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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

AUTUMN 1976



A Country School

Contributors to this Issue

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GARY D. HYDINGER, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a native of the Midwest now studying in the Graduate Folklore and Folklife Program at the University of Pennsylvania. His paper in this issue was prepared for a seminar in Pennsylvania German History and Ethnography.

LEONARD PRIMIANO, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a student at the University of Pennsylvania. His paper, on student life at Marshall and Franklin and Marshall Colleges, institutions of learning set up by the Reformed Church in the United States, was done in connection with the seminar in Pennsylvania German History and Ethnography.

DR. LOUIS D. WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, is professor of astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University. His series on Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology has been supported in part by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the Pennsylvania State University.

GORDON C. BAKER, Rockville, Maryland, is a native of Western Pennsylvania, and a member of the Stewart Clan of which he writes in this issue. Family Reunions were once, and in some areas still are, important institutions for the reinforcement of personal, family and ethnic identity in rural Pennsylvania. The illustrations for the article, including the open air group photographs of the reunion participants, are part of the author's collection.

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Contributors

(Inside front cover)

COVER:

The cover illustration, "A Country School," drawn by W. J. Hennessy and engraved by H. Harral, appeared in the illustrated weekly, Every Saturday, August 12, 1871. It will bring back memories to those Pennsylvanians who received their schooling in the one-room, eight-grade schools that used to dot our countryside. Several sectarian groups, including the Old Order Amish, are preserving neighborhood schools of this type.

Pennsylvania Folk Festivals in the 1930's

By ANGUS K. GILLESPIE

"It is not surprising that piety for the past should be a Pennsylvania trait and the upholding of tradition one of the customs of the commonwealth."

—Edwin Valentine Mitchell¹

Many of us look forward every year to the Kutztown Folk Festival as a time near the Fourth of July which we set aside for a celebration. For us it is not just the largest regional folk festival in the United States, it is also a time to escape from work and get together with old friends, to make new friends, and to have a good time.² Occasionally when we see the advertising "Kutztown Folk Festival, 1950-1976" we may reflect on the origins of the Festival in the early 1950's. If we take the trouble to look into the matter a bit further we may learn that in the year 1950 three college professors from Franklin and Marshall College — Alfred L. Shoemaker, J. William Frey, and Don Yoder — founded the Festival.³ But the real origins of the Festival go back not to the 1950's, but to the 1930's. It was during the 1930's that Pennsylvania's own George Korson, noted folklorist from the anthracite region, launched the Pennsylvania Folk Festivals at Bucknell University and at Allentown. In this article we shall examine the historical origins of these early festivals and try to suggest some of the reasons why the 1930's constituted a favorable period for putting the idea of a folk festival into action.

The year was 1935. Franklin D. Roosevelt was in his first term of office. That year saw the passage of the Federal Social Security Act and the creation of the Resettlement Administration and the National Labor Relations Board. In short, the New Deal was in full swing. Meanwhile George Korson had been work-

ing as a reporter and columnist for the *Allentown Chronicle and News*. During the 1920's Korson had collected the folklore of the anthracite miners in northeastern Pennsylvania. In the early 1930's he continued to observe Pennsylvania folkways in the area around Allentown to supply ideas for his column. With his knowledge of folklore and a keen sense of timing, Korson founded and directed the Pennsylvania Folk Festival in Allentown. It is difficult to make an exact historical reconstruction of how this Festival came into being. It was due to a favorable combination of circumstances which Korson recognized. The year was 1935 and it was the right moment to take action. No one was better prepared by background or temperament than Korson to launch this enterprise.

The thirties were marked by the Great Depression and the New Deal. The rapid pace of change frightened many people because it seemed almost revolutionary. Writers and intellectuals were often so disappointed by the failure of capitalism that they turned to Marxist writing and proletarian fiction. Marxist critics tended to praise only that work which endorsed left-wing change. However, at the same time there was another group of thinkers who were involved with what Van Wyck Brooks has called "the search for a usable past."⁴ This group believed that it was insufficient to find fault with American culture because of a supposedly bad tradition. They believed that it was necessary to find a new tradition, or at least reinterpret the old one. Korson was a member of this second group. He was looking for the values, customs, and traditions of an earlier and simpler America.

The Pennsylvania Folk Festival was not the first folk festival in America, but it was among the first. Debate over just what event constituted the first folk festival is difficult and perhaps unproductive. Each festival is a bit different and some seem to have evolved out of traditional "singin' gatherin's." Perhaps the

¹Edwin Valentine Mitchell, *It's an Old Pennsylvania Custom* (New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1947), p. 222.

²For discussion of the festival as celebration see Robert Jerome Smith, "Festivals and Celebrations," in Richard M. Dorson, ed., *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 159-172.

³Don Yoder, "25 Years of the Folk Festival," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXIII (Folk Festival Supplement, 1974), p. 2.

⁴Howard Mumford Jones and Richard Ludwig, *Guide to American Literature and its Backgrounds since 1890* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 174.

Follow The TRAIL To ...



The Pennsylvania Folk Festival

IN MEMORIAL STADIUM

Bucknell University ---- Lewisburg, Pa.

THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY, SUNDAY

JULY 30--31 -- AUGUST 1--2--1936



Chief Strong Fox of the Seneca Tribe

Penna. Fo

MORE THAN 80

ALL EVENTS IN M

(LEWISBURG HIGH SCHO

Friday Afternoon, July 31, 2 P. M.

