



Fall 1960

Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 11, No. 2

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Recommended Citation

Bayard, Samuel Preston; Boyer, Walter E.; Bucher, Robert C.; Heller, Edna Eby; Long, Amos Jr.; Tortora, Vincent R.; and Shoemaker, Alfred L., "Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 11, No. 2" (1960). *Pennsylvania Folklife Magazine*. 8.
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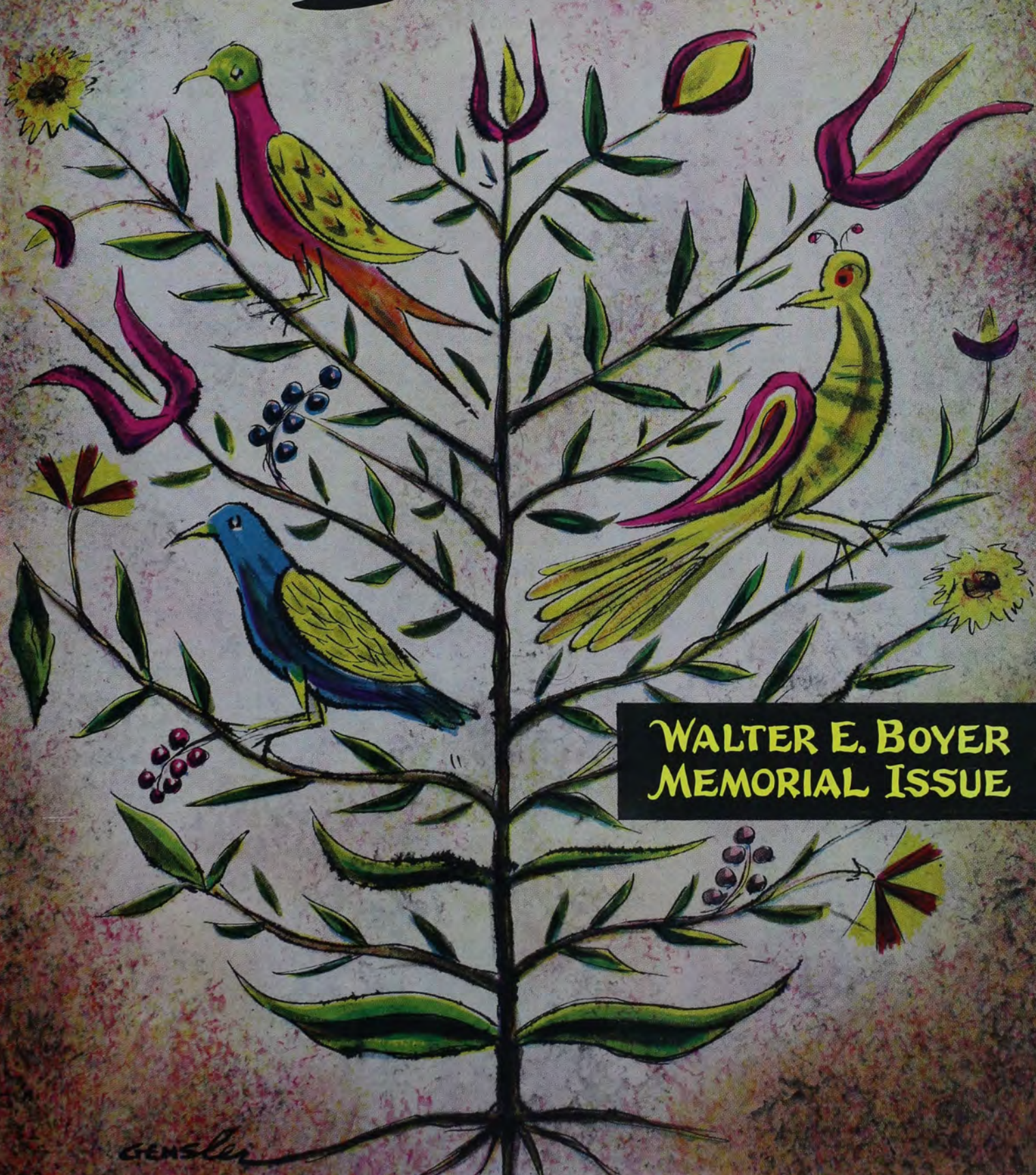
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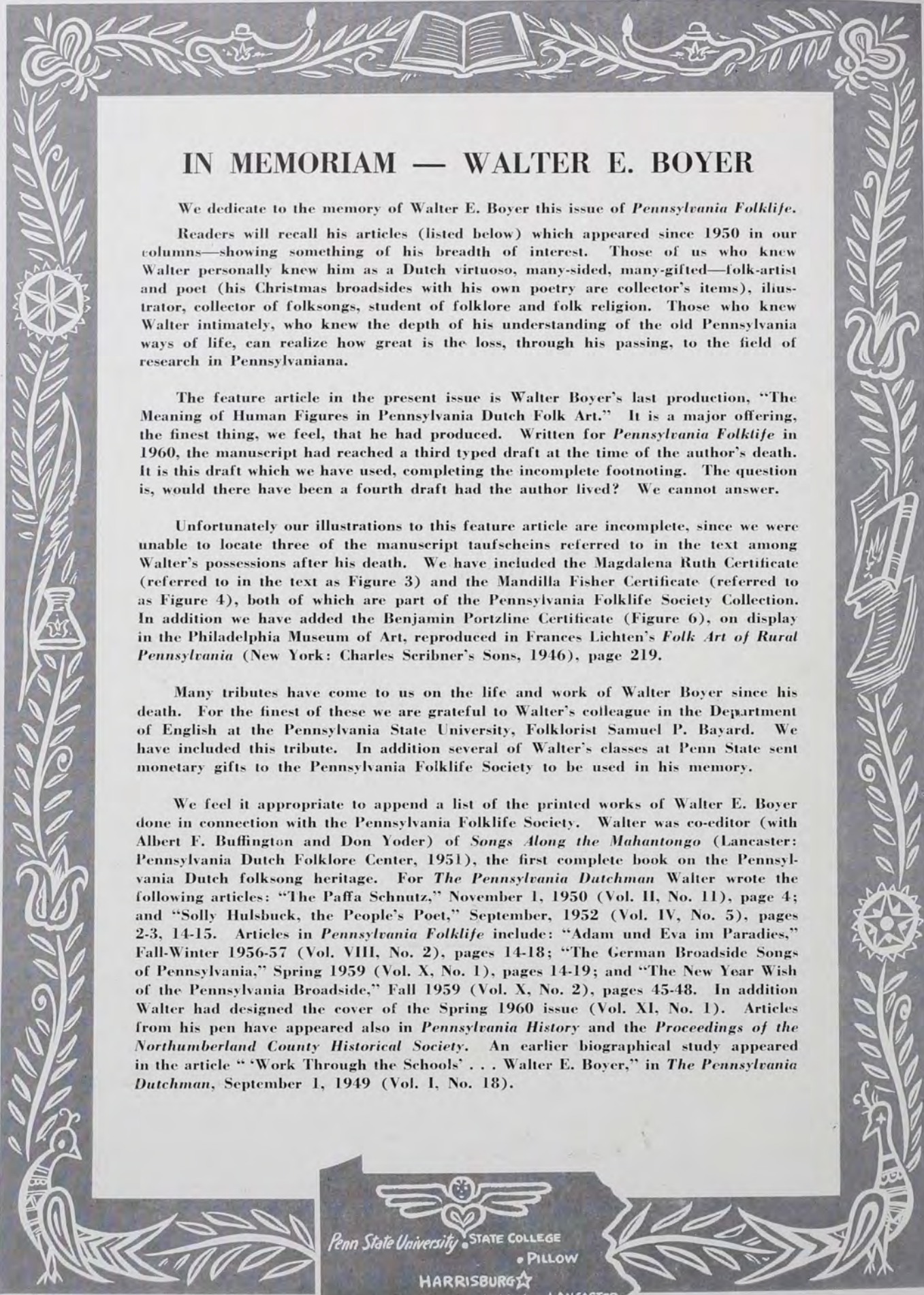
PENNSYLVANIA Folklife

FALL • 1960



**WALTER E. BOYER
MEMORIAL ISSUE**

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IN MEMORIAM — WALTER E. BOYER

We dedicate to the memory of Walter E. Boyer this issue of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

Readers will recall his articles (listed below) which appeared since 1950 in our columns—showing something of his breadth of interest. Those of us who knew Walter personally knew him as a Dutch virtuoso, many-sided, many-gifted—folk-artist and poet (his Christmas broadsides with his own poetry are collector's items), illustrator, collector of folksongs, student of folklore and folk religion. Those who knew Walter intimately, who knew the depth of his understanding of the old Pennsylvania ways of life, can realize how great is the loss, through his passing, to the field of research in Pennsylvaniana.

The feature article in the present issue is Walter Boyer's last production, "The Meaning of Human Figures in Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art." It is a major offering, the finest thing, we feel, that he had produced. Written for *Pennsylvania Folklife* in 1960, the manuscript had reached a third typed draft at the time of the author's death. It is this draft which we have used, completing the incomplete footnoting. The question is, would there have been a fourth draft had the author lived? We cannot answer.

Unfortunately our illustrations to this feature article are incomplete, since we were unable to locate three of the manuscript taufscheins referred to in the text among Walter's possessions after his death. We have included the Magdalena Ruth Certificate (referred to in the text as Figure 3) and the Mandilla Fisher Certificate (referred to as Figure 4), both of which are part of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society Collection. In addition we have added the Benjamin Portzline Certificate (Figure 6), on display in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, reproduced in Frances Lichten's *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), page 219.

Many tributes have come to us on the life and work of Walter Boyer since his death. For the finest of these we are grateful to Walter's colleague in the Department of English at the Pennsylvania State University, Folklorist Samuel P. Bayard. We have included this tribute. In addition several of Walter's classes at Penn State sent monetary gifts to the Pennsylvania Folklife Society to be used in his memory.

We feel it appropriate to append a list of the printed works of Walter E. Boyer done in connection with the Pennsylvania Folklife Society. Walter was co-editor (with Albert F. Buffington and Don Yoder) of *Songs Along the Mahantongo* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, 1951), the first complete book on the Pennsylvania Dutch folksong heritage. For *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* Walter wrote the following articles: "The Paffa Schnutz," November 1, 1950 (Vol. II, No. 11), page 4; and "Solly Hulsbuck, the People's Poet," September, 1952 (Vol. IV, No. 5), pages 2-3, 14-15. Articles in *Pennsylvania Folklife* include: "Adam und Eva im Paradies," Fall-Winter 1956-57 (Vol. VIII, No. 2), pages 14-18; "The German Broadside Songs of Pennsylvania," Spring 1959 (Vol. X, No. 1), pages 14-19; and "The New Year Wish of the Pennsylvania Broadside," Fall 1959 (Vol. X, No. 2), pages 45-48. In addition Walter had designed the cover of the Spring 1960 issue (Vol. XI, No. 1). Articles from his pen have appeared also in *Pennsylvania History* and the *Proceedings of the Northumberland County Historical Society*. An earlier biographical study appeared in the article "Work Through the Schools' . . . Walter E. Boyer," in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, September 1, 1949 (Vol. I, No. 18).

PENNSYLVANIA Folklife

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

\$4.00 a year in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere fifty cents additional for postage. Single copies \$1.00.

MSS AND PHOTOGRAPHS:

The Editor will be glad to consider MSS and photographs sent with a view to publication. When unsuitable, and if accompanied by return postage, every care will be exercised toward their return, although no responsibility for their safety is assumed.

PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE, Fall 1960, Vol. 11, No. 2, published quarterly by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Inc., 8 West King St., Lancaster, Pa. Executive and editorial office, Route 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Contents copyrighted.

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WALTER ELLSWORTH BOYER

(1911-1960)



Photo by the Reverend William J. Rupp

Walter E. Boyer at doorway of his home in Pillow. Hand-decorated panels reflect the interest of the man in Pennsylvania folk-art.

By SAMUEL PRESTON BAYARD

The loss to understanding of traditional culture—in Pennsylvania and generally—occasioned by the untimely death of Walter E. Boyer may be guessed, but will doubtless never be really known, because he was struck down just at the time when his years of research and observation were beginning to bear their fruit in writings of real importance. Only a few seem to have known the great significance of his work. Many more undoubtedly knew the value of his sincere, friendly counsel, and realized something of the devotedness, generosity and integrity of his whole nature. As he now lies in his beautiful Mahantongo countryside—whose deep-rooted traditional way of life was the starting-point and from first to last the inspiration of his life's activities—he leaves to his friends two tasks: the inevitable one of preserving his memory with affectionate regret, and the far harder one of attaining some coherent realization of the nature of his work—many-sided, far-reaching, and pursued by means of all the multiple gifts with which he was endowed.

Boyer was born and reared in the country life of the Mahantongo Valley, and from what he has told me of his boyhood, it is plain that from a very early age he was in love with the older and traditional aspects of its life—of many instances where early affection for home ways conditions one's entire future, and makes one especially perceptive of the thousand intangible ties and inarticulate meanings of a folklife. Boyer's sensitiveness to the details of old-fashioned rural culture was always extraordinary, and it was reinforced (and to some extent guided) by his studies. Though in fairly straitened circumstances, he obtained a college education and prepared himself for the ministry. It was at college that he acquired from his sociological courses the articulate concept of a need for the study of an entire culture instead of isolated segments; and this concept certainly affected all his later activities. He never ceased to speak with grateful enthusiasm of the inspiration received from his masters in sociology and religion at Franklin and Marshall.

Was it from the sociologists, the theologians, or the expounders of literature that he acquired his lasting attitude toward what is called *folklore*? Possibly no one knows, and probably it does not matter. But Boyer certainly realized very early that the heart and core of folkloristic belief and custom—the reason for many folktales and much folk art—is religious; and this realization at once unified and organized all his future work. As a minister, perhaps also as a teacher, he may have been in a better position to perceive this fact, which some folklorists take long years to understand, and to receive confidences that would gradually reveal its full importance. For except for a short span, his activity, both teaching and ministerial, was mainly in a kindred Pennsylvania Dutch rural area.

As a student of religion, Boyer recognized in the folklife which was his birthright more than one strand of religion at work: not only Christian, but prechristian and (as revealed by symbols in the folk art) Mithraic elements were fused together. As a student and partaker of folklife, he observed,

like all anthropologists, the remarkable integration of its parts; but he further ascertained through firsthand experience the lasting human satisfactions it was capable of producing. Certain qualities of the old-fashioned country culture powerfully recommended themselves to him, in an age whose overwhelming technological power seemed devoted to the production of completely materialistic trade-ins and gadgets and to the stimulation of useless desires, imbalances, dependencies and anxieties of all kinds. He naturally had more sense than to be a foe of technology; but these elements fostered by the older way of life, and persisting into the present era, were on the whole civilizing qualities of spirit whose loss we could not afford. Such things, for example, as mutual helpfulness; industry and thrift; conscientious, thorough craftsmanship that built to endure; a fusion of percipient utility and unassuming, serene beauty in products; and with, and because of, all the development of varied non-commercialized personal skills that deepened and broadened their possessors' responses and at the same time assured a measure of independence, self-respect, and peace of mind—he saw all these at work in the old but surviving folklife, and knew that they were exceedingly good for human beings: "therapeutic" was his word for them. He was always alive to the necessity of a combination of industry and artistry to enrich and fulfill an individual life; this combination he found abundantly in his native rural culture.

Over and through all the aspects of traditional life, Boyer perceived another that to him explained the sense that everything has its place and part—the careful, balancing conservation—the strong, particular feeling for nature—characterizing people who live in touch with nature. This too was something religious, even mystic: the feeling that everything is inseparable and one, and thus pervaded by "immanent divinity." Here it was hard to distinguish between what Boyer sensed in the lives of his fellow countrymen and some of the elements of his own personal religious philosophy. But since this sort of inarticulate pantheism is no stranger to those who penetrate below the surface of a folklife, it is probable that here again, as elsewhere, he was inspired by his ancestral inheritance. This feeling, or perception, he expressed most tellingly in his poetry, of which it is the basic subject.

Boyer set himself to interpret and follow through with the implications of this Pennsylvania Dutch culture. His own personal exemplification took many shapes, among which one may mention a combination of poetry, calligraphy and artistic decoration, where individual originality and experiment combined with dependence on traditional models. But more people will remember him, I think, as an expounder of the rural "whole way" of life, for which his own entire existence—his nature, his upbringing, and his scholarly training—had fitted him.

As an interpreter of Pennsylvania Dutch folklife, Boyer was unsurpassed. It was a liberal education to hear him discourse on such varied things as a quilt-pattern figure, the name given to a dog, a phrase in a hymn or folksong,

the shape of a wrought-iron door-hinge—referring each clearly to its underlying and motivating social, religious or magico-religious belief, and at the same time bringing into the picture the whole complex of activities and ideas of which each was a tiny part. In listening to him thus “tying up the threads” of a way of life, I have often been astonished at the insight of his remarks. No one in Pennsylvania has been so well qualified to make a comprehensive—and comprehending—study of its agrarian civilization. His religious studies made him familiar with the nature of mythology; his folklore experiences and reading endowed him with extraordinary perception of the meaning of details that many another would regard as merely casual. And combined with these, his study and practice of art enabled him to cope with the highly developed, richly symbolic illuminated work practiced by Dutch traditional artists. When he was struck down, he had practically finished a study which must certainly be the most important utterance thus far made on the real meanings of some of the recurrent design-figures commonly seen on the *Geburts- und Taufscheine*.

In spite of financial burden and chronic shortage of money, Boyer managed over the years to assemble one of the finest among private collections of old (mostly handwrought and homemade) Dutch artifacts, of a strongly domestic cast. All his material collection—gathered with discriminating care for the reflection of actual, customary use—was meant to be both inclusive and representative in its portrayal of activities of daily life, and to illustrate functionalness combined with artistry, as well as the development of particular *genres*. Though some of the homemade tools in this collection were of unknown function, their collector hoped that future inquiry would make their uses clear to him. This magnificent assemblage was in many ways the perfect key to his whole personality, with its appreciation of the savor of old-time life in all things—from everyday besom-brooms, baskets and tools to furniture, vessels, illuminated manuscripts, and other art-objects. The shapely beauty of many of the most unpretentious and everyday home articles Boyer gathered was in itself enough to vindicate the claim of folk culture to be worth serious attention. His home was thus a museum in itself—one in which everything identifiable was in its appropriate surroundings.

In the assembling of his artifact collection, Boyer's complete devotion to the object of his study earned him friends among a wide variety of people, some of whom occasionally gave him an object that they could see he valued. Every such token of appreciation for his work made him very happy—who himself gave so much of himself. The same sort of friendly, helpful spirit, devoid of condescension and remote from suspicion of selfish motives, also helped Boyer in the gathering of oral lore. Here he was seemingly not so much concerned with the preservation of folktale traditions as with the basic matter of ideas and beliefs, which he found especially meaningful in his prolonged study of the symbolism of art motifs. Once again his perfectly genuine interest in human beings and their lives opened many hearts to him, and even from passing conversations he recovered countless items of much significance. No one knows the extent to which he preserved these things in writing—one can only hope that he left a goodly sheaf of notes behind him.

Having said so much about Boyer as a student of folklife, I wish not to leave the impression that his friends were blind to his other attainments. He was a good, inspiring teacher of English: his popular courses in Biblical literature kept

his students absorbed; his competence as a teacher of English literature in survey courses also commanded their respect; and those who attended his composition classes were assured of an instructor possessing conscientiousness and sensitivity. His ideas of the nature of education had apparently been formed during his years at Franklin and Marshall, and they were sufficiently lofty to make him impatient of private, complacent specialisms, unthinking sets of values, or rabbit-like acceptance of current slogans. His students found his teaching not only solid, but original and entertaining.

Boyer was a friendly man, and unflinchingly considerate. No wonder, then, that many students sought his advice independently—and he gave freely to all, whether they were his “official” advisees or not. He was an especial haven for such as found that their specialized curricula failed to meet their more important needs from a college education, and for many who had personal or religious problems. His open-hearted genuineness made him beloved among children, whom he understood very well, and whom he entertained at Christmas and Fastnacht at his home in Pillow, with traditionally prepared eggs and sweetmeats. Being sensitive on some points himself, he respected the sensitivity of others, and would take especial pains to spare them embarrassment or discomfort. His personal friendship was loyal and enduring, without flattery or selfish reserve.

Boyer was well rounded in attainments, and gifted in still more ways than we can take space to enumerate. Not buried in the past, though absorbed for a large part of his time in its study, he was well read in modern and contemporary literature. And the variety of his other attainments was probably not known to many of his academic associates. He taught himself to read music, so as to appreciate the airs of the old folksongs and hymns. He was keenly interested in all forms of visual art, and well versed in art history and techniques. As might be expected, he was also a good sketcher, whose drawings were full of life, though inclined to be a bit caricaturistic. His gift for exquisite illumination, blending originality, keen color-and-design sense and knowledge of the antique Dutch art, was (or by now should be) well known, and probably cannot now be found elsewhere in Pennsylvania. He was a good angler, a good gardener, and a good cook—all along traditional lines, and very useful attainments to a bachelor.

The last weeks of his life were busy, as always, and full of projects: to complete his doctoral dissertation on German broadside poetry; to add a room to his house, making the arrangements of its interior still more authentic; to complete his book on traditional symbols in art (a long-cherished dream); to continue his experiments in old techniques of paint-making, collaborating with a gifted colleague at Penn State; to round out his collection of certain types of artifacts; to resume study of certain rural skills, and their technical terms in Pennsylvania Dutch; to go on with his study of herbs used in Dutch households, and raise them in his garden; to learn more about the functions and status of the midwife in Pennsylvania folklife—a subject about which almost nothing seems to be known to the educated. This list, though indicative of the breadth and variety of his interests, is by no means complete.

By his death, we in Pennsylvania were suddenly bereft of our most skilled and understanding scholar in folklife, whose un-reproducible gifts and example were never more sorely needed. In many ways Boyer was unique—but unique in ways that one likes to recall with affection and respect.

The Meaning of HUMAN FIGURES In Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art

By WALTER E. BOYER

Much interest is shown in folk art, the numerous books and magazine articles indicate it. Folk art is avidly sought, as prices paid for it at auctions from the country cross-road to the Parke-Bernet Galleries attest. It is a poorly defined field as the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore* implies and collections at any number of museums demonstrate. It would seem that the time is at hand to give more attention to the distinguishing aspects of folk art. In a limited manner this essay seeks to do this. This will be done by limiting the field to Pennsylvania Dutch folk art and further, by restricting the discussion to the human figure motif in the *Geburts- und Taufscheine* (birth and baptismal certificates).

These birth certificates are the best source for an initial study of Pennsylvania Dutch folk art. From the entirely hand-drawn certificates of the eighteenth century to the entirely printed ones of the last half of the nineteenth century, there is a continuous and extensive expression of folk decoration. The motifs that are used in these decorations may be divided into four groups: the flora, the fauna, angelic beings, and human figures. In this study the primary emphasis will be given to the last group, and the other forms will be interpreted only as they help to make meaningful the human figures.

This restriction is made so that it can be more readily determined what, if any, the functional role of the art is in terms of the purpose of the certificate itself. This seems to be the best way, if not the only one, whereby the symbolism of Pennsylvania Dutch art may be determined. In brief, it is proposed that the decorations are ideographically meaningful only as the motifs are in agreement with the function and purpose of the birth certificate itself. Thus, if the decorations are not meaningful in terms of birth and baptism, then they cannot be accepted with certainty as having symbolical value for the culture of which they have been a part.

Next the meaningfulness of the art must be determined in terms of the recorded folk beliefs and practices of the culture itself. Dictionaries of classical symbolism are of little value to ascertain the communication of the motifs that are used. Certainly it is more important to know that the Pennsylvania Dutch consider a white dove to be an omen of death than to know that this was a symbol of Aphrodite in ancient times or a symbol of peace today.

A final standard is that of consistency and number. It is only as a consistent pattern of meaning can be found throughout the decorations of an object that it can be

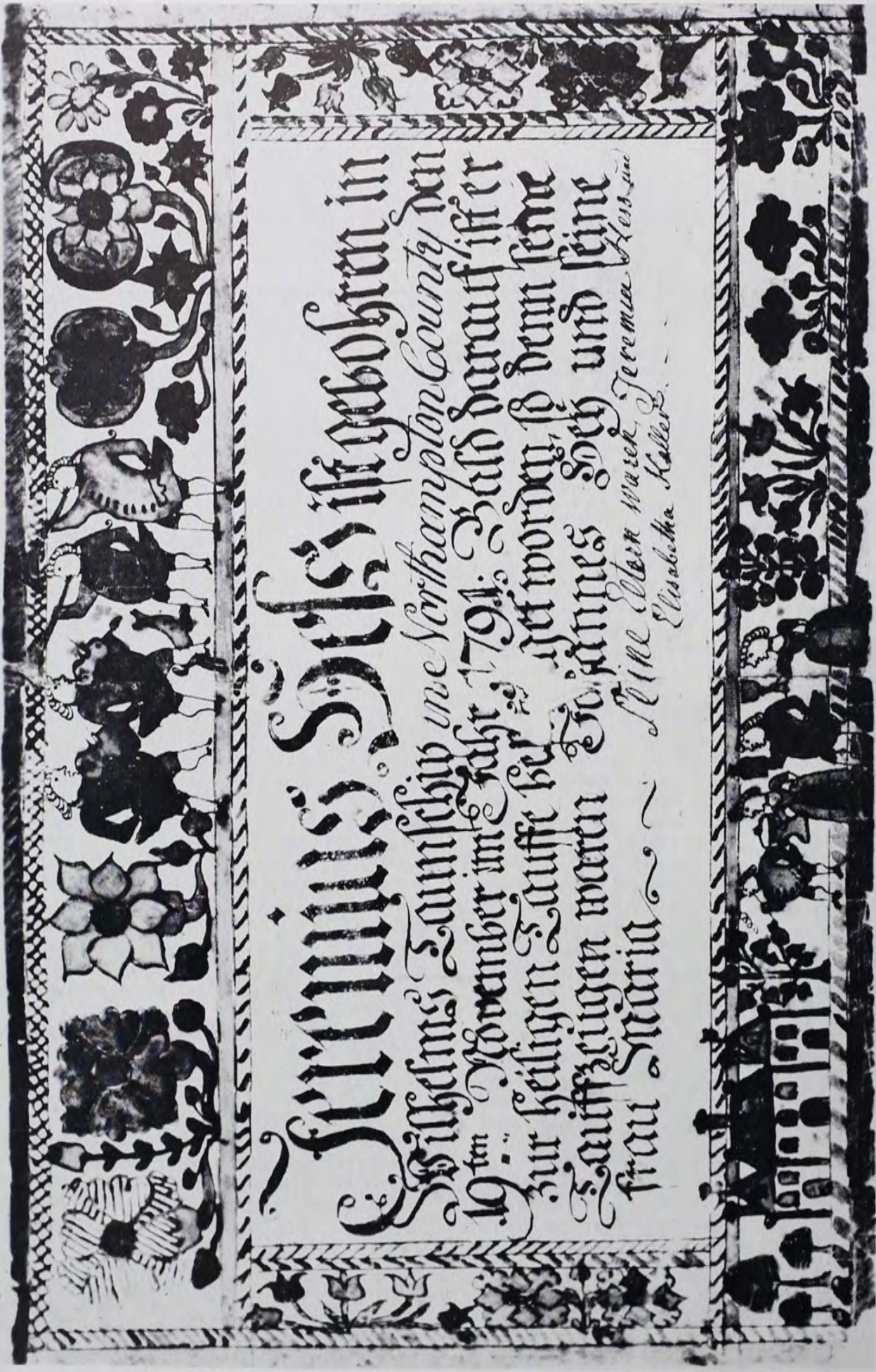
reliably said to have symbolical value; and the greater the number of times similar motifs are used on similar objects, the more valid the assurance can be that the visual communication of this particular traditional culture has been recovered.

