ A less biased German ordered that his son should “. . . go to school until he can Read and write German and English and Cyphering sufficient for a tradesman. . . .”⁶⁷ The tradesman usually wanted his sons to succeed him. The owner of a Brick Smith Shop instructed the guardians to be “. . . particularly careful that the Children receive due Education and Tuition and that my Sons be put to Trades in proper time. . . .”⁶⁸ A father of eleven appointed his wife and two oldest sons guardians of the younger children. “. . . It is my will that my four youngest sons shall learn trades according to their ability. . . .”⁶⁹

An education might mean exclusion from the will: “. . . But as for my sons — they have received their portion of inheritance by getting their Education (through their Studies). . . .”⁷⁰ The schoolmaster was sometimes included: “. . . Furthermore I give and will have to be given to the Protestant Lutheran Church here in Lancaster Twenty Shillings and to the Schoolmaster — Twenty Shillings. . . .”⁷¹ A member of the Brethren Society in Lititz made generous provision for religious education: “. . . I give and bequeath for the use of the United Brethren Society for propagating the Gospel the sum of Fifty Pounds in money. . . .”⁷²

Conclusion

The life of the average Pennsylvania Dutchman was governed by his religion. Even the ones who had not been persecuted for their religious beliefs before coming to America had strong convictions. Christian virtues were encouraged and admired. A father appointing his son executor admonished him to look after his mother “. . . according to Christian Equity as . . . in his power and becomes a Christian. . . .”⁷³ A daughter “. . . living in the path of our Blessed Redeemer and saviour Jesus . . . may be brought up in his Love and to his Praise. . . .”⁷⁴ “. . . my children shall not be separated during their minority if God be pleased to preserve the life of their mother but they shall be brought up and admonished by and under her superintendance in the Fear of the Lord. . . .”⁷⁵

A Christian life and burial insured happiness in the life hereafter: “. . . my Body I recommend to the Earth to be buried in a Christianlike and Decend manner nothing Doubting at the General resurrection I shall receive the same again by the Mighty power of God. . . .”⁷⁶

⁵² Will Book X-2, p. 308 (1791).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 451 (1748).

⁵⁴ Will Book Y-2, p. 96 (1757).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69 (1765).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32 (1831).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135 (1830).

⁵⁸ Will Book X-2, p. 27 (1773).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57 (1784).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32 (1768).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75 (1768).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 37 (1770).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 97 (1788).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131 (1828).

⁶⁵ Will Book Y-2, p. 37 (1820).

⁶⁶ Will Book X-2, p. 439 (1809).

⁶⁷ Will Book L-1, p. 603 (1817).

⁶⁸ Will Book X-2, p. 66 (1809).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 471 (1798).

⁷⁰ Will Book Y-2, p. 32 (1831).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124 (1748).

⁷² Will Book X-2, p. 264 (1787).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 268 (1793).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31 (1761).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 412 (1798).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127 (1754).

Genealogy and Folk-Culture

By DON YODER

One of the next indexing projects which the Pennsylvania Folklife Society plans is the cross-indexing of the folk-cultural materials in the several thousand printed genealogies of Pennsylvania families.¹ Genealogies are of course of primary interest to the families involved, but have value for the folklife scholar in that with the exception of the barest name-and-issue type of genealogy, they provide us with dated information on Pennsylvania's name-system, nicknames, family traditions, attitudes toward earlier generations, and information on every phase of Pennsylvania's folk-culture, from folk cookery to witchcraft.

Often these volumes include copies of ancestral wills and inventories, which provide valuable printed sources on farming tools, arrangements for the support of the widow, room-by-room listing of furniture and household goods, and other topics.

For the folklorist the family traditions are of importance. One of the commonest of the family legends, repeated in countless Pennsylvania genealogies, is the "three brother tradition"—three brothers came from Germany, one settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, one went South, one went West. In most cases the story is a myth. An article will appear in *Pennsylvania Folklife* on this motif in the near future.

As I have suggested, the books vary in folk-cultural value. The least valuable are those that give page after page of names and dates of parents and "issue," with little or no personal description. The most valuable give information on every phase of the lives and characteristics of the earlier members of the family, descriptions of their houses and barns, their nicknames, bywords, personal eccentricities, etc.

As an example of the value of the genealogy to the folklife scholar, I have chosen the *History of the Shuey Family in America, From 1732 to 1876*, by D. B. Shuey, A.M., Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Published for the members of the family, by the author, 1876, 279 pp.²

This book is a relatively early genealogy. It was written by a young Reformed preacher, then only thirty years of age, who had recently graduated from Franklin and Marshall College and the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church. Dennis Boeshore Shuey (1846-1921) was a native of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, whose life work was the organization of Reformed congregations and Reformed classes and synods in the Plains States.³ The Shuey genealogy is the product of his young manhood, and it tells

¹ The chief collections of Pennsylvania printed genealogies are those of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the State Library at Harrisburg, and Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster. The large genealogical collection of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society is now part of the Franklin and Marshall College Library. In addition, the county historical societies of the Dutch Country have good collections, specializing, of course, in the materials on their own county.

² Our thanks to Prof. Herbert B. Anstaett, Librarian, Franklin and Marshall College, for the use of the Shuey volumes, and materials on D. B. Shuey from the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. A second edition of the history, enlarged, was published at Galion, Ohio, in 1919.

³ For biography of D. B. Shuey, see Guy Bready, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, XII, bound typescript in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

us as much about the world-view of the young author (cf. his decided temperance orientation) as it does about his family.

Attitudes to the Past

The Shueys were among the small minority of Pennsylvania Dutch families that had a Huguenot origin. Throughout the generations there have been many misconceptions about the Huguenot element in Pennsylvania, and many filiopietistic genealogists have imagined their 18th Century Huguenot emigrant ancestors as transplanting a French culture into rural Pennsylvania, unaware that most of the Huguenot families spent a generation or so in the Protestant areas of South Germany before coming to Pennsylvania. In Germany they often married German wives and acculturated themselves to the German environment, before coming to Pennsylvania with the massive German-speaking emigration of the 18th Century.

Although D. B. Shuey had found no documentary evidence on the Huguenot or German origin of the emigrant Shuey, he states that general family tradition leads him to "conclude that the Shueys are descendants of the Huguenots" (p. 9).⁴ It appears that the ancestors came from France into the Palatinate. "Although we claim to be descendants of the Huguenots, yet we are not particularly anxious to be called Frenchmen, for we have been thoroughly Germanized by living among the Germans and intermarrying with them" (p. 23).

Temperance Orientation

He mentions (p. 51) that the emigrant's will of 1775 provides that the widow was to have four gallons of whisky yearly. His comments show how Americanized in religion the young preacher was, for he shared the moralism and temperance mind-set which 19th Century revivalism had fastened upon Protestant America.⁵ In commenting on the provisions he writes, "This seemed very strange to us, and no doubt it will to the reader; and we could not become reconciled as to the meaning of this clause until we made inquiry of some old persons, when we were informed that at that time there were but few practising

⁴ Information on the Huguenot background of the Pennsylvania Shueys has recently come to light. See the article by the Palatine archivist, Dr. Friedrich Krebs, "Amerikaauswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus den Akten des Staatsarchivs Speyer," *Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde*, XIII, Jahrgang, Band 5, Heft 4 (November, 1964), 126-127, which gives the information that Daniel Jouis (Schui, Jue), an emigrant of 1732, returned to the Palatinate in 1748 to sell his interest in the Münchhof at Dannstadt. He was a son of Daniel Jouy of Dannstadt (d. 1737), who in turn was a son of the Huguenot refugee, David Jouy of "Grissy (Grichy, Grigy) bei Metz." We expect to publish this information, so rich in the social history of the emigrant generation, in a future issue of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

⁵ Again we urge the need for research into the history of temperance attitudes in Pennsylvania. In fact the entire history of changing attitudes to morality and moralism needs to be investigated under many aspects. The American temperance attitude was not a 17th Century Puritan nor an 18th Century attitude, but the product of the evangelical or revivalist morality, basically a 19th Century pattern. As revivalism spread through the churches in the 19th Century, temperance was fastened on churches which had not been of that attitude in the 18th Century.

HISTORY
OF THE
SHUEY FAMILY

IN
AMERICA,

FROM 1732 TO 1876.

BY
D. B. SHUEY, A. M.

LANCASTER, PA.
PUBLISHED FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY,
BY THE AUTHOR.
1876.

Title Page of Shuey Genealogy published at Lancaster in 1876. Its author, at the age of thirty, had recently graduated from Franklin and Marshall College and the Theological Seminary. Franklin and Marshall College Library.



Dennis B. Shuey (1846-1921), Reformed minister, and author of the "History of the Shuey Family in America" discussed on these pages. Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

physicians, and every family had to be its own physician to a certain extent. Thus, in order to be prepared for any emergency, they had different kinds of roots and herbs in bottles of whisky, which was then used as medicine. We do not sanction this mode of doctoring, yet at that time, when whisky was pure and unadulterated, it was probably the best method to be had." In other words, the temperance-minded 19th Century Protestant outlook, so typically American, was entirely different from the "pre-temperance" 18th Century culture, where whisky had not only medicinal purpose but was used in entertaining, in the harvest field, and on social occasions in general. He is teetotally opposed to whisky in *any* form, and his misunderstanding of its commonness in 18th Century culture, when it was accepted by most Pennsylvanians without protest, makes him distort his description of his forefathers' world.

In his section on "Morality" (pp. 249-250), the temperance orientation is again obvious. "It is substantially a moral family, and many of its members who make no profession of faith, nor have any connection with a Christian Church, are nevertheless strictly moral. The number of non-church-goers and anti-churchmen is limited in this family. Drunkenness and debauchery are an exception, if found at all, and intemperance is scorned by all. A certain member of the Virginia family, in speaking of this point, says in a letter to the author, 'No one ever saw a dissipated Shuey, or one intoxicated, which is an honor to our name in Virginia.' This cannot be strictly affirmed of the Pennsylvania Shueys, though in general it is true; but there are a few exceptional cases, where certain members have allowed

themselves to come under the influence of liquor, and have thus violated the strict principle of the Shuey family as a whole."⁶

Personal Descriptions

Apart from this distortion, the young author made a thorough attempt to get material of all sorts about the earlier members of the family, and gives us gratuitously a lot of valuable social history. He is good on nicknames, as for example when he says of John Shuey, born 1798—"usually known as Weaver John Shuey, to distinguish him from other John Shueys who lived in the neighborhood" (p. 229).⁷

His description of "Big George Shuey" is classic. Born in 1790 in Bethel Township, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, he spent most of his time in the mountains, hauling wood for the charcoal pits. "In some respects he was a very peculiar man, and was the subject of more or less gossip. He had a deep, heavy voice, and he used some singular expressions, which afforded amusement to some. He likewise had some superstitious notions. He would never buy any pigs unless perfectly white, and gave his reasons by saying "Der Teufel ist der in den Seu, awer besonders in den swartzblockichen"—that is, the devil has his abode in swine, but *especially* in those with black spots. He likely based his belief on the contrariness of this animal when one endeavors to chase him out of forbidden pasture" (p. 205

⁶ This statement comparing Virginian and Pennsylvanian "morality" is interesting because it may reflect the higher incidence of evangelical revivalist morality in Western Virginia at the time as compared with the more easy-going, world-accepting morality of the Lutherans and Reformed of the Dutch Country. While the original Pennsylvanian Shueys were Reformed, some of the Southern Shueys were members of the more strait-laced United Brethren sect. In the 20th Century, Virginia continues to be a source of evangelistic and temperance reform affecting Pennsylvania. For example, cf. the influence of Virginia Mennonitism upon the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonites, 1951 ff. For example, attitudes toward tobacco have changed in Lancaster County Mennonite circles since the Brunk Brothers brought Virginian-style evangelism and morality to Eastern Pennsylvania with their tent meetings.

⁷ *Pennsylvania Folklife* asks its readers to send in lists of nicknames remembered from their home areas. We are working on a definitive archive of such materials from Pennsylvania, and will welcome any contributions. Please include explanations of the names, and jests, stories, etc., connected with the names. Address your notes to the Editor.

ff.).⁸ Big George, whom D. B. Shuey had interviewed for his history, died in 1864 and is buried at Walmer's Reformed Church in Lebanon County.

Other members of the family are described: "John is slow in speech" (p. 77), there is the cousin who neglected his fences (p. 77), the marrying squire who was "fond of practical jokes and indulged in merriment" (p. 84), there was the "peculiar" John Shuey (1778-1858) of Carroll County, Maryland, who went off to Ohio several times, each time without telling his family until ready to leave (p. 239). In speaking of twins born in 1860, one is described as having "a small, so-called pepper-mark on the side of the neck"—which enabled the parents finally to tell them apart.

On personal names in the family, he cites several pairs of Adams and Eves (p. 247), and mentions the Pennsylvania first-name "Bennevel" (Benneville), mentioned in the will, dated 1808 and probated at Harrisburg in 1816, of John Shuey, son of the emigrant (p. 227). Unusual girls' names (what a shame that H. L. Mencken is no longer around to add them to his *American Language*) are *Franzietta Shuey* (p. 211), *Domenta Shuey* (p. 114), *Jewell Florence Nightingale Shuey* (p. 133), *Fredonia Ophelia Shuey* (p. 163), *Marie Antoinette Shuey* (p. 185), and *Susannah Lola Montez Shuey* (p. 241). These names undoubtedly came into the family registers in the Victorian era, when the Shueys, like everybody else, were attempting to modernize, Americanize, and in general get away from the old-fashioned "Dutch" names.⁹ The most unusual male name in the book is *Augustus Newton Washington Keim Shuey*, born in Maryland in 1848 (p. 241). Of surnames the author gives an interesting example of a Dutchified patronymic—*Bordlemay* (p. 75), undoubtedly a Pennsylvania spelling of *Bartholomäus* or *Bartholomäus*.¹⁰

Folk Beliefs

Speaking of names, it appears that in this 19th Century rural culture even the orchard trees had names: "On the old homestead many apple trees in the orchard and shell-bark trees in the adjoining fields were named after certain members of the family. These names were used to such an extent that whenever reference was made to any of those trees it was always done by using their proper names. One might hear them speak of grandfather's tree, or grandmother's tree, or other trees which were named after uncles, or aunts, father or mother, or even back to great-grandfather. One tree bearing sour apples was named after one of the horses many years ago, and the tree is known as Billy tree to this day. It is said that a favorite horse called Billy was sick, and the horse-doctor who sought cures by pow-wowing made use of this tree in connection with his magical art, whereupon the horse was restored to health; hence the origin of the name" (pp. 248-249).

The 19th Century was much franker about such occult

⁸ For the pig and the devil, see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, [1955]), Devil in form of swine (G303.3.3.4), and Why hog has evil spirit (A2287.1). The biblical influence, pointed out by Shuey himself, seems to be a strong factor in the development of these beliefs.

⁹ Names like this can be matched by many genealogies of the upcountry Dutch in the 19th Century. There was a definable trend away from the "Dutchified" names after the Civil War. In my father's family, the children born in the 1860's and 1870's received non-Dutch names—Oliver, Joanna, Ida, Alvina, etc.—but my father, at the end of the line, was treated to the earlier custom of being named for his grandfather, and received the traditional Dutch biblical name of Jacob.

¹⁰ See my article, "Dutchified Surnames," which appeared originally in *'S Pennsylvania'sch Deitsch Eck, The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1946, and H. L. Mencken, *The American Language; Supplement II* (New York, 1948).

practices as "powwowing" in the background of one's family than is our century. That is, it is commoner to find frank references to this widespread Pennsylvania folk belief in 19th Century genealogies, county histories, and biographical sketches, than in more recent generations.

Indian tales appear to have been part and parcel of the Pennsylvania fireside circle in those days, and the rationalistic young preacher does not approve of them: "Many superstitious stories are told about the Indians in Pennsylvania by unwise parents, and naughty children are quieted, who ever afterward are afraid to be out at night for fear the Indian will come up out of his grave and rob or scalp them. Many superstitious people declare that they have heard Indians shout or scream when out at night, who, if they would have taken time to think and examine, would have found the Indian to be nothing more than an owl or the wind howling through the trees" (pp. 45-46).¹¹

Folk Architecture

There are several valuable descriptions of early log buildings in the book, from firsthand observation by the author. Henry Shuey's log house, on Shuey's Run, the birthplace of the author, was built, he tells us, of heavy logs. "The roof is very high in the middle, and the rafters are heavy timbers. Before it was rebuilt the house had a small roof about three feet wide all around the building, between the first and second floor windows. This was attached when it was made two stories high. There was a very large chimney in the middle of the house, built of rough old mountain stone, which took away about one-eighth of the room of the house. The partitions in the house were all made of boards, nicely panelled, the same as the doors are usually made. The house has since been so much changed that this ancient building can no more be recognized. It has since been weather-boarded and painted, the partitions torn out and others put in, the floors relaid, the rooms changed, and nothing is left but the external form of the house, which has served a full century, and is of sufficient strength to last another fifty years. This place was formerly called 'Shewey's Bower' . . ." (pp. 59-60).¹²

One of his most valuable descriptions is that of the old schoolhouse at Walmer's Church, in Union Township, Lebanon County, which was at the time of his writing the book about a century old. Before the free school days, it was the parochial school (he uses this term) of the church. "The building," he writes, "is constructed of very heavy logs, weather-boarded on the outside and only partly plastered within. The floor is laid with oak plank—made to

¹¹ John Comly (1773-1850), Quaker preacher and leader of the Hicksite forces in Pennsylvania in the division of 1828, expressed the same distaste for the Indian tales of his childhood: "Nor was I exposed only to a prejudice against the Indian character; but being subject to the hearing of strange stories about supposed witches, apparitions and marvellous things, my youthful mind was injured by fears, imaginations and terrors arising from these sources of injudicious exposure. How great the need of unremitting care in parents, to preserve the sensitive minds of children from prejudices and imaginary fears, that may embitter their after lives, or produce a morbid state of their mental and even physical powers! How much toil, anxiety, and care may be requisite to extirpate the evils of such exposure, none can know! A single tale of ghosts, witches, and romance, may make impressions of terror on the memory, that imagination may apply to innumerable objects and incidents in after life, so as to produce unhappiness, anxiety and trouble, where but for such a prejudice no evil or alarm might have resulted" (*Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of John Comly, Late of Byberry, Pennsylvania* [Philadelphia, 1853]), pp. 8-9).

¹² "Shewey's Bower" was not the name of the house, but of the tract of land on which it was built. In the 18th Century the grants and patents had fancy, attractive names of this sort. We need articles on the subject.

GENEALOGY
FROM
ADAM TO CHRIST,
WITH
THE GENEALOGY OF
ADAM HEINECKE
AND
HENRY VANDERSAAL,
FROM 1747 TO 1881.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN ABOUT SIX-
TEEN YEARS AS AN EVANGELIST,
AND
TWELVE SERMONS COMPOSED BY HIMSELF.
By Rev. SAMUEL HEINECKE, ELDER.

SECOND EDITION.

LANCASTER, PA.:
JOHN A. HIESTAND, PRINTER.
1881.

Pennsylvania genealogies provide historians and folklife scholars with a wide variety of materials, not the least of which is the reflection of the author's world-view.

wear—which the thousand little feet, running over it, could not wear out. A heavy log extended through the room on which the joists were resting; the ceiling was unplastered, and the top floor had no less than five pipe-holes, which one would think should be sufficient egress for the smoke; but by looking at the dark ceiling, on which rests the smoke of a century, it would appear that even five were not sufficient.”

Now we are treated to a glimpse of the exterior of this ancient structure. “In approaching the school-room from without, it is necessary to ascend several steps, which brings you on the porch. This porch extends along the whole length of the building. About the middle of it is a double door—one door extending from the floor about three feet high, and the other then reaches to the top of the door frame. The upper door was open most of the time; the lower was closed. Enter this door and you are in a small ante-room, having one door leading to the kitchen, a stairway, and the school-room door. There were only board partitions between the rooms [and] whatever conversation was going on in the kitchen by the members of the family could be distinctly understood by the scholars in the room. Immediately above the school-room was a room used by the sexton’s family for sleeping purposes” (pp. 252-253).

The sexton who thus lived in one end of the schoolhouse was also, we are informed, the schoolmaster and the “fore-singer” who led the music in church. (In those churches that had organs, he might also be the church organist.) This lay official was a kind of assistant pastor, in that he assisted the preacher by catechising the young in the pastor’s absence, even conducting funerals. “What will our modern

school teachers say to this, who complain that they have too laborious duties?”

This interesting building was leased as a free school by the church when the free schools came into being through state act, and continued as a free school until 1870, when a separate free schoolhouse was erected. The author tells us that at the time of writing, the old structure was still the dwelling of the sexton of Walmer’s Church.

House Furnishings

House furnishings were meager in the pioneer generations. “No table-cloth was used. No carpets graced the floors, but every Saturday they were made to assume a perfectly white and clean appearance, under the operation of water, sand and broom. The furniture of the house was as simple and plain as their fare. When seats could be placed stationary, large square blocks were used, as for instance on each side of the hearth. A stove was unknown then. Some benches were used for seats, and a few chairs, which were home-made; the seats were plaited with broad, smooth-shaved slips of white-oak or hickory. Several beds and a few chests made up the principal part of the furniture” (pp. 42-43).¹³

At the Family Table

Even the eating habits of the early generations are discussed. “At dinner time only did they have meat, and then the father would cut it in small pieces, give to each one of the family his allotted share, and with that they had to be satisfied. They did not have the privilege of eating as much meat as they desired, but merely the morsel which was given to them. During the greater part of the year they had hot mush and cold milk for supper, and in the morning cold mush and warm milk for breakfast.¹⁴ It would have been considered too extravagant to have the mush fried in fat, as it is now often prepared. Soup, also, of different kinds, was much used in this family. The plates from which they ate were of pewter, and the cups from which they drank were some kind of earthen mug” (p. 41).

We even see the pioneer Shueys around the table. “The father sat at one end of the table, the mother at the other end. The children stood, or sometimes sat, along each side of the table, and ate their meals in silence: there was very little talking at the table. Each ate what was placed before him, and no murmuring was heard.”¹⁵

The custom of grace at table is described. “They never partook of a meal without first thanking God for their daily food, and asking a blessing. This duty belonged either to the father or to the mother. As soon as the children were old enough to understand its meaning, they were taught short prayers which they would pray in regular order, each one his particular and distinct prayer, commencing with the oldest and ending with the youngest.”

Enter now the young author’s moral. “To many of the readers of this book this custom may appear strange, but we have great reverence for this Christian training and

¹³ For information on the same matters from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian culture of Northwestern Chester County, see Alexander Marshall, “The Days of Auld Lang Syne,” edited by Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, July, 1964, pp. 8-19.

¹⁴ On Pennsylvania’s mush tradition, strongly rooted and still in evidence, see “Pennsylvanians Called it Mush,” *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, Winter, 1962-1963, 27-[49].

¹⁵ On children standing at mealtime, see Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 12: “The smaller children sat on the floor to eat their meals until they were large enough to stand at the table and handle a knife and fork or spoon, and when they had grown large enough to sit on a common chair and eat like other people, they were permitted to do so at the table.” The Editor requests material from readers’ memories about this earlier practice.

custom. We verily believe that this custom has been kept sacred and carried out by every generation of the Shuey family down to the present time. Our family strictly observed this custom until we children were grown up and left home. It has taught us a principle which we shall never forget as long as we live. These short prayers were usually taken from the Bible. Reader, scoff not at this custom, practiced by our ancestors and handed down to us as a sacred memorial: rather introduce it in your own family, and see whether it will not have a healthful influence on your children. You may not live to see the fruits, but it will be bread cast upon the waters, which thou shalt find after many days."

Tramps and Market-Farmers

An interesting reference to feeding tramps appears in the author's summary of the "morality" of the family (p. 250). "A hungry wayfaring man is never turned away from their door, without an abundance to eat. The poor are always assisted where their claims are made known. They endeavor to scrutinize, however, between the worthy and the unworthy, and the worthy have never been permitted to remain in want. Their sympathy can easily be enlisted, and more than once has imposition been practiced by scoundrels in an unguarded hour" (pp. 250-251).

One of the early Shueys died in 1828 on a trip to Philadelphia market. This gives the author a chance to tell us something of the relation of Lebanon County farmers to Philadelphia. "At this time their nearest market for grain and produce was Philadelphia. With a large team and several farmers in company they would start on a Monday morning, drive to Philadelphia, sell out and return home, taking them a full week, to Saturday evening, to make a single trip." Times are very different in the 1870's, he continues. "Now we can leave home in the morning, go to Philadelphia, transact some business, and return the same day" (p. 62).

The Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect

We shall close with D. B. Shuey's description of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, which was his native language. It is valuable in that it is one of the earliest such accounts by a native Pennsylvanian. It was undoubtedly called forth by the first Pennsylvania Dutch "renaissance" of the 1860's and 1870's, when Harbaugh and others published the first dialect books. The poem, "The Old Schoolhouse at the Church" is obviously under the spell of Harbaugh's "Old Schoolhouse by the Creek," but has value for the details it gives us of schoolhouse days in the Dutch Country when Lutheran and Reformed children went to parochial schools in rural Pennsylvania, as D. B. Shuey himself had done.

Language

"This is perhaps the most difficult subject that we are called upon to treat in this volume, because it is no easy matter to make it intelligible to the different portions of the family, on account of the peculiarity of the Pennsylvania German language. As is mentioned in another place, the family became thoroughly Germanized, but this cannot apply to the whole family. It is a well-known fact, however, that the first Shuey families in this country were altogether German. This was of a high order, and might be called classical German. In course of time the families in Pennsylvania fell in with and appropriated that peculiar dialect denominated "Pennsylvania German," which is a peculiar language used, not in the whole State, but especially in the counties where the Shuey family resided, and the counties adjoining. This dialect is prevailing spoken at the present time in the rural districts of those counties.

Harbaugh's Harfe.

GEDICHTE

Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart.

H. HARBAUGH, D. D.

HERAUSGEBEN VON
B. BAUSMAN.

REFORMED CHURCH PUBLICATION BOARD,
No. 54 NORTH SEVENTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA.
1870.

Title-Page of "Harbaugh's Harfe" (Philadelphia, 1870), the first widely known volume of Pennsylvania Dutch dialect writing.

The Pennsylvania Shueys make use of this dialect to a great extent, and some few no doubt could be found who are not able to make use of the English nor the pure German language. The author was brought up in a neighborhood where this dialect was prevailing used. One must be able to use the language in order to understand its peculiarities.

"It is a very limited language; that is, it takes but few words to express a thought, and the vocabulary of the language is not very extensive. The roughness of the German words is lost in this dialect, and the words and sentences are made much shorter than in the pure German language. Quite a number of English words have been introduced. These introductions are becoming more numerous as the people come in contact with the English language, and no doubt in course of time—it will be a long time, however—this dialect will be dropped and the English used in its stead.

"An extraordinary fact, which may appear amusing or even incredible to some, is the manner in which this dialect is made use of in the schools of those sections of country where this language is spoken. The children when they first come to school are not able to speak English; yet they commence with the English alphabet, and afterwards have all their studies in English. Their studying and their recitations are English, while their conversation is in Pennsylvania German. On the play-ground no English is heard. To some readers it might appear to be an impossibility, that children who cannot speak English should have all their studies in English; but this is a fact well-known to all Pennsylvania Germans. Of the German alphabet and German studies they know nothing. Then, as they grow older and become more advanced in their studies, they learn to speak the English; but this they do more from their book knowledge than by conversation with others.

"There are no books printed in the Pennsylvania German language; and, therefore, the children are compelled to take

up another language.¹⁶ It is consequently the study of a foreign language to them. This fact goes to show that the

¹⁶ It is not quite true that there were "no books" printed in the dialect. There were a few (Rauch, Harbaugh, Bahn, Wollenweber) even at the time Shuey's book was written. But it was true that the dialect never quite made literary use in the Pennsylvania culture to the same degree achieved by High German and English. For example, people simply did not use the dialect for correspondence, accounts, etc. They normally spoke it but did not write it. There was some preaching in dialect or in a "Sermon German" somewhat accommodated to the dialect, but this was principally among the revivalist sects. On this half-way status of Pennsylvania Dutch as a not-quite-literary language, see Heinz Kloss, *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950* (Munich, [c1952]), which refers to Pennsylvania Dutch as a *Halbsprache*.



"The Old Schoolhouse at the Creek," from "Harbaugh's Harfe" (1870). Henry Harbaugh's poem was the immediate inspiration and model for Dennis Shuey's Pennsylvania Dutch dialect poem, "The Old Schoolhouse at the Church."

children of these German counties labor under great disadvantages, and it might seem were much embarrassed in the progress of their studies, which, no doubt, is a fact in reference to beginners at least; but it is also a well-known fact, that many of our most eminent men of Pennsylvania, possessing superior literary abilities, are the sons of just such families, and are persons who were compelled to labor under just such difficulties as are stated above. This assertion is not made without reflection. Let the reader look at the great men of our country, and then examine into their parentage, and he will be surprised to find that many of them are of Pennsylvania German descent.

"To give the reader a proper idea of this Pennsylvania German language, the following poem is inserted, which the author of this book composed in 1870.¹⁷ No particular claim is based on the poetry of the production, but it serves the purpose of giving an example of the language. The English letters are used, so that there may be no difficulty in reading it. Those who are unable to understand it will confer a favor by not asking for a translation, as that would be more difficult than to write or compose the original. The subject is "The School-house at the Church," a sketch of which is given on a preceding page, where it is called "The Old School-house." That portion of the family using the Pennsylvania German will readily understand the poem. Others may be enabled to understand the greater part of it with the aid of our sketch of the house under consideration."

¹⁷ The poem of course is suggestive of and obviously evoked by Harbaugh's "Das Alt Schulhaus an der Krick," which despite its doggerel form and sentimental contents, became the all-time favorite of the country Dutch, memorized, recited at school "celebrations," etc. See H. Harbaugh, *Harbaugh's Harfe. Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart. Herausgegeben von B. Bausman* (Philadelphia, c1870).

DES SCHULHAUS AN DER KERCH

Gans neghst wo ich mei Haemet hab,
Net weit vum neue Wangner Shop,
Senscht du en Haus gans ivverzwerch—
Sell is es Schulhaus an der Kerch.

Dort shtehts alt Bakhaus, dort der Shtall,
Un dorch der Bush gebts oft en Schall,
Wann yusht die Kinner spiele drin,
Bis dos der Teacher ruft "Come in."

Die Porch is schlecht—die Bank shteht druf—
An yedem End gehn Dreppe nuf—
Die Bump yusht drei Schritt von dem Haus—
Dort grickt mer's wasser frisch heraus.

Die Kerrich shteht shtick draus am Weg,
Vum Schulhaus wo mer grickt hen Schleg,
Der Kerch-hof dort uf d'ranre Seit,
Die Grick for Shkaete ah net weit.

Die Schuler viel, die Schulstub gleh,
Wer sich net b'heft mus ins Eck shteh—
Sell war die Rule, un wer's net duht,
Der grickt sei Buckel g'hacht, recht gut.

Die Desks sin long—die Fenshtre gleh,
Der Ofte duht dertswise shteh,
Der Wasser-kivvel dort im Eck
Yusht ens kann dro, so bleib mer weck.

Du frogst ferleicht was duht der Shtall
Des Bakhaus, Bump un Porch un all,
Des Haus is doppelt—senscht du net
Der Teacher wohnt dort wie er sett.

Er zieht die Glock un halt die Schul,
Singt vor in Kerch—sell war die Rule,
Er hot der Kerche Glaube g'lehrt,
Un Yedes hot ihn hoch g'ehrt.

Die Bivel hen sie g'lese all,
Von Christus, un von Adam's fall—
Hen g'lernt zu wisse Recht von Letz—
Was g'schrive is in Gottes G'setz.

Ich wees gans gut ich war yusht so,
En Buv'le, gleh, in der Schul do,
Wie mir hen g'lese, g'spellt un g'lernt,
Un oft der Teacher wiest verzernt.

Mir hens gegliche—mir yunge Leit,
Wanns g'hese hot s'is Schul-geh zeit
Der Teacher hot oft Selver g'lacht
Wann mir yusht hen viel G'spuchte g'macht.

Uf Christag's Woch, des Morgens frie,
Sin mir ans Schulhaus gange hie,
Hen Thier un Fenshter zu gemacht,
Des war en Lust—was hen mer g'lacht.

Der Teacher kommt—er kann net nei—
Was is dann des—er guckt gans schei—
Vor obzuschrecke hot er g'wist
Wann er's powirt don het er's g'mist.

Er steckt sei Beh zum Rohr-loch nei,
Un mir sin all mit Wippe bei
Un hen's em gevve, druf gelasht
Om end doch hen mer'n nei gelust.

Now hot er kauft paar Dahler wert,
No warre mir recht gut un schmert,
Bis das der Zucker war verzehrt,
Ver lenger wars ah net de wehrt.

Des war der Platz ver'n lange Zeit,
Wo komme sin von weit un breit,
Zu lehrne was der Teacher lehrt—
Des Schulgeh do war ah dewehrt.

Now hen sie's Schulhaus naus ans Eck,
Gans neu gebaut—ach geh mer weck,
Des guckt yo gar net wie deheem,
Ich mehn es wer gewiss en Shame.

Die Walmer, Shuey un Gerwich dort
Sin gange in die Schul als fort,
Von selle Leit sin yusht noch paar
Wo gange sin ins Schulhaus do.

Die Glock die ruft noch wie sie hot,
Die Leit zu samle mit Dank an Gott,
Die Voegle fliege wie sie hen
Der Hahne kreht im Scheier den.

Doch now guckts mir gans ivverzwerch,
S'is nimme Schulhaus an der Kerch.
Es duht mir leht vor sell alt Haus,
Wo als noch shteht am Weg dort draus.

Die Schuler komme nimme nei
Sie hen now g'sawt ihr letscht, "good-bye;"
So gehts do in der vinde Welt
Now hab ich euch vum Schulhaus g'melt.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN FOLKTALES: *An Annotated Bibliography*

By JOHN A. BURRISON

Introduction

With the growing maturity of American folktale scholarship and the Pennsylvania folklife studies movement, scholars in both of these fields have felt the need for an index to the published articles and collections of tales belonging to the Pennsylvania Germans, popularly known as the Pennsylvania Dutch.

In compiling such a bibliography, I have seen fit to include anecdotes from or about the Pennsylvania Dutch (indeed, these two sources of "Dutch" jests often share the same content), as well as the longer, more serious traditional narratives. I have omitted short stories and novels dealing with the Pennsylvania Germans, as well as the works of Pennsylvania Dutch dialect writers, unless they are based on traditional tales, legends, or anecdotes. For example, Mildred Jordan's novel, *Apple in the Attic*, is subtitled "A Pennsylvania Legend," but since it does not seem to be based on a traditional Pennsylvania German narrative, but rather on the author's own imagination (or perhaps an actual incident), I have not included it here.

The bibliography is divided into two sections. The first is a general compilation of references drawn from various sources. The second is an index to the tales and anecdotes appearing specifically in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (1949-1957) and its successor *Pennsylvania Folklife*. The items were so numerous for this publication that I felt it merited a separate section. The initials "P. D." stand for Pennsylvania Dutch, and "P. G." stands for Pennsylvania German. They may be used as an adjective, or to signify the people or the dialect, depending on the context. *JAF* is the *Journal of American Folklore*; the *Eck* is short for 'S *Pennsylvaniaanisch Deutsch Eck*, a weekly column edited by Dr. Preston A. Barba, appearing in the *Allentown Morning Call* for some 30 years.

A glance at the bibliography will make obvious the paucity of serious, modern folktale scholarship for Pennsylvania German folk narratives. Even the greatest contribution to the field, Brendle and Troxell's *P. G. Folktales*, is nothing more than a presentation of collectanea; it does not give the comprehensive analysis which modern folktale scholarship demands. It is not enough to simply present the data; one must discuss the materials in a way that will make them meaningful to the student, and will permit them to be viewed in the overall field of folktale research. Dr. Yoder's recent article in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, "Witch Tales from

Adams County," is an excellent but all too rare illustration of what desperately needs to be done in order to raise Pennsylvania German Folktale studies on a par with those of other areas and peoples. It also points out that the Brendle and Troxell book is *not* the definitive collection; there are many fresh tales and variants among the Pennsylvania Germans left to be recorded—in fact, they must be recorded, before they and the culture in which they have thrived disappears!