Thus far no writer on Pennsylvania Dutch art has addressed himself to such elementary questions as, What are the most popular motifs? On what objects were they most frequently used? In what form do the motifs usually appear? At what place on the artifact do they appear? What motifs are more often found in combination? Since such questions have not been asked, since standards such as those given above have not been applied, a great deal of misinformation concerning this culture has been disseminated. Take, for example, the popular interpretation of the barn sign as a hex sign to ward off witches. This is so widely believed and so often repeated that Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker was moved to write a popular essay in which he pointed out that this belief was entirely unfounded.¹

Yet one may be in equal error to insist that the motifs painted on barns were only decorative, were only space-fillers, or were only an expression of the Dutchman's joy in color. Certainly it must be considered more than an accident that all the early and most of the recent barn signs have made use of the circle, that the most frequent design within the circle is based on the number 4 and its multiples, and that the principle of contrast is always operative no matter what the number may be. Furthermore, the mythic pattern of belief may be seen to emerge when it is noted that these same barn signs appear on dower chests with above-average frequency, that they are quilted on the non-patched and border portions of quilts; and I know of at least one example where one such sign has been incised upon the left pole of the head-end of a home-made bedstead, a most vulnerable place as shall be seen.

Thus, to arrive at the ideography of the birth certificates that include human figures, I have studied them with regard to their function, have tried to explain the visual by reference to the oral lore and mimetic practices, and have approached each decoration composition in terms of the factor that gives it unity within itself and by which it holds common agreement with similar ones.

Now it is true as Dr. Robacker points out that "representations of actual persons are rare in fractur,"² yet where and when they appear is important to the study of the purpose of the decoration. And it is possible that beginning



Jheremias Dicks is geboren in
 Wilhelms Lamschuy in Northampton County den
 19ten November im Jahr 1791. Bald darauf ist er
 zur heiligen Tauffe bei Het worden, so dem seine
 Tauffzeugen waren Johannes Dey und seine
 Frau Maria Mill Stark waren Jeremia Hess an
 Elisabetha Kaller.

THE JEREMIAS HESS CERTIFICATE.

Human figures are rare on Pennsylvania Dutch baptismal certificates. This one from Northampton County (1791) shows fiddlers and trumpeters heralding the birth of the child (top) and two couples (bottom) rejoicing with pipe and chalice.

Courtesy Elma C. Bishop

with their appearance on birth certificates, the purpose for using this motif on wedding plates, dower chests, and cookie cutters, to name but a few of the sources, may take on more significance.

This study is primarily concerned with six birth-baptismal certificates: the Friedrich Reichard (Fig. 1), the Magdalene Beyer (Fig. 2), the Magdalene Ruth (Fig. 3), the Mandilla Fischer (Fig. 4), the daughter of Jacob Hege (Fig. 5), and the Benjamin Portzline (Fig. 6). In each case the certificate was made for the person named above and will be referred to in this wise throughout the article. In addition, references will be made to illustrations of fractur work published by Borneman,³ Lichten,⁴ Stoudt,⁵ and Kauffman.⁶ Whereas the certificates listed above have been studied at first hand, I have had to depend for the most part upon the black and white reproductions published in the latter group.

The Purpose of the Taufschein

The purpose of the birth certificate was in part to record information. This data included the parentage of the child, the date of birth, the time and place of both birth and baptism, the name of the clergyman who administered the sacrament and the names of the people who witnessed it, sometimes the sign of the zodiac under which the child was born, and less frequently similar information concerning confirmation and the taking of Holy Communion.

Furthermore, the certificate served as documentary evidence, especially at the time of death, that the person was a Christian, had been reborn through the sacrament of baptism, and deserved decent burial in holy ground. At least in some families, a traditional practice was to place the birth certificate within the coffin at the time of the burial. This practice has been evidently one of many whereby a relationship with the Other World was recognized. Of course this raises the query as to why there are so many certificates extant? Whatever the complete answer may be, part of the explanation seems to lie in the fact that a person had two certificates. I have been led to this assumption since I have in my collection two different certificates for the same person, as well as a rather large group of documents upon which the mere facts of the birth and baptism are given.

But more important for this study is the fact that the ritual of naming a child was significant in itself. For the church groups, such as the Lutherans and the Reformed, baptism was doctrinally necessary for salvation and in a very real sense the child did not exist in the eternal sense until he had been baptized. It was the ritual of baptism that evoked his rebirth. Yet, in addition to this rationale, there was further reason for the efficacy of baptism in folk practices. This was the rite of giving and witnessing the name of the child. I recorded an instance fifteen years ago of a man practiced in the art of healing by incantations who requested the local pastor to baptize an ill child immediately

after the morning worship service in order that the child would be prepared to have the incantatory prayers prayed over him and have the illness driven away mimetically. In brief, unless the child had been named in Christ and his name recorded in the Lamb's Book of Life, the powwower (the popular term) could not bring the child under the power of the benevolent effects of the Other World. Even as the ordained pastor, this folk pastor could effectively work only with individuals twice-born. And once twice-born, the name became potent in its own right and was the means whereby one gave this potency and promise to another, as it is still exercised in marriage ceremonies, in the courts of law, and in the initiating ceremonies of fraternal organizations.

Now it is within the context of this functional purpose that a clue to the meaning of the decorations on baptismal documents is evident. It follows that if these decorations have a symbolic function to perform, then they must be associated with the need to show and share the power of the name in terms of the entire cultus into which the child has been born. This is seen in the most popular stanza of poetry that appears on these certificates, both in the fractur and printed forms. In fact so much significance seems to have been attached to it that if the fractur artist or the printer did not include it, it was written in by another hand.⁷ The stanza itself is from a hymn written by Johann Jacob Rambach and published in his *Geistliche Gedichte*⁸ in 1740, where it appears as the first stanza:

*Ich bin getauft, ich steh im Bunde
Durch meine Tauf mit meinem Gott;
So sprech' ich stets mit frohem Munde,
In Creutz, in Trübsal, Angst und Noth:
Ich bin getauft, dess' freu ich mich,
Die Freude bleibet ewiglich.*

Strangely enough this stanza is excluded from the hymn whenever it appears in the Lutheran and Reformed hymnals, published in America. It may be that for the folk artist and for the people this sense of belonging to the *Bund* was more comprehensive than membership in a congregation or a denomination would connote. At least it would seem that the naming of a child in the context of a denominational tenet was not as meaningful as doing so in the context of kinship. From one viewpoint this may be seen in an unwillingness to have the child baptized at any other place than in the home. The Reverend Thomas R. Brendle, who began his ministry in 1911, estimates that in the beginning of his ministry very few baptisms were conducted at the church whereas all funerals were.

I. The Friedrich Reichard Certificate

This emphasis upon kinship and home seems to be the dominant concept that is expressed in the birth certificates in which the human figure motif appears. The Friedrich Reichard certificate⁹ (Fig. 1) shows this very well. It is readily seen that the entire lower border of this document is devoted to the representation of kinship, a kinship not only of immediate family but a kinship that extends to all humanity of God's *Bund* in This-World and the Other.

¹ Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Hex, No!* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, 1953).

² Earl F. Robacker, "The Rise of Interest in Folk Art," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Spring 1959 (Vol. X, No. 1), p. 20.

³ Henry S. Borneman, *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts* (Norristown, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania German Society, 1937).

⁴ Frances Lichten, *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946).

⁵ John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania Folk-Art: An Interpretation* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Schlechter's, 1948).

⁶ Henry Kauffman, *Pennsylvania Dutch; American Folk Art* (New York: American Studio Press, 1946).

⁷ In printed form it appears in the certificates Beyer (Fig. 2), Ruth (Fig. 3), and Hege (Fig. 5); and is written on the Portzline certificate (Fig. 6).

⁸ For a photostatic copy of this hymn, I am most grateful to Dr. Fritz Braun, Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Germany.

⁹ 30.5 x 17 mm., Columbia County Historical Society, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania.

The border itself is readily divided into three meaningful parts: the Tree of Life, the ceremonial drinking, and the group of witnesses. To further identify this progression, directions must be thought of in terms of the position of the person baptized, that is, the Tree of Life is to the right of the person named and the group of witnesses are on the left. This agrees with the significance of directions that prevails throughout biblical literature and with the Trinitarian concept of the Christian Church and coincides with folk practices almost universally.

Taking our cue from the baptismal ritual of the Christian tradition, the symbolism may be expressed thus: the Tree of Life represents the Christ; the ceremonial drinking, the Father, and the group of witnesses, the Holy Ghost. Thus the Other World is expressed pictorially in terms of this world; verbally this is related to the words of the Christ in John's Gospel: I am the vine, you are the branches . . . my Father is the husbandman.¹⁰ Or it may be said, in order to indicate the functionalism of the concepts, the presence of life there is the Tree that embodies the nature of all trees, and being the Life-Tree embodies all of life, including the life after death. From this Tree comes the fluid that sustains the life in time and assures the life eternal. In the Christian cultus of which this certificate is a part, this fluid is usually thought of as wine-blood and is the giver of life—the creative principle in the godhead, the fathering. The fruit of the fluid through this fathering is found in family, in kinship, or as John's Gospel has it, in the "branches." Of course this fathered fluid extended beyond the legalistic kinship of the kenning relationship of blood-brothers. That is, it extended to those in whom and with whom the efficacy of the blood-wine relationship was honored and recognized. This is prefigured in the Gospel of John 15:15—"No longer do I call you servants, for the servant does not know what his master is doing; but I have called you friends. For all that I have heard from my Father I have made known to you." In brief, through the Life-giving Fluid the servile relationship is replaced by the royal relationship in which the king and the kin are one. This is, of course, the rationale of the Eucharist, which in its essential functional character does not differ from ceremonies of the Divine Fluid in other cultural complexes.

From this primary level of interpretation the particular purpose of each section of the lower border can now be more readily apprehended. Considering again the Tree of Life motif, it should be noted that a pair of trees, resembling fir trees, stands on either side of the Tree of Life. This might not seem to be significant in itself if this same arrangement did not appear also in the second section. In this latter place the decanter of wine stands in the middle of the table and artistically is an extension of the pedestal support. On either side of the decanter two glasses have been arranged.

Do both of these motifs signify the same thing? I believe so, but before that can be seen clearly, the entire motif must be explained. It is most obvious that the decanter is the central object of the motif and is architectonically in agreement with the pedestal so that a tree is suggested. On either side of the table sit a man and a woman, the man to the left of the tree-table and the woman to the right. Both are drinking wine.

Next, it is to be noted that they sit on similar chairs and that at the top of each chair, faces have been drawn.

Furthermore, it seems that each occupant embraces this figure of the chair. It is with these two chairs that the interpretation of this symbolic decoration can begin. The chairs represent the grandparents of the child baptized. These are *dem Grossvater sei Stuhl* and the grandmother's chair. Such phrases can be heard even today among the Pennsylvania Dutch people—a token of the surviving ritual practice of the chair as an emblem of authority, of age, and of the honored sire.

To reenforce the symbolism of the spiritual presence of the grandparents as well as preceding generations, the artist has placed next to each chair a dog that is leaping up in the attitude of recognition. This is in keeping with the powers that the folk culture has ascribed to dogs: they are able to recognize not only the living but also the dead. A most common name for the farm watch-dog was *Wasser*, which associated the dog with both the Life-giving Fluid and the spirits of the other world (evil spirits cannot cross water).

Retracing the progression: it has been pointed out that the chairs represent the grandparents and through them the generations of the family that "have passed away," and thus the occupants of the chairs are the parents of the child, presently seated in the place of authority and, more importantly, the seats of procreative responsibility. To be fruitful and to multiply, it is necessary to participate in the Divine Fluid of Life, which brings us back again to the decanter and the drinking of wine.

Now it must be noted again that four glasses remain unused on the table, two on either side of the decanter. These glasses are in pictorial agreement, as noted above, with the two green, mushroom-like trees that have been placed on either side of the Tree of Life in the first division of the border. This, to my mind, is not an accident but rather is the artist's way to relate the Tree of Life to the Life-giving Fluid. Essentially both of these are one. Then why four trees and four glasses? It seems to me that in this instance the four stands specifically for the four grandparents of the child, two on the father's side and two on the mother's. Moreover, the artist has carried out this pairing throughout these first two sections: the two trees on the feminine side—note that these are more rounded—and the two glasses on the decanter's right complement the two pointed trees on the masculine side and the two glasses to the left. Even on the Tree of Life itself this pairing continues in the branches, and likewise will continue in the third section of the border as we shall see.

But has the child been lost in this portrayal of parenting? Does he not participate in the ritual of the Life-giving Fluid? If this were the holy water of the baptism that was being drunk, he would be seated probably by the table in the attitude of drinking, for in folk belief it was deemed efficacious for the child to drink of his baptismal water. This water would make him strong and vigorous. But in this instance, it is wine that is being used and the child at his baptism would not be able to participate overtly in this ritual. This drinking of wine was part of the *adult* ritual of the *Bund* of Christ, in which both the living and the dead participated as indicated in the Eucharistic prayer. In fact, as the certificate shows, Friedrich Reichard was not prepared to take his first communion until 1794, when he was twenty-one years of age.

Yet the presence of the child is acknowledged even as the presence of the dead is. The child's presence is symbolically portrayed in the form of the soul-bird, the child's double,

¹⁰ John 15: 1b, 5a.

and furthermore, his co-existent double. Three things are of ideographical value in the artist's concept of the bird as portrayed here. They may be seen in its color, its position in relationship to the decanter, and the direction in which the bird is looking. However, the significance of this soul-bird may be best understood if it is seen in the context of the two confrontal birds that appear on both the right and left side borders of the certificate. Note that both birds which appear at the bottom or earth side are dark, and those that appear on the top side or the heaven side are light in body and have dark wings and tails. In the original the light portions are yellow and the dark portions appear now to be black although it is entirely probable that they were blue at first.

It is in this color contrast, essentially the contrast between light and dark, that the most basic concept of folk art appears. My informants, practiced in the art of quilt-making, have told me repeatedly that a light patch must be placed next to a dark one, so that the one balanced the other. This balancing is seen throughout all motifs of folk art and is the core of the culture's world view. Duality is seen in the midst of unity. For example, the day is one, but the light of day is better than the dark of day. Life is one, but the life of eternity is better than the life of time. Space is one, but it is better to go up than to go down, to go to the right than to go to the left. Consequently, a child is brought into the world as close to the ground as possible so that ever thereafter he shall make his way upward. Unbaptized babies were not to be taken out of doors before they had been strengthened by rebirth in the baptismal waters and had been acknowledged as a member of the *Bund* of Christ, who was the light that could not be hid. Whether baptized or not, if the child were taken out of doors at night, his face had to be covered in order that the Evil Eye could be evaded.

Following the logic of this contrast within unity, the lower bird of the border is the bird of This World, whereas the upper bird is the bird of the Other World. The lower bird is the soul-bird and represents that aspect of the soul that is of time; the upper bird is the bird-soul, representing the soul in glory. So it is the dark bird that announces the death of a person, but it is always a light bird that bears the soul to heaven. The latter bird is commonly represented as the *distelfink*¹¹ or goldfinch in folk art. But this is not the bird that appears beneath the table in the lower border; instead it is the dark bird. Thus this bird is the alter-ego of the child, his soul-bird, his representation in time. Call it a crow, if you must know the species, although the species of the bird is often of secondary importance, I believe. If you desire to do so, then it must also be remembered that the Teutonic god Odin was informed each morning of the affairs on earth by two ravens, Hugin and Munin. Thus a more general but not less intimate relationship between This-World and the Other is established.

Having noted that the dark bird is the child in time, the significance of its position is next in importance. Note that the bird appears on the right or feminine side of the decanter containing the Life-giving Fluid. Thus the intimate relationship between the mother and child is stressed. This brings to mind the familiar words of a Pennsylvania Dutch father when he admonishes his wife to "Look after your children!" (*Gook noch dei Kinner.*) Even today there

remains a curious ambivalency of authority over the children. From the information that I have gathered in the field, it would seem that the training of a son was the responsibility of the mother until he had reached the teens, the age at which the churches in Dutchland almost universally confirm their children. It is at this time that the boy would begin to sit on the men's side of the church and was permitted to go out with the gang. At this age he was given his first gun and went hunting with his father for the first time. In all respects the boy had now entered into a man's world and the father was now directly responsible for the boy's behavior and for his training to earn a living. It was the mother's responsibility to nurture the boy—usually assisted, sometimes with a heavy hand, by the grandparents—but it was the father's sole responsibility to train the son to earn a living and to establish a family, both of which are closely related in an agrarian culture. Thus it is very natural that in this birth-baptismal certificate the child's representative should be on the maternal side of the decanter. This is correct in the first stage of life.

Before the significance of why the bird has been placed under the table is understandable, it is necessary to ascertain the symbolism of the bird when it is placed upon the Tree of Life. Such an example appears in Stoudt's *Pennsylvania Folk Art*.¹² On this Tree of Life forty-three birds of various colors and sizes, paired as light and dark birds, are seated. The tree itself grows out of the wavy line of water on the earth side of the drawing and terminates in the wavy line that indicates the water of heaven.¹³ All the birds look in one direction, which gives them a significant unity. Dr. Stoudt maintains that "This lovely piece of didactic art shows that the Pennsylvania Dutch folk-artists could depart from traditional motifs," but I find no evidence that there is any departure from traditional motifs, rather do I fear that the statement reflects the basic error of his assumption that the meaning of folk art is derived from the literary tradition.¹⁴

One level of meaning in this specimen is contained in the verse that accompanies it:

*Nun sieh Mein Kind der vögelschaar,
im frühling wan sie singen
auf grünen beimen paar bei paar
Ihrem Harr ein opfer bringen
so sing mein kind bist du wirst weis
Dort in des Himels paradeis.*

Briefly, the child is exhorted to sing until "you become wise there in heaven's paradise." Of course a pun with *weis* (white) may have been intended, since in heaven one is clothed in white, the color of the traditional burial garb. "There in heaven's paradise" is the tree itself where others have gone before him and where they await the coming of his spirit.

This is why the total number of birds is an odd number.

¹² Page 206, "From the collection of Mr. Robert Burkhardt."

¹³ All Pennsylvania Dutch folk art presupposes the cosmology of the first creation story of Genesis 1:1-2:3. It is this that not only gives it homogeneity within itself but links it with the traditional visual communication of Judeo-Christian culture.

¹⁴ Stoudt, *op. cit.*, p. 121. "It is the thesis of this book that Pennsylvania Dutch folk-art receives its meaning from the literary tradition which accompanies it. . . . The literary tradition . . . was tracked down to its sources in the Bible, in German medieval and Pietistic hymnody and in the Pennsylvania Dutch hymnals." If this were true then folk art would be illustrative rather than symbolic, would represent individual communication rather than community, would be subservient to text rather than pretext.

¹¹ Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1946).

Twenty-one people are represented by twenty-one pairs of birds. The odd unpaired bird—the small bird in the center bottom row—is the child's bird-soul that awaits the coming of his soul-bird into paradise. This union shall take place as one becomes wise, as one becomes filled with Wisdom, the divine power that is purifying as well as invigorating. Such is the biblical tradition: "The glory of young men is their strength, and the beauty of old men is their gray head" (Proverbs 20:29). Having grown to the fullness of wisdom by strength and the graying head, the child shall take his place upon the Tree of Life in paradise that is filled with the Divine Fluid of Wisdom that descends and ascends.

If, then, the bird in the Tree is part of the Life-giving Fluid, the bird beneath the table of the birth certificate is the bird that receives the Life-giving Fluid from the Tree. In the ritualistic language of the Church, the bird stands within the shadow of the wings of Christ wherein his healing may be found. Theologically the iconography could be stated thus: the child receives the wine-blood power of Christ so that he may grow in grace. In folk belief one is cured of various ills if one crawls toward the east around a tree, or briar bush, or table leg.

But also note that the artist has wrenched the left leg of the father into an almost impossible position so that the right leg could be given prominence. It is readily seen that the right leg has been placed in such a way that it is under the table from the foot to the middle of the thigh. Thus, almost the entire right leg (the "good" leg) receives the power of the wine-blood streaming from the Tree of Life. Furthermore, it must be noted that the foot is in exact agreement with the base of the table-leg or ideographically it is at the root of the Tree of Life. In other words, even as the Tree of Life receives its power out of the waters under the earth, so does man receive his power through his feet and thighs out of this holy ground.

This concept was ritually expressed preeminently in the feet washing ceremony which was practiced more extensively by the sects than by the churches—the latter having had in most instances the benevolent leadership of an educated clergy. In this ceremony the feet were unshod not only because they were to be washed by the waters drawn from Mother Earth but because the feet were regularly in contact with this source and being bared on holy ground the effectiveness was at its zenith. This contacting of Mother Earth is further seen in the postures accompanying praying, in taking the elements of the sacrament of Holy Communion, or in the ordination ceremony of the clergy.¹⁵

It is an error, however, to turn solely to the church cultus for an understanding of the symbolic intent of art motifs. The authoritarian church has always been exclusive in beliefs and the excluder of practices that seemed to compete with her own. But folk beliefs and folk practices have a strange way of surviving even if there is no official approval. Take, for example, the practice of relating oneself to the earth while in the nude. The man in the Mahantongo Valley who while in the nude rolled in the thawing March snow when the first buds had appeared on the trees was not *ipso facto* an exhibitionist, as our armchair psychologist might have taken him to be. For this nudist, it was a matter of health: earth would revitalize his whole being. Similar beliefs have

¹⁵ Since culturally we depend more and more on a literary, printed text, less and less are mimetic practices of identification lost sight of. In some churches the Eucharist has become not much more than a TV program with refreshments—the people remain seated and the elements are passed.

been recorded by Fogel. One of them is, "When chafed in the crotch sit with bared posterior on newly plowed soil."¹⁶

A number of farmers of the pre-tractor days have told me that they did their spring plowing barefooted for it was good for one to do so. Here we are interested only to the extent that one is not only revitalized by the drinking of the blood-wine, or the baptismal waters, or the laying on of hands, but also by way of the feet and the legs. Thus in this certificate both the father and the son are vitalized by this two-way process, from above by the Tree of Life and from beneath by Mother Earth.

Finally, why does the soul-bird look towards the decanter? The answer has been anticipated in the discussion above of the confrontal birds that appear on the side borders. There it was seen that one was the soul-bird, the symbolic soul of the child on earth, and the other was the bird-soul, the symbolic soul in heaven. When these birds face one another, there is a reciprocal recognition and vitalization. In this sense they appear on Christian artifacts of the first century.¹⁷ Actually, when the soul-bird looks at the decanter of wine, the same relationship is symbolized as in the side border, only the relationship is more individualized in this instance. The soul-bird looks to the wine-blood of Christ for vitalization and strength, as expressed in long life (more of this below). Ritually it expresses the fact that the child has learned to recognize this source of life, having been reborn through baptism; but as yet, and until he confirms this when he has grown in wisdom, the parents and other members of the *Bund* serve as "precept and example"—essentially a ritualistic example, not a moral one!

It is this ritual of the Life-giving Fluid that serves as a link between the central group and the group on the iconographical left. This is the vital *Bund* as well as five ways by which one is related to the procreative process of life, through which the blessings of the Other World are shown. These ways are (1) childhood, the time of inability to procreate; (2) the virgin, who has attained the age of eligibility; (3) the young married woman, who has not as yet become a mother; (4) parents; and (5) god-parents.

How has the artist succeeded in showing these stages? Since the entire intent seems to point in the direction of the promotion and the maintaining of the vitalized life, linking one generation with another, the first two male-female couples seem to be the meaningful link of this third part with the first two. If the four small trees and the four glasses represent the grandparents that have gone before, these four parents—the parents and the god-parents—represent those who are immediately most responsible for the child and his welfare.

That the first four figures represent the parents and the

¹⁶ Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1915), p. 284. \$1494. See also beliefs §956 and §986.

¹⁷ See Preston A. Barba, *Pennsylvania German Tombstones* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1954), pp. 24-27. Rather than saying that they are "symbols of spirits" that accompany the souls of the departed to Paradise, I see them as the dual nature of the individual soul. As such the ideography is the same whether of baptismal certificates and tombstones, both artifacts are of rebirth, this the roosters (pp. 67, 97) are not merely symbols of fertility as is stated (p. 27) but of death and resurrection. This is the traditional significance of the rooster in the Gospel story of the Lord's agony and Peter's agony. The crowing did not only remind him of his denial but of the Lord's imminent death! And our forefathers gave us the clue in their beliefs such as *Von der hawna uft grayt free morryets, gayt epper doat* (If the rooster crows a great deal in the morning, someone will die.) The soul-bird announces the departure of the bird-soul!

god-parents may be concluded by noting (1) that the first couple is dressed exactly like the seated couple in panel two (this would be more apparent in a color print), (2) that these couples interlock arms, which isolates them from the other groups in the panel and underscores the shared responsibility that unites them, (3) that the written record of the certificate specifically indicates this relationship: *da denn der ehrsame Friedrich Vogel und seine frau Elizabetha den Christlichen Namen gegeben und seine Taufzeugen waren*, and (4) that these two men agree in the attitude of their stance, which is relaxed, and in this respect differ from the other two men of the panel.