In closing, I would like to make it clear that this cannot be a completely comprehensive bibliography. Undoubtedly I have missed many items in the dialect and in county historical publications. I only hope that Pennsylvania German folktale scholarship increases to the degree that, within the next few years, a bibliography twice this size will have to be published.

Part I.

1. Aurand, Ammon Monroe, Jr. *Aurand's Collection of P. G. Stories and Poems*, Beaver Springs, Pa., 1916. Includes nine literary anecdotal tales by well-known P. D. dialect writers, in the dialect. 128 pp.
2. ———. *P. G. Dialect Stories and Poems*, Pittsburgh, 1939. 24 pp.
3. ———. *Wit and Humor of the P. G.s*, Harrisburg: The Aurand Press, 1946. A poorly-selected collection of anecdotes, some earthy, some not connected with the P. G.s. 32 pp.
4. Barba, Preston A., ed. "Humorous Tales," in *Publications of the P. G. Folklore Society*, Vol. 15, Allentown, Pa.: Schlechter's, 1950, pp. 109-128. A collection of 13 anecdotes told by well-known contemporary P. G.s, mostly in the dialect.
5. Bayard, Samuel P. "Witchcraft Magic and Spirits on the Border of Pennsylvania & West Virginia," *JAF* 51 (1938), pp. 47-59. Includes retold tales of presumably P. D. origin. Some informants named.
6. Bittinger, Lucy F. "P. G. Folklore," *The Pennsylvania German*, Vol. 9 (April, 1908), pp. 171-173.
7. Bolton, Frederick J. "A Spook Story," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. I (Summer, 1956), pp. 18-20. A variant of the "Do you want to be shaved?" tale, from Hummelstown; no informant.
8. Braun, J. William. "Waterloo County Superstitions," *Eck*, Feb. 28, 1953. Includes three retold tales from the P. G.s of Ontario, Canada; no informants.
9. Brendle, Thomas Royce (Rev.), and William S. Troxell ("Pumpernickel Bill"), col., ed. and transl. *P. G. Folktales, Legends, Once-upon-a-Time Stories, Maxims, and Sayings Spoken in the dialect popularity known as P. D.*, Norristown, Pa.: P. G. Society Proceedings and Addresses, Vol. 50, 1944. 238 pp. Divided into the following chapters: "Long Ago," "Plant Legends," "The

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN FOLK TALES,
LEGENDS, ONCE-UPON-A-TIME STORIES,
MAXIMS, and SAYINGS

Spoken in the dialect popularly known as
Pennsylvania Dutch

Collected, Translated, and Edited

by
REV. THOMAS R. BRENDLE
and
WILLIAM S. TROXELL

NORRISTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA
Pennsylvania German Society
1944

Title-page of the most important volume on the Pennsylvania German folktales, the Brendle-Troxell Collection published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1944.

- Hidden Treasure," "Persons Who Sold Themselves to the Devil," "Stories of Special Days," "Proverbs," "Place Names," "Making a Choice," "Things That Couldn't Move," "The Stupid Swabians," "Spirits of the Countryside," "Brauche and Hexe," "Eileschpijfel," "Olla-Podrida," and "'Parre' Stories." A total of 215 tales (300 including the variants), all with location or source, most with informants' names. This is the largest and most important collection of traditional P. G. folktales; it is not completely representative, however, for obscene material is omitted. P. G. scholars have lamented that the tales were not given in their original dialect forms, although translations are faithful, and original dialect words and phrases are given in footnotes where they are of particular interest. There is no scholarly folkloristic apparatus (comparative analysis using Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, etc.); this is added by Dorson in the 13 tales from this volume reprinted in his *Buying the Wind*.
10. Bressler, Leo Albert. "P. G. Wit and Humor," *Eck*, May 25, 1957, conclusion. Includes 14 dialect anecdotes and sources.
 11. Buck, William J. *Local Sketches and Legends Pertaining to Bucks and Montgomery Counties, Pennsylvania*, Privately Printed, 1887. Includes a few retold tales and anecdotes, notably "The Learned Blacksmith and the Enchanted Gun," pp. 307-321.

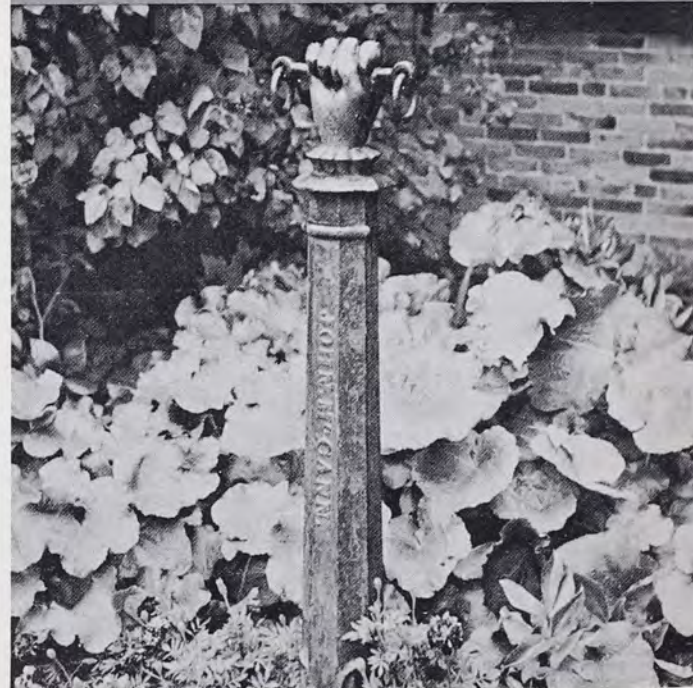
12. Buffington, Albert F. "Pennsylvaniaischdeitscher Gschpass: A Collection of P. G. Anecdotes, Jokes and Stories," *Eck*, Part 1: Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26, Sept. 2, 9, 16, 23, 1961; Part 2: July 14, 21, 28, Aug. 4, 11, 18, 25, Sept. 1, 8, 1962. An excellent collection of 187 dialect anecdotes, told by "Der Nixnutz," who in this case is his own informant.
13. ———. "Schwoveschtories," *Folkways*, No. 3 (January, 1964), pp. 22-24. Seven numskull tales about the "Stupid Swabians;" two informants named in the introduction, but not connected to particular tales. Translated from the dialect.
14. "Der Ewig Yaeger: The Eternal Huntsman, A P. G. Legend of Lancaster County," *Eck*, March 20, 1954. A literary tale from *The Pennsylvania German* of 1902.
15. Dorson, Richard M. *American Folklore*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957, pp. 80-84. A brief but interesting discussion of the characteristics of P. G. folktales.
16. ———. *Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964. Includes 16 P. G. tales in English, mostly from Brendle and Troxell. Chapter II: "Pennsylvania Dutchmen," pp. 107-110, an excellent introduction to the tales and to P. G. folklore scholarship; 1. "Brauche and Hexe," pp. 111-117; 3. "Belief Tales," pp. 126-128; 4. "Noodle Tales," pp. 146-148; 7. "Riddles . . . The Riddle of Ilo," pp. 149-150.
17. Gerhart, Elmer Schultz. "P. G. Folk Lore," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County*, Vol. 2 (April, 1940), pp. 117-137.
18. ———. "P. G. Folk Lore," *Perkiomen Region*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1931), pp. 86-96.
19. Graeff, Arthur D. "P. G. Humor," *Eck*, Dec. 3, 1949, conclusion. Many anecdotes in English; no informants.
20. Hand, Wayland D. "German-American Folklore," *JAF*, Vol. 60 (1947), pp. 366-372. Includes some discussion of the P. G. folktale.
21. Harter, Thomas H. *Boonastiel: A Volume of Legend, Story and Song in "P. D."*, Bellefonte, Pa. (privately printed), 1904. 256 pp.
22. Hoffman, W. J. "Folklore of the P. G.s," *JAF*, Vol. 1 (1888), pp. 123-135; Vol. II (1889), pp. 23-35, 191-202. Reprinted in the *Eck*, March 28, April 4, 11, 18, 25, 1959. Includes some retold tales; no informants.
23. Hollinshead, Benjamin M. "Mountain Mary," *Eck*, Oct. 21, 1939. A sketch of a half-legendary P. G. character.
24. "Hunting 'Elbetritches,'" *Eck*, Jan. 13, 1940. From *The Pennsylvania German* of 1906; includes a tale of this P. G. form of "snipe hunting."
25. Kemp, Alvin F. *P. D. Dialect Stories*, Lancaster: The P. D. Folklore Center, Inc., 1952; 24 pp. Forty-four humorous anecdotes and tales in the dialect, without translations; presumably from the author's repertory, with only one informant named.
26. Korson, George. *Black Rock: Mining Folklore of the P. D.*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960 (Vol. 59, *Publications of the P. G. Society*). The chief chapters containing tales (many collected by the author) are the following: 1. "Philip Ginder, Folk Hero," pp. 1-31; 17. "Spooks, Spoofs, and the Devil," pp. 297-311 (20 tales); and 19. "Legends and Traditions," pp. 334-347. Informants and recording dates are cited in the source notes. Other tales and anecdotes are scattered throughout the book (e.g., pp. 203, 209, 224-225, 239-240, 249, 252-253, 293-296).
27. ———. *Minstrels of the Mine Patch*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. Includes a few P. D. tales and legends: "P. G. Miners," pp. 89-92, accounts of mining experiences; "The Philip Ginder Legend," pp. 150-151.
28. Laux, James B. *Brother Albrecht's Secret Chamber. A Legend of the Ancient Moravian Sun Inn of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, Lititz, Pa., 1914. 62 pp. Reprinted in the *Eck*, Sept. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, Oct. 6, 13, 20, 1951. A novel supposedly based on a P. G. legend.
29. ———. "The P. G. Legend," *American Speech*, Vol. 2, No. 11 (1927), pp. 459-460.
30. Mumaw, John R. "Folk-Lore Among the P. G.s in Wayne County, Ohio," M.A. thesis at the University of

- Virginia, 1931. See the *Pennsylvania Folklife* section.
31. Newell, William H. "Legends and Traditions of Schuylkill County," a paper read before the Historical Society of Schuylkill County, Jan. 31, 1912.
 32. ———. "Tales of the Blue Mountains in Pennsylvania," *JAF*, Vol. 11 (1898), pp. 76–78. A review of an article with the above title by D. C. Henning appearing in the Pottsville *Miners' Journal* of 1897. Includes a retelling of two P. G. folktales.
 33. Owens, F. G. "Folk-Lore From Buffalo Valley, Central Pennsylvania," *JAF*, Vol. 4 (1891), pp. 115–128. Includes two P. G. tales; no informants.
 34. "Parre Sctoris," *Eck*, April 20 and May 4, 1963. A collection of "parson" anecdotes.
 35. *Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eileschpiggel*, Der, Ed. J. William Frey, Bethlehem, Pa., 1943–1944, Lancaster, 1944–1946. Originally printed bi-monthly, this mimeographed publication often included dialect tales and anecdotes. See, for example, the following: "Was?? Du weescht net was der Eileschpiggel iss?," Vol. I, No. 2 (Sept., 1943), p. 9, which includes an Eileschpiggel tale; "Alles un Eenich Ebbes," No. 2, p. 13, anecdote; "Eileschpiggel-Sctoris un Schwowe-Schtreech," No. 3 (Dec., 1943), pp. 7–8, three tales sent in by Victor Dieffenbach, William F. Yoder, and D. C. Keller; "Eileschpiggel-Sctoris" and "Der Eisenhannes," by R. R. Leh, No. 4 (March, 1944), pp. 3–4, two tales; "Alles un Eenich Ebbes," by D. C. Keller, No. 4, p. 7, two anecdotes; "Zwee Schwowe-Sctoris," by William F. Yoder, No. 4, p. 8, three tales; "Deel Sctoris," by Rev. F. W. Ruth, No. 5 (June, 1944), pp. 3–4, three anecdotes; "Der Eishannes iss en Schmaerter Karl!," by James Ernst, No. 6 (Aug., 1944), pp. 5–6; "Paar Sctoris," Vol. II, No. 1 (Aug., 1944), p. 4, four anecdotes, sent in by D. C. Keller, F. W. Ruth, O. P. Knauss, and R. R. Leh; "En schwarzi Katz iss net en Weissi Daub!," by Fred E. Lewis, No. 2 (Feb., 1945), p. 3, three anecdotes; "Paar Sctoris un Reime," No. 2, pp. 5–6, four anecdotes by D. C. Keller, D. George Knecht, and Schuhmann Rohrbach; "Em Feckie sei Unglick," by Isaac S. Eshleman, No. 2, p. 7, anecdote; "Sctoris, alles un eenich Ebbes," by Jacob Yoder, No. 3 (June, 1945), pp. 4–5, two anecdotes; "Nau geb du Mool en Sctori!," by D. C. Keller, No. 4 (Oct., 1945), pp. 2–3, two anecdotes; "Nau geb du Mool en Sctori," by Rev. F. W. Ruth, Nos. 5–6 (double issue, Spring, 1946), pp. 10–11, three anecdotes; "Lieb dei Naegschte," by C. P. Wenger, Nos. 5–6, pp. 11–12, anecdote; on pp. 18–21 of this last issue are four anecdotes by Rev. [Clarence] Rahn, Dan Keller, and A. F. Buffington.
 36. Rosenberger, Homer. "The Witch of Werner's Mill," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (Winter, 1957–8), pp. 104–108. A retold tale from Sugar Valley; no informant.
 37. Saur, Christoph. *Verschiedene alte und neuere Geschichten von Erscheinungen der Geister*, Germantown, Pa.: Saur, 1744. One of the earliest collections of traditional German-American ghost tales, in German. See the *Pennsylvania Folklife* section.
 38. Seip, Elisabeth C. "Witch-Finding in Western Maryland," *JAF*, Vol. 14 (1901), pp. 39–44. Includes several P. G. witch tales in English; lacks informants' full names.
 39. Shoemaker, Henry W. *Pennsylvania Mountain Stories*, Bradford, Pa.: Bradford Record Publishing Co., 1908. Includes a few legends and tales about P. G.s, but no informants. A very literary treatment; may not be folk material at all. A few other tales connected with the P. G.s may be found in Shoemaker's other writings, but they are not worth examining as scholarly material; they are unreliable.
 40. Simons, Isaac Shirk. "Folklore of the P. G.s," unpublished M.A. dissertation, no location, 1915. See the *Pennsylvania Folklife* section.
 41. Smith, Elmer L. *The Almanac of P. D. Folklore*, Akron, Pa., 1961. 39 pp. A popularized collection, which includes Amish stories and anecdotes; no informants.
 42. ———, and John Stewart. "P. G. Folklore in the Shenandoah Valley," *Eck*, July 6, 1963. Includes hoop-snake stories; informant not named.
 43. Elmer Lewis Smith, John G. Stewart, and M. Ellsworth Kyger. *The P. G.s of the Shenandoah Valley*, *The P. G. Folklore Society*, Vol. 26, Allentown, Pa.: Schlechter's, 1964, 278 pp. Includes a section on witch and powwow tales, some retold, many given as transcribed from extensive tape recordings, pp. 145–163; no informants given.
 44. Starr, Frederick. "Some P. G. Lore," *JAF*, Vol. 4 (1891), pp. 321–326. Reprinted in the *Eck*, Aug. 15, 1959. Retold tales; no informants.
 45. Stoudt, John Baer. *The Folklore of the P. G.s*. A paper read before the P. G. Society at the annual meeting, York, Pa., Oct. 14, 1910, Philadelphia: Campbell, 1916; Lancaster: *P. G. Society Proceedings*, Vol. 23, supplement, 1915, reprinted 1916. 155 pp. Surprisingly, the only tales in this volume appear on pp. 62–65 as "legend riddles," or riddles in a folktale setting, with the narrative part in English; no informants.
 46. ———. "P. G. Riddles and Nursery Rhymes," *JAF*, Vol. 19 (1906), pp. 113–121. Includes P. G. riddles in a folktale setting.
 47. Stoudt, John Joseph. "P. G. Folklore: An Interpretation," in *Publications of the P. G. Folklore Society*, Vol. 16, Allentown, Pa.: Schlechter's, 1951, pp. 159–170. Includes a brief mention of P. G. folktales.

Regional Folklore in the United States

BUYING THE WIND

Richard M. Dorson



Richard Dorson's recent volume, "Buying the Wind" (University of Chicago Press, 1964), includes an excellent section on the folktales of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

48. Swope, Pierce Edward. "P. G. Anecdotes," *Historical Review of Berks County*, Vol. 4 (January, 1939), pp. 50-51; Vol. 5 (October, 1939), p. 22.
49. ———. "P. G. Humor," *American-German Review*, Vol. 6 (February, 1940), pp. 7-8, 35.
50. Weiser, Charles, ed. "Told by Sim Schmalzgsicht," *Eck*, May 3, 1958. Five dialect anecdotes from *Sim Schmalzgsicht's Own Magazine*, The Only Humorous P. G. Publication in the United States.
51. Wintemberg, W. F. "German Folk-Tales Collected in Canada," *JAF*, Vol. 19 (1906), pp. 241-244. Five traditional tales in English from the P. G.s of Ontario; only one informant mentioned.
52. Wintemberg, W. F. "Items of German-Canadian Folk-Lore," *JAF* XII (1899), pp. 45-50. The last page contains a retold witch tale; no informant.
53. Wood, Ralph. "P. G. Tall Stories," *Eck*, July 13, 1940. Discussion with examples in the dialect; informant not named.
54. Yoder, Don. "Folklore from the Hegins and Mahantongo Valleys," *Eck*, Oct. 4, 1947: I. Folk Stories, several tales in the dialect given without translation, to illustrate types found, with some informants mentioned in the introduction, but not attached to specific tales; Oct. 25 and Nov. 2, 1947: III. Making Fun of Others, includes several dialect anecdotes.
55. ———. *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, Lancaster: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961. "The 'Lining-Out' Jests," pp. 130-132, gives three variants of a preacher anecdote, with newspaper sources cited.