Let us now turn our attention to the fourth pair of figures, the two women who face one another. These women are almost identical with the mother and the god-mother, the first two women of this portion of the decoration. Their dresses are of a dark color and the apron-like insertion in the front center of their dresses is identical. The neck-bands that are worn by the two are of a solid, dark color and in this respect differ from the neck-bands of the first two women, whose neck-bands are variegated in alternating light and dark colors. From these characteristics it may be assumed that because of the similarity of dress all of these women have attained the status of motherhood but that the pair of women standing by themselves have been widowed. This concept is verified by the dark neck-bands, a sign of mourning, as well as by the fact that they are paired with one another rather than with the male.

Turning to the other two women in this section, it is immediately noted that these women are dressed in a light color, in yellow, and that the apron portion of the dress is green rather than the open cross-hatch as in the other dresses that have been considered. This is symbolically significant. The assertion is always made by the older women living today that as recent as the first quarter of the present century it was proper for older women to dress in dark colors and to leave the light colors for the young women and children. No married woman would wear a red dress, and an unmarried woman was considered a "loose woman" if she wore "much red." On this basis it may be assumed that the two women dressed in yellow are younger women. And for similar reasons it may be taken for granted that the small girl, dressed in red, is a great deal younger.

The artist has differentiated, however, between the two younger women inasmuch as he has placed green dots in the dress of the woman standing next to the married couples but has not done so in the dress of the woman standing next to the child. Since this is the only time that the artist has availed himself of this technique, it is well to assume that it is particularly meaningful. Fortunately, in my collection of manuscript material of folk art, I have an item dated 1858 that helps to explain why this was done.¹⁵ In this item the dots indicate fertility, a fact the artist infers in his written explanation. If this were true here, then fertility would have to be assigned to this woman in a way that was denied the other. The mimetic gestures of the men that accompany these figures afford further explanation. It should be noticed that the man in the middle of the panel lifts his left arm vertically whereas at the end of the panel the man has the same arm in a horizontal position. Since the left arm is being used, the sense of the Other World as

well as masculinity is stressed. Furthermore, as was noted above, to point upward indicates the Other World and to point outward, consequently, is to indicate This World. Putting all of this evidence in the context of family and birth, it may be concluded that the center couple has recently married and await their first child: young because of the color, fertile because of the dots, recently because the man indicates that the Other World has blessed them (a couple was especially blessed if they had a child within the first year of their marriage), and first because the woman's apron is green with the promise of life and not open as are the aprons worn by the women in the panel who have attained the status of motherhood. Following the same deductions, the couple at the end of the panel is eligible for marriage but is still unwed. The woman's yellow dress indicates her youth, the green apron indicates that she is ready for marriage, and the absence of dots indicates that she is virginal and consequently most acceptable. That the man knows that this is true is indicated by the fact that he has taken her with his right arm and points to a place away from the group, as much as to say, *Meer vella shbotseera gay* (we want to go a-walking). With such an invitation many folk songs begin. In turn, and quite unlike the other female figures, the woman's stance is one of withdrawal, so that the correct coyness to the invitation balances the apparent boldness.

Thus in this tripaneled border there is given the most comprehensive iconographic statement of the coming of life into the folk cultus by way of birth. Here the continuity of life is celebrated in apparent gaiety and appointed sobriety. In the shadow of the Tree of Life, made virile by the Other World, life begins with the coming together of the male and the female. This life is vitalized and energized by the sacred fluid of the Other World and is ritualistically drunk in the presence of those "who have gone before us in the way of salvation," and in the parenting of this life there are five stages (a number often used symbolically to indicate mankind): the innocency of childhood, the potential parenthood of youth, the actual parenting of children, the rearing of children as god-parents, and old age, when the shadows lengthen and the work is done. The representation of life in such stages was popular in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is probably the best expression of this concept that was made in America at that time; and for us, two hundred years later, it seems to be the most direct way by which we may relearn the meaning of life that the traditional folk art expressed.

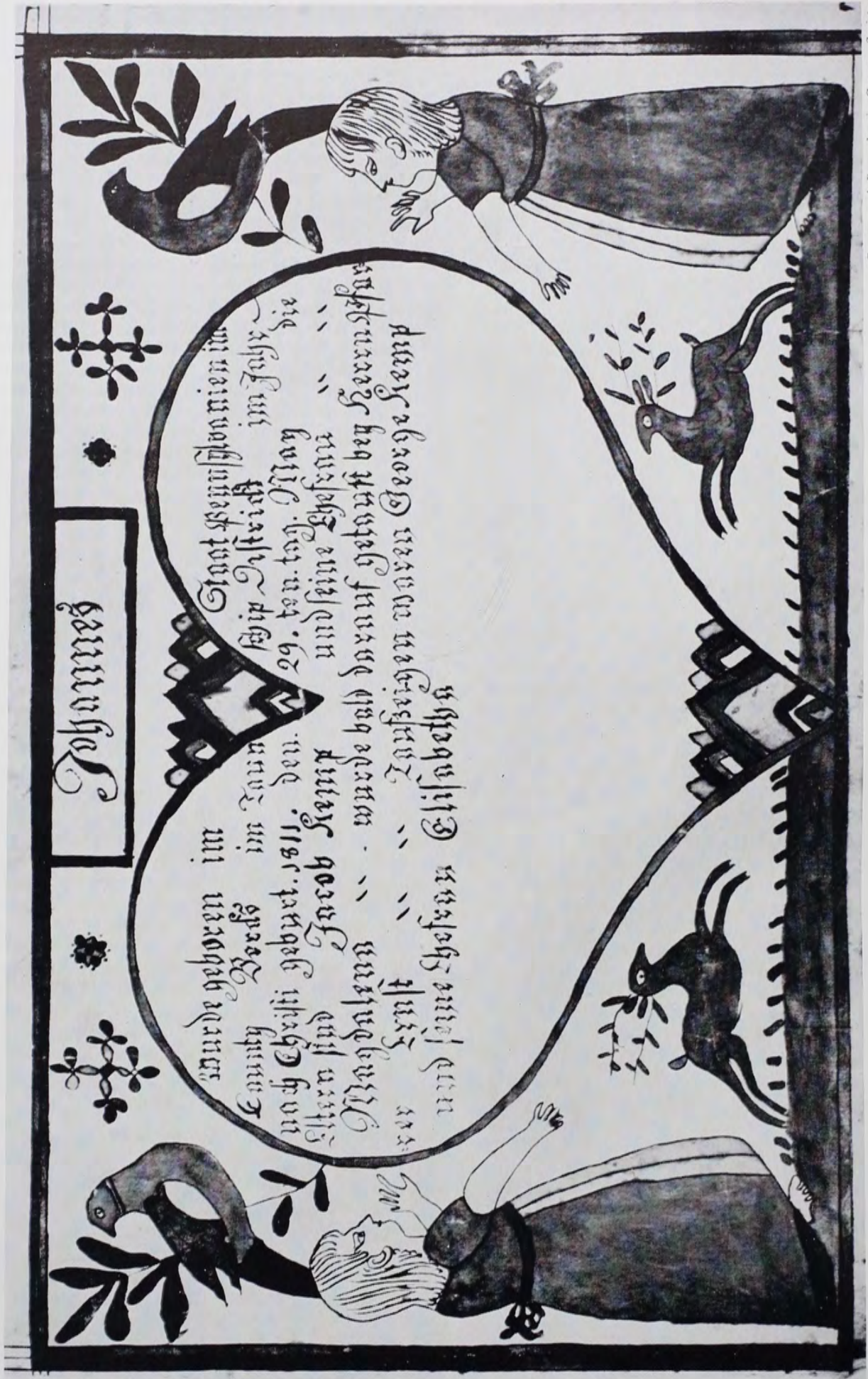
As we turn to the consideration of the additional documents that include human figures, we need not expect to be introduced to concepts that go far beyond those that have already been seen but rather to have these same concepts reinforced by different symbolic means.

II. The Magdalena Beyer Certificate

Perhaps no more frank statement of birth as the fruit of the coming together of the male and the female has been made than in the iconography of the Magdalena Beyer certificate¹⁶ (Fig. 2). In fact the statement may be so frank that the discussion may be considered vulgar by the pious, and unwarranted by such as are tutored in the interpretation of folk art only by those who have sought to explain its significance in terms of a self-conscious and moralistic

¹⁵ For this important item, I am indebted to my friend Earl Troutman, who rescued it from the rubbish pile. This item and a similar one in his collection I hope to publish in a study of floral motifs in folk art.

¹⁶ Reading: Gedruckt von Gottlob Jungman 1804. 34 x 41 mm. Author's collection.



Courtesy of Pennsylvania German Society

CERTIFICATE SHOWING EARTH HEART AND HUMAN FIGURES
 From Henry S. Borneman, Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts (Norrictown, 1937), Plate No. 11

Ephrata
Stag
Motif



literary tradition without any reference to folk-ways.

The discussion of this certificate must begin with the large center heart that was placed there by the printer and in which appears all the information concerning the birth, baptism, and confirmation of the child. The heart is the most popular, the most widely used motif in Pennsylvania Dutch art, and the symbolic purpose may be equally variable. To be certain what meaning it portrays, each heart must be studied in the context of the other motifs that accompany it.

For our purposes here, it is well to see how the heart in the very earliest of certificates is related with the bottom, or earth side, and that in some instances the heart grows from the earth. This was a favorite motif used by Heinrich Otto, a Lancaster Countian, who worked at the turn of the nineteenth century. In the Catherine Merkle certificate by Otto the relationship between heart and earth is unmistakable (Fig. 3).²⁰ The earth is indicated by a strong, wavy line of brown. Joined with this earth-line is the outer line of the heart. Thus the heart emerges out of the earth but still remains identified with it. Within the heart, a small tree of life grows upward, divides and terminates in two four-petaled flowers. From the indented portion at the top of the heart, two flowers grow but they bend downwards to touch the earth. A similar motif, probably by the same artist, may be seen in Shoemaker's *Check List of Pennsylvania Dutch Printed Taufscheins*.²¹ In this same publication another certificate²² is shown in which the earth-heart has been given the head, wings and body feathers of a spirit of the Other World. The dynamism of this spirited heart is further developed in a certificate published by Borneman.²³ In this artifact the artist indicates a cross-section of the earth. The color below this line is uniformly brown, a color seldom used by folk artists and used only in this place in the document. The relationship of heart and ground is unmistakable in that the bottom point of the heart touches the lower edge of the border, so that the point of the heart is rooted within the earth. Vitality is shown within this region of the heart by a cluster of pointed forms of many colors rising upwards, a motif that is shown also at the indented portion at the top of the heart. Facing the heart are two identical female figures of awesome mien, dressed in red robes, yellow aprons, green undergarments. In front of these figures there are confrontal stags. All of these figures are standing upon the brown ground from which the first blades of a new grain season seem to be growing.

What may be concluded from this evidence? First, the heart is a feminine symbol in which new life comes to have its being and from which it is released, even as Mother Earth

releases new life. This is both the more common as well as the more general intention. But, second, in a more specific and more sophisticated manner, it is the goddess Demeter who calls forth new life from the earth. This conclusion is reinforced in the certificate mentioned above in which the two stags, which were animals sacred to Demeter, are included.²⁴ To this theme it is necessary to turn again in the discussion of the Fisher and Hege certificates. In brief, the earth is vibrant with the spirit of life, and likewise, it is from the heart that new life is brought forth. The heart is the womb made visible.

Essentially it is the relationship of the Life-giving powers of Mother Earth to fruitful marriage that is the ideography of the Magdalena Beyer certificate (Fig. 2). Beneath the life-receiving and life-giving heart, two nude figures appear, standing on a green earth from which long blades of grass are growing. The grass grows more abundantly around the woman. The male figure stands on the left side. Near his right foot, a plant of three blades (a masculine number) is shown. His left arm—the side of the Holy Spirit by which the Other World confronts and comforts this world—is extended toward the nude woman to receive the yellow fruit that she is holding in her right hand.

Who are represented by these figures? who by the fruit? Are these representations of Adam and Eve or of the parents? These are the only alternatives that suggest themselves to me and I favor the latter. Let the negative approach be made first. After inspecting more than thirty copies of the *Adam und Eva im Paradies* broadside illustrations,²⁵ I have found no illustration that comes close to resembling this scene, other than in the positions of the male and the female. In this document there is no center tree, no beguiling snake, no red fruit, and no fig leaves. So this cannot very well be an illustration of the second creation story of Genesis. But rather it seems necessary to assume that this is an honest and reverend portrayal of the parents, stripped of all by which this world has clothed them, even as the very first Christians were stripped of this world's habit in order to be born anew through baptism.

But why the yellow fruit? There are two reasons: the color is the symbol of youth and virginity, as was seen in the previous certificate, and the yellow fruit suggests the pear, the symbol of the female, even as the red apple was a symbol of the male. Both aspects of the symbolism are applicable to the child Magdalena for whom this certificate was intended. And what is symbolized by the pastoral scene? Very specifically it shows the mother in the act of presenting to her husband his daughter—to him who shall give her an honorable name—as both walk upon Mother Earth, whose greenness of new life they desire to absorb throughout their body directly, so that their fruitfulness may continue and their household flourish.

²⁴The stag was a favorite motif for the printer Joseph Baumann at Ephrata, Pennsylvania. See Stoudt, p. 208, and particularly p. 224, where it becomes apparent that the author reads the directions of a *Taufschein* as if it were a modern newspaper. Thus he localizes the didactic verse as being on the left when it is on the right on this broadside. Didacticism is of this world but sacrament is of the Other World which the heart of the left side represents. The verse within this heart is the "*Ich bin getauft*" which I have already discussed. Curious that an example of literary lore that appears more frequently with decorations than any other should not be mentioned in a study that purports to explain folk art in terms of the literary tradition.

²⁵For characteristic examples of these illustrations, see Walter E. Boyer, "Adam und Eva im Paradies," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, (Fall-Winter 1956-57, (Vol. VIII, No. 2), pp. 14-18.

²⁰The drawing was directly traced by the author of this certificate which is in his collection.

²¹Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Check List of Pennsylvania Dutch Printed Taufscheins* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, ©1952), p. 12.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²³*Illuminated Manuscripts*, Plate 11.



Diesen beyden Ehegatten, als **Johann Rieff** und seiner ehelichen Haus-
 Frau **Anna Rieff** geborene **Jäppert** ist ein **Tröschlein** zur Welt
 geboren, als **Margdalena Rieff** ist zur Welt geboren im Jahr unjers Herrn **Jesu 1790**
 den **25** tag **December** um **10** Uhr **Herumbloß** im Zeichen des
Löw

In der **Kirch** zum **Leb** und **Brech** des **HERR** **miss** **aufmachten** und **zueinander** in **groß** **Reue** der
verpflichten **lauer** **Wib**, das **unbeschuldete** **beit** der **Geten** zu **suchen**, nach **abscheulich** **Wahnsinn** **erläutern** und **erklären** der **Laube** durch **wehre** **Keu** und **Wuile**, vor der **Christlichen** **Gemeinde**, zur
geordneten **Werkzeug** der **Heiligen** **Laube** **bezeichnet**, und von
und in den **Wahnsinn** **der** **Heiligen** **Geistes**, wie **St.** **Paulus** **lehret**, **2. Tim.** **3.** **2.** **6.**
1791 und **1800** von **wehren** **Wahnsinn** an **unsern** **Heiligen** **Geistes**, wie **St.** **Paulus** **lehret**, **2. Tim.** **3.** **2.** **6.**
1801 und **1800** von **wehren** **Wahnsinn** an **unsern** **Heiligen** **Geistes**, wie **St.** **Paulus** **lehret**, **2. Tim.** **3.** **2.** **6.**
1801 und **1800** von **wehren** **Wahnsinn** an **unsern** **Heiligen** **Geistes**, wie **St.** **Paulus** **lehret**, **2. Tim.** **3.** **2.** **6.**
1801 und **1800** von **wehren** **Wahnsinn** an **unsern** **Heiligen** **Geistes**, wie **St.** **Paulus** **lehret**, **2. Tim.** **3.** **2.** **6.**
1801 und **1800** von **wehren** **Wahnsinn** an **unsern** **Heiligen** **Geistes**, wie **St.** **Paulus** **lehret**, **2. Tim.** **3.** **2.** **6.**

Der **Heiligen** **Wahnsinn** **Johann**
Diese **Margdalena** **ist** **geboren** **und** **getauft** **in** **America**, **im** **Staat**
Frankreich **im** **County** **in** **County** **Launischp**

Wie **ein** **Kind** **geboren** **werden** **ist** **von** **erstem** **Abende** **das** **erste** **Mal** **im** **Jahre** **1790**.
Das **Kind** **ist** **geboren** **am** **25** **ten** **December** **1790**.
Das **Kind** **ist** **geboren** **in** **der** **Stadt** **St. Louis** **im** **County** **in** **County** **Launischp**.

Wie **ein** **Kind** **geboren** **werden** **ist** **von** **erstem** **Abende** **das** **erste** **Mal** **im** **Jahre** **1790**.
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Wie **ein** **Kind** **geboren** **werden** **ist** **von** **erstem** **Abende** **das** **erste** **Mal** **im** **Jahre** **1790**.
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Das **Kind** **ist** **geboren** **in** **der** **Stadt** **St. Louis** **im** **County** **in** **County** **Launischp**.

THE
MAGDALENA
RUTH
CERTIFICATE
(Berks County)
Referred to
as Figure 3
in text.

III. The Magdalena Ruth Certificate

In the Magdalena Ruth certificate (Fig. 3) we note that a somewhat similar relationship is presented between the man on the left and the woman on the right. However, in this instance the man is offering to the woman a glass of wine. This is, of course, reminiscent of the wine drinking in the Friedrich Reichard certificate (Fig. 1). In both cases more than a toast is being drunk. Rather is it the Life-giving Fluid, and since it appears on the left or the masculine side of the document and is to be received on the right or feminine side by the left hand, the Other World character of the Life-giving Fluid, or Creator-God as third parent, is emphasized.²⁹

It must be remembered that trinitarian concepts were more popular among the tutored and the untutored in the eighteenth century than they are among us. Not only was there the taught doctrine of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but there was also the untaught mimetic Thou-I concept of soil, seed and sower. Not only was the Trinity formula used in the opening and closing of congregational worship, but it had to be used in all incantations in order to make them effective. In this document that is being considered, such a trinitarian arrangement prevails horizontally. On the left the father drinks the Life-giving Fluid of the Whole—the undifferentiated—Spirit and is in turn received by the mother who metes out—differentiates—the seed of the Life-giving Fluid and causes it to be born. This is her Christ function, her Wisdom, the Sophia aspect of the Godhead—a concept that Protestant theologians, unlike their Catholic brethren, have had a difficult time rationalizing. And the center heart, bearing the name of the child, is the heart of Father God, into whom the child has been reborn through baptism; or it may be said here as shall be said later, that the child abides in the heart-womb of God awaiting his birth into eternity.

Thus the heart is also central in a meaningful fashion in the vertical progression of the iconography. Beginning at the bottom, the earth side, it must be noted that the heart coincides with the red tip of the central petal of what is commonly called a tulip, and at the top, or heaven side, a flower grows out of the indented central portion of the heart. Furthermore, flowers are growing also from the bottom of the circle in which the tulip is enclosed.

Although it is not the purpose of this essay to explore the symbolical content of the floral decorations appearing on these certificates, it is necessary to do so here in so far as they reenforce and explain the meaningfulness of the human figures as the instruments used by the spirit of the Other World to generate life through the vitalizing power of the Divine Fluid.

In addition the symbolism of number must be brought into the discussion as well. At the risk of being accused of arguing in circles, it is necessary in explaining the symbolism of the number 3 to state that it is the ideogram of generation: that is, the number 1 (masculine) plus the number 2 (femi-

²⁹ See Lichten, p. 221, illustration at lower right for an example that is of the same concept only here it appears in the context of betrothal. Note the single glass. This undoubtedly is the cup of betrothal from which they both drink even as they shall both eat from the same plate at the wedding dinner. This was common practice in Germany as may be seen in A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Aberglaube der Gegenwart*. In Germany the betrothed's glass or plate was broken, which may survive in Pennsylvania Dutch culture in the belief that a broken glass or dish during the moving of a household is an omen of good fortune.



Courtesy New York Historical Society
Watercolor (1831) of Betrothal Ceremony from Frances Lichten, The Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania (New York: Scribner's, 1946), page 221.

nine) results in 3 or the marriage consummated—the only marriage having ultimate status in the traditional opinion of the Church. Furthermore all the flowers on the earth side of the certificate have 3, 6 or 9 petals. All are multiples of the generation number. But the flower on the heaven side has 16 petals—4 yellow and 4 green in the foreground, and 4 red and 4 black in the background. This flower does *not* symbolize generation. It represents power but it is not the power of physical reproduction. The power generated by the coming together of the male and the female is shown by 9, or 3 squared, even as the power on the heaven side is shown in 16, or 4 squared. For our purpose here, it is only necessary to see that 9 is in agreement with the symbolical theme of the power of generation.

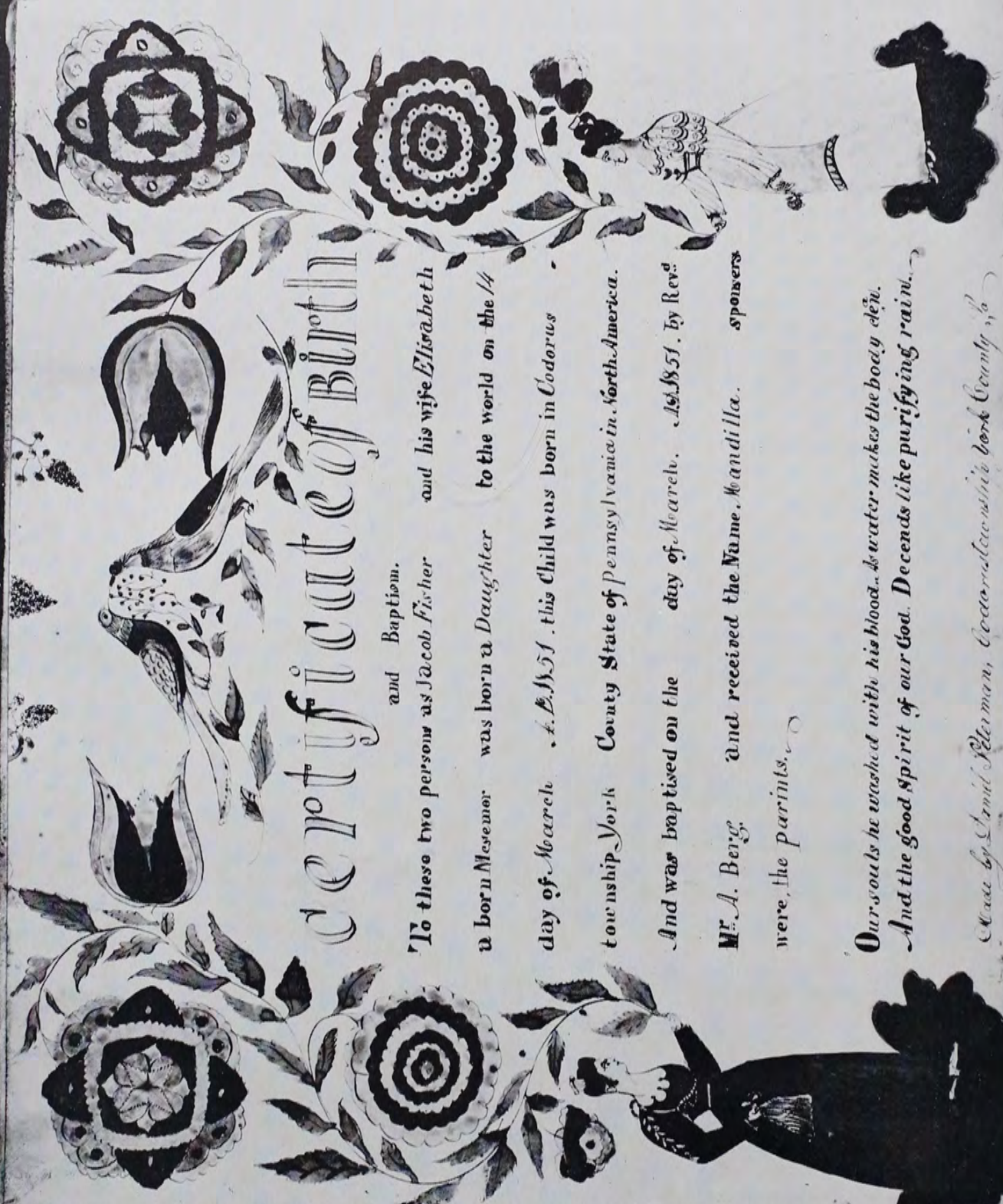
Returning again to the tulip, it is necessary to note that it is centered at the bottom of the circle, that the red petal that rises from the two flanking green ones occupies the central area of the circle, and that all the remaining space within the circle is filled with dots. Thus ideographically the artist says that in the feminine circle there is the erect masculine flower from which the fertilizing seed is cast and out of which the heart, the new life, comes. Thus this motif is symbolical of conjugal love, of the marriage consummated.

This sense of generation of life, or the biological *Bund*, is further expressed by the two flowers that meet at the bottom of the tulip. Since these are 9-petalled flowers, it is shown that the Fluid of Life generated in the conjugal love of parents has been derived from a family of generations in whom life was multiplied, seen, of course, patriarchally rather than matriarchally.

Thus the central heart again represents the child but now as part of the creativity constantly exercised between Upper World of the Heavenly Father and Lower World of the Earth Mother. Above all it represents his earthly life, out of which shall grow his life eternal, and into which he has been reborn by baptism, as was seen above. Thus the role of the human figures on this certificate is to celebrate pictorially the fruit of their conjugal love and to show that this new life came to them through the care of preceding generations, who are now part of the Other World and to which world this new life will, in turn, be taken. This sense of life being taken by the third-parent of the Other World was most strong in traditional folk culture. The death of a "bright" child was always explained in terms of its fitness to enjoy the pleasures of heaven.

THE
MANDILLA
FISHER
CERTIFICATE

(York County)
Referred to
as Figure 4
in text.



Certificate of Birth

To these two persons *Jacob Fisher* and his wife *Elisabeth*
and *Baptism.*

a born *Mesemer* was born a *Daughter* to the world on the *14*

day of *March*. *A. D. 1851*. this Child was born in *Codorus*

township *York* County *State of Pennsylvania in North America.*

And was baptised on the day of *March*. *1st 1851*. by Rev^d

M. A. Berg and received the Name *Mandilla*. sponsors
were the *parents.*

Our souls he washed with his blood. As water makes the body clean.
And the good spirit of our God. Descends like purifying rain.