Part II

Folktale Index to "The Pennsylvania Dutchman" and "Pennsylvania Folklife"

Due to the large number of folktales and anecdotes appearing in the pages of *Pennsylvania Folklife*, I have separated the folktale index for this publication from the rest of the bibliography. The magazine was begun in 1949 as *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, published weekly in newspaper format under the editorship of Drs. Alfred L. Shoemaker, Don Yoder, and J. William Frey. The magazine is now published quarterly under the title *Pennsylvania Folklife*, which it adopted in 1957. It is perhaps one of the most unique folklore publications, for, throughout its history, the contributors have been largely the "folk" themselves, rather than professionally trained folklorists. This fact is evident in reading this bibliography, for the "authors" of many of the articles and smaller contributions are actually their own informants. This makes for a pleasantly informal and "folksy" type of publication, but one often lacking in the scholarly analysis which is of great help to serious students of folklore. The present editor, Don Yoder, is attempting to make the magazine more useful to folklorists outside of the P. D. community, as well as to those within it; also, the scope of *Pennsylvania Folklife* is being broadened to include, at last, all folk traditions within the State, not merely those of the Pennsylvania Germans. The fact remains, however, that this bibliography covers past issues of a magazine intended for the P. G. folk and often filled by them.

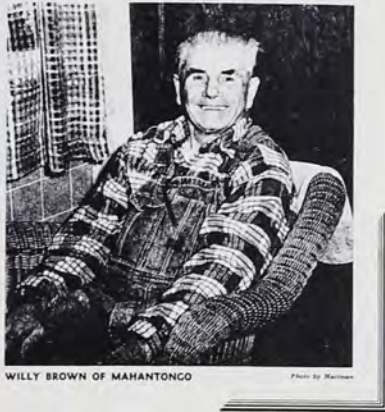
1. A., M. B. "House Butsa," Vol. III, No. 3 (June 1, 1951), p. 7. Dialect anecdote.
2. "About His Cheek," Vol. III, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1951), p. 2. Anecdote about a Mennonite minister, from the *Reading Times and Dispatch*, 1874.
3. Adair, Mrs. Henry. "In Doubt," Vol. I, No. 18 (Sept. 1, 1949), p. 1. Anecdote.
4. "An 'All' Story," Vol. I, No. 2 (May 12, 1949), p. 4. Anecdote; no source.
5. Andreas, Jeremiah W. "My Great Grandmother," Vol. X, No. 1 (Spring, 1959), pp. 42-43. Retold legends from Germany.
6. "Anecdote of the Spanish-American War," Vol. V, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1954), p. 11. About P. D.; no date, source.
7. "Another 'All' Story," Vol. I, No. 5 (June 2, 1949), p. 2. No source.
8. Ashby, Meredith William. "Young Widow," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 15. Retold ghost tale; no informant.
9. B., E. I. "Beddelmenner," Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 5. Dialect anecdote.
10. B., I. "A Little Coy," Vol. I, No. 15 (Aug. 11, 1949), p. 7. Anecdote.
11. ———. "Not the Answer," Vol. I, No. 14 (Aug. 4, 1949), p. 3. Anecdote.
12. "Der Babbegoi," Vol. I, No. 2 (May 12, 1949), p. 2. Anecdotal tale in dialect with translation; no source.
13. "Bad Neighbors," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), p. 3. Anecdote about P. D. from the *Doylestown Democrat*, 1838.
14. Bailer, "Aunt" Sophia. "How to Stop a Witch," Vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1952), pp. 8, 9. Several hex tales in English by a famous P. D. powwow doctor, presented in letter form; an excellent example of "folk" writing.
15. ———. "My Encounter with 'a Lebanon Ghost,'" Vol. III, No. 18 (Feb. 15, 1952), p. 5. A very interesting "true" account of this powwow doctor's experience with a ghost, based on traditional lines and using "folk" spelling and phraseology.
16. ———. "Witches . . . I Have Known," Vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1952), p. 8. More witch tales in undoctored letter form.
17. Barbour, John, col. • "Dick Harmon Tales," Vol. V, No. 14 (March 15, 1954), p. 11. Six tales about a local character, with informant named; direct transcription.
18. Bechtel, E. "Confusion," Vol. II, No. 2 (May 15, 1950), p. 2. Anecdote about P. D.
19. "Bechtelsville" (pseudo). "Two Students," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 9. Anecdote.
20. Beck, James N. "Hetty Bomeisler and Some Irish Spooks," Vol. III, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1951), pp. 3, 4, 7. A literary narrative about a revenant, using dialect conversation with translation, from Phila. *Evening Bulletin*, 1858.
21. ———. "Life Among the Bushwackers—John Hammerschmidt of Berks," Vol. III, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1951), pp. 1, 2, 3, 7. Literary tales about revenant, witches, hidden treasure, from Phila. *Evening Bulletin*, 1858.
22. Bender, Rhoda. "Somerset Jest," Vol. I, No. 16 (Aug. 18, 1949), p. 1. Anecdote.
23. ———. "Somerset Jest," Vol. I, No. 17 (Aug. 25, 1949), p. 4. Anecdote.
24. Bennetch, Marlin. "Knows His Drinks," Vol. I, No. 24 (March, 1950), p. 2. Dialect anecdote.
25. ———. "The Lost Penny," Vol. I, No. 22 (Jan., 1950), p. 5. Anecdote.
26. Berky, A. S. "Folktales," Vol. III, No. 6 (Aug. 1, 1951), p. 2. Two local legends; no informants.
27. "Better as Both," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 9. Anecdote about P. D., from *Saturday Evening Post*, 1858.
28. "A Bewitched Boy," Vol. II, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1950), p. 3. Literary hex tale from *Hanover Herald*, 1875.
29. "A Black Call's Head on the Haunted Crossroads," Vol. III, No. 19 (March 1, 1952), p. 2. Literary local tale about artificial monster, from *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, 1845.
30. Black, M. B. "En Irisher Un En Deitscher," Vol. II, No. 12 (Nov. 15, 1950), p. 3. Dialect anecdote.
31. "Black Pony," Vol. IV, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1953), p. 2. Anecdote about P. D., from *Saturday Evening Post*, 1857.
32. Bomberger, C. M. "The Bull," Vol. II, No. 16 (Jan. 15, 1951), p. 8. Literary anecdote.
33. ———. "Jonas," Vol. II, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1950), pp. 1, 7. From the author's "P. D. Sketches;" includes two dialect anecdotes with translations.

34. ———. "Manheim," Vol. II, No. 17 I (Feb. 1, 1951), p. 8. Includes several anecdotes.
35. ———. "Der Pappy," Vol. I, No. 16 (Aug. 18, 1949), p. 7. Retelling of a supernatural tale.
36. ———. "Der Pappy," Vol. I, No. 16 (Aug. 18, 1949), p. 7. A few retold tales.
37. Bowman, John Butz. "Schuylkill Boatmen and Their Ways," Vol. IX, No. 1 (Winter, 1957-58), pp. 18-23. On pp. 21-22 two anecdotes are retold, with informant mentioned.
38. Breidigam, Amos F. "Good Reply," Vol. II, No. 6 (Aug., 1950), p. 7. Anecdote, mostly in the dialect.
39. Brendel, John B., col. "A Dutch Pied Piper Tale," Vol. I, No. 8 (June 23, 1949), p. 2. Dialect folktale with translation; informant, date, and place of collection listed.
40. ———. "Johnnie Weitzel and His Two Old Maid Sisters," Vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1952), p. 11. Five tales attached to local personalities.
41. ———. "A Mock Communion," Vol. I, No. 15 (Aug. 11, 1949), p. 2. Informant, date and place are listed.
42. ———. "Treasure of the Buck's Barrick," Vol. I, No. 10 (July 7, 1949), p. 2. A local legend, with informant named.
43. ———. "Two Folktales," Vol. I, No. 11 (July 14, 1949), p. 2. Two tales, one in English, one in dialect; no informants.
44. Buck, William J. "Hoop Snake and White Hare," Vol. IV, No. 13 (March 1, 1953), p. 15. Reminiscences of life in Bucks Co. in the 1830's, with a few local legends mentioned.
45. ———. "Hunting Elbedritchies," Vol. IV, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1953), p. 2. A discussion of the P. D. version of the "snipe hunt," with incidents recalled.
46. Buffington, Albert F. ("Der Nixnutz"). "Gott Seega Selli Kuul," Vol. I, No. 9 (June 30, 1949), p. 3. Dialect anecdote.
47. "Buying Cattle," Vol. I, No. 12 (July 21, 1949), p. 1. Dialogue anecdote in the dialect, from an old clipping.
48. "Can't Be Cheated," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 3. Anecdote about P. D., from *Germantown Telegraph*, 1855.
49. "Civil War Anecdote," Vol. II, No. 18 (Feb. 15, 1951), p. 2. Anecdote about P. D., from *Lancaster Inquirer*, 1863.
50. "Clever Farmer," Vol. I, No. 12 (July 21, 1949), p. 3. Dialect anecdote; no source.
51. Coffroth, Frederick F., col. "The Legend of Spooky Hollow and Other Somerset County Tales," Vol. III, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1951), p. 2. Six good local legends dealing with ghosts and treasures; informants named.
52. "Contrary," Vol. IV, No. 3 (July, 1952), p. 4. Anecdote about P. D. from *Norristown Free Press*, 1832.
53. Davis, Tarring S. "A Henry Houck Story," Vol. I, No. 13 (July 28, 1949), p. 5. Anecdote from the author's *The Schools of Pennsylvania with Particular Reference to Those of Blair County*.
54. "Deeds of Daring of 'Louis the Robber,'" Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 4. Retold accounts of an Adams County criminal, from the *Philadelphia Times*, 1896; the tales were probably derived from P. D. informants.
55. "Defence for Bigamy," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), p. 5. Anecdote about P. D. from the *Doylestown Democrat*, 1856.
56. "The Devil in Salisbury," Vol. I, No. 22 (Jan., 1950), p. 2. A retold local tale from the *Allentown Democrat*, 1866.
57. Dieffenbach, Victor C. "Butchering Day on the Farm," Vol. IV, No. 9 (Jan. 1, 1953); pp. 14-15. Reminiscences, which include some anecdotes.
58. ———. "Cow Lore from Berks County," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), pp. 6-7. Includes several tales; supposedly the author is his own informant.
59. ———. "The Cow That Was Ferhexed," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), p. 11. An incident based on folk motifs.
60. ———. "Eating Wager," Vol. XII, No. 2 (Summer, 1961), pp. 71-72. This humorous tale was reprinted in *Folkways*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1962), pp. 32-33.
61. ———. "Der Eilaschpiggel," Vol. I, No. 12 (July 21, 1949), p. 7. A set of dialect tales about this famous trickster, presumably from the repertory of the author, "Der Oldt Bauer."
62. ———. "Old Philpy," Vol. V, No. 6 (Oct., 1953), p. 14. A skeleton tale, with the informant mentioned.
63. ———. "Peddlers I Remember," Vol. XIV, No. 1 (Oct., 1964), pp. 38-48. An interesting set of 26 reminiscences about itinerant peddlers in Berks County, some of which are traditional folktales; in English, using P. D. phrases and expressions.
64. ———. "Some Lore on Hens," Vol. IV, No. 7 (Nov., 1952), p. 6. Includes several anecdotes.
65. ———. "Tramps of My Youth," Vol. X, No. 1 (Spring, 1959), pp. 8-14. On p. 13 the author summarizes several tales told by P. D. tramps, and mentions their names.
66. ———. "Winter on the Farm," Vol. IV, No. 13 (March 1, 1953), pp. 2-3. Reminiscences, including a few anecdotal tales.
67. ———. "A Witch and Her Dog," Vol. IV, No. 14 (April, 1953), pp. 2, 10. A folktale from the author's grandmother.
68. Diegel, Barbara A. "Valuable Scarecrow," Vol. V, No. 14 (March 15, 1954), p. 9. Anecdote.
69. Druckenbrod, Richard. "Some Parson Tales," Vol. V, No. 14 (March 15, 1954), p. 5. Seven tales in English; informant named.
70. "Dutch English," Vol. II, No. 12 (Nov. 15, 1950), p. 6. Includes several anecdotes.
71. "A Dutch Story," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), p. 4. Anecdote about P. D., from *Sunbury American*, 1842.
72. "The Dutch Widower," Vol. V, No. 3 (July, 1953), pp. 16, 14. A dialogue anecdote from a Doylestown paper of 1852.
73. "Dutch Witness," Vol. V, No. 9 (Jan. 1, 1954), p. 13. Anecdote about P. D. from *Norristown Herald and Free Press*, 1850.
74. "The Dutchman and the Circuit Rider," Vol. III, No. 3 (June 1, 1951), p. 6. Anecdote; no source.
75. "Dutchman Jests," Vol. II, No. 20 (March 15, 1951), p. 3. Five anecdotes from Pennsylvania papers of the 1850's.
76. "Dutchman Jests," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 4. Anecdotes about P. D., from the *Saturday Evening Post*, 1932.
77. "Dutchman's Answer," Vol. III, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1951), p. 7. Anecdote, from *The Democratic Press*, 1853.
78. Evelan, Ray. "The Talking Turkey and Other Folk Tales," Vol. IV, No. 7 (Nov., 1952), pp. 2, 12. Three tales in the dialect with translations, from the author's column, "Des un Sel," in the *West Schuylkill Press*, 1948, 1949; no informants.
79. Eyles, Arthur H. "Dutch English," Vol. II, No. 6 (August, 1950), p. 2. Several P. D. anecdotes.
80. Faust, Mary J. "A Henry Houck Story," Vol. II, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1950), p. 5. A numskull tale, mostly in the dialect, with translation.
81. Faust, Willis D. "A Lad's Retort," Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1950), p. 3. Anecdote.
82. ———. "Tricks," Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1950), p. 4. Anecdote.
83. ———. "Wise or Otherwise," Vol. I, No. 4 (May 26, 1949), p. 2. Anecdote about Charles Schmidt.
84. Fike, Tedford E., col. "Bad Man's Rocks," Vol. III, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1951), p. 1. Local legend; no informant.
85. ———. "Cry of Wildcat," Vol. III, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1951), p. 2. Somerset County tale; no informant.
86. ———. "Ghost and Witch Lore of Lower Turkeyfoot Valley," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 2. Retelling of nine local tales; no informants.
87. ———. "The Prophetic Harp," Vol. II, No. 19 (March 1, 1951), p. 2. Ten folktales and legends from Somerset County; no informants.
88. ———. "Turkeyfoot Tales," Vol. III, No. 5 (July 1, 1951), pp. 3, 8. Ten local legends from Somerset County; no informants.
89. "Folk Speech," Vol. II, No. 15 (Jan. 1, 1951), p. 3. Anecdote from the *Moravian*, 1857.

The Pennsylvania Dutchman

Vol. IV, No. 2
June, 1952

Devoted to Pennsylvania Dutch Folk-Culture



WILLY BROWN OF MAHANTONGO

Photo by Harman

Title-page of "The Pennsylvania Dutchman" for June, 1952, featuring the folktales and folksongs of Willy Brown of Mahantongo.