Done by David Pflerman, Coconrad township York County Pa

IV. The Mandilla Fisher Certificate

The Mandilla Fisher certificate (Fig. 4) is most unusual in its use of human figures. The maker of these decorations leads us further into the mythopoeic explanation of birth and rebirth through the ritual of baptism. In this certificate there is no male figure. Instead there are two female figures who differ from one another principally by what they hold in their foreground hand. Both of them hold in their background hand similar Trees of Life. There are large blooming flowers on each tree, two of which are masculine in composition and two feminine. The woman who has been placed on the left side of the certificate holds in her left hand a small flower, but the woman on the right side holds in her right hand a large blue bag that is reminiscent of the diaper bag that was still being carried by mothers in the Mahantongo Valley in the first quarter of the present century.

These decorations necessitate the exploration of another aspect of birth and childhood in the folk culture. Before an attempt is made to identify these women, it seems to be expedient to try to account for the absence of the male. To begin with, it may be taken as obvious that there is an intimate relationship between mother and child. This was seen in all three of the certificates that have been discussed. In this particular document, the child that is baptized is a girl, Mandilla Fisher. This, in a very real sense, means that the child is more the mother's child than the father's. First, there is the more general reason that the mother, as mentioned previously, had the responsibility of the child's training until the teens. Consequently the sacrament of baptism occurred during the period in which the mother had the greater responsibility for the child's welfare (by contrast, it was the father who gave his consent to the daughter's marriage and gave her away during the ceremony). In the second place, the responsibility for a daughter's behavior, the mother could never relinquish as she could the responsibility for her son's. It is true that the father assumed a more direct concern for his daughter's actions when she reached her teens, yet it was limited for the most part to the safe-keeping of her eligibility for marriage and to the finding of a good provider as her husband. Thus a girl remained at all times the mother's child.

Now in this woman's world the male was an outsider. This was particularly true at the time of confinement. Dr. Fogel records from Montgomery County that on the day the child is born the father and the mother should not speak much with one another.²⁷ In Dauphin County around 1920 there was a great deal of censorious gossip among the women of the town of Pillow, since the Lutheran pastor, who had only recently moved into the community, visited a mother while she was in confinement. It was said that he should have waited until the ninth day, the approved time to leave the child-bed, before visiting her.

While discussing the practices attending child-birth with a woman ninety-one years of age, I asked her if men were always present. She replied that they were present sometimes but not often, that they were in the way, that this was woman's work. Then I asked her how they regarded the doctor's ability. To this she replied that some of them were able to deliver the child correctly but that a mid-wife was better able to do this than a man. She cited an example

of how a child never gained her sight simply because the doctor permitted her to fall into the water over which the mother was being delivered. No woman in her memory had committed such an error. The implication that the Other World was hostile because of the man's presence was conveyed but not confessed.

What was the role of the mid-wife in the Pennsylvania Dutch community? So little is known of what it was a hundred years ago, much less two hundred years ago. Fogel, for example, in his study of folk-beliefs never speaks of the mid-wife. From what I have been able to record at this late date it would seem that there were more women practiced in the art of mid-wifery than we are apt to think and in every case the informants spoke of such a woman with a kind of awe. Throughout the Mahantongo Valley, and seemingly in all parts of the Dutch Country, the midwife was known as *dee Olt Granni*. When asked the question as to how they would ask someone to go for a midwife, the informants responded with *Hoalt dee Olt Granni*. The exception was *Hoalt dee Granni Jane*.

Olt seems to have been compounded with *Granni* not necessarily to designate age but as a word of endearment or affection as well as a word of respect. In the latter sense it is akin to the respect shown to grandparents, which may be the reason why this English form came to be used in the dialect. Yet the respect is more profound, for the *Granni* did not only bring life into the world but she also prepared the dead for burial: *See hut dee doada ousgalaigt*.

From the evidence of the mid-wife's role in the culture and the obvious respect given her, it seems natural that a recognized bond of ownership would exist between the mid-wife and the child and that this relationship would be respected by parents and acknowledged by the community in the same way that the family doctor's role has been accepted and respected. So it is possible that the second woman or the woman on the right side of the certificate is the mid-wife, whereas the mother whose responsibility the child is stands on the left side of the document.

Yet such a conclusion would be tenuous, did not other evidence lead to the same end. Another element of the meaning ascribed to the word *Olt* in *dee Olt Granni* may be determined by the logic of contrast, a cardinal mode of folk thinking. Such a contrast is found in *Jungfrau*, a term used to designate Virgo of the zodiac. Lambert²⁸ gives also the term *Bloomafraw*, which I have found to be a widely distributed term and is translated into English by the bilingualists of the culture as "flower girl." The most obvious contrast is between youth and age, between the innocent and the wise, between one who is innocent of seed and one who is wise in the way of seed. Is there a similar contrast between an association with the flowers and an association with fruit?

It is well known that Virgo or *Bloomafraw* is the most potent sign for the seeding of flowering plants or for the transplanting of "flower-stalks" from the house to the garden in the spring of the year. On the contrary, this is not a good sign for root crops, such as potatoes (a field crop rather than a garden crop), for the "strength of the plant," it is reasoned, "will go into the flower, rather than into the root." In other words, the strength of the root is squandered for a life-pleasing, but not a life-producing, profusion of flowers.

²⁸ Marcus B. Lambert, *A Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: 1924), Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XXX (1924).

²⁷ Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 47, §113.

Essentially, then, the *Bloomafraw* is non-productive, is virginal.

Fogel records an excellent example of this belief, one that he found to prevail throughout the Dutch country and one that he traced to Allemanic sources: "*Bune oder gummere in der Jungfrau geblanzt dun nix wie blie, si henke net a.*"²⁹ which he translates, "Beans or potatoes planted in Virgo blossom profusely but do not bear." Why Dr. Fogel translated "*gummere*" as potatoes is not to be known, for *gummere* are cucumbers and not potatoes. Perhaps he was possessed by a puritanical modesty that prevented him from admitting directly the phallic symbolism. At least by so doing he is confusing the below-ground crops with those that are harvested above ground. Furthermore, anyone who has honestly done field work in this culture and has recorded with an open mind knows that both in song and story cucumbers and beans are used to denote the masculine genitalia. Thus the sign of the *Bloomafraw* is not only a virginal one but also a non-productive one. This concept may be seen in the folk proverb, *Wass goot is en schee Schüssel wenn nix drin is* (Of what value is a nice dish when there is nothing in it).

Should there not have been, however, a term other than *Olt Granni* that antedated the acculturated one? Should there not be one that is more descriptive of the mid-wife's work? From one informant in Schuylkill County, the word *Aernmutter* or harvest mother was recorded. Since mid-wifery was practiced in this family, it is possible that this is the more traditional term. *Aernmutter* is only one of a large group of words of ritual importance associated with the harvesting season. Folk practices gave to the church ritual *Aernkarrich* (Harvest Home worship of best fruits, which were given to the preacher) and *Aernbreddich* (the Harvest Home sermon). Celebrated in the home was the eating of the *Aernkichele* and the *Aernappel*.

Now the *Aernkichele* was the doughnut which, when eaten in the spring of the year, was known as the *Fastnacht*. Because of the lenten restrictions imposed by the Church, the eating of the *Fastnacht* was limited to Shrove Tuesday, but the Church did not succeed as well in coercing the harvest practices of the folk. It was believed that "the coming year's crop will be a failure unless you bake doughnuts at the end of the harvest."³⁰ Thus in the folk culture, the doughnut is a ritualistic food associated with the life cycle of sowing and reaping, specifically the sowing and reaping of wheat—the source of the staff of life.

In this ritualistic eating there are at least three things that should be noted: first, man identifies himself with the Other World by means of a hallowed food (the comparison with the Eucharist is obvious); second, by doing so a person appropriates the Life-giving Fluid and can give in turn the power of that life-giving essence that abides in him; third, the rationale is the desire to continue the cycle of fertility both within the unity of family and fields; and fourth, the ritualistic food is associated with the *Aernmutter* and is thus feminine, even as there is the feminine aspect in the Eucharistic food.

The traditional shape of the ritual doughnut and the manner in which it is to be eaten symbolically expresses the complete rationale. Unlike the modern round doughnut, the traditional one was cut in a square shape. Then it was

turned in a position in front of the baker so that the square would appear as a diamond. A sharp knife was then taken and a slit was cut through the doughnut from a point near the top of the upper corner to a point near the lower corner, or in other words, from the masculine side to the feminine side, from the north to the south, from the sky to the earth. Note that in this respect there is an agreement between the birth-baptism certificates and the doughnuts—they are meaningful in terms of direction.

After the doughnut had been baked and had cooled, the ritual was extended to the manner in which it was eaten. First, it was cut in half horizontally, so that the design would not be destroyed and that the top side would still coincide with the lower. Next, the bottom half was spread with jelly—grape, to my knowledge, was the preferred jelly. After this, the top half was placed on the lower and was eaten much as we presently eat a jelly sandwich. There was this difference though: the doughnut was dipped in coffee as a part of the form I believe, but the depth of the "dunk" varied with the person's appetite or the mother's admonitions.

All of this I have seen my maternal grandmother do, and she had a reputation in the community of doing things correctly. This was a eucharist that I shall never forget, and I have found others who have had similar experiences.

Now there is no doubt about the sexual features of this ritual ceremony but merely to think of it thus and not to consider the mythic context of which it is a part would be the same as saying that the Eucharist is a pot-luck supper served in the sanctuary. The myth always includes the sexual but the sexual does not necessarily include the mythic—as well we know today when the connotation of "myth" in popular speech as well as in some scholarly circles is one of falsehood. Actually, in terms of myth, the doughnut, as *Fastnacht-Aernkichele*, made from the grain of the field and fried in the lard (oil) of hogs (the animal to be eaten at the beginning of the New Year and the form in which the grain-spirit was prone to appear) was the food of regeneration for mankind and through mankind for the fields as well. It was a mystical food that established a Thou-I relationship between the Other World and This World that could not be comprehended in purely moralistic or rationalistic terms. In this context it is interesting to note that the official position of Catholicism is that the receiving of the physical sacrament, with two exceptions, is the absolute necessity of salvation and grants regeneration without exception whether the candidate understands it or not. The insistence that the *Fastnacht* and the *Aernkichele* be eaten so that a prosperous crop and good health would ensue seems to me to be of the same rationale. The emphasis is upon the rite and not the participant, upon the wisdom of the Other World and not upon the work of This World, upon the Thou-art and not upon the I-am. It is not something that one attains, as if it were on top of the totem pole, but it is something one retains, as in the companionship of a common table. It is "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of my enemies; my cup runneth over."

Once this pattern is seen, its relationship with ancient tradition is apparent. When the function of the mid-wife is seen in the context of what the *Aernmutter* connotes, then she is the life-giver both at birth and at death, and is in the meantime, as we shall see later in the last certificate, the life-protector. Furthermore, in this context, the mid-wife of Pennsylvania Dutch culture becomes associated with

²⁹ Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 205, §1020.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 200, §982. And note further the efficacious value of the lard in which the doughnuts have been fried in beliefs §977-980.

the Greek goddess Demeter, who was the protector of the harvest generally and decided the specific fortune of the individual farm family in terms of their recognition of her divine rule.

Pursuing still further the Greek version of the Life-giving myth, her power of liberating life is seen by her success in freeing her daughter Persephone from the Under World. Yet this success was not without its element of failure: before Persephone took leave of her husband Hades, she ate of the fatal pomegranate that he offered her and thereby was fated to return to him for three months each year. Thus Persephone spent the growing season of the year, from the seeding to the end of the harvest, with her mother above ground; and the season of fallowness, with her husband in the Under World. Thus the pomegranate became a symbol of the transitoriness of life and was used as such in the decorative scheme of the birth-baptismal certificate. Almost forty per cent of the printed certificates published by Shoemaker³¹ make use of it, and if the butterfly be added—an additional symbol of transitoriness and change and sacred to Demeter—then the percentage would be even greater.³²

To recapitulate, in Pennsylvania Dutch culture the *Olt Granni* or *Aernmutter* derived her honor through her association with the fructifying earth and the consummation of marriage through childbirth. She delivered life, brought it from darkness into light, even as Demeter brought Persephone from the realm of darkness; and she prepared the body for burial, even as Demeter had annually to take leave of her daughter after the harvest had been taken home.

Another word that I have recorded for the mid-wife is *die Abwartmutter* (the mother who attends to a person's needs). At first it was my belief that this designated only the attendance to the mother's needs while she was confined to the puerperal bed; however, the Reverend Thomas R. Brendle assures me that the term included both the function of delivery and attending the needs of the mother and child during the period of confinement. As was noted previously this period extended for nine days and many taboos attended it. Such a nine-day period is also significant in the Demeter-Persephone tradition. This was the length of time that Demeter sought her lost daughter, and it was only after she had made her distress known to Helios, the sun god, that Persephone was freed. Interestingly enough, there are many folk beliefs that relate the puerperal bed with the day named for the sun. The most widespread belief among the Pennsylvania Dutch that Fogel found was "*Sundaks daerf ken fra aus em kindbett ufschte*"³³ (A woman must not arise from child-bed on a Sunday). In the folklore of Suffolk, England, it is necessary that the mother and child come down stairs for the first time on a Sunday.³⁴ In a conversation with a woman of eighty-two who lives in Dauphin County, I received the explanation that it was permissible for the mother to leave the child-bed on a Sunday as long as she remained in the care of the mid-wife.

Thus *dee Olt Granni*, *die Abwartmutter*, *die Aernmutter*, or as she is also known in dialectical German on the Conti-

nent, *die Erdmutter*,³⁵ no matter by what aspect she is known, controlled the coming of life into the world of time and protected this new life during the period of confinement, when the world of evil would be most active. Using a brown thread, she severed the new life from the old. When a man visited the confinement room, she saw to it that he threw his hat upon the child-bed, so that his intentions were understood (presidential candidates are presently throwing their hats into the ring). She delivered the child over water, for the spirits of the Under World could not cross over water. She first lifted the child upward rather than downward, so that his life-spirit would always move upward and thus eventually be freed from the round of life—death, life—death. When we learn that if a child is called "piggy" it will grow,³⁶ it is remembered that hogs were sacred to Demeter. And seemingly for the same reason, the lard in which the *Fastnachts* and *Aernkichele* were fried kept worms out of the garden if the spade or plow were greased with it, or it kept the weevils out of the grain if the folks or the wagon wheels were greased with it. Or again, if the child's first bath water is thrown upon a growing tree from the attic window, he will become high-minded, then the imitation of the Divine giving of the Life-giving Fluid upon the Life-giving Tree is seen.

It is against such a mythopoeic background that the Mandilla Fisher certificate (Fig. 4) should be considered. The folk artist, Daniel Peterman, decorated this document in the most traditional manner of strict symmetrical arrangement. Yet the two similar women as well as the birds and the flowers reflect both obvious and subtle differences. In both instances, the woman seems to symbolize an aspect of the mid-wife. On the left side, the Other World side, she is portrayed in the joy of her heavenly nature; but on the right side, the This World side, her association is with the earth. Now her mien is fierce, compelling, awesome. This dichotomy is further reflected in the garb and colors with which the two natures are clothed. On the left side, she is dressed in a yellow gown and an apron of orange. These are the colors of the grain harvest and the color of young women as was seen in the Reichard certificate (Fig. 1). Between her breasts there is a decoration of four green leaves that point upward in growth. In her left hand she holds a single flower, an awakened seed rich with life. The flower is round, red and yellow, and is thus a symbol of the daughter for whom this certificate was made. Her Other World nature, or her liberation from the earth's confinement, is emphasized by having her stand on a blue cloud that is completely detached from the lower border. Thus the aspect of the mid-wife that is seen is that of harvesting. She has liberated her daughter from the forces of the Under World and has caused her to stand in the fullness of the charisma of the heavenly light. Of this child who has been meted out to her, she now is mother.

The mid-wife is portrayed on the right side not only as the bringer forth of life but also as the retainer of the seeds of life. This is the aspect of her nature that is reflected in the continental dialect word *Erdmutter*, a word that may have been used in the Pennsylvania Dutch culture but I have not been able to find satisfactory evidence. Nonetheless, *Aernmutter* is adequate. In this place, she is clothed completely in red, the color associated both with blood as the

³¹ See Note 21.

³² The butterfly was a favorite motif of Francis Portzline, who is the illuminator of Fig. 6. Lichten published on page 218 the baptismal certificate he made for J. G. Hackmeister, which is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. In this artifact he also used the partridge, a bird that was also sacred to Demeter.

³³ Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Supplement), p. 346, §1842.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Theodore H. Gaster, *The Holy and the Profane* (New York: Sloane, 1955), p. 38.

³⁶ Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 115. This has been used in my hearing and "This little pig went to market . . ." is well-known.

Life-giving Fluid and with the fertile soil. She wears no apron to suggest the restricted nature of her fertility: she is the mother of all and the *Weib* of no man. Unlike the branch that decorates the dress of the specific mother, the branch here points earthward along the upper arm. In her hand she holds a blue bag in which she retains the seed until the time for a new harvest: it is the reserved seed awaiting the time of new seeding. The seed is carried in the color of the Upper World from whence the seed is fed and watered. But the cloud upon which she stands is attached to This World. She is Mother Earth and her breasts, unlike those of her daughter, are encircled with a necklace of seed. In her bag the seed is reserved and at her breasts it is sustained. So she is the Old Mother, the Harvest Mother, the Earth Mother, the classical *Magna Mater* in whom the seeds of life are retained, undifferentiated, whole, but she is also the motherhood in her daughter in whom the seeds of life are sown, are particularized, are given gender.

On both sides of the certificate the unity of motherhood is shown by the Tree of Life that each one of them holds in her hand: the young mother in her right, the Old Mother in her left. These Trees are similar but not identical. Both include the rounded feminine flower as well as the pointed masculine; both include the squarish flower that is based on the number 4 and thus represents the fullness of earth and the fullness of heaven. The differences that have been found between the two women are reinforced by the dissimilarities of the Trees. Note that the large, round flowers are not alike in the red dot representation of seed: on the young woman's side the flower teems with seed but on the old woman's side the flower is empty. Below these flowers, two more flowers appear. Now the reverse is true, the young woman's flower is empty, but the old mother's flower holds a single seed, and also note that on the branch immediately above her head there is a single, red seed.

What do these dissimilarities connote? Beginning on the Old Mother's side, the large, round flower is empty of seed, for they have all been sown in the soil of the eligible. But the Old Mother has delivered one of these seeds, the petals that had enclosed it have fallen off; thus the flower immediately behind the young mother is empty but the seed appears above the head of the Old Mother. The flower above the Old Mother's head that holds one seed that awaits the time of liberation, in time became the flower that the young mother holds in her left hand and represents her daughter, the Mandilla of the certificate. This particular harvest is fulfilled but in the bag the Old Mother retains the seeds of future harvests, of future generations.

Thus the seasons of the field represent the seasons of life in the family. There was a time to sow and a time to reap, a time to labor and a time to rest; there was a time to be born and a time to die. There was a time to hallow the earth and a time to hallow heaven. There was the Holy Spirit that was mother and there was the Holy Spirit that was father. The whole creative process witnessed the baptism of Mandilla as family, and the whole creative process witnessed it as farm homestead. This is the context of man's traditional worship, Christian or non-Christian. It is the hallowing of the whole earth and the world that lies in the Demeter tradition behind *The Thesmophoriazusae* but that Aristophanes could no longer understand; it is man's identification of his soil with his soul that he brings to the folk

³⁷ Our Lutheran and Reformed union churches preserved and utilized worshipfully so much of this spirit in days now far

rite of Harvest Home, but factored and dogmatized man can no longer do this.³⁷

V. The Hege Certificate

The connotations of the certificate for the daughter of Jacob Hege (Fig. 5) are essentially the same as those of the Fisher one. Although this is a printed document and the woodcuts are the work of various hands, there is, nonetheless, a significant unity of expression. The unifying concept is the same as we have already seen but is now given a more sophisticated, a more literary form.

Dividing the certificate as we have been doing, the center woodcut on the left is of the Magna Mater in the character of Persephone, the *Jungfrau*, the young mother. In conjunction with her right hand there is a tripart motif that in a classical manner expresses the nature for which she is revered. Upon the green earth rests a Doric-like column (masculine) and upon it there is an urn (feminine) of classical shape that holds a flowering plant. Thus at the right hand of the young mother, or Persephone, new life is visualized. The arrangement of the urn and flowers resting upon the earth is characteristic of Heinrich Otto as was seen above.³⁸

Beneath this motif is a woodcut that reinforces this concept. The apples and pear denote respectively the masculine and the feminine. A similar use of these symbols may be seen in Carl Crivelli's *Madonna and Child*. The arrangement of the fruit is obviously phallic. To the right of this arrangement, the Life-giving Fluid is symbolized by the grapes. Thus the motif becomes a Christ-image, representing one phase of God's dialogue with man. This same concept is shown in the Fisher certificate (Fig. 5), where the grapes have been given a trinitarian arrangement in the center of the heaven side of the certificate.

If this left group of motifs has an irenic, an Apollonian spirit, those on the right side—the side of the world—reflect change and conflict, a Dionysian spirit. This is immediately apparent in the facial expressions of the two quite healthy-looking children. The house before which they stand places the entire setting within the vagaries of time. In the midst of this time, there is life and death, the frenzy of wine and the bread of peace, the coming of light and the coming of darkness. The seated child in the foreground repeats the irenic spirit of the left side, the side of the Holy Spirit, and, as will be pointed out anon, the process of change is unactivated. The bearing of the standing child reflects an entirely different aspect. The child stares, as if trying to focus her eyes on a phantom, and the bird that she tries to hold tightly to her breast has freed its wings and is about to fly away.

In this bird that is anxious to depart, the clue to the meaning of the entire motif is found and perchance for the entire certificate. Recalling the confrontal birds of the Reichard certificate (Fig. 1), that is, the dark bird and the light, the bird-soul and the soul-bird, it is apparent that the girl of irenic disposition is still in possession of both birds. Her soul in time and her soul in eternity are still one within her earthly life. However, the child who seems to be

spent: first, by the fact that they worshipped together; second, they celebrated their fields and their vocation at the altar in Harvest Home, and in some instances on Rogation Sunday; they recorded the names of their members by families; and in case the parents did not belong to the same denomination, everyone knew that the boys would join the father's church and the girls would join the mother's.

³⁸ See note 21.

charmed by fate has already lost one of her birds and the other is about to escape, so death is near.

As has been pointed out above, the bird held by the fated child is looking away from her and is trying to free itself in order to fly upward. This is the reverse of the position of the dark bird held by the seated child. Her soul-bird nestles its head against her breast in the position that traditionally signifies long life. The bird-soul, seated on the right arm, although looking upward, needs not to be restrained but contentedly bides its time. The time to fly is not at hand.

Beneath this motif is a woodcut of the pomegranate, both in flower and as ripened fruit. This reflects the ideography of the motif that has just been related and connects the concept with the Demeter-Persephone myth. It is the fruit that caused Persephone to return to the dark-life again. This in the Church tradition is usually put into the context of the Adam and Eve story and expressed theologically "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive," or ritually as "ashes to ashes, dust to dust . . . but the spirit flies upward," or much later, after the parents lost faith and children became bold, "ashes to ashes, dust to dust, if God doesn't get you the devil must." The last form is now quaintly known as a counting-out rhyme.

Imminent death may be the specific reference to the function of this certificate. Although the document has the title *Tauf-Schein*, no information of the baptism of the daughter of Jacob Hege is recorded. In all probability she died before she could be given this sacrament, so after *Namen* the folk artist has placed four dots in the arrangement indicating the four corners of the earth and in the same way that another hand places the dots of fertility in the gown of the mid-wife that appears in the next certificate to be discussed.

Let us now note the angel of the Other World that appears at the top center of the certificate. Although a detailed discussion of this figure is beyond the purpose of this present study, it should be noted that this spirit is Eros, the spirit of love in the Hellenistic tradition. But it is Eros, one of the first gods to enter the Greek pantheon, the deity of love that exists between friends. It is the same spirit that is spoken of in John's Gospel: "Little children . . . a commandment I give to you, that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you love also one another."

This is Eros before he degenerated to the representation of physical love only and thus necessitated the introduction of Psyche into the myth. It is Eros not of the arrow and quiver, but Eros of the myrtle branch, the form of the Tree of Life that is associated with the marriage ceremony.

Eros is the spirit of heaven, ever looking earthward, who "sets the solitary into families." In the family life is born and life dies; and when that which is perfect is born out of darkness and into the world, then that which is perfect is soon taken away, for such is the will of the kingdom of light.³⁹ "Whom the gods love die young."

This is Eros in whom are both the Dionysian and the Apollonian realities. He represents the love of the One God in which Creator and Creature meet as one through the Christ-body and Christ-wine of the Everlasting Covenant. This is the fundamental concept of the hymn *Ich bin getauft*, of which the concept of the *Bund* in the first stanza has already been given. In addition to this first

stanza that has already been quoted, two additional stanzas are added here. They are:

*Ich bin getauft, ob ich gleich sterbe,
Was schadet mir das kühle Grab?
Ich weiss mein Vaterland und Erbe,
Das ich bey GOTT im Himmel hab:
Nach meinem Tod ist mir bereit
Des Himmels Freud und Feyer-Kleid.*

*Ich bin getauft in deinem Namen,
GOTT Vater, Sohn und heil'ger Geist;
Ich bin gezählt zu Deinem Saamen.
Zum Volk, das Dir geheiligt heisst:
O! Welch ein Glück, ward dadurch mein;
Herr, lass mich dessen würdig seyn.*

Now the function of Eros is to be seen in the imagery of the Creator's seed. The sacrament of the seed broadcast in the fields has already been seen in the Demeter context. This was thought of as the horizontal progression of life in time, from the undifferentiated seed of the sowing to the differentiated seed of the harvest. The third stanza, however, is to be seen in terms of the vertical progression from the general outpouring of the seed to the selective ingathering of the elect. It is stated, "I am baptized within your seed unto the folk who call you holy." The water of baptism is here accepted as the Life-giving Fluid of God, "who so loved the world that he gave the only son that he had ever begotten within himself so that all who would submit themselves unto him would not perish but have everlasting life." This was the immaculate conception that was committed to the folk and accepted by them as a blessing for which they desired to be worthy. Each one, thus, was the mother of his own soul and God was the husbandman. Together they would create a soul that was to be a son of God. Eros is here the emblem of such a marriage,—the myrtle betokens the consummation. Thus the vertical progression of the seed is completed: as the seeds in the pomegranate of Persephone germinate and die, so the seeds on the myrtle bough of Christ germinate and live forever and ever. Amen.