90. Frantz, Morris (informant). "A Riddle," Vol. V, No. 9 (Jan. 1, 1954), p. 4. Dialect riddle tale and translation, from Reading.
91. Freeman, Kathryn E. "Spooks Are Born," Vol. V, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1954), p. 12. The origination of a ghost story.
92. Frey, H. C. "Slaymaker's Ghost at Punkin Center," Vol. V, No. 8 (Dec., 1953), p. 14. Retold legends about a local "ghost;" informants named.
93. G., A. "Fortune Told," Vol. I, No. 18 (Sept. 1, 1949), p. 5. Anecdote.
94. ———. "A Quick Answer," Vol. I, No. 18 (Sept. 1, 1949), p. 3. Anecdote.
95. Geiger, Christ. "Field Notes on Schuylkill County Folklife," Vol. XII, No. 2 (Summer, 1961), p. 71. Reminiscences collected under WPA, including two tales, one of which was reprinted in *Folkways*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1962), p. 32; informants, age, and collecting dates listed.
96. "The Ghost of Chew's Wall—A Legend of Germantown," Vol. V, No. 7 (Nov., 1953), pp. 2-3, 4, 6. A 19th Century short story about P. D.; no author, source.
97. Gibbons, J. H. "Buried Treasure Legend Stirs York Vicinity," Vol. III, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1951), p. 4. Discussion of the effect of a local legend.
98. Gingrich, F. W. "Neversink," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 7. Place name origin tale.
99. "Good Cider," Vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1952), p. 3. Anecdote about P. D. from Gettysburg *Sentinel*, 1857.
100. Groah, Patrick, col. "The Bay of Hounds Tale," Vol. III, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1951), pp. 2, 4. Five tales; informant named.
101. Groff, N. H. "The Fog Thickens," Vol. II, No. 3 (June 1, 1950), p. 2. Dialect tall tale with translation.
102. Gruber, H. Wayne. "Dialect Jests," Vol. I, No. 23 (Feb., 1950), p. 2. Four anecdotes.
103. ———. "Miscellaneous Tales Picked Up Here and There," Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 2. Eight anecdotes; no informants.
104. Guldin, Ethel. "The Ghost of Long Lane," Vol. III, No. 6 (Aug. 1, 1951), p. 2. A local legend from Reading.
105. H., B. M. C. "En Glay Maidel," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 2. Dialect anecdote.
106. ———. "En Glee Meedel," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 4. Dialect anecdote.
107. H., M. E. "Im Backoffa," Vol. II, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1950), p. 5. Dialect anecdote.
108. Handwerk, Walter T. "Blue Mountain Sketches," Vol. V, No. 13 (March 1, 1954), p. 8. Four anecdotes, partly in dialect.
109. ———. "Houck Again," Vol. I, No. 20 (Nov., 1949), p. 5. Dialect anecdote.
110. Hartman, Harvey H. "Dissinger Tale," Vol. II, No. 11 (Nov. 1, 1950), p. 4. Anecdote.
111. ———. "Jests and Legends from Upper Bucks," Vol. II, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1950), p. 2. Thirteen good anecdotes and tales, using the dialect, with translations; no informants.
112. ———. "Likes Old Way," Vol. II, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1950), p. 4. Anecdote.
113. ———. "Mixed Languages," Vol. II, No. 11 (Nov. 1, 1950), p. 2. Anecdote.
114. ———. "Some Dutch Jests," Vol. II, No. 15 (Jan. 1, 1951), p. 2. Eleven anecdotes, apparently from the author's repertory.
115. Harvey, John. "Bed Rates at Old Hotel," Vol. III, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1951), p. 3. Dialect anecdote.
116. Heilman, Anna Fry. "Contrary Butter," Vol. I, No. 8 (June 23, 1949), p. 2. Anecdote.
117. "Hell Not Far Off," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), p. 4. Anecdote about P. D., from *Sunbury American*, 1842.
118. Henneberger, George, col. "Franklin County Lore," Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1950), p. 3. Two local legends; informant named.
119. Henry, John C. "How Tyrone Got Its Name," Vol. III, No. 20 (March 15, 1952), p. 6. Place name origin tale from *Democratic Watchman* of Bellefonte, 1874.
120. Henry, Matthew S. "Witches and Witchcraft in Northampton County," Vol. III, No. 17 (Feb. 1, 1952), pp. 2, 3. Includes local hex tales; no informants.
121. Henry, Ruth, and W. A. Reagan. "Superman Riley," Vol. IV, No. 6 (Oct., 1952), p. 11. Two legendary accounts of this local character, in letter form.
122. Himmelreich, John. "The Dangling Heart," Vol. I, No. 16 (Aug. 18, 1949), p. 2. This traditional tale was told by the above in the 1880's; no source.
123. Hollenbach, Ida V. "Some Heidelberg Tales," Vol. I, No. 18 (Sept. 1, 1949), p. 2. Seven anecdotes, some in dialect; no informants.
124. ———. "Toad Wasn't Tode," Vol. II, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1950), p. 7. Anecdote.
125. Hollenbach, John (Rev.). "Snyder County Jests," Vol. IV, No. 7 (Nov., 1952), p. 6. Two anecdotes.
126. "Honest Dutchman," Vol. IV, No. 6 (Oct., 1952), p. 14. Anecdote about P. D., from *Doylestown Democrat*, 1859.
127. Horn, Helen R. "A Henry Houck Story," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 2. Story about a local personality; informant named.
128. "Die Huffa Karrich," Vol. I, No. 2 (May 12, 1949), p. 7. Anecdote; no source.
129. Hunsberger, Angeline. "Taken In," Vol. V, No. 13 (March 1, 1954), p. 2. Two anecdotes.
130. "Intelligence," Vol. III, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1951), p. 3. A "Yankee and Dutchman" anecdote from *The Democratic Press*, 1848.
131. "An Irish Bull," Vol. II, No. 21 (April 1, 1951), p. 4. "Dutchman-Irishman" anecdote from *Chronicle of the Times*, 1823.
132. "It All Depends On One's Upbringing," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 14. Anecdote about P. D. from Gettysburg *Sentinel*, 1857.
133. Jacobs, Birdes A. "Iss Der Difle Uffenbore?," Vol. II, No. 6 (Aug., 1950), p. 2. Dialect tales from the author's grandmother, with translations.

134. "Joe Raber's Ghost," Vol. III, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1951), p. 2. Two local legends from *Lebanon Daily Times*, 1884, 1885.
135. Jordan, Joseph W. "Moravian Lore . . ." Vol. IV, No. 7 (Nov., 1952), p. 7. Reminiscences, including retelling of several local tales.
136. K., I. L. "A Five-Year-Old," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 9. Anecdote.
137. Kelchner, Miles M. "Dumm," Vol. V, No. 13 (March 1, 1954), p. 7. Dialect anecdote.
138. Keller, Daniel C. "Dialect Jests," Vol. I, No. 12 (July 21, 1949), p. 2. Nine dialect anecdotes; no informants.
139. ———. "Quick Retort," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 4. Dialect anecdote.
140. Kershner, George C. "A Substitute," Vol. I, No. 20 (Nov., 1949), p. 2. Dialect anecdotal tale with translation.
141. Keyser, Alan G. "The Man Who Was Buried Standing Up," Vol. XII, No. 3 (Fall, 1961), pp. 60–61. Tracing an old local legend; informants named.
142. Kieffer, H. M. (Rev.) "Father Pomp Anecdotes," Vol. I, No. 22 (Jan., 1950), p. 3. Five anecdotes about Rev. Thomas Pomp.
143. King, F. Roland, col. "Ghost's Bones Fall on Pancakes," Vol. II, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1950), p. 2. Four long traditional tales, directly transcribed; no informants.
144. Knipe, James L. "Hoop Snake Again!," Vol. V, No. 1 (May, 1953), p. 2. Anecdotal tales; no informants.
145. Kyger, M. Ellsworth. "Valley Dutch," Vol. III, No. 3 (June 1, 1951), p. 7. Dialect anecdote.
146. L., A. "Apt Reply," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 6. Anecdote.
147. L., E. B. "Too Many Feet?," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 16. Anecdote.
148. Landis, E. B. "Gravedigger," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 2. Tale.
149. "A Legend of Alle-Maengel," Vol. I, No. 12 (July 21, 1949), p. 5. A retold legend from "Gleanings of an Antiquarian in German Pennsylvania," author unknown, in *The Lutheran and Missionary* of Philadelphia, 1863.
150. Leh, Ralph R. "Eilaspiggel . . . Eisahannes," Vol. I, No. 7 (June 16, 1949), p. 7. Two dialect tales told by the author.
151. ———. "Recollections About My Grandmother," Vol. XI, No. 2 (Fall, 1960), pp. 47–48. Includes a retold folktale about a deal with the devil.
152. Leibenguth, Albert. "Breil! Breil!," Vol. I, No. 8 (June 23, 1949), p. 2. Anecdote.
153. ———. "Calling All Cows," Vol. I, No. 15 (Aug. 11, 1949), p. 3. Includes several anecdotes.
154. Lewis, Fred E. "Sermons at Any Price," Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1950), p. 3. Anecdote about P. D. using dialect, from the author's *Summary of Wit and Wisdom*.
155. Light, Naomi R., and Kathryn S. Ober. "Henry Houck Stories," Vol. I, No. 18 (Sept. 1, 1949), p. 2. Three anecdotes.
156. Lutz, N. J. "Misunderstanding," Vol. II, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1950), p. 2. Anecdote.
157. Martin, Dwight. "Teacher Fooled," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 15. Anecdote.
158. Master, Marie, col. "The Cat's at the 'Dippy,'" Vol. V, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1954), p. 2. Seven tales and anecdotes from Snyder County; no informants.
159. McMullin, A. B. "Der Alt Gooley Draws A Protective Circle," Vol. II, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1950), p. 2. Literary anecdotes about a local character; no informants.
160. ———. "Old Man Frick Hexes," Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1950), p. 3. Local tale.
161. ———. "An Old Yarn from Beyond Blue Ball," Vol. II, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1950), p. 2. Tale about a broom peddler and a Dutchman; no informant.
162. Mease, Mrs. Henry P. "A Boy's Tears," Vol. I, No. 5 (June 2, 1949), p. 2. Anecdote.
163. "Mennonite Legend," Vol. V, No. 2 (June, 1953), p. 10. Literary retelling of a local legend, from *Reading Weekly Eagle*, 1895.
164. Mertz, George. "Der Marya Wawr Nevvlich," Vol. I, No. 25 (April, 1950), p. 3. A tall fog tale, in dialect with translation.

WITCH Tales from Adams County

Recorded by DON YODER

1800 out of York County) has had an interesting settlement history and a fascinating mixed folk-culture as a result. In a sense it is a microcosm of Pennsylvania folklife in that it had all the ingredients that molded early Pennsylvania—Quaker, Scotch-Irish, and Pennsylvania Dutch. In addition there were the important "Low Dutch" (Holland Dutch) settlement at Hunterstown and one of Pennsylvania's few early rural Catholic settlements at Coneyago and Me-Sherrytown. Culturally Adams County has a double relation—to South Central Pennsylvania and to Western

Frank Eckert was an experimenter to know—one of those persons who in themselves represent an era and a way of life that is now mostly passed. Apart from being the best of my informants on the folktales west of the Susquehanna, Frank was a delightful person, with the wisdom and humor that had grown out of a lifetime on the farm.

Born Charles Franklin Eckert in 1871 in Butler Township, Adams County, "down close Bender's Church," as he put it, he spent his lifetime as a farmer and butcher in Adams County, and died in 1960, at the age of 89, at the home of his daughter near Bendersville in the county of his birth. He is buried in the cemetery at Bender's Church.

In the twenty some years that I knew Frank Eckert I had many opportunities to talk with him of the old days and the old beliefs of the rural Pennsylvania that he represented. In several lengthy recording sessions, first on wire (now recorded on tape) and later on tape, I was able to record many of his favorite tales and reminiscences, his versions of English folk songs and some amusing Dutch-English ones, even his recipes for sausage and "pon-haws," and "fridge" from a lifetime of expert butchering—many things that fill out our knowledge of folklife in an area largely unrecorded.

The folktales in this article were recorded by me on tape, June 7, 1958, at the home of Frank's son-in-law and daughter, Donald F. and Margaret (Eckert) Garrison, Aspers, R. D., Adams County, Pennsylvania. As far as I know they are the first recorded folktales from Adams County—a county known to the nation as the location of the Civil War's most important battleground and the retirement home of President Eisenhower. But Adams County (created in



Charles Franklin Eckert
(1871-1960)



A map showing the locale of the folktales told by Frank Eckert.

Folktales of the Occult, recorded in Adams County, Pennsylvania, from Frank Eckert (1871-1960) range from "The Blasphemy of the Flailers" to "The Bewitched Automobile."

165. Miller, Daniel K. "Canal Boat Days in the Schuylkill Valley," Vol. III, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1951), p. 6. Reminiscences, including local tales.
166. "Mine John," Vol. II, No. 19 (March 1, 1951), p. 7. Anecdote about P. D., from *Manheim Sentinel*, 1851.
167. "Mock Dutch-English," Vol. III, No. 5 (July 1, 1951), p. 1. Twelve anecdotes about P. G.'s difficulty with English, from *Philadelphia Ledger*, Sept., 1922.
168. Montgomery, Morton. "Tales of the 'Eck,'" Vol. II, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1950), p. 2. Two tales from the author's manuscript (c. 1900); informant named.
169. Mumaw, John R. "Mennonite Folklore," Vol. XI, No. 1 (Spring, 1960), p. 39. Excerpts from the author's M.A. thesis at the Univ. of Virginia: "Folk-Lore Among the P-G.s in Wayne County, Ohio," field work done in 1931. Includes two short dialect anecdotes with translations; no informants.
170. Munroe, M. M. "That Ain't What You Asked For," Vol. III, No. 6 (Aug. 1, 1951), p. 4. Anecdote.
171. "Muss mar noch Englisch schwetza?," Vol. I, No. 6 (June 9, 1949), p. 7. Two anecdotes; no source.
172. "A New Hymn," Vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1952), p. 3. Anecdote about P. D., from *Norristown Herald and Free Press*, 1854.
173. Newell, William H. "Schuylkill Folktales," Vol. IX, No. 3 (Summer, 1958), pp. 18–19. Twelve traditional tales, collected in the late 1920's by the above, then an old man; no informants.
174. "No Different," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 5. Anecdote about P. D., from *Gettysburg Sentinel*, 1860.
175. Noll, Ronald W. "Cemetery Tale," Vol. III, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1951), pp. 1, 4. Legend about author's grandfather.

176. "Not Astonished," Vol. II, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1950), p. 2. Dialect anecdote; no source.
177. "Not Particular," Vol. IV, No. 7 (Nov., 1952), p. 16. Anecdote about P. D., from *Germantown Telegraph*, 1858.
178. "An Oft-repeated Folktale," Vol. IV, No. 4 Aug., 1952), p. 13. Literary retelling of a tale, from *Lebanon Independent*, 1883.
179. "Old Jake Hinkle's Obituary," Vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1952), p. 4. Anecdote about P. D., from *Pottsville Miners' Journal*, 1849.
180. "De Olda Tseita," Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 8. Anecdote.
181. "On Wrong Side," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 5. Anecdote about P. D., from *Saturday Evening Post*, 1860.
182. "A Pastor's Ghost," Vol. V, No. 3 (July, 1953), p. 4. Retold legend, from *Hanover Record*, n.d.
183. "P. D. Humor," Vol. V, No. 4 (Aug., 1953), pp. 8, 9. Eighteen anecdotes about P. D. from Penna. papers of 19th Century.
184. "Pennsylvania Jests," Vol. III, No. 3 (June 1, 1951), p. 2. Anecdotes about P. G.s, culled from *Harper's Magazine*, late 1870's.
185. "The Phantom Fiddler of the Welsh Mountains," Vol. II, No. 12 (Nov. 15, 1950), p. 2. Local legend, from *Reading Eagle*, 1935.
186. Pretz, Reuben C. "Felt Word Indecent," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 3. Anecdote.
187. ———. "A Mistake," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 2. Anecdote.
188. Rahn, Claude J. "Slightly Dutch," Vol. III, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1951), p. 4. Anecdote.
189. Reagan, Bill. "Shmidt Shtory," Vol. V, No. 14 (March 15, 1954), p. 14. Dialect anecdote.
190. Rhoads, Mrs. Carlton. "Right Time," Vol. II, No. 2 (May 15, 1950), p. 2. Anecdote.
191. "Rockland Legend," Vol. II, No. 21 (April 1, 1951), p. 3. Retold legend from *Reading Weekly Eagle*, 1893.
192. Rothenberger, Mrs. Harvey, col. "Eilespigle," Vol. V, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1954), p. 3. Retold tale; no informant.
193. S., A. "Frog on Guard," Vol. I, No. 14 (Aug. 4, 1949), p. 3. Anecdote.
194. S., Mrs. A. R. "Strange Question," Vol. I, No. 25 (April, 1950), p. 3. Dialect anecdote.
195. ———. "Was Better Before," Vol. I, No. 25 (April, 1950), p. 3. Anecdote.
196. S., E. C. "Preacher Story," Vol. V, No. 11 (Feb. 1, 1954), p. 10. Anecdote.
197. ———. "'Schwope' Story," Vol. V, No. 11 (Feb. 1, 1954), p. 7. Numskull tale, from author's father.
198. S., O. S. "'All' Stories," Vol. V, No. 11 (Feb. 1, 1954), p. 2. Two anecdotes making light of the P. D. dialect.
199. Sanford, Mollie. "The Bashful Boy," Vol. I, No. 19 (Sept. 15, 1949), p. 5. Anecdote.
200. ———. "Hoity-Toity," Vol. I, No. 19 (Sept. 15, 1949), p. 5. Anecdote.
201. Saur, Christopher. "The Ghost of Falkner Swamp," Vol. II, No. 16 (Jan. 15, 1951), p. 2. A traditional folktale in translation, from the author's *Geschichten der Geister* (Ghost Stories), Germantown, 1744.
202. Schrope, Lee E. "Manny Counts the Snakes," Vol. IV, No. 5 (Sept., 1957), p. 11. Dialect anecdote.
203. ———. "Stories from the Hegins Valley," Vol. IV, No. 13 (March 1, 1953), p. 8. Reminiscent dialect anecdotes, from the author's repertory.
204. "Sei Net So Narrisch," Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 4. Dialect anecdote from *Hanover Herald*, 1878.
205. Sheller, Adam. "A Legend of Joseph Young The Mormon Prophet," Vol. II, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1950), p. 3. Literary tale about Joseph Smith in the character of a money digger among the P. G.s, from Isaac Shirk Simons' unpublished M. A. dissertation, "Folklore of the P. G.s."
206. Shively, Jacob G. "Betz Heilman, 'Witch,'" Vol. V, No. 7 (Nov., 1953), p. 9. Tales about a Buffalo Valley "witch;" informants named.
207. ———. "Old Sweitzer's Ghost," Vol. X, No. 1 (Spring, 1959), pp. 43-44. Retold local legend from author's grandfather.
208. ———. "Tales of Old Pastor Fries," Vol. III, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1951), p. 6. Four legends about a P. D. minister of Buffalo Valley, using dialect; informants mentioned for two.
209. ———. "Tom Harter Anecdote," Vol. V, No. 9 (Jan. 1, 1954), pp. 5, 13. Anecdote about P. D. writer.
210. Shoemaker, Alfred L., col. "The Barber's Ghost," Vol. III, No. 19 (March 1, 1952), p. 2. Newspaper version of a tale the author collected from a P. D. informant, about a ghost prank that backfired, from *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, 1857.
211. ———. "The Blacksmith Who Forgot His Matches," Vol. III, No. 21 (April 1, 1952), p. 2. Two good dialect tales with direct translations; informant named.
212. ———. "A Dog on His Breast," Vol. III, No. 8 (Sept. 15, 1951), p. 4. Retold hex tale; no informant.
213. ———. "Dutchman Jests," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 11. Three anecdotes about P.D. from 19th Century papers.
214. ———. "Dutchman Jests from the Germantown Telegraph," Vol. III, No. 16 (Jan. 15, 1952), p. 4. Twelve good anecdotes about P. D., from 1830-60.
215. ———. "Hex Doctor Rides Tomcat," Vol. V, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1954), p. 2. Two good dialect tales with translations; informant mentioned.
216. ———. "Indians in Local Legend," Vol. I, No. 19 (Sept. 15, 1949), p. 2. P. D. informants named.
217. ———. "Lore and Legend of the Kuddelfleck Country," Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 2. Includes several retold local legends; informant mentioned.
218. ———. "Oral Tradition About the Lebanon Water Works," Vol. II, No. 2 (May 15, 1950), p. 2. Includes a discussion of the P. D. folktale, as well as several tales; informants named.
219. ———. "Der Ovvich Uns," Vol. V, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1954), p. 4. Three dialect tales about sacrilege and its punishment, with translations; informant mentioned.
220. ———. "P. D. Fairy Lore," Vol. IV, No. 12 (Feb. 15, 1953), p. 3. Two retold tales of fairies from *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*.
221. ———. "P. D. Folktales About the Mysterious," Vol. IV, No. 9 (Jan. 1, 1953), p. 2. Four excellent dialect tales with translations; informant named.
222. ———. "The P. D. In Early Newspaper Humor," Vol. II, No. 14 (Dec. 15, 1950), p. 2. Includes nine anecdotes about P. D.
223. ———. "P. D. Jests from Early Issues of Harper's," Vol. II, No. 17 (Feb. 1, 1951), pp. 2, 4. Eleven anecdotes about P. D., published prior to 1875.
224. ———. "P. D. Jests from the Lebanon Courier," Vol. II, No. 18 (Feb. 15, 1951), p. 2. Five anecdotes about P. D., from 1846-51.
225. ———. "The P. D. man in Philadelphia Almanacs," Vol. III, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1951), p. 2. Eleven anecdotes about P. D., from 1850-70's.
226. ———. "A Sheaf of Dutchman Jests," Vol. IV, No. 14 (April, 1953), p. 11. Eight anecdotes about P. D., from Pa. papers of the 19th Century.
227. ———. "A Sheaf of P. D. Folktales," Vol. V, No. 11 (Feb. 1, 1954), p. 5. Six excellent traditional dialect tales, with translations; informant mentioned.
228. ———. "Some Dutchman Jests," Vol. IV, No. 3 (July, 1952), p. 4. Six anecdotes about P. D., from papers of the 1850's mostly *Doylestown Democrat*.
229. ———. "The Spook of Crow Hill," Vol. I, No. 5 (June 2, 1949), p. 2. Retold tale; informant not named.
230. ———. "Spook of Hawk Mountain," Vol. I, No. 9 (June 30, 1949), p. 2. Variants of a local legend; some informants named.
231. ———. "Strange Tale of Murderess," Vol. I, No. 12 (July 21, 1949), p. 2. Local legend; no informant.
232. ———. "Tales They Tell Down Alleghenyville Way," Vol. II, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1950), p. 3. Retold local legends; no informants.
233. ———. "Tales Told About Jessie Pannebecker," Vol. III, No. 6 (Aug. 1, 1951), p. 2. Seven local legends