VI. The Benjamin Portzline Certificate

This would be a fitting conclusion if it would not be known that more than twenty years later another *Taufschein* was made in which the same ideography appears but is now given more of the Germanic mythic flavor. It is to this certificate that we now turn and with which we shall conclude. It is the work of Francis Portzline and made for Benjamin Portzline sometime around the year of his birth in 1838.

The symbolic purpose of the lone human figure that appears on this document is within the framework of the mid-wife expression that we have seen in the last two certificates. Here, however, she has more of the simple nature of *dee Olt Granni*. In fact she seems to be more of the governess, or the servant, so that the term *Abwartmutter* may be more accurate.

But no matter what particular term is ascribed to her, Francis Portzline makes use of at least two features that were not associated with a human figure in any of the other certificates. Directly related in composition to the mid-wife are the bird-soul of yellow and red and a wreath having berries and leaves of green that point counter-clockwise. Both of these are held in her right hand.

It has already been pointed out that the green earth is

³⁹ Fogel, *op. cit.*, p. 56, §166. A birth certificate in the author's collection records in part the death of an infant in this manner: "He had need of his parents for four days and nine hours" (original is in German).



Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art

THE BENJAMIN PORTZLINE CERTIFICATE

(Referred to as Figure 6 in text)

introduced in these certificates for the purpose of indicating the vitalizing qualities of the good earth. It has nothing to do with the desire to paint a landscape—one had to wait for the academicians to do that. Her dress is a dark blue color and is in harmony with the dresses worn by the widows in the Reichard certificate (Fig. 1). But unlike those dresses, this one is filled with red dots, arranged in an orderly square pattern. So her function is no ordinary one: she is not merely a servant. But rather, the red dots of fertility relate her to the Harvest Mother and the Demeter tradition. Not that she herself can individualize the Life-giving Fluid, for her color is white—the color associated with death. She has died to herself as *Hausfrau* and serves humanity—the *Bund*

—and she prepares the body of the dead for their hallowed return to earth. And since her function is to serve the community in the capacity of delivering life, she wears upon her upper left arm a red and yellow floral insignia that is based on the number four: four rounded petals and four pointed. In her black hair she wears a red ribbon. Above these earth colors she wears a white bonnet, emblematic of the celestial world. Now so much red in the garb of an old Pennsylvania Dutch woman was taboo, as has already been pointed out. Not taboo, however, for any moralistic reasons but for a mythopoeic concept that was more than moral. Neither Philistine nor Pharisee, Puritan nor Prohibitionist has understood this. An old woman as grandmother

did not wear red but as mid-wife she was permitted to do so—in the frame work of the life-giving myth their functions differed and, therefore, their regalia. Clothes, indeed, do not make the man moral but they do announce his role in the community. Society is again becoming conscious of this. Clergymen are no longer creeping back into regalia; it is a stampede. It is to be hoped that after they have gained distinction in collegiate robes, they will accept the traditional garb of the Church, the garb around which has evolved a traditional ritual. But why carp about the clergy? Wall Street favors banker's gray; Broadway, the continental cut. The Big Man on Campus is in Ivy League and I see in the midst of "eager beavers" a Beatnik's beard.

In every certificate that has been discussed the coinciding of the Other-World with This-World has been pointed out. It must be done again, though now it is possible to see both in the context of the mid-wife. Her This-World nature has already been pointed out; her Other-World nature must be amplified. Notice that in her right hand, her Christ hand, she holds a green crown of life in which there are small red berries. The leaves point to the right of the certificate which would indicate the absolute goodness of the life of the Other-World into which the child Benjamin has been baptized. Perched above the wreath is the heavenly bird-soul. The position in which it has been placed indicates long life, but he is alert, nonetheless, as he awaits his counterpart, the soul-bird.

Thus the iconographer Portzline introduces an additional concept to the nature of the mid-wife. She not only has control over the physical well-being of the child but in her hands are the promises of the spiritual life as well. At her hand the child's I-am meets the parent's I-am and the union of We-are is attained. Here she exercises her Demeter power to harvest the fields into families. But also at her hand, the child's I-am meets God-Father's I-am and the union of We-are is attained. Thus she becomes a profound Christ-image and it may now be understood why the old people today speak of her in awe.

A profound unity is expressed in her here. The Other-World and This-World, the celestial *Bund* and the temporal *Bund*, are one. The Kingdom of God that is without and the Kingdom of God that is within meet in the unity of Now. Call it mystical if you will, but it is not the mysticism that comes by way of denial but by way of identification. Call it erotic if you will, but then do not assign this eroticism to the ego, or the id, or the super ego. Call it irrational if you will, but then remember that when the mathematician gets to the root of matter he meets the irrational and despairs to define it.

This conjunction of the two worlds is symbolized again and again throughout the decoration. Four is the number that prevails. Its most elaborate form is in the floral disk at the top center of the certificate. In the first circle around the yellow center are four red petals and four blue with the red representing the earth in the dominant position; but in the second circle the blue indicates the four basic positions and the red petals are flanked by the yellow ones indicating innocency and light. Four and eight are also found in the decorations immediately beneath the heart. Eight in the horizontal position is not only the mathematician's sign for infinity but also the folk artist's sign for cosmic regeneration in time and eternity. As such it appears as the most popular design that is sewn on the borders of quilts.

However, the diagram within the heart is of the figuration

and number of regeneration through conjugal love with the feminine form prevailing in an arrangement of six flowerets of four petals each. Since this appears within the heart that bears the name of the child and as has been discussed above, Eros is seen in the nature of the family and the nature of God. And finally, the Trees of Life that grow out of the earth grow up into the Other World. There they are surmounted by the ravens of Odin, where they serve as the informants of the affairs of man.

Thus the prevailing theme of the decorations is one of the unity and harmony of the eternal and the temporal, of the divine and the conjugal generation, of the I-am and Thou-art. In the midst of this life, of this harmony, stands the mid-wife, the deliverer of this life at birth and at death. She remains at all times the guardian of that life and retains the promise of the peace to come. Today her career has been assumed by many specialists but the love that was once her nature is seen now in a mirror darkly—very darkly.

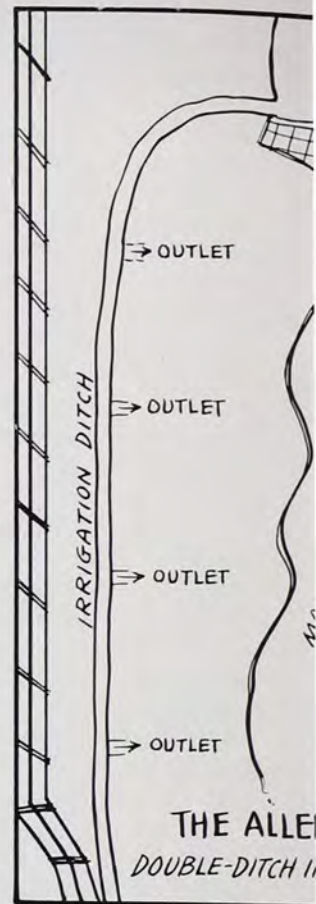
Six Pennsylvania Dutch *Taufscheine* in which human beings appear have been presented. Throughout the study an attempt has been made to identify these figures, to understand the meaningful function they perform in the context of the document's purpose, and in the light of this meaningful function, to attempt to explain the nature of the culture of which, it is believed, they were a communicative part.

As to the first, the human beings have been identified as mother, father, god-parents, widows, young married couple, young unmarried couple, children, mid-wife, and musicians. The mother appeared in all the certificates but the Portzline one and the father was in three—the Reichard, Beyer, and Ruth certificates. God-parents were identified in the Reichard certificate only, and it was only in this document that the young unmarried couple, the young married couple, the widows, and the musicians appeared. A young child was seen in the Reichard decoration and two children in the Hege. The mid-wife was found in two of the documents, in the Fisher and the Portzline.

It has been concluded that the iconographic function of these figures in the context of birth and baptism was to celebrate the unity of the *Bund* and kinship with generations that have passed and with those that are to come (Reichard and Fisher certificates), to acknowledge and sanctify parentage (Reichard, Beyer, Ruth, and Hege), and to recognize and honor the role of the mid-wife and to express her power (Fisher and Portzline). Furthermore, in the context of the accompanying decorations the following assertions have been made: (1) that all six certificates must be read in terms of masculine and feminine, the top and left sides being masculine and the bottom and right being feminine; (2) that the top side is equated with the Other-World and the bottom with This-World, the left side with the Holy Spirit and the right with Christ; (3) that parentage was celebrated as a gift of the Life-giving Fluid whose nature was of the Other-World—as wine in the Reichard and Ruth certificates, as grapes in Fisher and Hege, directly from the earth in Beyer, indirectly through the mid-wife in Portzline; (4) that a child was part of the Tree of Life in the Reichard, Fisher, and Portzline certificates, but as part of the Tree of Life in terms of fruit in Beyer and Hege and as flowers for the most part in Ruth; (5) that the mid-wife was the liberator of life and the guardian of life in Fisher and Portzline documents; and (6) that the birth and baptism were celebrated in the context of continuing life in the Reichard and Fisher certificates.



The dam wall in Allebach meadow.



Meadow Irrigation in Pennsylvania

By **ROBERT C. BUCHER**

Since very little has been written on the subject of meadow irrigation, it will be defined as a method for increasing the yield of hay and pasture from our meadows by supplying them with additional water from a dam which fed an open ditch or ditches for conveying water to almost all parts of the meadow.

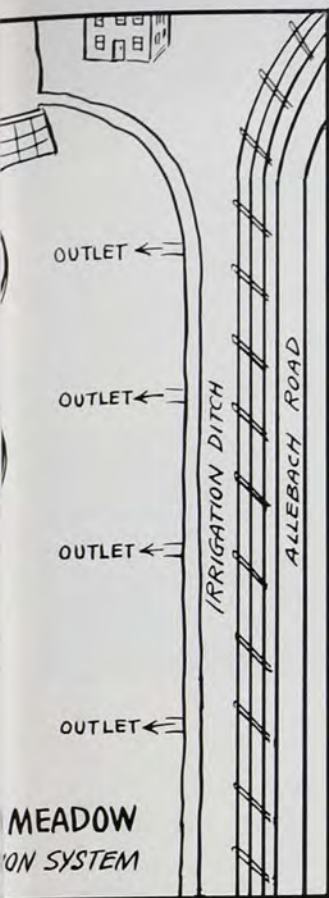
This article is intended as an introductory work on this 18th and 19th century practice, reporting and recording the customs and folklore from the lips of a number of people who remember meadow irrigation from their boyhood, and can describe the practice as it was used in meadows where the dams and ditches can still be observed in 1960. We have interviewed possibly fifteen people in Bucks, Montgomery, Lancaster, Lebanon and Berks Counties and have photographed five of the better examples of irrigated meadows in this area. The results of these interviews along with photographs and sketches are being given in this article. References from the library of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society and from other libraries are also quoted. Five of the most typical irrigated meadows are described herein and a discussion is given of the origins of meadow irrigation, the terminology used, practices followed, tools used, construction followed, and philosophy advocated.

In the future it is planned to broaden our knowledge of meadow irrigation by examining larger areas of Pennsylvania,

by searching our libraries for additional reference material and by interviewing more people over a larger area. It is particularly desirable to learn how the ditches were laid out to get satisfactory flow of water and maximum meadow coverage, what tools were used in lay-out and construction and what philosophy and customs existed during the 18th century.

My interest in meadow irrigation began six or seven years ago when I began to read James Y. Heckler's *History of Harleysville and Lower Salford Township* and became intrigued by the references to irrigating the meadows of my native Lower Salford Township. It was a new subject for me and I carefully noted every reference that dealt with the water rights on the historic Price farm, the ditches along the gentle "Little Branch" and with Jacob Reiff's mile-long race called facetiously the "Irish Dam" because the muskrats continually dug holes in its banks and caused it to become ineffective.

The days of Pennsylvania's pioneers took on new meaning for me as I paused in my reading to reflect how the English settlers in Chester County in the late 17th century "deaded" the big trees by "ringing" them with an ax so there would be sufficient sunlight between them to mature the first crop of winter grain planted crudely in the rough soil, how our early local settlers Heinrich Frey and Gabriel Shuler walked 25 miles through the wilderness from Germantown to Lower Salford to seek out and settle on our gentle meadows along the "Little Branch," and how the farmers depended on



Irrigation ditch can be seen along the fence in the Allebach meadow. Other ditch follows line of trees on left.

meadows for wintering their cattle because they did not know that grass could be grown in the fields until about 1800.

As I reflected the answers came to explain why the first settlers in our area bought the land along the streams and built their log cabins in the meadow by the spring. Here was sustenance for man and beast. The meadows were highly prized and a man could support only as many cattle as his meadow would nourish. To have a large meadow meant milk and butter to supplement the grain and flax from the fields, therefore, it is no mystery why the pioneers soon began to expend much effort in building dams and digging ditches to irrigate their meadows.

But where did our ancestors get the idea for meadow irrigation and how long was it practiced in Pennsylvania? We know they came from Europe with a very high esteem for meadow land and sought it eagerly when they bought their land. The Germans and possibly other settlers from the continent seem to have been the first to practice irrigation in Pennsylvania, as will be shown from one of our references in this article. The English did not seem to have followed this practice in their native isles and were surprised when they saw irrigation practiced here. We must, therefore, conclude that this practice was brought from Continental Europe.

Most of our records would indicate that irrigation was not practiced in the earliest years after settlement but began around 1750 or slightly later. In this we may be mistaken, however, since there were few land transfers before this period and the water rights were not recorded until land was transferred. In one other matter we can be more certain, namely, that meadow irrigation was widely practiced in Eastern Pennsylvania, for we have found irrigation ditches

in every county we have checked, in Bucks, Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster and Lebanon. It is our opinion that the Pennsylvania meadows were irrigated from the Delaware to the Susquehanna and possibly west of the Susquehanna.

Meadow irrigation was practiced to some extent until about 1910, in one case until 1948 and may even be practiced at present in parts of Pennsylvania. There are a number of people living in Eastern Pennsylvania who remember engaging in this practice and have given me much information on the subject. The major interest in meadow irrigation seems to have been lost after 1800 when the uplands became more productive and were used more and more to grow grass. After 1800 the meadows gradually lost their 18th century importance and meadow irrigation decreased until it was almost non-existent by 1900. We believe that the meadows that continued to be irrigated until 40 or 50 years ago were the ones best suited for this practice, having the best water supply and the gentle slopes required for efficient distribution of the water over the meadow. The examples selected for this article are all of this type and tend to lend credence to this idea.

*The Allebach Meadow, Near Harleysville,
Montgomery County*

My first interview on this subject was with Romanus Allebach who has an excellent memory and recalls many of the practices and customs of the 1890 period. As a boy Mr. Allebach lived along the "Little Branch," one mile south of Harleysville, next to the farm now owned by his son Preston. This is the valley settled early by the Freys, the Shulers, the Reiffs, and the Freeds. These meadows are probably the most typical of the irrigated meadows described in this article because they have the small stream flowing through the center of the meadow, the dam near the point where the creek enters Mr. Allebach's land and the two irrigating ditches running the full length of these meadows, with the ditches being just inside the fence on each side of



The "lower" dam, main source of water for the Denver irrigation system.

the meadow. These ditches and their dam or source of water are easily recognized today and were in use until about 1895.

The small dam of quarried stone which held the water supply for irrigating these meadows was about 14 feet across and 4 feet high. The ditches opened just above the dam wall, as shown in the sketch, and were controlled at that point by the usual sliding wooden gate. These ditches were of the usual width of about 3 feet and were about 2 feet deep. The side exits which permitted the water to flow from the ditches toward the center of the meadow were spaced about 50 feet apart. There was very little force behind the water in these channels because of the gentle slope of these meadows.

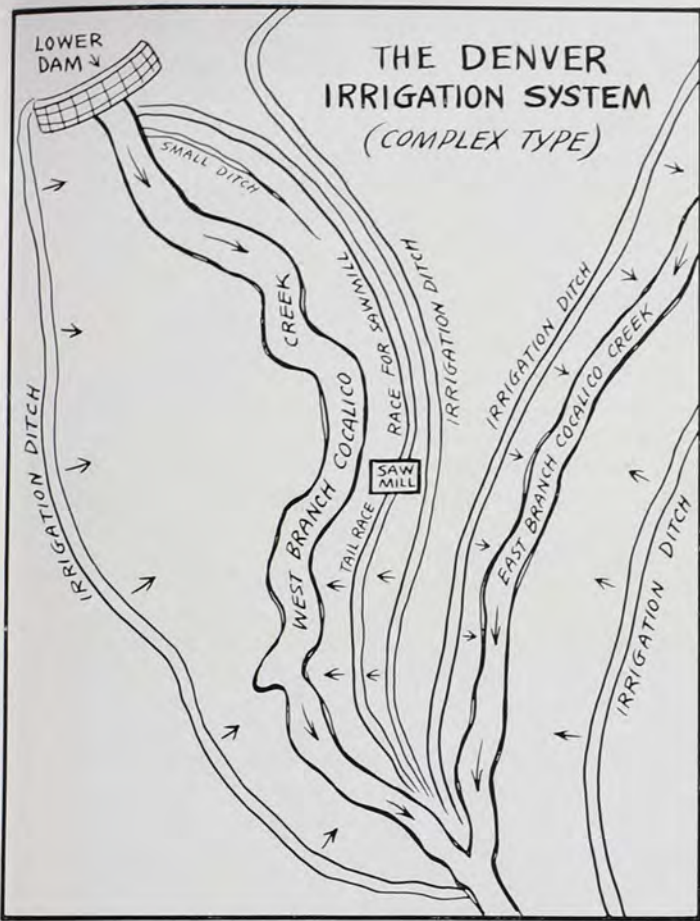
Mr. Allebach said there were no cows allowed in this meadow—"Why, they would spoil the ditches!" The hay was cut by hand and raked with small rakes by members of the family and by neighbors. Sometimes, he said, a large rake (*shinnerhannes*) was used with several persons dragging it to put the hay into piles. In Montgomery County the product of the meadows was called "*shvomm hoy*" and much of this was sold to pay taxes, etc., and much fed to the horses.

When did they clean the ditches? "Why, in the fall, of course, and it had to be done before corn husking." Now, any farmer knows why the ditches were cleaned before corn husking—this meant that the job was done promptly because corn husking came before rabbit season, which opened on November 1st, and no young farmer could go hunting unless the corn husking had been finished. It would appear from this custom of prompt fall cleaning of the ditches that the value of irrigation was still appreciable in this area until 1880 to 1895. Mr. Allebach said that the water was stopped from flowing through the channels several weeks before haying so the meadow would be dry during hay making. As time became available, after the hay was put into the barn, they reopened the ditches. He said the ditches were cleaned using a shovel and that moles ("*maulwarrefel*") caused considerable damage to the ditches.

Bucher Thal and Denver—Lancaster County

The best example of meadow irrigation I have found is the site of the borough of Denver in Lancaster County. This area was originally known as Bucher Thal (Bucher Valley) and probably had the finest meadows and the most elaborate system of irrigation in Pennsylvania.

Let us try to imagine a dam in the hills above (north of) the borough with four irrigation ditches starting near the dam and following the hillsides on both sides of the west branch of the Cocalico Creek. The single ditch on the west side of the creek began just above the dam wall as shown in the sketch, crossed the road west of Bucher's saw mill above the turnpike and followed the west side of the creek well down into the present borough. On the east side of the dam the three (or more) channels follow along the sides of a rather steep wooded hillside and are hidden from all but the persistent explorer. These ditches, which were abandoned over a hundred years ago, are of such a length and are so high up on a curving, wooded hillside that very few people would believe they are there if their courses at the saw-mill were not so obvious. The uppermost of these ditches apparently collected water from the hillsides and ran just above the race for the saw mill, which was led from the main stream about 40 feet below the dam. The third ditch below was smaller than the other two, was taken from the main stream next to where the saw mill race entered its channel and apparently was used to irrigate the meadow below the dam. (An interesting stone wall running almost horizontal to the main stream separates the saw mill race and the lowest ditch.) The upper ditch and the saw mill race are large channels that run side by side until they reach the site of the saw mill (just above the turnpike and present Denver park) about three-fourths of a mile below the dam. From this point the tail race of the sawmill took what seems to be a middle course through Denver park, while the upper ditch followed a course as high as possible behind the pavilion in the present Denver park, near the



backstop of the present baseball field and then down the entire length of the borough, near the present main street, until it reached what was Bear's Mill south of town. At this point the east and west branches of the Cocalico meet.

As shown in the sketch, there were also irrigation ditches on both sides of the East Cocalico branch, with the result that almost the entire present site of Denver was irrigated except for the center of town which was too elevated to be watered. As described in Dr. John's history, the most westerly of these ditches followed close to the present railroad line through Denver.

From the dam in the hills the water of the Cocalico falls from a great height to provide a tremendous "head" of water for operating the grist mills and saw mills and for irrigating the broad meadows. This is the reason that the Denver area was dotted with stone grist-mills and explains why the irrigation ditches are so high upon the sides of the meadows that the present-day observer can scarcely believe that water would flow through them.

The next thing noted by the observer is the length and width of these meadows. Since there were irrigation channels on both sides of the east and west branches above their junction, and since the meadows south toward Reamstown, through the Bear and Ream lands were also irrigated, it appears that the Denver meadows were a mile or more in width at some points and that the length of this irrigation system was at least two or three miles. This will give us some idea of the scale of the practice at Denver, the work involved in building and maintaining the races, the labor that must have been used during hay-making and the value

*Remains of large ditch still visible in Denver Park.
This ditch followed course of present main street.*



of the hay produced, so that farmers from the rich Pequea area and from "Haina Thal" were induced to sell their fertile lands to come to the Denver valley.

The following description of the Denver meadows is taken from that good *History of Bucher Thal and Denver* by Dr. J. R. Johns of Denver and published there in 1896.

About the year 1729 the family of Hans Bucher and others pushed their way northward along the Cocalico creek into the wilds of Cocalico township and selected for their future home a most promising valley, which was to become known as "Bucher Thal" (Bucher's Valley). The borough of Denver is now located in this valley.

The Meadows

A century ago Bucher Thal was noted for its excellent meadows. These extended great distances along both the East and the West branches of the Cocalico. By extending and improving the many savannahs, the early settlers from the first made great changes each year till their meadows were widely known and a great attraction to those who sought improved lands.

Several years before the beginning of the present century, when these meadows reached the height of their value, they embraced nearly the entire site of Denver. Among the new-comers who bought improved lands at this time was a man who had sold his rich lands in Pequea because he had no meadow and another who sold out in "Haina Thal," Berks County, to come into the land that afforded fine meadows.

Irrigation Employed

By a most elaborate system of irrigation, kept in profit at the cost of much time and hard labor, all the water from Bucher's dam, now Hacker's, was made to spread over many acres of land lying on opposite sides of the west branch from the above dam to Bear's Mill. To accomplish this three races were dug. One was led from each side of the dam, while the third was the tail race of the saw mill and was made to take a middle course.

Parts of these water courses can still be traced though abandoned for upwards of eighty years; some, indeed, for one hundred years. That from the northeast side of Bucher's dam and the one brought from the dam now known as Hershey's in the east branch, extended farthest and added most to the value of the meadows now the site of Denver. The race from the west branch crossed the road above Bucher's saw mill (now Weinhold's) passed close by the old house of John Bucher, followed a serpentine course along the slope of the hill as high up as possible, passed the site of J. M. Brubaker's buildings west of town a goodly distance above the house, reached a point now at the foot of Marburger Bros.' lots, thence curving strongly to the left it passed above the site of the pavilion in Denver park, where a long section still remains. It terminated near the old mill. The race from the east branch of the Cocalico followed for a long distance the course pursued many years later by the railroad. South of the cemetery the Cocalico has eroded its west bank till the stream is in the course of the old race. From Martin Hacker's ice house where its course is readily traced, the race curved to the right and passing on beyond the mill road above the residence of Cyrus Regar watered the meadows where the upper dam now is.

On the east side of the east branch a race was opened, probably from the present saw mill dam near the stone siding, which ran southward by the home of Michael Bear (now David Eberly's) toward Bear's burial ground into the

land of the Bixlers. It watered all the flat, converting it into the finest meadow.

The meadows west of the mill belonged to Joseph Mishler, Christian Wenger, John Bowman and John Bucher. In 1795 these gentlemen completed articles of agreement by which John Bucher was paid £100 sterling by the other three for their privilege of using the water from his dam. By this agreement each man received the use of the races on certain specified days of each week from April 1 to September 1. The races were thoroughly cleaned out each autumn when all joined hands for the great task before them.

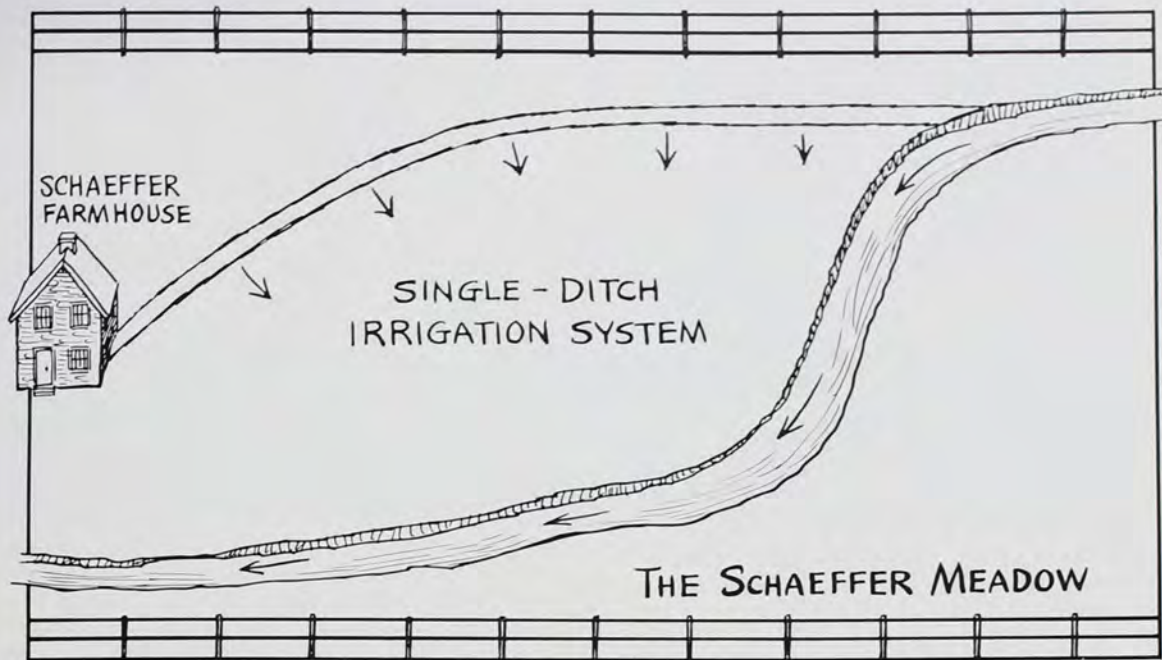
Great Joy and Hard Work

As timothy and clover were not introduced as a hay producer before 1800 and in many places were not adopted till many years later, the farmers were wholly dependent upon their meadows for their hay supply. This accounts for the great amount of labor expended annually upon them and the just pride with which the farmer contemplated his beautiful meadow. And they were truly a perennial joy! During the winter they were covered with ice, and often with many merry skaters. When the warm days of spring returned, and seasons of rain and floods once more laid bare the greensward to the invigorating rays of the summer sun, the beautiful green stretching farther than eye could see gave greatest promise. Then came the busy, yet joyful, season of hay making. With great Dutch scythes the men rolled together thick swaths while the boys and maidens followed spreading the grass to dry. Then came tedding, and raking into windrows, and the making of hay-cocks, and diverse sundries till the hay was ready for the mow. Then the wagon followed the higher grounds, while the whole family came out to rake, the men carrying the hay long distances to the wagon. After weeks of hard work, lengthened by days of rain or destructive floods, the meadows were cleared. Then the sluices were again opened and the meadows well watered. Thus the second growth of grass was soon a crop of richest mowing and another lot of feed was hauled into the barn. Then came the excellent fall pasturage and the rich yellow butter, best of all the year's product.