- from Lancaster County; some informants mentioned.
234. Shoemaker, William P., informant. "Es Fedder-Fie Hot Die Parra uff'm Strich," Vol. I, No. 7 (June 16, 1949), p. 2. Dialect anecdote with translation.
 235. ———. "A Ghost on the Loose," Vol. I, No. 4 (May 26, 1949), p. 2. Dialect spook tale with translation.
 236. ———. "A Hex and a Head of Cabbage," Vol. II, No. 15 (Jan. 1, 1951), p. 2. Dialect tale with translation.
 237. ———. "Learning to Be a Witch," Vol. I, No. 3 (May 19, 1949), p. 2. Dialect hex tale with translation.
 238. ———. "Die Mawd Un Der Babbegoi," Vol. I, No. 21 (Dec., 1949), p. 2. Dialect tale with translation.
 239. ———. "Der Schnitzler," Vol. II, No. 9 (Oct. 1, 1950), p. 7. Dialect anecdote.
 240. ———. "Sitting Up with a Corpse," Vol. I, No. 20 (Nov., 1949), p. 2. Dialect tale with translation.
 241. ———. "Spills But No Matches," Vol. I, No. 13 (July 28, 1949), p. 2. Dialect tale with translation.
 242. ———. "Two Folktales," Vol. I, No. 19 (Sept. 15, 1949), p. 2. Dialect tales with translations.
 243. Showalter, H. A. "Peeping into the Past," Vol. III, No. 20 (March 15, 1952), pp. 1, 2, 5, 6. Includes tales about the eccentricities of bachelor Sammy Snoop, and others, with use of dialect; no informants.
 244. Shuler, Paul E. "A Haunted House," Vol. V, No. 6 (Oct., 1953), p. 15. Direct transcription; names informant.
 245. ———. "Mommy Allwine," Vol. V, No. 4 (Aug., 1953), p. 4. Retold tale; no informant.
 246. Simons, Isaac Shirk. "Haunted Places and Tales of Black Magic," Vol. II, No. 11 (Nov. 1, 1950), p. 2. General discussion of haunted house, buried treasure, and witchcraft tales, with examples given (one a direct transcription, the others retold), from the author's unpublished M.A. thesis, "Folklore of the P. G.s" (1915; no university given); no informants, but areas of collections given.
 247. Smith, Earl G. W. "Yockel Jake," Vol. II, No. 10 (Oct. 15, 1950), p. 7. Literary tale in dialect, by "Andonny Duwockmowl."
 248. Smith, Elsie. "Bashful Girl," Vol. I, No. 20 (Nov., 1949), p. 8. Anecdote.
 249. ———. "Wheelbarrow Talk," Vol. I, No. 13 (July 28, 1949), p. 2. Tale.
 250. Smith, Norman A. "Der Alt Hexa Zehner," Vol. I, No. 16 (Aug. 18, 1949), p. 2. Six dialect tales.
 251. ———. "Clever Jest," Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1950), p. 2. Dialect anecdote with translation.
 252. ———. "The Oral Tradition of Lenhartsville and Vicinity," Vol. I, No. 14 (Aug. 4, 1949), p. 3. Includes seven tales; most of informants are named or partially named.
 253. "The Spectre of the Pigeon Hills," Vol. II, No. 16 (Jan. 15, 1951), p. 2. Literary ghost tale about P. D., from Reading *Gazette*, 1845; one of the early appearances of the phrase "P. D."
 254. "Spook Stories," Vol. V, No. 9 (Jan. 1, 1954), pp. 8–9. Fifteen Berks County ghost tales retold; informants named.
 255. "Spook Stories from Old-Time Reading," Vol. II, No. 11 (Nov. 1, 1950), p. 2. Retelling of several local tales, from *Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, 1873.
 256. Stahl, Albert G. "Ferahext," Vol. V, No. 2 (June, 1953), p. 4. Dialect witch tale.
 257. ———. "Witchery in Emmaus," Vol. V, No. 2 (June, 1953), pp. 4, 15. Witch tale, partly in dialect; informant mentioned.
 258. "The Status of Witchcraft in the P. D. Country Today," Vol. III, No. 18 (Feb. 15, 1952), pp. 1, 2, 3. From a termpaper done at Franklin and Marshall College by an unnamed P. D. boy. The section on "Hex Stories and Witches' Tales" includes summaries of such tales collected by the author; informants names have been changed by the editor.
 259. Strayer, George L. "Skunks," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 5. Anecdote using dialect.
 260. "Superman Riley," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 8. Retelling of a P. D. folktale, from Easton *Weekly Argus*, 1874.
 261. "Temperance," Vol. IV, No. 4 (Aug., 1952), p. 3. Anecdote about P. D. from Pottsville *Miners' Journal*, 1850.
 262. "There Was Witches in Lebanon Wunst," Vol. II, No. 18 (Feb. 15, 1951), pp. 3, 4. Includes tales; from an old newspaper clipping.
 263. Von Steuben, Mina L. "Lover's Wish," Vol. I, No. 21 (Dec., 1949), p. 2. Anecdote.
 264. Weiser, Anne E. "Seesie Millich un Sauerie Millich," Vol. V, No. 1 (May, 1953), p. 8. Dialect anecdote.
 265. Wetselle, J. Stuart. "Hen Ohl," Vol. I, No. 13 (July 28, 1949), p. 5. Bragging tales; informant mentioned.
 266. ———. "Der Hinkel Johnny," Vol. I, No. 4 (May 26, 1949), p. 1. Anecdotes about local character; no informants.
 267. Wetzel, Charles M. "Rabbit Hunting," Vol. V, No. 10 (Jan. 15, 1954), p. 14. Incident with folk motifs recalled by author.
 268. "The Witch of Black Creek," Vol. III, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1951), p. 2. Local legend, from *Lebanon Daily Times*, 1880.
 269. Wollenweber, L. A. "The Tale of Two Drunkards," Vol. II, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1950), p. 3. Dialect tale with translation on the Tambour Jockel theme, from the author's *Gemaelde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (Phila., 1861); informant not named, but the author says the tale was collected from a farmer in Lehigh County.
 270. Wolpert, Robert, col. "Ghost and Dogs," Vol. III, No. 11 (Nov. 1, 1951), p. 7. Haunted house legend; no informant.
 271. "Yankee Meets Dutchman," Vol. II, No. 4 (June 15, 1950), p. 8. Anecdote about P. D., from old scrapbook clipping.
 272. "Yankee Outwits A Dutchman," Vol. II, No. 7 (Sept. 1, 1950), p. 2. Literary tale, from *Pennsylvania Republican*, 1842.
 273. "Yankee Outwitted," Vol. V, No. 14 (March 15, 1954), p. 10. Anecdote; no source.
 274. Yeagley, George W. "Do You Believe in Spooks?," Vol. III, No. 2 (May 15, 1951), p. 2. Local ghost legend.
 275. Yerger, Amos. "P. D. Tall Tales," Vol. I, No. 24 (March, 1950), p. 2. Retold tales; no informants.
 276. "A Yielding Dutchman," Vol. IV, No. 5 (Sept., 1957), p. 13. Anecdote about P. D., from *Germantown Telegraph*, 1831.
 277. Yoder, Don, col. "Mahantongo Humor . . . Recorded from Willy Brown," Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1952), p. 2. Six anecdotes in the dialect with translations, from one of the finest P. D. folksingers.
 278. ———. "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," Vol. XII, No. 2 (Summer, 1961), pp. 56–69. Includes anecdotes: "The Sauerkraut Jests," three jokes about sauerkraut and the P. D. from newspapers and oral tradition, with informant and sources cited, p. 69; "Sauerkraut in the Medical World," told by H. Wayne Gruber, p. 68, reprinted in *Folkways*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1962), p. 34.
 279. ———. "Schnitz in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," Vol. XII, No. 3 (Fall, 1961), pp. 44–53. Includes several jests about schnitz (dried apples) with their sources.
 280. ———. "Witch Tales from Adams County," Vol. XII, No. 4 (Summer, 1962), pp. 29–37. The best short collection of P. D. folktales, using the scholarly apparatus of the folklorist. Nineteen traditional tales in English, faithfully transcribed from the telling of Frank Eckert. Richard Dorson borrowed several of the tales for his *Buying the Wind*.
 281. Yoder, Paul D. "Der Yung Buu," Vol. I, No. 11 (July 14, 1949), p. 2. Dialect anecdote.
 282. "The Young Amishman," Vol. II, No. 13 (Dec. 1, 1950), p. 2. Tale of Amish love; no source.
 283. Young, Robert B. "Money, Sugar and Bread," Vol. V, No. 14 (March 15, 1954), p. 9. Three tales, apparently from the author's repertory.
 284. Zwally, H. Wilson. "Crude Bookkeeping," Vol. I, No. 21 (Dec., 1949), p. 2. Anecdote.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT LIFE In Northampton County, Pennsylvania, 1890-1915

Part II

By CLEMENT VALLETTA

V. HOUSING AND STRUCTURES

A good outward indication of the Italian settlement can be given by considering the housing and structures. Foerster finds that "it is in the housing of our Italians, more perhaps than anywhere else, that their characteristic impulses show."⁹⁸ The housing will reflect the influence of the exigencies inherent in the new settlements—exigencies that called for adaptations from the surrounding culture. Ownership of his own home was a strong attraction to the family loving Italian. One of the chief objectives of the Italian in this country, Williams finds, was to own his own home.⁹⁹ If the home was so important to the immigrant, it would be revealing of him and his settlement to consider the sort of home and furnishings he had. Moreover, the types of community structures should in some way reflect the community cooperation.

While there were a few masons available in the early settlement, the first homes were mainly frame structures. The most common style—if it can be called that—had basically two upper and two lower-story rooms as well as an attic and cellar. The enclosed stairway was in the center of the first floor with the doorway about five to eight feet directly before the front entrance. Thus, upon entering one might go left to the kitchen, right to a bedroom (or parlor) or di-

rectly upstairs. The cellar steps were beneath the up-steps. The back door to the outside faced the cellar door. The walls were of plaster and whitewashed. The floors were uncovered.¹⁰⁰

The frame structures were at first built by native carpenters.¹⁰¹ Italian carpenters also came to use their skills but not initially. The Italians were generally imitative in technical matters involving some skill. They tended to follow the patterns in building set by the native carpenters. Such precedents were followed by the immigrant, it seems, because of: (1) his lack of education and adaptability, (2) his immediate need for a shelter that was relatively inexpensive, and (3) his tendency—especially outside the Rosetan settlement—to buy or rent existing houses that were of the described kind.

While in outline the housing would follow these general descriptions, there would be cultural and circumstantial variations. The Italians would help somewhat in the construction, and they would have some say in the placing of the buildings. The Italian would provide the basic labor. He and his friends would dig the cellar by pick and shovel. The cellars and cisterns were usually walled up with stones by an Italian mason. The Italian might lay out the walks which were of slate rejects from a local quarry. The houses were built with the wide front toward the road indicating, perhaps, imitation and sufficiency of expanse. The house would be set quite close to the road in order to allow as much land as possible for the garden. This became a favorite complaint of later generations who did not do any gardening and who wanted some lawn in front. The first houses, however, were not built with a front porch which when later added extended very near the front walk.

The kitchen measuring perhaps twelve by fourteen feet was usually one of the larger rooms in the house. Since in it was the large iron coal stove providing heat, it was actually the living room. What furnishings there were were usually secondhand ones bought at an auction or from an American dealer.¹⁰² The immigrant might make some benches for the kitchen. A round wooden table was covered with oil-cloth to facilitate cleaning. There was also a backless couch for anyone who became sick and needed to be kept warm. There were, depending upon the dedication of the owner, various kinds of religious pictures on the walls.

⁹⁸ Foerster, *Italian Immigration of Our Times*, p. 381.

⁹⁹ Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁰⁰ C. S., February 17, 1962.

¹⁰¹ J.D.; L.C., January 9, 1962.

¹⁰² J.D.; L.C., January 9, 1962.



Map of Northampton County "New Italy" settlements referred to in this article.

The parlor—if there was one—was, like the rest of the house, furnished simply. It usually included a rocking chair, a coal or oil stove, a few wooden chairs, and a couch.

Because wooden beds were more expensive and not so strong as brass beds, they were seldom used.¹⁰³ A bureau with a mirror and some chairs rounded out the rest of the bedroom. Crucifixes were usually found there, hung above the head of the bed. Clothes were hung on pegs or hooks.

The water supply came from rain water that gathered from the roof and flowed into a cistern. The cistern was walled up with stones and cemented. There were very few wells.

Practically every home had a grape arbor which was one of the first things planted.¹⁰⁴ A frame was made by placing the main supports into the ground. Then, holes were drilled through them near the top, and upon the inserted pegs were wired long round poles. The wire was scavenged at a nearby quarry. Each spring the arbor was pruned, and new willow branches were used to tie the vines. The arbor was built around and over a walk extending behind or at the side of the house. It thus offered shade as well as fruit.¹⁰⁵

The cellar might contain the following staples: a fifty-gallon barrel of homemade wine, the canned foods that had been grown in the garden, a store of potatoes.¹⁰⁶ There was also the coal and wood, as well as the wine press.

Need, not beauty, was the impetus for repairs. The houses, for example, were painted every ten or fifteen years.¹⁰⁷ If a choice had to be made among food, fuel, clothing, or a house repair, the food and fuel requirements would take precedence.

The summer kitchen located behind and near the house was often built of foot boards set vertically on a frame struc-

¹⁰³ M.S.

¹⁰⁴ J.D.

¹⁰⁵ J.C.; J.D.

¹⁰⁶ N.V., *Factory Worker, American*, 50, West Bangor, March 18, 1962. While relatively young this informant was helpful for the West Bangor settlement.

¹⁰⁷ J.C.

¹⁰⁸ J.D.

ture.¹⁰⁸ The cracks were covered exteriorly with small wooden strips. A small stone foundation served. Inside was a coal stove used for canning and summer cooking. In the fall sausage was hung inside and smoked. Hot peppers strung through the stems with a large needle and thread were hung along the outside to dry.¹⁰⁹

The pig was not permitted to wallow in the mud. The entire floor area inside and outside the pen was of two-inch planking in order to prevent the animal's breaking through or gnawing a hole.¹¹⁰

The industrial buildings were slow in coming. The first ones which were built about 1910 were small frame structures of one floor. These were blouse factories containing hand-operated sewing machines. The factories were owned by relatively wealthy Italians who operated in conjunction with the New York City garment industry.¹¹¹ The Italian mothers and especially their daughters would find employment in the growing number of factories.

Lorenzo Pacifico opened the first inn within the Rosetan area in 1892.¹¹² From what I have been able to gather the frame structure modified with an addition in front today rests on the same spot. An inventory was taken of his estate in 1911 which revealed little else than that the inn was able to seat thirty-five.¹¹³

The church construction, it seems, followed a general pattern in that an American general contractor supervised the building with Italians doing the stone masonry and American and Italian collaboration producing the design. The first churches in Roseto and Martins Creek were frame structures. Martins Creek was eventually to build a brick structure. The Rosetans added a stone addition to their church some years before they built a new one. Their new one was completed in 1923 and is one of the most impressive

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ J.C.

¹¹¹ M.S.

¹¹² Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 26.

¹¹³ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, *Inventory*



ITALIAN PIETY IN THE NEW WORLD SETTING
—SHRINE TO THE BLESSED MOTHER, ROSETO.

OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL CATHOLIC CHURCH, ROSETO, BUILT 1923



churches in the area. The West Bangor Church was completed in 1922. It was partially designed by the individual who had had a chapel in his home.¹¹⁴ The shrine to the Blessed Mother was later built beside the West Bangor Church.

The stone used in the churches is native to the area. The churches are all located at or near the highest point in each of the communities.

There are no columns in the interior of the West Bangor Church. The structure had to be repaired within recent years with iron rods joining the long parallel walls.

The Rosetan Church has no such imperfection. The interior has arched columns supporting the indented walls. This Church like the other has arched windows. There are also stone columns in front of the Church. The rounded design in the front is a mosaic entirely of small light-colored stones.

The Rosetan post office was built in 1898 by Joseph Policelli who was postmaster from 1898 to 1915. It included beside the post office a barber shop and a store.¹¹⁵ There was one large room for "commerce" on the first floor and there were two rooms that were rented on the second floor. The structure was built by stone masons who were friends of Policelli.

The application of "New Italy" for a post office precipitated the decision as to what the community should have been called. Policelli and the eight other American citizens at the time requested the name "Roseto" after Roseto Valfore, Italy, the origin of most of the settlers.¹¹⁶

The Roseto or New Italy settlement begun in 1888 grew

of the Estate of Lorenzo Pacifico, 1911.

¹¹⁴ J.C.; L.C., February 19, 1962.

¹¹⁵ M.P., Surveyor, American, 61, Presbyterian, Roseto, February 5, 1962. He is the son of the first postmaster.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* This was also substantiated by souvenir histories.

steadily. The included town-plan shows the general plan as it appears today and which is not essentially different, in plan at least, from the way it appeared about 1900.¹¹⁷ The main avenue, Garibaldi, was originally a wagon road leading toward the backdrop to the area—the Blue Mountains. The wooded land was initially owned by Americans who sold lots to the Italians. Thus, the street arrangements were designated by the township surveyor at the time.¹¹⁸ The Lehigh and New England Railroad offered the first road into Bangor and was used by the immigrant.¹¹⁹ As the railroad cut the town in halves it obstructed good east-west lines of communication. The railroad was reluctant to grant crossing points.¹²⁰

The main structures were and are located along the southern one-third of Garibaldi Avenue as it adjoins Bangor. I would think that the name "Garibaldi" attests an early Italian national consciousness on the part of the immigrant. The Italian names which are usually family names of early settlers predominate among the main streets.

(Since the borough surveyor has begun some twenty-eight years ago, he has named the minor streets that he has staked out for flowers, trees, and Indians.)

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* As town surveyor he had, of course, the original blueprints of lots, street plans, etc.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

VI. TOOLS

"Among the various material products of man's manual dexterity we may regard tools as those artifacts which are used to enhance the natural features of the human body for the achievement of human purpose."¹²¹ Just what human purposes the Italians assumed important would determine the kinds of tools they used. The influence of the Italian peasant background was probably the most profound in that determination. The specialized skills necessary to a particular trade were not possessed by the overwhelming majority of immigrants. Those in the trades could expect to continue their work in the new land among their countrymen and among Americans once the language difference was overcome. Those in the carpenter trade, however, might have to learn, if not new mechanical skills, new methods of housing construction. Foerster was not optimistic about the early chances of the Italian laborer who, he said in 1919, "had they lived 2000 years ago would not have been harnessed to tasks materially different from those they toil at today."¹²²

That the family was in many ways the economic unit is reflected in the purchases of tools.¹²³ The purchases also indicate the limitations imposed by background and poverty. The smaller tasks such as shoe repairing, hair cutting, chicken and pig pen building, grape squeezing, gardening and protection were mainly family affairs with the father the star and director, of course.

Almost invariably the accounts show the following purchases: wire netting (for the chicken pens); leather, shoe stands, shoe nails; a box of shells (twenty-two, thirty-two or thirty-eight caliber as well as blanks); and tar paper (for the sheds). Other common purchases were a pick, shovel, saw, rake, hoe, garden fork, hammer, ax, and scissors.¹²⁴ Also, of frequent purchase were such things as coffee mills, paint and brushes, manilla rope, scythes, padlocks and chains for cows or dogs. The accounts also show need for slaughtering tools such as hog scrapers, large iron kettles, butcher knives, and lard cans. The purchase of mason tools, wrenches, drills, and varieties of saws were less frequent.¹²⁵

One informant who received his training as a tailor in Italy reported that outside of the numerical system, initial use of the sewing machine, and the language transition he had no difficulty continuing his trade in America.¹²⁶ He said the tools were basically the same in kind insofar as they were hand-operated. He even found the use of the wooden paddle-shaped tool called a "paddle" used for pressing steamed clothes in Europe and America.

The son of an immigrant who was a stone mason told me much the same thing.¹²⁷ The basic tools—trowel, mason hammer, the line, mortar hoe—were as far as he knew always used and spoken of by his father. The limitations came not in mechanical skills, he indicated, but in the planning of projects that were not simply a cellar wall.

Thomas Reto, on the other hand, seemed to have little trouble establishing himself as a barber. By 1917 he had purchased the necessary shears, razors, and straps.¹²⁸ There is probably little comparison between the skills a barber

¹²¹ John Gillin, *The Ways of Men* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 351.

¹²² Foerster, *Italian Immigration of Our Times*, p. 343.

¹²³ The informants were consulted on the use of the tools.

¹²⁴ *Corvell's Hardware Store Ledger*, Pen Argyl, 1910-25, *passim*. The son of the dealer in Bangor—from whom the Rosetan immigrants bought—told me he had no early accounts.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ L.C., February 19, 1962.

¹²⁷ A.C., Mason, *American*, 62, West Bangor, February 12, 1962.

¹²⁸ *Corvell's Hardware*, . . . p. 589.

could contribute as compared to the ones a mason or carpenter could. It seems that the latter two could contribute only limited mechanical skills, however.

Certain tools were not purchased from a store but were made locally, e. g., a hatchet made from a stone chisel. The pointed end was flattened and sharpened, a hole was bored into the body of the chisel and a wooden handle was inserted.¹²⁹ A *zappa* or *zappone* might be made by the blacksmith at the quarry or by one in the community.¹³⁰ It can be seen how the homemade oaken handle was inserted into the tool and then split for the insertion of a wooden peg. The wooden handles were kept expanded by being placed in water for a day or two before being used.¹³¹

Wash boards were sometimes made of wood. The ridges were made in an oaken board with a wood chisel. The round hollow macaroni were made by means of a long narrow rectangular iron rod pointed on both ends. Well sprinkled with flour, it served as the needed internal mould when the dough was rolled out. Strips of dough or spaghetti were made with a bronze rolling tool having handles and a series of cutting edges circularly filed about the body. The strips were made as this was rolled over flattened dough.

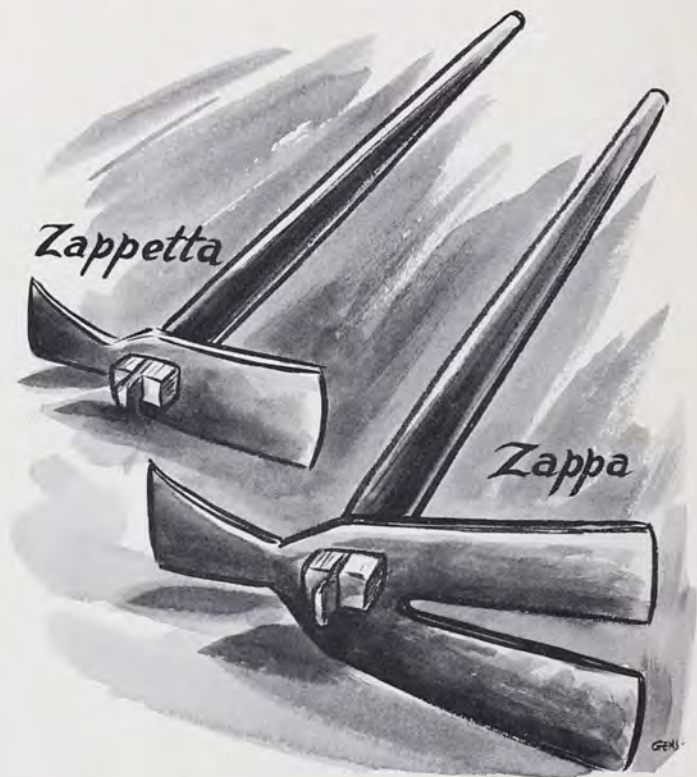
Wine presses were usually purchased, but some were made. The large central twist as well as the turning mechanism were usually made by a local blacksmith. A large and round wooden base was hollowed out to retain the grape mash as the upper board was turned down by means of the twist and turning mechanism. The juice would flow over the slightly raised circumference of the base and into a wooden tub upon which the entire press was rested.¹³²

¹²⁹ J.D.

¹³⁰ The large *zappa* or hoe was used to turn over the ground. The *zappetta* or smaller hoe was used for cultivating. The *zappa* was swung high over the head and then down. As the immigrant grew older, he used a garden fork.

¹³¹ N.V., March 18, 1962.

¹³² J.C.



ZAPPA AND ZAPPETTA. Italian hoes used by author's grandfather, who started his family in West Bangor about 1910.



SAINT ROCCO'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, WEST BANGOR, 1922



Original Saint Rocco's Catholic Church.



The cook and coffee pots were almost invariably of agate which was enameled ware with gray streaked patterns.¹³³ There was also the nickel-plated tea-kettle which was always kept boiling and thus providing a ready supply of hot water as well as adding moisture to kitchen air dried from the large wood and coal fires then necessary for heating and cooking.

VII. CLOTHING

I have decided to deal last with the category that might have reflected the first change in the immigrant's standard of living. "The first marked change is the clothing."¹³⁴ In this as the other categories I have hoped to look for the influences and conditions determining the nature of the situation at the time. But just as the clothes were put on, I would think that they would be but a covering reflecting deeper ways of thinking and responding. In this category as in housing, however, the immigrant would rely upon the surrounding culture to a great extent. In the New World that reliance could only grow.

Men's clothing was generally purchased at nearby stores, or it was tailor-made. Women's dress was made by an Italian seamstress or else by the women themselves. It was generally agreed that clothing was only purchased when necessary, i.e., when the material could not support patching or when the newer clothes became so worn that they could not be used for dress and so were used for work.

Mr. L. C. who is a tailor believed that the men dressed ac-

ording to the dominant styles at the time.¹³⁵ This was especially true for tailor-made suits. Since the Italians most often bought ready-made suits, however, the style remained mostly unaffected by phase.¹³⁶ The phase aspect is somewhat corroborated by others who remember a time when the men were fond of wearing derby hats.¹³⁷ According to the weather the men generally wore light or heavy long underwear. Regardless of season, they wore large-brimmed hats or caps of all shapes, short-collared shirts usually buttoned at the neck and often at the sleeves. They often wore wide suspenders and some wore both belts and suspenders. The work shoes were of hard leather and were laced. Dress shoes were of soft leather and were buttoned. The men were rarely seen outside and often inside the house without a cap or hat. For warmth in the winter the men wore boots with wool lining. They wore woolen or leather coats lined with wool. The immigrant, generally speaking, seemed to have a great respect for the substantial worth of wool.

The women made their own clothing or employed seamstresses. The aprons, underclothing, and shawls were usually sewn or knitted by the wearer. The full-piece dresses worn for church attendance and special occasions were made by the seamstress according to the buyer's direction. The easier operations on the dress such as the sewing of the hem were

¹³³ *Correll's Hardware . . .*, *passim*.

¹³⁴ Rose, *The Italian in America*, p. 65; or Meade, "Italian on the Land," p. 516.

¹³⁵ L.C., February 19, 1962.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*.

¹³⁷ J.D., J.C.

left for the purchaser in order that she save money. All the informants remember hand sewing-machines in the homes of their parents. Silk was often used in the better dresses. For ordinary wear the women wore two-piece cotton outfits of a variety of colors.

The woolen shawls, also of varying colors, were generally knitted at home or brought from Italy. The shawls served as a head and shoulder covering. In the summer the women usually wore neither a kerchief nor shawl except at mass. One informant, however, remembers his mother's wearing a sun bonnet for working in the garden. It was like the bonnets worn by the Dutch women.¹³⁸ The women wore large woolen shawls in the winter.

The children often went barefoot in the summer. The girls wore coats more often than shawls. They, unlike their mothers, often wore kerchiefs. They generally fixed their hair as their mothers did. The quality of the clothes depended on the amount of money there was to spend. The younger children would usually have those clothes their older brothers and sisters had worn. The shoes were repaired at home, of course.

Babies were wrapped in swaddling. A white cotton cloth about six inches wide and about three or four feet long with strings at each end served to roll the baby and tightly secure him.¹³⁹ Thus, the baby remained rolled like a "papoose" until he or she was a year old in order to be sure the spine developed correctly.¹⁴⁰ (Mr. J. C. followed this practice with his first child.) The little boys wore dresses until they were accustomed to using the toilet. The busy mother changed her child three or four times a day.¹⁴¹

The immigrant thought it important to buy new clothes for a wedding or celebration. The Italian band in Delabole wore uniforms similar to those of the Italian guards—hats with large black plumes set off a bright red and black uniform.¹⁴²

Practically all the women wore small golden earrings that were fastened within the pierced ear lobe. Mr. and Mrs. M. S. told of their uncle who wore a round golden ear-ring, but he was an exception. The only jewelry the men wore was a pocket watch. The women wore the plain wedding band and usually a medal to the Blessed Mother.

The wearing of cosmetics was not practiced by the mothers. The young girls could expect a beating for wearing them. Women generally braided their long hair or wore it in knobs. They used combs and large hard rubber pins to keep the knobs in place.

The men invariably wore mustaches but seldom a beard. The hair styles varied—parted, straight back, even crew cut.¹⁴³ They were their own and their children's barber at first, but when they could they went to a barber who was usually an Italian friend.

Bathing was a weekly, not a daily practice. The scarcity of water in Italy and its consequent effect on the immigrant may have been influential in this matter.¹⁴⁴ The early immigrant did not, of course, have inside plumbing.

Shortly after the birth of a female baby it was common for the midwife or the mother herself to pierce the child's ears.

¹³⁸ J.C., There were Dutch settlements south of Bangor. The informant thought that a Dutch huckster sold the bonnet to his mother.

¹³⁹ Mrs. M.S.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² J.C., Delabole was a very small Italian settlement along Route 702 directly south of West Bangor.

¹⁴³ J.D.

¹⁴⁴ Williams, *South Italian Folkways* . . . , pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁵ Mrs. M.S.

A needle was sterilized in boiling water then threaded with silk thread which was dipped in olive oil. The child's ears were pierced and the thread was left in and tied about the lobes. Until the ear was healed, the thread was occasionally moved, so that the skin would not adhere to the string.¹⁴⁵

I should add that I was unable to find any status differences with regard to dress in the early settlement. Indeed, pretensions to superiority wittingly or unwittingly made were topics of local gossip and scorn.¹⁴⁶



MAP OF ROSETO BOROUGH, BY MICHAEL POLICELLI, BOROUGH SURVEYOR. Note Italian street-names: Garibaldi, Ronca, Falcone, Marconi, and Martino.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The Italian immigrant coming into the rural area of Northampton County carried with him certain needs that he consciously or unconsciously expected to satisfy in ways customary to him. He probably came into the area because an agency in New York directed him there to work in a quarry, cement mill, on a road or trolley line. There were, no doubt, friends, relatives or *paesani* who might have written to him, as well. Even if he expected to return to Italy, he needed a job as a tradesman or laborer. If he planned to stay, he wanted to establish a home for his family or settle down and send for his wife or sweetheart as soon as possible. He would naturally seek his compatriots for friendship and for help. He would be concerned with religious devotion and to some extent with the complex of superstitions familiar to his peasant background. His lack of education and his being thrust into new surroundings would mean, it seems, that he would tend to imitate things as he found them. That he found a settlement by his compatriots, would make his adjustment easier. (Indeed, the fresh immigrant would have to be first

¹⁴⁶ Mr. and Mrs. C.S., February 17, 1962; also, J.D.



THE ROSETO POST-OFFICE, ERECTED 1898

acculturated and then assimilated into the Italian settlement as that settlement had been and continued to be acculturated and assimilated into the American culture.)

The immigrant gravitated to an isolated settlement because he wanted it that way and because the circumstances of housing and a not overly friendly host culture offered him little choice. The Italian village settlement offered the immigrant an opportunity to carry on his customary ways. That the immigrants were able to seclude themselves is an essential consideration for any statements on acculturation. The surrounding culture penetrated the early rural settlement, it seems to me, at those cultural facets where the immigrant had to fulfill his immediate needs and where for one reason or another he could not continue to realize the life he had known in Italy.

I shall attempt to develop these points by first briefly sketching the early life of the Italian community. Then, I shall sketch how that life depended upon and became accessible to the surrounding culture and also how the influence of the Italian priest, DeNisco, moved the Rosetan community from within. The first point deals with the Italians' natural attempt to continue their old ways of thinking, believing, and acting in the context of the new environment. The breakdown of those ways inherent in the minds of many of the more forward looking immigrants as well as in the nature of the new environment embraces the second point. Within this general scheme certain considerations will emerge, I trust, comprehending "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous . . . contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1938), p. 10.

The isolation of the rural settlements in the area I take as a fairly legitimate assumption. Talking with elderly American informants living in Bangor or Pen Argyl assures me that the Italian settlements were in a sense "off-limits." There was even an absence of police protection. A black hand gang was free to terrorize West Bangor for about four years until the gang committed a murder in 1913. Certain Italians in the West Bangor area had asked previously for police protection.

The isolated community life would assure the Italians many of the communal aspects to which they had been accustomed and which they would need in the new environment. The Italians and their children could have conceivably continued for many years much as will be described. This is pointed out to accent the realization of how integral the early settlement was in some ways.

Within the community the Italian would have the companionship of *paesani*, relatives, close friends, and *compari*. They would help one another and so save the precious dollars. There was a common effort in butchering, building a shed, celebrating *carnevale*, or having the "big time." The Italians would visit each other and reminisce about their lives in Italy. Village life was cooperative life. Payment for help given was never in money. It was assumed that the village was a mutually beneficial organ. Payment might be in wine, a good meal, or an unmentioned assurance that the favor would be returned.

Village life was also familiar life. Everybody in town called each other by a first name with often a *compare* prefixed. Any attempt at status distinction brought scorn. If there was a death in one family, the whole community responded with money and sympathy. There were always some men to offer to dig the grave. Should a child be wayward in any way, he or she was the object of communal sanction. The woman next door might know how to "exorcise" the Evil Eye. If a misfortune came, certainly someone had had a premonition. Theories would be invented or imagined and passed around concerning a birthmark or even a ghost somebody saw. At *carnevale* a few conviviais would go about dressed as women and would be accompanied by a little orchestra.