The Meadows Neglected

With the introduction of timothy and clover the meadows were gradually neglected. In many instances these new fangled hay yielders were regarded with great opposition. Timothy was said to kill the land. In addition to all this clover had many features which were the most disadvantageous. In the first place the seed was frightfully dear, ranging as high as twenty and even forty dollars per bushel. When matured special machinery was required to hull it. Clover seed hullers were first introduced as parts of the custom mill outfit and were few and very far between. The huller nearest Bucher Thal was the one in Bechtel's Mill, now Shober's. But in face of all this the more progressive farmers grew large crops of field hay before 1820. Indeed, prior to this the many expensive water courses to be seen all around the lap of the valley, now called Denver, were pointed out to voters from the eastern part of the great township of Cocalico plodding their way toward Schoeneck on election day, as relics of the elaborate system of irrigation, nowhere more perfect, brought to its climax at the beginning of this century.

Joseph Mishler, who had expended the price of an ordinary farm, more than three hundred and fifty-five pounds sterling, for the several rights by which he was enabled to "water and



refresh his meadow ground," not to mention the outlay entailed by cleaning, grading, draining, ditching, fertilizing, repairing, etc., which defies estimation, saw the end of his meadow's usefulness and its speedy decline into the most ordinary pasture land. It was this decline that made the new dam at Bear's Mill a possibility.

A part of Wenger's meadow was always called the "Sour meadow." Being too level to drain sufficiently nothing grew here but "sour grass" properly called penny grass. Prior to 1820 Jacob Gress bought the sour meadow and built a house in the midst of it, in the face of all the ridicule heaped upon him. But time showed the wisdom of his choice for many shops of importance to Denver sprang up on this site. [End of quotation from Dr. Johns' history.]

The Schaeffer Farm—Schaefferstown—Lebanon County

On the historic Schaeffer farm just west of Schaefferstown is a typical meadow irrigated by a single channel running along the high side of the meadow, with the creek following a winding course at the other side of the meadow. In this type of plan the width of meadow watered by the single ditch is generally greater than when the stream runs through the center of a meadow and there are two ditches. Both the Schaeffer and Weaver meadows illustrate this single ditch and wide meadow type of irrigation system.

The creek entering the Schaeffer meadow makes a rather sharp bend to the left at this point and swings to the opposite side of the meadow. Thus by a simple dam in the creek the water can be made to follow a straight course from the creek bed directly into the irrigation ditch; as a matter of fact, some water would probably flow into the irrigation ditch without any damming of the creek whatsoever.

The single ditch runs along the high side of the meadow, near the fence, and gradually turns lower on the slope until it reaches the farm house at the other end of the meadow and seems to head directly toward the house. It was speculated that the water may at one time have been run through the house, for a still was supposed to have operated in the cellar of this interesting house in the early days.

The meadow on this farm was irrigated until 1920 or 1925 and this practice is remembered by the Rev. J. D. Baeken-

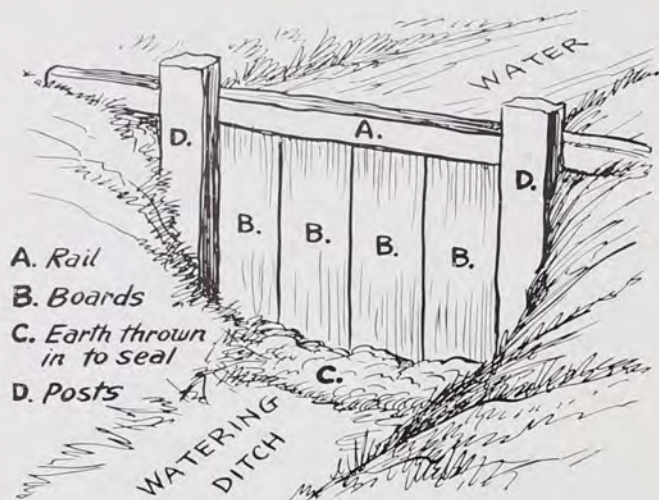
stose and by the Rev. Thomas R. Brendle. Mr. Brendle, who lived on this farm as a boy, gives us the following details concerning the meadow. The channel was dammed by placing boards three or four feet wide into grooves in the sides of the channels and these boards were moved from the head of the meadow toward the lower sections so that all of the meadow was watered. They were careful not to get the meadow too wet or the orchard grass (*boongart graws*) would grow excessively and this was not desirable. They had much trouble with muskrats damaging the channels and Brendle remembers an old man from Schaefferstown coming to the farm with a dog and a pole to destroy the muskrats. Brendle also remembers crossing the meadow on the top rail of the fence to reach the Schaefferstown store without getting wet shoes.

This meadow was cleaned in the spring using a shovel and a post spade (*post eisa*). The farmer and one assistant cleaned the ditches. The meadows were mowed by machine but the area along the ditch had to be mowed with a scythe which was regarded as an unpleasant task.

On the old farm below there was a dam in the meadow just above the barn and two irrigation ditches were led from this dam, the one flowing past the horse trough in the barnyard.

Weber Thal (Weaverland) Lancaster County

Heinrich Weber came into this pleasant and fertile valley in 1717 and the area took his name, now being known as Weaverland. The "great house" built by the Webers (now Weaver) in the 1760's is the only main house known by the writer to have the original red tiles still on the roof. The meadow of Frank Weaver, on the homestead, and the meadow of his relatives next door, where Joseph M. Weaver lives, were irrigated until 1948 when the "boys," (Joseph M. Weaver's sons), discontinued the practice because it was too much trouble to clean the ditches. "*Ich hob es gadoo so long oss ich gabowert hob, awver vee de boova awg'fonga hen bowera es var'na tsoo feel droovel far dee (graiva) ousbootsa*" (I did it as long as I farmed, but when the boys began to farm it was too much trouble to clean out the ditches.).



This small dam in the Weaverland irrigation ditch diverted water to cover the meadow. Dam was moved periodically to permit watering entire meadow.

Joseph M. Weaver explained the system in use in the Weaverland meadows. Here, as on the Schaeffer farm, we have a single ditch along one side of the meadow with the stream running through the far side of the meadow. Thus one ditch was called on to water a wide stretch of meadow. There was a dam in the meadow above, which can still be seen. The dam wall was about fifteen feet long and about four feet high. From the one side of the dam a single ditch followed one side of the four or five meadows for a distance of possibly 1,500 feet.

Mr. Weaver told us that three families used this irrigation system and each had the use of the water for one week at a time. Each family cleaned the part of the ditch in his own meadow but all joined hands to clean the "*koompany grayva*." "*See sin tsoomar gonga far dee koompany graiva bootsa, fom domm tsoo der erschda viss*" (They went together to clean the company ditches, from the dam to the first meadow.). It took one man about two days with a shovel to clean the part of the ditch in his own meadow and six or seven men cleaned the "*koompany grayva*" in one or two days' time.

The ditches in Weaverland were always cleaned in the fall after corn husking was finished. "*Mer hen dar graiva immer gabootst im harbsht, vee mer fottich varn velshkonn boshda*" (We always cleaned the ditches in the fall, when we were done husking corn.). The irrigation ditch was opened to water the meadows of Weaverland on the first nice day in Spring and in some years two crops of hay were taken from the meadows. In other years one hay crop was made and grazing followed this first crop. Mr. Weaver called the second crop "*awmet*," and said nothing was as good as meadow hay for chicken nests. "*Sis nix so goot fer hinkel neshder oss vissa hoy*" (There's nothing as good as meadow hay for chicken nests.). He said they had crops of grass four teet tall in the meadow as a result of irrigation.

Joseph Weaver told us that his grandfather advised the family to continue to irrigate the meadows because irrigating kept the meadows fertile, "*Mei gross-dawdy hut gsawt, meer sutta es viss vessera oofholda, es dait dee viss foodera udder mishda*" (My grandfather said we should keep on watering the meadow, it would nourish or manure the meadow.).

He explained how wooden baffles were placed in the ditches at intervals to force the water from the sides. Two posts four feet apart were driven into the sides of the ditch and a rail nailed across the top of these posts. Three or four boards were placed vertically across this rail into the water and ground was thrown against the boards to provide a seal. To open this baffle one board, near the center of the ditch, was removed.

The Lincoln Meadow—Berks County¹

In 1739 Jonathan Robeson transferred one thousand acres of land in Berks County to Mordecai Lincoln, the great-grandfather of President Abraham Lincoln. Mordecai died in 1753 and his land was divided, one third going to each of three sons. Some of this land was then sold to others and in 1769 Jacob Bechtel, presumably, demanded an abstract of title.

A commission was appointed, who made their decision on April 20, 1769, whereby each land owner became legally the owner of the lands he occupied. The commission also had another duty to perform: (to award and order) "of what proportion of the water of the Great Creek (now called the Antietam) running through the land under the will aforesaid each of the said parties, their heirs and assigns, shall have and respectively hold, also the proportion of the charge each of them, his heirs and assigns, shall pay toward keeping up and maintaining the race or water course now used for conveying the water of the said creek in and along, likewise to award and order where a dam and new race or water course shall be made for turning the water aforesaid into the said race now used within the line of the said tract at the upper end thereof, and the proportion of the charge each party shall pay toward making and maintaining the new dam and race."

The solutions to these problems by the commission were rather ingenious, at least in the method of computing the proportions requested in the agreement. By its report, the week was divided into twenty-one parts, as far as time was concerned, and each of the owners was adjudged to be entitled to a fraction thereof. To quote the document in full would be redundant; however, the following will suffice to show how the water was divided: "we do award and order that the said race or water course and water be held and enjoyed in the following manner: that is to say, from the first day of the month called March until the sixteenth day of the month called October yearly and for every year forever, the said Mordecai Lincoln, his heirs and assigns, shall hold and enjoy as much of the said race or water course as is above his own land, and all the water of the said creek seven full twenty-one parts of the time in every week . . ." To this can be added an additional clause, from later in the same document: "and further we do award and order that each of the said parties, his heirs and assigns, shall have and take his proportion of the water awarded as above successively and at one time only each week." In the same manner the award was made for each of the owners as follows: to Michael Seister four twenty-one parts of the week, to Jacob Bechtel three twenty-one parts, and to Abraham Lincoln seven twenty-one parts. It is to be noted that they must

¹ This material is taken from an article entitled "Irrigation. Another Berks County First?" by Edwin B. Yeich, published in the July-September 1952 issue of the *Historical Review of Berks County*, Volume XVII, Number 4.



Tall grass on left marks old irrigation ditch on Mordecai Lincoln homestead.

have been rather meticulous in observing the time allotted, for another source bears this clause: "shall have free right and privilege to take the water . . . the last twenty hours of the time . . ."

In accordance with the further provisions of the articles of agreement, and in addition to those dealing with water rights, the commission made further awards and orders. By them, all of the parties to the contract, or any one of them, were empowered to enter the lands of Abraham Lincoln, through which flowed the Great Creek, for the purpose of building a new dam and a race connecting this dam and the race already in use, the dimensions and location, within certain limits, being designated. In addition a passageway or freeboard was provided for, along each side of the race, so that anyone could have access to all parts of the water course when repairs were needed. Each was designated to keep in repair the section of the race within his own lands, and if anyone failed to do so, the others had the right to enter and make the necessary repairs. All costs were to be borne in proportion as each had the right to water time.

Discussion

Being curious about the continental origin of our irrigation practices, I inquired of Claus Bandholz who lived on his father's farm as a boy, near Schlichting, in Schleswig-Holstein in northern Germany.

This country had large barns because the cattle were always indoors during the severe winters and much hay was needed to winter the cattle.

They had permanent meadow which was not plowed for hundreds of years. This permanent meadow is called "*Dauerweiden*." The grazing meadow was called the "*Weiden*" and was used to fatten cattle or to pasture milking cattle. This meadow produced grass of such quality that 600 pounds could be put on a two-year-old steer in one season.

The hay meadow was called "*die Wiese*" and is the same word used in Lancaster County today to describe their meadows. The Lancaster County people pronounce the word as though it were spelled "*wiss*." In Germany some people used these "*Wiesen*" in rotation and others for a hay crop only. This was a more temporary meadow and

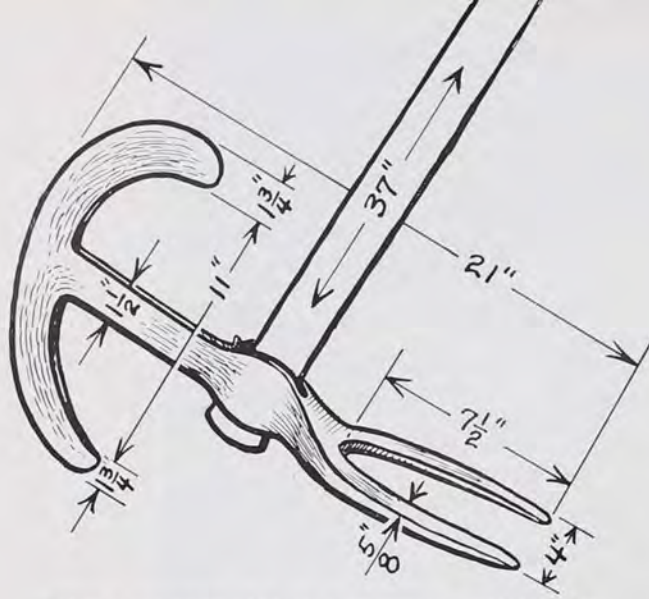
was used for two hay crops or one hay crop followed by pasturing.

Cows were allowed in the "*Dauerweiden*" from the 1st of May to the 1st of November and these dates were strictly adhered to unless abnormal Spring weather interfered. Cows were allowed in the "*Wiesen*" after the hay was cut, but in a wet year two crops of hay were made instead of the single crop followed by grazing.

Der Schwamm was a very wet area and usually poorly drained. The word "*schwamm*" really describes the algae formed on the surface of the soggy ground and the German *Schwamm*, therefore, indicates a spongy or soggy soil. The writer was told the same thing in Lebanon County recently, namely, that to them the "*viss*" is a normal meadow but that the word "*shvomm*" means a very wet or poorly drained area or part of the meadow (*Wiss*). In Montgomery County the hay is called "*shvomm hoy*," while in the Lebanon-Lancaster area it is called "*veesa hoy*." The meadow hay appears to have been fed mostly to cattle in Lancaster County, whereas in Montgomery County it was usually fed to horses and clover was regarded as too dusty for horses.

The second crop of meadow grass was called "*omet*" in Montgomery County, "*awmet*" in Weaverland and throughout Lancaster County. In Lebanon the word was "*umet*." The Rev. Thomas R. Brendle said the ditches were called "*vesser graiva*" in Schaefferstown and this seems to be the common terminology throughout Pennsylvania.

Our observation indicates there were three main types of irrigated meadows; the first having a stream running through the center of the meadow, with a small dam and two channels leading therefrom and following the far sides of the meadow near the fence. The second type had a stream running near one side and a dam with one channel along the far side of the meadow. The third type is the large and complicated system such as found in Denver, Lancaster County. The ditches in the first two systems were surprisingly uniform in width and depth, being about three feet wide and two feet deep. The lateral openings seemed to be about fifty feet apart and wooden gates controlled the flow of water from these openings. The above observations are confirmed by the accounts of early foreign travelers through Pennsylvania,



Sharp rounded edge of shvomm ox used to trim sods from edges of irrigation ditches. Prongs on reverse end used to remove loosened sods from ditches.

such as Robert Sutcliff² and Governor Pownal.³

The use of water from the races was carefully regulated during colonial days. In Weaverland each neighbor had the use of the water for one week at a time, on the Lincoln farm each owner had a certain number of parts of the week which had been divided into twenty-one parts and the period for irrigating was from March until October or November.

Of the labor expended in digging the colonial irrigation channels and the methods used in this task we are completely ignorant, but the annual cleaning of the water ditches follows a rather uniform pattern. Mostly the cleaning was done in the fall after harvest and this cleaning and the necessary repairs were made by the owner of the land, although there were cases where the neighbors worked co-operatively on this chore. In Germany the word "Grübbeln" was used to describe the making and repair of the water ditches and a type of "schwamm-ax" was used to trim the edges of the ditches, using a sawing action. The material

loosened by this tool was dragged out of the channels with a tool similar to a rake (see sketches). The material removed from the ditches was carted away or harrowed into the surrounding surface. In some parts of Pennsylvania a "schwamm-ax" was used to trim the edges of the races and also to drag the loose material out of the races. In one of the sketches is shown the hook used to remove the loosened sods and this hook is a part of the "schwamm-ax" (meadow axe). The most common tool used for ditch cleaning was the ordinary shovel, but ploughs and post spades were also used. In Weaverland the material removed during cleaning was spread on the surrounding soil, if fertile, or loaded on a wooden sled and used for fill. It was a common practice to grant the right to the neighbors to cross the surrounding lands for the purpose of repairing the irrigation ditches. Apparently there were few violations of water rights and ditches were well maintained; however, there is one reference from Berks County of litigation over an alleged infringement of a water right.⁴

Examining the attitude taken by farmers toward irrigation, it was evident that all agreed that this practice gave higher yields of hay and/or pasture, but that much of the incentive for irrigation was lost after about 1800 when grass began to be grown in the fields. It is the writer's opinion that after 1800 the farms with the best water supply and most suitable meadows were the ones that continued to be irrigated after the less favorable farms had discontinued the practice. One interesting philosophy regarding this practice was suggested by Joseph M. Weaver of Weaverland when he said his grandfather told them that irrigation should be continued because it provided additional fertility for the meadows.

There are many references giving the reasons for discontinuing irrigation⁵ and practically all agree that the trouble involved in cleaning and maintaining the ditches was one of the main reasons for the decline of this once cherished practice. Another reason given is damage to the dams by muskrats.⁶ When we add these two factors to the declining economic value of our meadows we can readily understand why meadow irrigation is now only a memory in the minds of our older farmers.⁷

²"In many parts of America, and particularly in this neighborhood, it is the practice of many farmers to reserve about 15 or 20 acres of land for hay, which they continue to mow from one generation to another, many of them laying on but little or no manure; but taking the advantage of the situation, where the land may easily be irrigated or overspread with water from time to time. By this means they obtain heavy crops of grass without the aid of manure, and thus supply themselves with winter fodder at an easy expense. On inquiring of W. T. and P. P. two very reputable farmers and landowners, they inform me that, upon an average, they got about 2½ tons per acre each year, upon this plan. The land usually chosen for this purpose is not a dead flat or marshy land, but commonly the two sides of a narrow valley of easy ascent on each (hand), having a small stream running through the bottom. When the land is to be watered, the stream at the upper end of the valley is diverted from its natural bed, and is conducted in narrow channels along each side of the valley, on as high ground as the head of the stream will admit, and, by placing obstructions to the current of the streams, in different parts of the artificial channels, the water continues to trickle down the sides of the valley, so as plentifully and regularly to water the roots of the grass, but not in such quantities as to cover the herbage" (*Travels in Some Parts of North America in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806* by Robert Sutcliff [York, 1811], pp. 209-210, February 22, 1806.)

³"Between Lancaster and Wright's Ferry, I saw the finest farm one can possibly conceive, in the highest culture, it belongs to a Switzer. Here it was I saw the method of watering meadows by cutting troughs in the side of the hill for the springs to run in—the water would run over the sides and water the whole of the ground. If the plan be used in England, I never saw it" (*The Lancaster Examiner* of July 29, 1830, Extract from Governor Pownal's Journal in 1754.)

⁴The proceedings of court in the case of William Bergman vs. Andrew Hassler, 23 June T., 1871. This was an action to recover damages for the alleged infringement of a water right. The parties are adjoining owners in Lower Heidelberg Township, and from time immemorial a small stream of water has run from the premises of the defendant over the land occupied by the plaintiff, serving the double purpose of irrigating a portion of a small piece of meadow, containing about six acres, and watering the stock (*The Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, Reading, December 6, 1873.)

⁵"Watered meadow banks, which were in vogue and highly prized 50 to 100 years ago, have mostly been abandoned, owing to the great care and attention necessary to be devoted to them, though there is no doubt the product is greatly increased by irrigation" (*The Pennsylvania Farmer* of August, 1853, article about hay in Birmingham Township, Chester County.)

⁶In the *Reading Eagle* of May 2, 1894, there is an article entitled "Almanac Collections," which attributes the discontinuing of meadow irrigation to damage done by muskrats that destroyed the dams.

⁷A definitive article by the future student of meadow irrigation would want to develop the European and possibly earlier origins of this practice. A broader study of the State of Pennsylvania is desirable and it should be reported whether the practice was carried on in the other colonies. A comprehensive study should include the tools used in constructing the irrigation systems, the tools and customs that applied to maintenance and repairs of the systems, and how these things varied from one locality to another. Dialect terms for all parts of the system and for the tools employed should be developed and should show variations in different areas. Legal documents, maps, sketches or prints pertaining to irrigation should be included in the study and photographs of the systems would be most valuable.

RECIPT BOOKS—New and Old

A History of Pennsylvania Dutch Cookbooks

By EDNA EBY HELLER

Even though the art of cookery goes back to the beginning of civilization, the written word on that art is scant, when one limits the field to a regional cookery. However, the study of what has been written is most interesting. The progression in the changes of eating habits is fascinating, as are the changes in methods of preparation. And reversely, how open-eyed and open-mouthed would our great grandmothers be if they could see us using a cake mix! They and their great great grandmothers enjoyed creative cooking. Each daughter learned basic cooking methods

from her mother but she also kept a notebook that contained fancy receipts obtained from friends and relatives.

Among the books owned by the well-to-do Pennsylvania Dutch housewife, a printed cookbook might be found. These were few in number until 1935 when the challenge of printing a cookbook seemed to tempt all publishers. Since then, ladies auxiliaries of countless Pennsylvania organizations have raised money by putting their recipes between book covers.

Receipt Books

No matter how spotted and tattered the old receipt book may be it is a valuable source of favorite foods and home remedies. One does not see receipts for soups or bread in these personal cookbooks of our grandmothers. Every girl learned how to bake bread when she learned to sew a seam. But, when she tasted Aunt Hannah's light Sunshine Cake at the quilting party she just had to have the receipt. The names of recipes identified the giver whether it be "John's Mary's Lemon Pie" or "Cousin Mary's Peppernuts." Home remedies often filled the last pages. These might be Grandma's Cough Syrup, Best Mustard Poultice, or, "What to do for burns."

A Hundred Years Ago

For those who were fortunate enough to own a store-bought cook-book there were large books which contained detailed directions for preparing distinctive foods. Among the earliest printed in Pennsylvania is Miss Leslie's *Directions For Cookery In Its Various Branches*. In the preface Miss Leslie's "successful forerunner" is mentioned: *Seventy-five Receipts in Cakes, Pastries and Sweetmeats*. According to the author there were many such cookbooks available as she said in her second volume that she "sent it to take its chance among the multitude of similar publications." Believe it or not, this book contains forty-five pages on desserts, not including cakes and pies. There are many cake receipts but only three pages of pie receipts.

As for the most interesting recipe in *Directions For Cookery In Its Various Branches* it might be the very complicated recipe for Mock Turtle Soup which takes eight hours to prepare. It calls for a broth made from a large calf's head, a knuckle of veal plus a hock of ham. At the conclusion of the recipe we find the following paragraph:

We omit a recipe for real turtle soup as when that very expensive complicated and difficult dish is prepared in a private family, it is advisable to hire a first rate cook for the express purpose. An easy way is to get it ready made in any quantity as you please, from a turtle soup house.

In 1848, Kay and Troutman in Philadelphia published *Mackenzie's 5,000 Receipts* in all the useful and domestic arts, constituting a complete practical library. Having chapters on cookery, confectionery, pastry, pickling, preserving, and wines, this was probably a friend to many housewives.

DIRECTIONS FOR COOKERY,

IN

ITS VARIOUS BRANCHES.

BY

MISS LESLIE.

SIXTH EDITION,

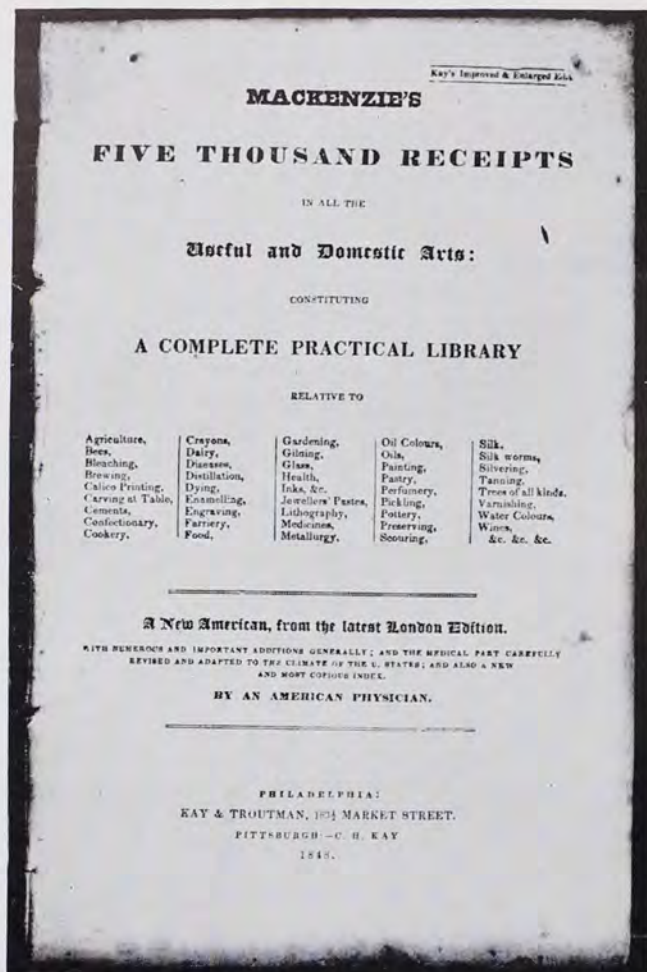
WITH IMPROVEMENTS AND SUPPLEMENTARY RECEIPTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

E. L. CAREY & A. HART, CHESTNUT STREET.

1839.

Miss Leslie's fashionable cookbook
(Philadelphia, 1839).



Philadelphia Cookbook of 1848.

Fifty Years Ago—

Fifty years ago there was in circulation *The Economical Cookbook*, by Mrs. Sara T. Paul, published by John C. Winston Co., and a *Moravian Cookbook* printed in Lancaster. The latter is unusual in that, even though it is a church cookbook, it has a hard cover. Like Miss Leslie's it has only a few pages devoted to pie recipes. There isn't a Shoo-fly but there is a Montgomery Pie. In *The Economical Cookbook* among desserts an Apple Potpie recipe is given. One is surprised to read directions for making a flour ball from which scrapings are used to make puddings. Quoting Mrs. Paul: "This pudding should be fed to infants in their second year."

Within a few years the Paxton Presbyterian Church in Harrisburg also published recipes. The second part of *Historic Paxton, Her Days and Her Ways* is a compilation entitled *Family Recipes*. These recipes were contributed by the Women's Aid Society of Paxton Church and include instructions for making Deviled Oysters, Jellied Veal, Creamed Calf's Heart, Oyster and Macaroni Casserole, and Pound Cake (containing brandy), naming just a few.

"Pennsylvania Dutch"

Suddenly, in the early 1900's, in Lancaster County, the first cookbooks bearing the name "Pennsylvania Dutch" appeared. Mrs. Appel published a unique little pamphlet of *Pennsylvania Dutch Recipes* whose pages were cut into the profile of an Amish girl. Among its pages one finds

Schnecken, Berry Puddings, and Potato Dumplings.

A much bigger volume was soon written by Mrs. Rahn, entitled *Lancaster County Cookbook*. It seems probable that either of these two may have been the one referred to in the *Pennsylvania German Magazine* of 1911.

In 1935 J. George Frederick published *The Pennsylvania Dutch And Their Cookery*. His book incited much interest in these Dutch, who had lived so quietly with little recognition. Frederick's first five chapters deal with the Old World background, the Revolutionary War record of the Dutch, their character and accomplishments. The next fifteen chapters deal with food, from snapper soup to coffee cake. Here we find such simple traditional dishes as Rivvel Soup, Boova Shenkel, Fostnochts, Shoo-fly Pie, and Lot-warriek.

Following the years of depression and wars another new book revealed a full picture of Pennsylvania Dutch foods. Harpers presented a large collection of recipes standardized by Ruth Hutchison and her friends. Miss Hutchison discusses many items of folklore relative to foods in Dutchland. This publication was the forerunner to a cookbook era. Just as cookbooks of all kinds flooded the market, so did the Pennsylvania Dutch cookbooks. 1950 could well be marked as the "cookbook year."

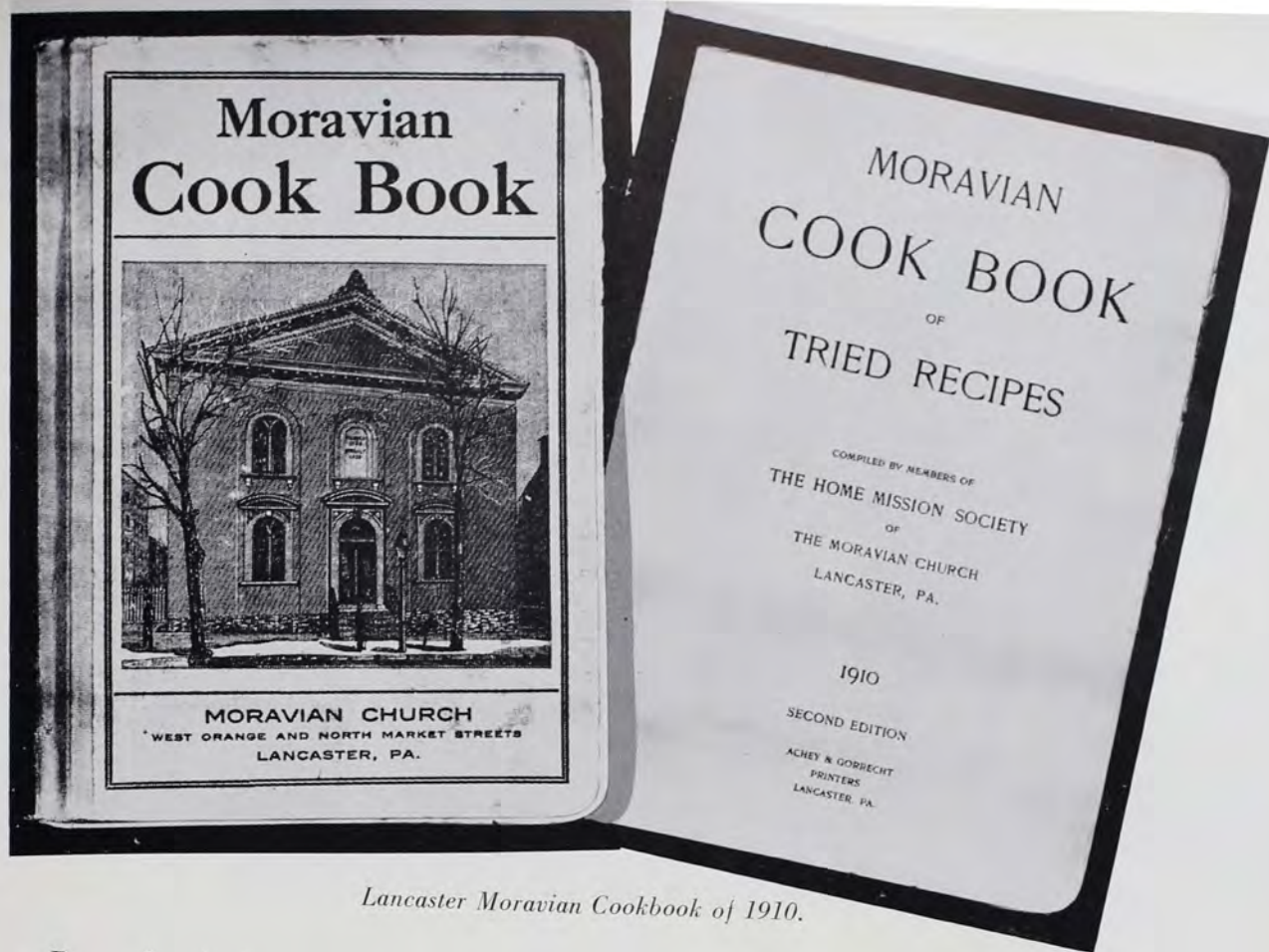
1950 was the year in which the scholarly book, *Pennsylvania German Cookery* by Ann Hark and Preston Barba was published by Schlechters in Allentown. In it one finds the derivation of many names and authentic history of both people and food in the delightful introductions to each chapter. Quite a few of the recipes are taken from old German cookbooks and almanacs. Perhaps mention should also be made of *The Mennonite Community Cookbook* which contains many recipes which are traditionally Dutch, although as a whole its content is not Pennsylvania Dutch.

Little Cookbooks

Pennsylvania Dutch Cookbooks bound in hard covers make up a small percentage of all Pennsylvania Dutch Cookbooks. They are outnumbered by the many booklets and pamphlets published by Churches, Granges, Clubs and Societies. Despite the fact that the motive of publication has usually been for the purpose of raising money, these books often contain the answer to a search for a long lost favorite recipe that someone's grandmother used to make. Because such books usually contain recipes gathered from a small geographical area, they can be used to compare differences of cookery habits in the various regional areas.

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center in 1951 realized the importance of preserving the many recipes not yet published. They were just as interested in sharing them with other peoples. As cooking editor of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* at that time, I took on the research project for them. In 1951 they published my first volume, entitled *A Pinch of This and a Handful of That*. Later these were combined and with additional recipes formed the contents of *Shoo-fly Cookery*, now published as my *Dutch Cookbook*. There are other recipes still unpublished, but the task of standardizing these is tedious.

The following bibliography should be completed. Perhaps this feature will be the means of bringing other publications to my attention. I realize that in some of the books listed there are many recipes that are not Pennsylvania Dutch, just family favorites. If you submit to me the name, author, publisher and year of any Pennsylvania Dutch Cookbook not included here, I shall be very grateful.



Lancaster Moravian Cookbook of 1910.

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- Women's Guild of Zion's Church, *Cook Book* (Windsor Castle, Pennsylvania, 1951), 4th ed., 98 pages.



Exterior view of a typical and very interesting early 19th century cave-cellar located on the Keith-Moyer homestead located in Schaefferstown, Lebanon County. Author measures vertically slanted doors protecting the entrance.



Interior of cave-cellar, Keith-Moyer homestead, Schaefferstown. Measurements: twenty feet long, nine feet wide, and six feet high. This view is on the inside looking out.

PENNSYLVANIA CAVE and GROUND CELLARS

Long before the days of refrigeration and sanitation as we know them today, nearly every farm and homestead of any size had a cave or ground cellar of some type for the storage and preservation of food.

Even today as we drive along the countryside in what were the earlier inhabited areas, it is possible to find some of these cellars which existed then and held such an important place in the life of our early settlers.

This was particularly true when there was no well or spring in the cellar of the dwelling house. Even on those farms where a spring-house did exist for cooling purposes in summer, the ground cellar or "hillside refrigerator" because of its warmer temperatures in winter was numbered among the other small buildings which made up the farmstead.

The location of the cellar varied with its use and purpose. If it was located outside the dwelling house, it usually took the form of a cave which was dug into the backyard or nearby hillside. Sometimes it was a mound or large ventilated pit or trench in the garden to provide temporary storage. It may have been a room beside or beneath the ramp approaching the upper floor of the barn or part of

By AMOS LONG, JR.

one of the end stables within the barn which was used for storing root crops that were fed to the livestock. Many times it was a segment of the house cellar known as the arch cellar or *q'welb keller* which is still part of many of our cellars today. Other times it was just a cool corner, a closet, or hole within the cellar of the house.

These cellars whether temporary or permanent-type buildings varied considerably in structure and dimensions. They served well for storage and protection and provided a cool, reasonably dry place if properly ventilated in summer and moisture free protection against cold and frost in winter. They many times took the place of the spring-house when there were no springs. Not only were vegetables and fruits kept here but many times they provided a place for cooling and preserving the family supply of milk, cream, butter, and baked goods.

It was not unusual for the family garden or truck patch and orchard to produce vegetables and fruits in far greater quantities than could be consumed during the growing season. One can readily see then that it became a difficult matter to preserve these crops and retard spoilage in order to provide an adequate supply during the long winter months.

The conditions favorable for storage of the different vegetables and fruits were supplied in various ways. Many times a temporary type of storage was provided where a permanent structure did not exist or until one could be built. These usually took the form of an earth mound or outdoor pit or trench.

It was also very important during these earlier days that the family garden and orchard include a large variety of vegetables and fruits planned primarily for winter use, and then give adequate attention to their storage. To insure the best quality, these vegetables also had to be planted at the most appropriate time in order to reach the best stage of development at the right season for storage. Some had to be planted much later than if planned for use during the summer.

The vegetables and fruits kept best if they were put into storage as late in the season as possible, therefore the skillful gardener who was usually the *housfraw* (housewife) planted to have the vegetables mature just so they could be harvested before injury due to the cold and frost. When the root crops were planted and matured too early, they many times became tough, stringy, or pithy. In the case of cabbage, many times it burst open before the weather was cool enough for storage. Among the vegetables that could be stored for winter, some required completely different storage conditions than others, consequently to store all the vegetables under similar conditions would have been unsatisfactory. It was important also that these root crops be stored without wilting, rotting, or sprouting. In order to do this, a way had to be found to keep them cool, moderately moist, and free from contact with the circulating air,



Cave-cellar, Keith-Moyer homestead, Schaefferstown. Interior, looking into the arch. Note the cooling closets and ventilating vent.

cold, and frost. Some vegetables such as celery, parsley, endive, leeks, and brussels sprouts were planted in loose ground and the roots kept damp with a low temperature and air moving freely at the tops. Other crops which could be stored favorably are cabbage, turnips, radishes, kohlrabi, rutabagas, beets, parsnips, salsify, carrots, horse-radish, potatoes, artichokes, pumpkins, winter squash, and winter apples. Most of these had good keeping qualities which in most cases gave the farm family a fairly good selection throughout the winter season.

When there were large quantities of vegetables and fruits to be stored for late winter use or for marketing purposes, many times a permanent-type cellar constructed with stone was built into a nearby hillside which was known as the cave cellar. This ventilated room was excavated from a bank or hillside and then walled in on all sides and arched over with stone or brick to a depth which kept it completely below the ground surface. This arch was then covered over if necessary so there was a yard or more of earth for insulation and to provide the conditions necessary for maintaining a reasonably low temperature which was desired. This area was also sodded, if not already so, to prevent erosion during heavy rains.

Stairs laid with stone in a cellar-way which varied from two to four feet wide were built in most instances to enter the vault. Over these cellar-ways were laid large flat stones which were also covered over with ground. With its heavy white-washed door, it many times resembled a bank type spring-house in its outer appearance. The walls inside and exposed walls on the outside were also usually white-washed.

The entrances varied from a vertical to a nearly horizontal type door which measured up to six feet in length and many times less. The walls sometimes had protruding stones to support shelves, usually of wood, on which vegetables and earthen containers with their contents were placed. In some the side walls were built out near the top to support the roof, which was constructed of large slabs of limestone, or large flat stones were laid over the wall on each side of the chamber which projected far enough to support other large slabs which formed the center portion of the roof.

The arched roof of these cellars varied from nearly flat to almost circular. Nearly always they contained only earthen floors and the entrances were out in the open. Sometimes the cellar was dug between the house and the well so that there was an entrance from the house and an outside entrance. Other times it was approached only from an outside entrance.

In most cases these cellars were not a part of any other structure on the farm except those constructed in common with or near to the pump floor or walled-up well. In this arrangement an opening was built into the wall or with no wall between except for several feet intervening above the cellar floor so that the cool air from the well could flow freely into the cellar which provided a still cooler place during the summer. During later years, many of these openings were walled shut completely to keep out odors of the meats, root vegetables, and fruits from drawing into the water.

In others a pipe was so placed as to allow water to run down into the ground cellar from the pump above which provided additional moisture and coolness. There was also what was known as the well cave. Here generally steps of stone were built down from a surface entrance to the well

where shelves, usually of stone, were built to cool the milk, butter, and other foods.

An elderly man tells of a cave cellar that his parents used which contained a type of removable wooden rack built approximately twelve inches above the ground floor upon which the vegetables, milk and butter were placed. To keep the temperature reasonably low and the atmosphere cool, daily during hot weather, several buckets of water were carried into and poured over the ground floor of the cellar.

The earth mound was frequently used as a temporary type of storage. Some vegetables such as parsnips, salsify, and horse-radish which were not easily frozen were many times merely placed in a conical pile on the ground and covered with six to eight inches of earth. Sometimes these same roots were left in the ground where they grew. The advantage in digging them and storing in this way was that it was far easier to open the mound during freezing weather than to dig the roots where they grew if this was possible at all.

Cabbage could also be stored well in this manner when the plants were pulled with the roots and leaves on and placed upside down, side by side, in an orderly arrangement. Ground was then piled against and over the piles until they were completely covered including the roots. In many instances, a layer of manure was added when cold weather arrived. If it was a large mound, it was important to make provision for ventilation. This was done many times by inserting a pipe through the top or making a shallow trench near the bottom of the mound which was covered with slats and a thin board ventilator in the center which then provided ample ventilation to carry away the moisture.

Usually the warm sunshiny days were chosen to get the vegetables from the mounds. However, to do so in the cold of winter when the ground was frozen a small amount of manure was removed from one side near the bottom and a hole large enough to reach into was dug through the frozen ground. If the contents were covered with straw or hay as they sometimes were, enough of this was removed to reach the contents. The necessary amounts for use during a short period were then taken out and the opening again closed with the straw or hay over which earth was placed and manure if necessary. Generally when manure was used, horse manure was preferred because of its heating properties.

Another type of temporary outdoor storage used was a specially constructed trench or pit which was dug several feet beneath the surface in a high elevation, usually in the garden where there was adequate drainage. This opening was then lined with straw. The more permanent type was also lined with boards and properly ventilated. Within this area were stored crops such as beets, carrots, turnips, rutabagas, kohlrabi, potatoes, and winter apples, which needed more protection and more sufficient covering to prevent freezing. Hay or straw were also placed over the contents and then earth and sometimes manure was added.

An aged farmer in Lebanon County tells of pits he helped to dig in his early years which were made large enough to accommodate seven bushels of apples, never more or less. They were the products of the orchard on his farm and were preserved in this manner for marketing during the winter months. Upon further inquiry as to why they were always stored in quantities of seven bushels, he stated that it was thought that they kept better when stored in those amounts.

The writer's grandfather, as was customary in those days, when being visited by friends or relatives, is said to have

Exterior view of a splendid example of a ramp-type ground-cellar located south of Flintville, Lebanon County, on Route 897, on the Herman Royer property. The side wall is corbelled out at the top and five large flat limestones placed horizontally over it to support the earth above it. To the side of the cellar and adjacent to the barn is a larger passage-way which is similarly built.



Interior view of ramp-type cellar, Royer property, Lebanon County. The interior of this one measures fifteen feet long, four and one-half feet wide, and five feet high.

gone outside into the garden and from a pit to have taken some fresh, cold, crisp, juicy apples and then to the jugs in the ground cellar for a pitcher full of cold, tangy cider or wine to serve to his guests.

Many of the houses and barns which were built during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries contained a permanent-type ground cellar known as the arch cellar or *g'welb keller*. They were referred

to by this name because of the vaulted roof structure through the center. These cellars too varied in size and structure, some being much larger than others. Like many of the cave cellars found outdoors, the square or rectangular room ranged from nine to twelve feet wide and from twelve to eighteen feet long. Some were larger, many smaller. The side walls built of stone and many times white-washed were five or six feet high and the vaulted roof or top of the arch constructed of stone or brick was generally between seven and eight feet from the floor. The room was ventilated by one or more small protected openings near the top of the wall which led to the outside.

Most of these cellars had only a ground floor while in others the floor was partly or entirely covered with large flat stones or brick. The floor of the cellar was generally two to four steps below the level of the entrance.

These cellars were not always used only for the storage of milk products or fruits and vegetables. In one of these brick-floored structures which the writer visited, the present owner of the house in which it is located pointed out that at one section beneath the layer of bricks, a second layer was horizontally placed in which one brick was missing. In its stead was placed an empty quart glass preserving jar in which the previous occupants of the house always kept their savings. The jar at one time, we were told, contained as much as eighteen hundred dollars.

Within the walls of these cellars were also to be found barrels or jugs of cider, vinegar, wine and sometimes beer. Many times meats which did not remain in the smoke-house were placed in bags to keep out the flies, beetles, and other insects and were hung here to retard spoilage. Fly traps of various types were used to catch the flies and mouse and rat traps were used to protect the contents from other kinds of varmints.

One farmer told of a ham which had been hung in his arch cellar and was forgotten. It was discovered only after



Stone-arched cellar located under the Ulrich-Steimetz farm-house north of Anville, Lebanon County. The arch is built under the original portion of the house. The cellar houses a spring, and tradition has it that it was used as a refuge during the Indian Wars of the 1750's. The door of the house itself bears the inscription:

SO OFT DIE DIER DEM ANGEL WENT
O MENSCH DEIN ENT BEDENCK—1751

(As often as this door turns on its hinges, O man, think of your end.)

bringing the following year's home-cured meats into the vault. He told how it was entirely covered with approximately one inch of green mold and after scrubbing it off completely with a broom and water on the sidewalk outside, how his wife after pondering whether to attempt to use it or not continued to clean it with warm water and then prepared it. He exclaimed it was some of the most tender and best flavored ham he ever ate.

These subterranean rooms were always extremely dark, cool, and dry in summer and warm in winter. The temperature within was approximately sixty degrees Fahrenheit varying but a few degrees. In most cases they were nearly as cool as the spring-house and had the advantage of not having as much moisture. The interior of these vaults was generally kept very clean so that the contents could be preserved in a wholesome manner until used.

Some of these arch cellars could be entered only from the inside while others also had an outside entrance. This entrance was usually reached by descending a number of steps through a door.

In order to eliminate wilting which frequently occurred by storing root crops requiring moisture in the house cellar when there was no root or arch cellar, the roots were packed in alternate layers of loose earth and sand in a corner in the coolest part of the cellar, usually in a northwest corner. The ground would then preserve them and absorb any odors where the roots would decay. This method of storage was suitable for small amounts for home use and where the root vegetables would be used by early winter.

Many times celery and endive were dug with the roots on and placed in water in a large tub or planted in ground



Arched cellar, Ulrich-Steimetz Farm, Lebanon County. Dimensions: approximately twenty-six feet long, thirteen feet wide, and seven and one-half feet high.

placed on the cellar floor or in boxes or other containers which were placed in the cellar. The cellar had to be kept cool and properly ventilated and the earth surrounding the roots had to be kept moist. It was important also that the

Full end-view, arched cellar. Ulrich-Steimetz Farm. Note whitewashed arch and walls, hooks on the ceiling, air vent and cooling closet.



water be applied only to the roots and not to the rest of the plants. When the cellar was kept dark as was usually the case all new growth made while in here was well blanched.

An elderly lady who is well up in age, tells of a large section of solid limestone which protruded through the cellar wall in the house in which she lived as a child. Because of its continuously moist-laden condition, each fall ground was brought into the cellar before it froze and was deposited near this rock and then beets, turnips, and other root vegetables were placed there in the ground and used until after the new year.

Sometimes part of one of the end stables inside the barn was set aside and used in the same manner.

Vegetables such as pumpkins, winter squash, and sweet potatoes which demand a higher temperature, a dry atmosphere, and a free circulation of air were always kept in a drier part of the house cellar. Onions were usually placed in baskets along with the teas, herbs, and peppers and hung from the joists at the ceiling where they kept fairly well until used.

Another simple method used to provide a cool place for storage was a closet which was cut into stone or generally built into the north wall of the cellar of the house. These closets too remained cool even in the hottest part of the summer. There were many homes and farms on which the

milk and butter were cooled in this closet particularly when there was no ground cellar or spring-house.

Many cellars also had a type of cellar-hole which could be of various designs and sizes. These sometimes adjoined a cellar well which brought about in many instances a number of unhealthful and unsanitary conditions characteristic of many of the old colonial houses.

Some of these houses also had a type of shelved depression below the cellar floor with usually six to eight steps leading down into it in which the butter, milk, and other foods were kept. Most of these holes have long been filled in and concreted over but there are still those who can recall within their memory a severe fall down these steps into the depression.

A neighbor tells of such a chamber in a house in which he lived during his early married life. This ground cellar or cellar hole was entered at the far end of the cellar by descending a flight of twenty steps. He stated that even though it was not used too often because of its extreme darkness and inconvenience, it was always extremely cool and dry for such a deep depression.

These old cave cellars which were recessed into the hillside or the ground cellar which was a part of many of our early Pennsylvania houses and barns served well in their time as a substitute for our modern type refrigerators of today.

Some of those which still exist have remained unchanged in most essentials and are still being used for their original intention. Others have been rebuilt to serve a more useful and effective purpose. The writer was interested to note in his visits that some were being considered and even partially prepared as potential shelters for protection against fallout from atomic explosions if such an emergency should ever arise. There are also those which stand idle and others which are being used for storage of garbage and refuse. Some are no longer being maintained and have fallen into so decrepit a condition that their mound-like tops have completely fallen in and are covered over with underbrush and other growth.

To many these cellars remain completely hidden. Few are even aware of their existence unless specifically sought after. To some they still bring back interesting and pleasant memories of a hurriedly eaten piece of pie and a cool, refreshing glass of milk between chores on a hot summer day on the farm. To others, the anxiety, hesitation, imagination, and fright that resulted when as a child one had to go within their dark, bleak walls for something to complete a meal.

One had in those days only to step within their walls to witness that they were truly a storeroom of thrift and plenty and those which remain today are a memorial to the character, sound judgment, and architectural skill of our early Pennsylvania settlers.

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The Amish in Their One-Room Schoolhouses

By VINCENT R. TORTORA

I once asked a rather elderly Amish grandmother if she, too, had gone to the one-room school her grandchildren were now attending. She replied, a bit surprised, "Why sure! And my *Grossdawdy* (grandfather) went there too."

My curiosity aroused, I did some research and determined that the school in question had been standing on the same spot, as many others in Amish country, since 1836; two years after the Public School Law was enacted in Pennsylvania. Prior to this law, which, in major part, owed its passing to Lancastrian Thaddeus Stevens, all schools were run privately by church groups.

Just to have looked at the old school house should have convinced me, without benefit of research, that it dated back at least to the ante-bellum period. The deep red bricks were rounded and etched by generations of erosive wind and rain. Frequent patches of new brick punctuated the sagging walls. The porch, outside, and the floor on the inside dipped, groaned and creaked under the light steps of the present generation of active young Amish pupils. The desks and other furnishings, installed, perhaps, in the early part of this century, bore the unmistakable and inevitable signs of youthful usage: inkspots, carved initials, splintered edges and the like. A huge wood stove near the teacher's desk may have dated from the latter part of the 19th Century and showed even more pronounced, though of a different genre, signs of wear.