If the young man was not already married, he usually had a sweetheart in Italy or one in the community. (Marriage between those of Italian and non-Italian stocks was not to be common until the third generation.) The village offered a cooperative and helpful environment for the family. After securing his own plot of village land the father was supreme. A pig or two, some chickens, the garden, some fruit trees, the grape arbor were the sources of strong supplementation to the daily meals. The women strengthened the self-reliance of the family—not by working at a factory—but in canning, helping in the garden, sewing most of the clothes, etc. The children helped maintain the household. They were looked on quite unabashedly as a resource to help pay, for example, the debt on the house. They were obedient because they learned early the power and authority of the father. They would not think of leaving the homestead, at least not until they were ready to be married. Thus, the father retained his central authority hardly diminished in America.

The father or mother or both were usually dedicated to a saint or to the Blessed Mother. Family life was strongly religious. Personal prayers were directed to the patron who was seen as a personal friend and guide. There were religious images about the house and almost every immigrant had a rosary. The christenings, marriages, funerals, proces-

sions, and celebrations were central events in which the families participated as units.

The Catholic Church was an Italian Church with an Italian priest or one who could speak Italian. This was of inestimable importance to the continuance of the immigrant's custom and so his peace of mind. He could hear sermons in Italian and understand his penance at the confessional. His identification, his personal worth, was with the little village as he and his friends prepared for the annual celebration and procession. His church, like himself, was dedicated to Saint Rocco or to Our Lady of Mount Carmel. As he walked in procession there was no group foreign to him that would jeer and poke fun. This was essentially true for those who lived outside the isolated settlements, for they visited and joined with their compatriots in the important community events.

Such was the settlement continuing to realize its background in the environment of a rural and isolated area. This settlement as described could be considered as the basic subculture that would adopt innovations and that would for various reasons be accessible to and prompted to change or modification. The settlement could conceivably adopt innovations in clothing, housing, and tools, and still retain its traditional patterns in the family, church, and ceremony. This did not happen with the succeeding generations, certainly, nor was it the situation in the early settlement. I shall first mention the innovations adopted from the surrounding culture and then consider some of the disruptive influences as well as the directional work of De Nisco.

The churches which represented a communal effort were not designed by the immigrants. The immigrants as far as I can tell had neither the technical skill nor the money to build churches as they had seen them in Italy. The immigrants of Martins Creek did not even contribute to the upkeep of a structure donated to them. It is true, however, that the second structures in Roseto and Martins Creek were substantial buildings, but they reflected Italian labor and contributions, not overall design. The stone structure in West Bangor was partially planned by an immigrant. This individual was more educated than most immigrants, but he like most of them labored in a nearby quarry. It would seem that what technical skills the Italians were able to contribute were repressed by their own limitations, their immediate need and poverty overshadowing originality or carry over, and their being influenced by a comparatively strong and readily available native technology.

The immigrant either bought or had a house built that was quite dissimilar to what he had known in Italy. He needed, I assume, a home quickly, inexpensively, and one that was like those he saw in the area. He would determine where the residential and nonresidential buildings would be located. An Italian stone mason would wall up the cellar and the cistern. The immigrant would build his arbor as he had seen his father build his, though the immigrant would use wire from the quarry. The blacksmith at the quarry or in the village would make the *zappa* as well as other tools the immigrant could not buy. The Italian would obtain a great amount of clothing in the stores as well as some food. Most importantly his job and that of his children were dependent upon the surrounding culture.

In themselves, the fulfillment of these needs and the adaptation of certain innovations would, it seems to me, strengthen the basic nontechnical subculture of the isolated Italian settlements. In fact, it seems that the surrounding culture initially aided the Italians to establish their basic sub-

culture. The American carpenters, employers, blacksmiths, contractors, storekeepers (and even Italian tradesmen dependent upon American techniques) all made the psychological transplant easier for the Italian to establish life as he knew it in Italy. American animosity and prejudice (which was prevalent) would even serve to draw the Italians closer together.

It is true, however, that the Italians' adaptation of American innovations would begin to prepare them psychologically to appreciate American culture. Indeed, that appreciation on the part of the Italians might begin to overshadow their value and respect for their own culture. They would begin to see, for example, how much simpler it was to buy a new dress or how complex were the techniques of American building. The animosity would find its outlet and object in attempting to outdo the American in terms not of the immigrant but of the American culture. These were in a sense psychological seeds that would in American soil sprout in succeeding generations. The "seeds" can be seen more easily by considering the extent of readiness within the settlement to change.

Change is to be distinguished from merely the addition¹⁴⁸ of American innovations to the basic subculture as described. I consider, for example, the use of wire in the building of the arbor and even the adoption of American housing as additions within the basic transplant as previously outlined. The Italians in their original setting were, as I have mentioned, strengthened in the carryover of their family and religious life. American technology made possible a relatively quick material environment for the peasant to continue life as he knew it. It should be pointed out in this connection that the immigrants were mostly peasant farmers coming from small Italian villages wherein the housing and employment had most likely been in existence for generations.

Change was actually the constant experience of the immigrant and his settlement. But I think a period of a few years can be taken (at least for the purposes of analysis) in each of the communities when they existed as a relatively isolated Italian transplant much as I described. Their accessibility to American culture was steadily growing in a variety of ways even as they were isolated. All I shall try to do is consider the culminations of that accessibility which when considered in themselves only seem distinct and arbitrarily labeled as changes to be distinguished from additions.

The beginnings of change came, it seems to me, with the entrance of Protestantism, the work of De Nisco, the incorporation of Roseto, and the establishment of the blouse industry. These are more or less confined to the early years and do not include other factors such as the influence of the American culture upon those living in American towns though most of those lived in that area of Bangor closely adjoining Roseto. The influence of education—both formal and informal—would be another consideration. After sketching the changes as indicated I shall briefly consider the success of the transplant.

The Catholic Church did not establish a parish in Roseto until 1897, some nine years after the community started. There was no parish priest in West Bangor until the early 1920's. Before these periods the settlements may not have been large enough to support parishes. This left, however, a need of the Italians inadequately fulfilled, and the need

¹⁴⁸ I am indebted to Professor Ruben E. Reina for explaining (in an interview March 29, 1962) the theoretical distinction between additions and change. The application, such as it is, is of course my own attempt.

was probably not only religious. On the basis of this need, I assume, the surrounding culture—the Presbyterian and Episcopalian Churches—was able to enter the isolated settlements and find in some quarters a lively reception. The Presbyterian minister was able to profit from the absence of a Catholic parish, from any animosity or indifference toward Catholicism, and from the controversy over where the Catholic church should have been located. The Episcopalian minister in providing not only spiritual help to the immigrants was able to gather a following.

While it is true that the Protestant movements in Roseto and West Bangor were fairly small and even closely related to Catholicism if not in practice at least in antagonism, the movements were, I believe, a definite departure from the relatively integral community as described.

Father De Nisco was able at Roseto (in view of the potential there) to become more than a spiritual leader. (The missionaries or priests in Roseto—until his arrival—and in the other communities seemed to have been mainly concerned with a priestly function.) De Nisco met the traditional need of the people for the established faith. Religious societies were started to encourage frequent reception of the sacraments. The Presbyterian Church of Roseto by 1912, as mentioned previously, was complaining because the original members were getting old or were moving away.

If the psychological crux of acculturation is learning and learning only takes place with some drive or motivation,¹⁴⁹ then De Nisco's work was effective insofar as he provided motivation or goals and the people responded. The Priest, for instance, led the immigrant workers in strikes—something they most likely would not have attempted on their own. He provided an incentive for the immigrants to beautify their homes by offering a prize for the best shrubbery. Most notably, he helped many immigrants to become American citizens. Through him the people could retain those ways of believing and acting they believed important as Italian peasants and still through him rise to meet many of the conditions of their new environment. Thus, he provided leadership from within the context of an Italian immigrant settlement. Such leadership was probably more suitable and more effective than outside influences that were not also within the context of the Italian tradition.

Father De Nisco could not have been at all successful unless what he desired for the community at least some members also desired. Such organizations as the Saint Phillip Neri Society and the Marconi Club did foster new and important goals. The former (1898) was religiously motivated and fostered the teaching of religion, but it also became interested in political parties and parliamentary procedure. The Marconi Club (1910) urged its members to become American citizens, but left them free to profess their own religious and political preferences.

The steady growth of Roseto enabled it to incorporate into a borough in 1912. Once the town became large enough, incorporation was probably inevitable because of the influence of De Nisco; the isolated location of the town; its homogeneity deriving from Roseto, Italy; and the village pride and desire to found schools, community organizations, and have community identification for its locally famous bands and athletic teams. The incorporation of Roseto was not so much a change from the basic subculture as its logical culmination. This may have been a unique accident because

the incorporation of an Italian settlement in the United States has, at least until 1935, not been duplicated. The Italian stocks in West Bangor, Martins Creek, and Delabore were not as homogeneous as those of Roseto nor were they ever to approach the size of Roseto. Among the settlements discussed Roseto does seem more definitely to retain many aspects of its Italian heritage.

It is difficult to avoid mentioning an aspect that has not been directly treated, namely, the economic. There were by 1913 two blouse factories in Roseto and by 1920 at least one in West Bangor. These were among the first of approximately one hundred to follow. The area was accessible to this industry for a variety of reasons. Large silk mills in the area moved to the South. The demand for slate gradually diminished. The flow of immigration into the area meant a larger supply of labor. The garment interests of New York City were able with the improvements in transportation to capitalize on these conditions. They would operate in conjunction with area businessmen by designing the blouses, sending the material to the area factories to be sewn together, and upon the return of the blouses having them distributed. (Within recent years the blouse contractors have formed an association to deal with the garment union. The members and directors of the association are almost entirely the sons and grandsons of Italian immigrants.)

The young children of the immigrants found employment in the blouse mills as well as the quarries. They would come to learn that money could buy already prepared the food-stuffs their parents were raising. Indeed, the parents would gradually learn about the conveniences of American culture. They would continue to work in the garden but with a garden fork instead of the heavy *zappa*. The grape arbors would eventually be cut down because they were unattractive, gathered too many mosquitoes, and produced inferior grapes—inferior to the California grapes that could easily be purchased. After a time they would discontinue to raise a pig or even chickens. The children would learn in school (and might try to tell their parents about) the ridiculousness of the Evil Eye, the premonitions, the explanations of birthmarks, or the signs for planting. West Bangor and Martins Creek would eventually discontinue the annual celebration and procession. All the ramifications of community cooperation and family integrity implicit in the early settlement would but be altered in the context of these and other conditions within the ensuing years. The history of these alterations, however, is much too complex to be considered in a few sentences.

The early settlement from the Italian point of view was successful in many ways. The immigrants were able to adopt innovations from the surrounding culture and thereby establish within a readily available material environment the kind of culture they believed important. The dignity of the Italian family was preserved, I believe, in the rural settlement. The father retained his headship and was able to command respect from his children. This respect was important for the children and the father—for the father because without that respect he might not have worked as hard and as faithfully as he did, and for the children because without respect and obedience they would not have made the transplant as successful as it was nor would have they esteemed those religious, social, and moral values that the father and mother esteemed. This is, of course, a personal impression to which there were exceptions.

The reasons remained clouded as to why the entrance of Protestantism was effected into an atmosphere that would traditionally preclude that entrance. The existence of Prot-

¹⁴⁹ A. Irving Hallowsell, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 171-180, *passim*.

estantism within the Italian community itself may have forced it to realize the variformed nature of American society. The scope of the Italian Marconi Club locally reflected a value of American society—freedom of religion—in that it would have the members free to profess their individual religious faiths.

The early community life was certainly cooperative at a time when it needed to be. Cooperation among the members of the community enabled the immigrants to have and maintain a home despite their poverty. The moral and spiritual value of mutual help and interest manifested most, perhaps, in the incorporation of Roseto, was largely beneficial.

The strong community orientation on the part of the Italians probably did intensify the prejudices they and the Americans held for one another. Such prejudices were not helpful to the immigrant at his work. Intermarriage was certainly not promoted by the conditions of cultural isolation. Nor would the inbred prejudice within the Italian settlements be the best community gift to the second and third generations.

Certain effects of poverty were unfortunate. Necessity meant that the immigrants' children would have to leave school at an early age. Lack of resources and education on the part of the immigrants meant that community cooperation remained at a limited level. Village projects such as the construction of a church depended upon the technical skill and sometimes the funds of the surrounding culture.

The success of the early transplant can also be considered from a present-day standpoint. The society of the whole rural area of Northampton County no doubt has roots in the early contact of the two cultures. It would be interesting to try to analyze what aspects the two societies have borrowed from each other and what they have not as well as the modifications of the borrowing. This is, of course, another story that would involve not only two cultures.

I said earlier that Roseto seems to retain more of the basic subculture than the other communities. This too is another inquiry. But Roseto, of all the communities, continues to have an annual celebration and procession. It is of predominantly Italian stock and certainly the town offices are held by Italians. There is a parochial grade and high school. The dominance of the blouse industry in the area indicates that the economic system of the town is fairly indigenous.

This year Roseto is celebrating its fiftieth year of incorporation. The men are growing mustaches by town ordinance. There will be an "Italy Day" when the *paesani* will try to dress and behave as did their parents and grandparents. There will be a prominent speaker of Italian descent.

An old Italian who is dead now once told me (in simpler language, of course) that the individuals who can best judge the value of the Italian transplant are its successors. He said that when they do or do not affirm their heritage, they have judged.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The most important single group of sources for the paper has been the informants. The most useful guide that I found for dealing with them was the book, *The Study of Culture at a Distance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) by Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux. The work pointed out that the testimonies of the informants should have congruence and probability within the context of the whole range of testimonies and other sources. More importantly, the authors distinguished culture from subculture. Their theories formed a large part of my thinking concerning

a national group with a relatively stable pattern of behavior as contrasted with a transitional group wherein both parents and children are learning new patterns of behavior.

Among the public documents used, the *Hearing on the Estate of DeNisco* was the most interesting and helpful. In this hearing and in another (that I could not use), the explanations of the witnesses involved value judgments that were not bound up exclusively with financial accounts.

As I mentioned in the introduction, I looked to works on Italian immigration and culture to give initial direction to the study. I found Phyllis H. Williams' *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938) as an invaluable background to the study of Italian culture in Italy. She considers categories such as housing, dress, or the family both in Italy and in America. The "In Italy" section of each chapter is based "extensively" upon a twenty-five volume study of Italian folklore by Dr. Giuseppe Pitré published from 1871 to 1913, so that the purely Italian aspect of her study is a suitable indication of the immigrants' heritage. The parts of her volume dealing with the scene in America are based upon firsthand information concerning the most significant adjustments of the Italians in America.

Probably the best treatment of Italian immigration as a world movement is Robert Foerster's *The Italian Immigration of Our Times* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919). His treatment is mainly economic, but since he seems to know the Italian culture so well he is able to make penetrating comments on the life of the immigrant from firsthand observations during the period of immigration.

The distinctions between primitive society and peasant society are considered by Robert Redfield in *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956). His insights on the elements of the great tradition and the local beliefs within a peasant society gave directions to a study of the group considered—from one standpoint—as a peasant community.

I have tried to draw my own conclusions, such as they are, on acculturation. There were certain accounts that precipitated and settled what observations I was able to make—notably, *Acculturation* by Melville J. Herskovits (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938) and Herskovits and A. Irving Hallowell in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945). Herskovits' book first drew distinctions between acculturation, diffusion, and assimilation. He pointed out the necessity of an accumulation of facts on the processes of acculturation as well as only giving the historical antecedents of the processes. His contribution in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, entitled "The Processes of Cultural Change," shows among many other points how an innovation cannot be made if the culture is not prepared for it. His observations on the close relationships between change and the dominant concern of a culture were also helpful. Hallowell's contribution, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," argued that the kind of social learning that is typical of acculturation processes is imitative learning which is motivated.

Dr. Ruben E. Reina (interview, March 29, 1962) pointed out the difference between the mere addition of aspects from the surrounding culture and the actual changes or implicit changes in the underlying assumptions of the receiving culture.

What limitations and failings there are in my study are, of course, entirely my own. I regret that I did not and in some instances found I was not able to more closely analyze the processes of acculturation.

Contributors to This Issue

ELIZABETH CLARKE KIEFFER, of Lancaster, who writes so engagingly on student journalism at Marshall College in 1841, is one of the principal authorities on the history of Franklin and Marshall College. Now archivist of the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and longtime Reference Librarian at the College, she is the granddaughter of Prof. Joseph Henry Dubbs, Audenried Professor of History at the College and pioneer Pennsylvania folklorist and historian. Elizabeth Kieffer is the author of *Henry Harbaugh: Pennsylvania Dutchman* (Norristown, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1945), which contains a few additional references to the "Rupjonjim" volume.

AMOS LONG, JR., of Annville, Lebanon County, is a farmer and high school teacher who has been engaged in a study of Pennsylvania German folk architecture for many years, dealing especially with the smaller buildings found on the Pennsylvania farmstead. Previous articles have covered the smokehouse, the bakeoven, the ground cellar, and other subjects.

SYNNOVE HAUGHOM, Glenside, is preparing for the doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania. A native of Norway, she has devoted much time to a study of Scandinavian folk-culture and folk-cultural research, especially in connection with the folk museums in which the Scandinavian countries have pioneered.

JOHN A. BURRISON, Philadelphia, is a graduate student in the Folklore Department of the University of Pennsylvania. While studying at the Pennsylvania State University, he founded and edited the periodical *Folkways Monthly*. His folktale bibliography included in this issue was done under the direction of Dr. MacEdward Leach of the Folklore Department, University of Pennsylvania. It is the first of a series of research bibliographies which we intend to present in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, the next to cover Pennsylvania Folksong Research.

CLEMENT VALLETTA, Wilkes-Barre, teaches American Civilization at King's College, Wilkes-Barre. His invaluable article on the Northampton County Italian settlement, the first part of which appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIV No. 3 (Spring 1965), 36-45, was done at the University of Pennsylvania under Dr. Anthony N. B. Garvan in American Civilization.