ON THE WAY TO SCHOOL

Amish children attend dozens of such schools which dot the beautifully undulant farm lands at approximate two-mile intervals. Most of these are public; but, a few, run by the Amish Church, are parochial. The early morning traveler along the back roads of Amish country must keep a watchful eye out for the small bands of brightly dressed children making their way rapidly along the narrow roads. The black broad-brim hats of the boys interspersed with the colorful bonnets of the girls present an unforgettably charming picture. The older children, waving their variegated lunch-buckets much as shepherds wave their crooks, herd their charges to the side of the road as each car passes . . . Such is the traditional abundance of Amish progeny that several schools recruit all their pupils from as few as five or six families. About thirty children is normal complement for one school, and one teacher.

School usually begins at about 8:00 a.m. During the cold months one of the parents from a near-by farm or the teacher herself gets to the school earlier to enliven the fire left glowing from the previous day. If the teacher feels inconvenienced at having to get up earlier to tend the fire, she might take consolation in the fact that her pupils have gotten up at about five o'clock in order to complete all their morning chores before starting to school.

SCHOOL IN SESSION

At eight o'clock sharp the teacher pulls on the heavy rope in the rear of the classroom which sets an old bell, hanging picturesquely in a simple wooden belfry, a-pealing. Almost immediately the children who may have tarried to throw a ball around, run after a school-mate or wash-up at the cool-running outside hand-pump, come scurrying to their desks. On their way in, they deftly dispose of hats and bonnets on pegs provided for the purpose.

There are eight rows of seats in the average school, which is just enough to assign each of the eight primary grades a row of its own. (Some schools in the Amish country take only the first five grades.) The desks on the left side of the classroom are the smallest and therefore are assigned to the younger children.



Amish boys comb their long hair after coming in from recess.

*Recitation
time
in Amish
school.*



*As each second grader
recites his lesson cor-
rectly, he sits down.*

The teacher's first remarks in the morning are usually addressed to all eight grades and concern the personal hygiene of each student. Since the first-graders know almost no English when they start coming to school—the language of the home having exclusively been Pennsylvania Dutch—the teacher must merrily pantomime such acts of hygiene as brushing the teeth, washing behind the ears, combing the hair and so forth.

From then on, the teacher addresses each grade separately. While the other grades sit quietly and study their assigned lessons, the pupils of the first grade to be called come to the front of the room and recite their lessons. Reading lessons, for the most part, are recited from a seated position on the long bench in front of the room. Oral quizzes are usually conducted in a standing position in front of the room. Arithmetic and spelling lessons are written at the blackboard.

Penmanship is done at the desks. Indeed, the Amish children are well grounded at school in the three R's. At home they learn the fourth: Religion.

Throughout the recitations by one grade, pupils of the other grades frequently raise their hands to ask questions arising out of their reading. In order that she not be interrupted too often, the teacher usually sets up a plan whereby specially appointed pupils of the upper grades help out the younger children. This is one of the many ways in which attendance at a one-room school develops the child's sense of responsibility to himself and to his neighbor.

As soon as one grade has finished reciting, the teacher assigns the next day's lesson. It is to be studied and prepared while the other grades recite. Especially amusing are the first-graders' attempts to write or to read in English. Their brothers and sisters in the higher grades watch



Amish children prepare to run a race in school yard at Weavertown school, a mile east of Bird-in-Hand, Pennsylvania.

Amish boys play tug-of-war, one of their favorite games, while admiring girls look on.



nervously and call to them in Pennsylvania Dutch whenever they stumble or hesitate. Without the help of the older children, the teachers, who do not usually know Pennsylvania Dutch, would be lost.

In the course of the morning, each grade has its turn to recite for about twenty minutes. On each day of the week the recitations frequently deal exclusively with one subject. For example, Monday might be for arithmetic, Tuesday for spelling, Wednesday for history, etc. This way, as a teacher who had been at the same school for twenty years put it, "the air is filled with a certain subject and the children seem to absorb more." After the first four grades recite, the whole school is dismissed for a half-hour recess.

To expedite the ever-present problem of "leaving the room," many teachers merely put up two pegs in the rear of the room near the entrance, one for the boys and one for the girls. Small wooden rings fit on the pegs. If someone wants to "leave the room," he or she goes to the appropriate peg and if the ring is there, takes it along to one of the rustic out-houses standing picturesquely near the school house. If the ring is not in place, patience. On re-entering the school the child with the ring replaces it on the peg, thus enabling the next child to slip out. Hence, no more than one boy and one girl should, theoretically, be out at the same time.

THE RUSH TO THE LUNCH-BUCKETS

At just about 12 noon, the school is dismissed for lunch. A type of riotous rush ensues in which everyone makes pell-mell for his colorful lunch-bucket. The average Amish child takes about five minutes to eat lunch and spends the rest of the hour playing games such as those described in

the article on Amish at play. (*Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Summer-Fall, 1957.)

About dismissing the school at the lunch hour, one of the teachers at a one-room school said to me: "I could stand my pupils up for an hour or more reciting their lessons; I could ask them to read as many as twenty pages at a stretch; I could keep them for an hour after school and I still wouldn't hear a word of protest. But, just let me be one minute late in dismissing school for lunch and I hear muttered comments in Pennsylvania Dutch all around me."

THE TEACHER IN THE EYES OF THE PARENTS

This teacher, as most of the others teaching in the one-room public schools, belongs to the "gay" (not plain) religions and knows very little Pennsylvania Dutch. She is a graduate of a teachers' college or of a normal school. A very small number of men also teach at the one-room schools. The Amish parents respect their children's teacher

on a par with the family doctor. The teacher is invited to special occasions and remembered at various times with gifts. One of the stories of gift-giving was told me by a teacher of long standing at the same school . . . "The kids like to have fun in giving gifts. Just before Christmas, for example, they came in early in the morning and hid ducks, geese and turkeys in the closets and the drawers. When I came in, they let them all loose. I was startled and they were amused."

"Another time, one of the boys came to school with his pocket bulging. I didn't say anything to him about it until after morning recess. He had been playing baseball and his clothes were dirty. The area around his pocket was stained. I asked him what he had in his pocket. On being reminded, he clapped his hand to his pocket and then looked up at me, his big brown eyes begging forgiveness. After a brief struggle, he managed to work a big piece of fresh meat out of his pocket. In the several hours since he put it there, it had leaked through its covering and stained everything around it. He then presented it to me as a gift from his parents on my birthday."

So great is the parents' esteem and respect for the teacher that were they to see their own children misbehaving in the school-yard they would not say a word.

AMISH VIEWS ON EDUCATION

And yet, the passivity the Amish show in their relations with the local schoolmarm does not always obtain in their relations with the school authorities. If something in the educational programs set up by local boards or by the State offends their sensibilities or jeopardizes the faith of their children, they do not hesitate to make their views known.

The Amish concept of education is based almost entirely on their interpretation of the Bible. The *Dortrecht Creed* on page 395 of their *Holy Martyr's Mirror* reads: "And since it is a known fact that a lack of faithful ministers and the erring of the sheep because of the lack of good doctrine arise principally from the unworthiness of the people; therefore, the people of God, who need this, should not turn to such as have been educated in universities . . ."

From Scripture found in "John," "James" and "II Corinthians," moreover, they have derived their belief that the believer should not be grouped with the non-believer. They consider themselves to be the true "believers" and not part of the "world."

It follows, therefore, that the Amish believe very strongly in the one-room schools which, they feel, have the effect of preserving their children in the type of semi-isolation neces-



Lunch time at Amish school.

sary for the devout practice of their faith. This means that they are intransigently opposed to sending their children into higher education (i.e. high school) and to consolidated schools where they would be grouped with a majority of non-believers and exposed to the things of the "world."

It has, unfortunately, been necessary for them in recent years to resort to sharp departure from their usual norms of behavior in order to preserve the one-room school. For example, though no good Amishman who follows the scriptural admonition not to be yoked with non-believers ordinarily engages in politics, several church elders have taken positions on township school boards in order to uphold the Amish point of view.

Moreover, the Amish are in no sense wont to bring the spotlight of public attention to bear on their group. And yet, on two occasions during the past generation their very vocal protests over proposed changes in the educational system made international headlines. On these same two occasions, Amish fathers refused out of principle to obey newly enacted or tightened school laws which on one occasion would have had the effect of consolidating the one-room schools into larger modern buildings and, on the second, of compelling Amish children to attend high schools. Needless to say, such defiance of authority was exceedingly irregular for a people who are ordinarily law-abiding to the point of fetish and who never, never go to law, even if transgressed against.

But, as with most parents, the faith of their children was so precious as to warrant even the most inordinate measures to protect it. On both occasions it was the state government who appreciated the sincerity of the Amish position and respectfully conceded.

In the case of consolidation, special consideration by state and township authorities kept the one-room schools open and maintained for the Amish while large schools were being built. Today, most Amish children go to one-room schools and most non-Amish, to consolidated or joint schools.

The problem of what to do with an Amish child who should, in an 8-4 system, become a high school freshman on graduating from the one-room school at fourteen, was a bit more complex. Insofar as the law permits a farm child to leave school legally at fifteen, the whole issue revolved on the one year between the fourteenth and fifteenth birthdays.

As finally worked out by the Department of Public Instruction, a type of vocational program was set up whereby the students from their fourteenth to fifteenth years returned to the farm and home to learn from their parents the trade (farming or home-making) which was to occupy their life's energies (cf. *Rural New Yorker*, September 3, 1955).

THE AFTERNOON SESSION

The warning bell is rung about five minutes before the class bell. This brings an end to about a full hour of rough-and-tumble games outside, or, on a nesty day, of parlor games inside. The children flock back to the school adjusting their hair and clothing. It is not uncommon for the girls to stand in a large circle and re-braid the hair of the one in front. So deft are their highly trained fingers that the whole task may be completed in two or three minutes.

The boys, in the meantime, run fractured and gnarled combs through their own ample hair to put it in comparative order.

Everyone waits his turn at the pump for the all-necessary water which goes to wash off dirt, mat down unruly hair or quench a thirst.

The afternoon is usually devoted to group activities such as drawing, singing, story-telling and the like. If the weather is pleasant, one of the older pupils may take the first-graders out on the porch or on the lawn to run through their reading lessons and patiently help them make the painful transitions from "Dutch" to English.

Amish children are most proficient at drawing pictures of farm animals. They show an exceptional degree of imagination and perspective.

When singing hymns, Amish children seem in their glory. They sing loudly and lustily.

In most cases, stories told by Amish boys treat of hunting, fishing or farming. Girls usually relate stories about horses, dogs and cats.

THE PLACE OF SCHOOL IN YOUNG AMISH LIVES

By and large, Amish children greatly enjoy the time they spend in school. This is perhaps due to the fact that school represents a pleasant diversion from the heavy farm chores that fill the rest of their day. What is more, at school they are free from the strict discipline of the Amish home. Indeed, any discipline the teacher might impose would be mild by comparison with that of the home.

The Amish child shows his enjoyment of school by studying hard, preparing his lessons carefully, paying close attention to the teacher and, for the most part, behaving very well. I have never failed to be astonished at the outstanding scholastic progress Amish children seem to make in their quaint old one-room schools.



Amish children play game called "Candy Land."

COLLECTANEA

ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

RECOLLECTIONS ABOUT MY GRANDMOTHER

By Ralph R. Leh

My grandmother, Sarah Schnerr Newhard, died on January 27, 1891, when I was less than six years old, but I have a number of vivid recollections about her. She had a separate table for herself and grandfather in the same room where my parents and their family had their table. The room was used as a kitchen and dining room, and had a bare board floor which was scrubbed every Saturday. A single cook stove was used by both families, and grandmother's table was on one side of the room with ours on the opposite side. I remember making a practice of eating what tasted good to me at our table, and then going over to grandmother's table to further indulge my palate. And when I had a craving for something to eat in between meals, and my mother was too busy to wait on me, I could always count on grandmother to accompany me into the cellar-way and give me a piece of bread and molasses or some other tidbit.

My parents used kerosene lamps and matches, but my grandparents were born before the days of such luxury, and they continued to use tallow candles and pine splinters to light them with. The flame on the pine splinters came from the kitchen stove. Grandmother saved the tallow from cooking and butcherings, and whenever her supply of candles ran low she would melt some of it and pour it into a sheet-metal mold that made twelve candles at a time, two rows of six. Before pouring the tallow, she placed a stick over each row to which she tied six strings to serve as wicks, threading them down through the tubes and out through a small hole in the bottom. It was a fascinating sight for me to watch this operation.

Another fascinating operation for me was to watch her bake rye bread in an outdoor oven. She would put the dough to raise in braided straw baskets, and when the loaves became ready for baking she would build a wood fire on the hearth of the oven. When the oven became hot enough she would rake out the burning wood and ashes with an iron scraper, shake the loaves out of the straw baskets and dust the bottoms with flour to keep them from sticking to the hearth, and then shove them into the oven on a flat wooden pallet with a long handle, depositing them on the hearth with a quick flip. When the loaves were baked she would get each one back on the pallet with a dexterous movement, and bring them out to cool. It still makes my mouth water to think of the delicious taste of her rye bread spread with molasses.

I also used to watch her making household soap in a big iron kettle over an open fire place. She used inedible meat scraps and fats which she saved from cooking and butcherings, and added a small amount of caustic soda. After cooking the mixture into a homogeneous mass she let it cool

off and harden, and then cut it into cakes of convenient size.

She also related various experiences which I was too young to appreciate at the time, but which my mother told me about when I grew older. One of them was about a girl who was a friend of the family back in the days when Indians still were around the vicinity where they lived. Some of the Indians occasionally came to the tavern where this girl worked, asking for something to eat, and she was so filled with terror at the sight of an Indian that she never refused them because she was too scared to do otherwise. The Indians came to regard her as their friend, even though she was never able to overcome her fear of them, and sometime later one of them saved her life. A number of rough men were staying at the tavern at the time, and every evening they would congregate in the one room which served as barroom, dining room and kitchen, where they would sit and drink and smoke and chew and talk. The floor of the room was bare, as was the general custom, and once every week it was scrubbed. It was this girl's job to do the scrubbing, and one evening after she had just done so it vexed her to see the men spitting tobacco juice on the clean floor. She placed rags for them to spit on, and this enraged one of them to such an extent that when she left the room to go to the outhouse he followed her, seized her, and stuffed a rag so tightly into her throat that she was unable to remove it. He left her lying in the yard and she would have strangled to death if it had not been for one of the Indians whom she had befriended. He happened to pass, and saw what took place. As soon as the ruffian had gone back into the house he ran up to the girl and pulled the rag out of her throat.

Not long afterward the Indians moved further west, and before they left several of them paid a visit to this girl and asked her to accompany them to the South Mountain where they would show her a natural deposit of silver which she could claim as her own. She was afraid to trust them and refused to accompany them. They tried to persuade her to change her mind, saying that if she would not accompany them they would destroy all trace of the mine so that no white man would ever be able to find it. She remained steadfast in her refusal, and after the Indians had gone many men tried to find the mine, but no one was successful.

Another experience which my mother related to me was about a man with whom my grandmother was acquainted, in whom she had a great deal of confidence, and whose word she regarded highly. He told her of an incident which he swore was "God's truth," saying he knew a man who never seemed to work yet always had plenty of money to spend in taverns where he treated his acquaintances with drinks and earned the reputation of being a good fellow and a liberal spender. One day my grandmother's friend happened to be in a tavern when this liberal fellow ran out of money. He asked everyone to wait until his return, saying that he would soon be back with plenty of money. Grandmother's

friend ventured to ask him where he could get money on such short notice, and he replied, "Come with me, and I will show you." They set out with horse and buggy and drove out into the country to the bottom of a steep hill, far from any human habitation, where the man asked grandmother's friend to wait in the buggy until he returned. He proceeded up the hill on foot, and shortly after he was out of sight there were sharp flashes of lightning and terrific claps of thunder although there was not a cloud in the sky. Grandmother's friend became greatly alarmed and was strongly tempted to drive off without waiting for the man's return, but in a short time the thunder and lightning ceased, and soon the man reappeared, his pockets bulging with money. Grandmother's friend could not believe his eyes, and in utter amazement asked where he got the money. The man told him it was easy, and that he could do the same any time he wished. At the top of the hill was a cross-road where he repeated a certain incantation, then cut his finger enough to make the blood flow, whereupon the devil appeared with his book and handed him a pen. He dipped the pen in his blood and wrote his name in the devil's book, in return for which the devil provided him with a generous supply of money. He explained that each time he got a supply of money a certain number of years would be taken from the length of his life, and that the oftener he troubled the devil the shorter his life would be. He also explained that this money was useful only for his own pleasure, and that if he attempted to give it to somebody else, or to use it for somebody else's good, it would immediately disappear.

Grandmother's friend related that not too long after this incident the man mysteriously disappeared without leaving any trace, and the common rumor was that the devil had carried him off bodily. My grandmother believed this story implicitly. She also believed in powwowing, and actually practiced it to a limited extent among her relatives and close friends.

FUNERALS, CIRCA 1900 AND NOW

By Raymond E. Kiebach

Sensation-mongers and pseudo-experts on the life and manners of the Pennsylvania Dutch delight in telling tales about us, many of them on the "tall" side. One of these is the detailing of gastronomic feats, when it was still the custom to serve meals to persons attending funerals.

These meals were a matter of convenience, and necessity. Before the days of automobiles, it was often an all-day journey to attend a funeral, to be started early in the morning, and returning home late in the day or at night. No diners along the road, nor did all taverns in the villages serve meals.

Yes, there were persons who did over-indulge, both in solid and liquid refreshments. That, however, was not and is not now, limited to the Dutch or their funerals.

"Yourself and family are respectfully invited to attend the funeral of Nathan H. Leeser from his late residence at Palm on Saturday, July 31, 1909, at 9:30 A.M. Further services at Bethany Church, Clayton. Interment on adjoining cemetery. Teams will meet train at Barto at 7:00 A.M."

So read the printed notice in the black-bordered envelope, that the local postmaster was kind enough to expedite by sending it with a neighbor who happened to call; no rural

deliveries those days. Otherwise it may have been received too late, as one did not call every day for any possible letters with the post office over a mile away. That may have been another reason for using a black-rimmed envelope.

Even so, the time was short to make necessary arrangements for the journey; telephones were too few and far between to be made use of.

Now Palm is in Montgomery County, six miles from Barto (Berks County), the terminus of the Colebrookdale branch of the Reading Company that has its start in Pottstown, and meanders through Boyertown.

There was but one train on this branch or spur, a mixed passenger and freight. It was seldom on time, but that did not matter too much, neither would it wait for tardy persons.

The group from Reading (including my mother and me) rode the trolley car to Boyertown, a distance of nineteen miles, requiring an hour and a half, then walked a short distance to the station, to board the train for Barto.

This means that we had risen at 4:00 A.M. or before, and had eaten breakfast before 5:00 A.M., Eastern Standard Time, as Daylight Saving Time did not come into use until World War I.

Arriving at Barto the teams conveyed us to Palm, a distance of six miles over country dirt roads. There was a short service at the house, after which the procession started for Bethany Evangelical Church at Clayton (half-way to Barto) over the same road that we had just come, about three miles.

The funeral sermon was first preached in German, about an hour in length, as near as memory permits recollection. None of the others of the group are living, so it is not possible to check on the details. Then the preacher announced, "that there were persons attending who did not understand the German language, and for their benefit he would repeat in English." This took nearly as long as the first sermon. Had he preached entirely in English it would have served the same purpose.

With the service concluded, and interment made on the adjoining cemetery we started back, again by team, to the residence at Palm, where dinner was waiting. By that time it may have been two or three o'clock, as the procession surely took the best part of an hour, both coming and going. There were three or four groups at the improvised tables before all had eaten.

Then sometime after that towards evening, or early evening, the teams took us back to Barto to take the train on the journey homeward. Just when we arrived at home I do not recall, but no doubt it was bed time.

In contrast, in 1941, mother and I attended another funeral of a near relative. The services were in St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church at Red Hill in Montgomery County. This church had earlier been known as "die Sex Eckich Karich" (the "Six Cornered Church"), and is several miles further down the highway than Palm. The time of the service was 2:15 P.M.

We left Reading, after dinner, by automobile going through Boyertown, Clayton, Palm, Pennsburg, and East Greenville, a distance of about 31 miles.

After services, interment was made at Huff's Church cemetery. The procession proceeded via East Greenville, Pennsburg, Palm, Clayton, then through the mountains to Huff's Church, about 12 miles.

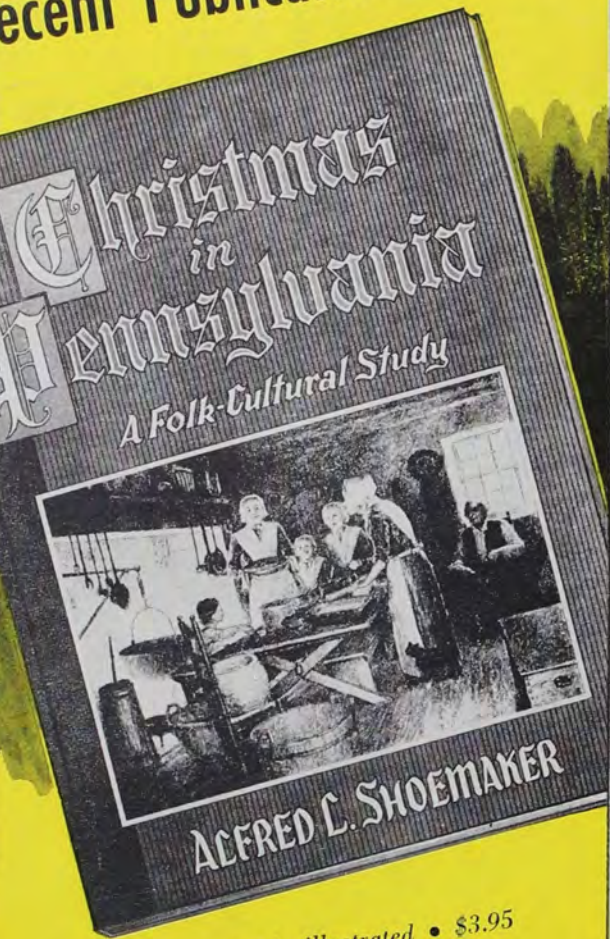
From Huff's Church we went to Reading, 22 miles, and arrived home in time for mother to prepare supper.



Courtesy Historical Society of Berks County

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, GIBRALTAR, BERKS COUNTY

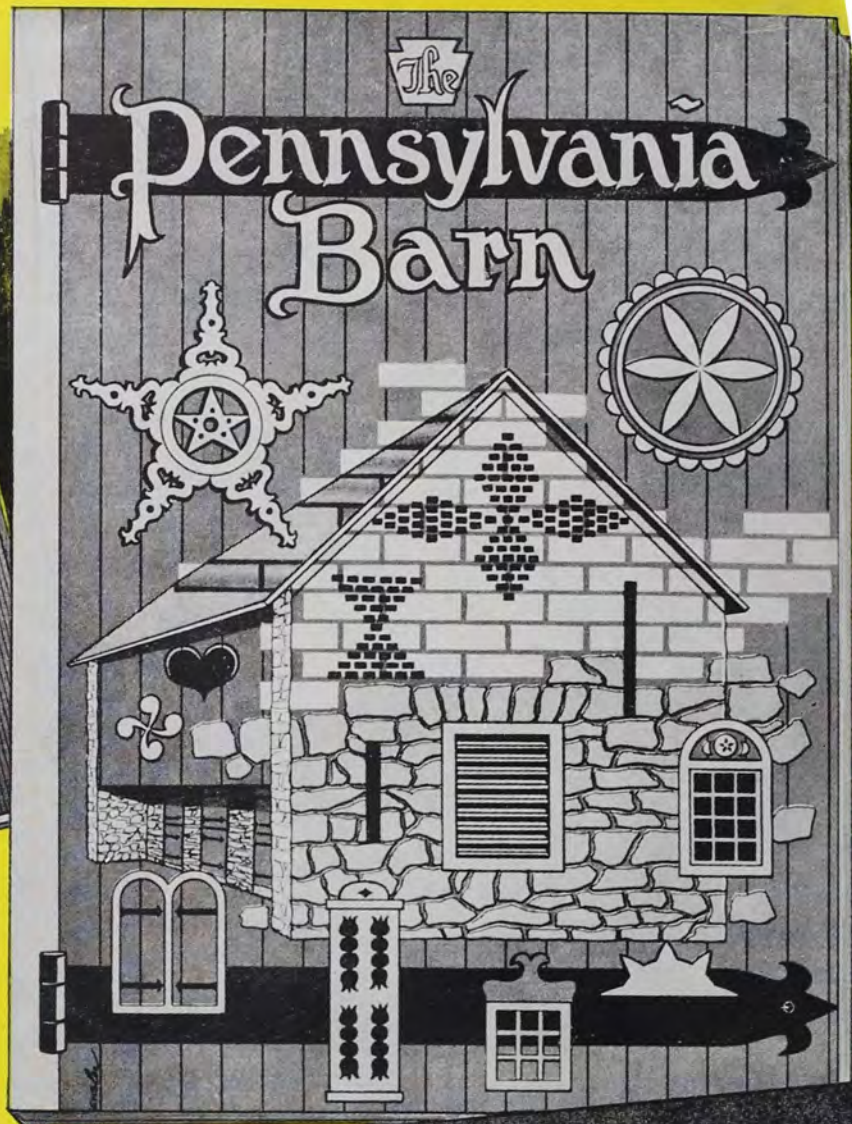
*Note wine-glass pulpit and sounding board above pulpit with "whirling swastikas"—
Dutch folk-decoration in church.*



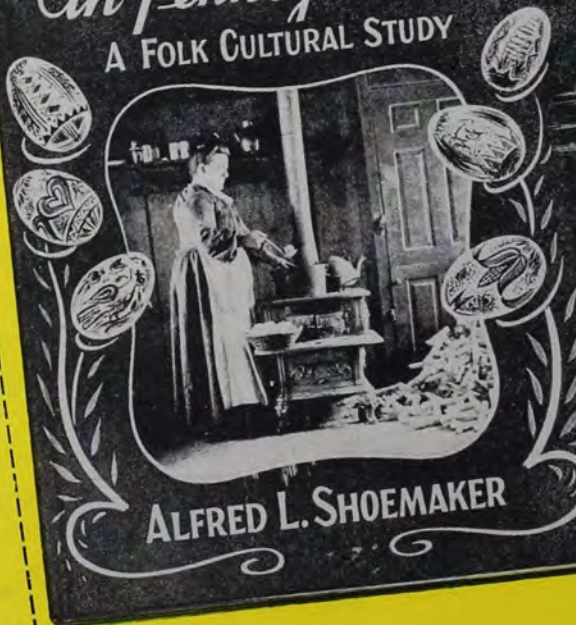
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