Mountain tunes

Pennsylvania-German songs, games, and dances

English, Scottish, and Western Pennsylvania ballads
by Mrs. Hannah Sayre, 74-year old ballad singer
from Western Pennsylvania

Cornplanter Indian Dances

Pioneer Pennsylvania Lumberjacks, River Raftsmen,
and Bituminous Coal Miners

Friday Evening, July 31, 8:00 P. M.

Occupational Folklore

Indian cornplanting rites—"Great Feather Dance",
"Green Corn Dance", "Harvest Dance"

Songs of the Conestoga Wagoners

Railroad songs of Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania canal folklore

Pennsylvania German songs, games

Sea chanteys of old Philadelphia

Anthracite miners' ballads, clogs, jigs, and fiddle tunes

Thurs. Evening, July 30, 8:00 P. M.

(Opening Night)

Racial Folklore

Chief Strong Fox and his Seneca Indians in tribal
rites and dances—"Indian Prayer Song", "Medicine
Dance", and "War Dance".

Folk Songs of Pennsylvania Races by Sunbury Girls
Glee Club.

Ukrainian Folk dances

Negro Spirituals by choir of 100 voices

Gypsy music and dances

French folk songs

Pennsylvania German games, songs, and dances

Wieand Group, participants in Pennsylvania German folk games and folk songs



Half Hour Band Concert
Before Each Evening
Program

Festival

PERFORMERS

ORIAL STADIUM

(CASE OF RAIN)

Sat. Afternoon, August 1, 2:00 P. M.

Stephen Foster Songs

River Raftsmen in tall stories, fiddle tunes, ballads, and clogs.

German folk songs by the Williamsport Turn Verein and the Concordia Male Chorus of Sunbury

Indian adoption ceremony—Eagle Boy Scouts and highest ranking Girl Scouts adopted by Indians colorful ceremony



Anthracite Miners tuning up for the Festival

Sunday Afternoon, Aug. 2, 6:00 P. M.

Hymn Sing

Massed Choirs singing famous hymns and chorales
Pennsylvania hymns sung by a massed choir of 100 voices

Favorite selections of Ole Bull, famous violinist, played by Dr. Will George Butler

Shawnee Choral Society, famous Welsh Choir of 80 voices, singing compositions of Gwilym Gwent

Group Singing by Everyone

Saturday Night, August 1, 8:00 P. M.

Contest Night

Contests for ballad singers, fiddlers, jigs and clog dancers

Interlude—Russian folk songs by a famous Russian choir.

Contest for street criers, country auctioneers, tall story tellers, cow callers, and others

Square Dance contest with five teams, regional winners, competing for a one hundred dollar prize

Members of an old time Pennsylvania German Singing School, Straustown



"The Greatest Cultural Step in Pennsylvania in half a century."

—Col. Henry W. Shoemaker,
noted historian

very earliest would be the Mountain Folk Festival at Asheville, North Carolina, started in 1928. Also in the earliest group would be the American Folksong Festival at the cabin of Jean Thomas, the "traipsin' woman" on the Mayo Trail, near Ashland, Kentucky, which started in 1930. In addition we would have to include in this period the White Top Festival at Marion, in Virginia.⁵

But Korson's idea did not come from North Carolina, Kentucky, or Virginia. Instead he got the idea from the National Folk Festival and Sarah Gertrude Knott. Korson had been friendly with her business manager, Major M. J. Pickering, an old army officer. Pickering wrote to Korson in 1934 informing him of the Folk Festival in St. Louis, Missouri, and asking him to bring a group of singing miners to perform. Korson approached Thomas Kennedy, a UMWA official, with the proposal. Kennedy took it to John L. Lewis, who approved the plan and agreed to cover all their expenses. Korson hand-picked a small group including Daniel Walsh and Jerry Byrnes. They were so well received in St. Louis that Korson decided to put on a little folk festival in Allentown the following year. Korson discussed the plan with William S. Troxell of the *Allentown Morning Call* and enlisted the support of Irene Welty, Director of the Allentown Recreation Commission.⁶

Inspired by what he had seen in St. Louis, Korson took full advantage of the contacts he had built up over the years as a newspaperman. Patiently he built up a program of music, singing, and dancing. It took all his powers of persuasion because basically the Festival was run on a shoestring. No one was paid to perform, but Korson picked up expenses where he had to. The Festival attempted to put together folklore from every possible grouping — racial, occupational, and ethnic. The result was an amazingly diverse presentation by Pennsylvania Germans, Indians, coal miners, Moravians, Blacks, and river raftsmen. Despite the apparent diversity however, the focus was inevitably on the Pennsylvania Germans and the anthracite coal miners.⁷

The dates for the First Pennsylvania Folk Festival were set. It was to be held on May 3 and 4, 1935. All that winter, Korson visited people, made telephone calls, and wrote letters. The plans started taking shape. Korson knew that he was dealing with an idea whose time had come. He shared in a sort of *esprit de corps* of folklorists of the day; he knew that he was on the right track. A few weeks before the Festival he re-

ceived a letter from Sarah Gertrude Knott offering encouragement and confirming his own feelings:

I just know so well what the success of this 'long time dreaming' has meant to you, and I rejoice with you because all of us who are passing through similar things know best how to appreciate the joy as well as the heart-breaks that come in ventures such as ours.

The things we are doing seem so real to me, I believe we are striking right down at the very depths of something. It is a strange thing how we get these ideas and strong urges, which I believe amount to inspiration and how 'hell and high water' cannot stop us. We do not make any money out of it, we have all kinds of battles to fight, and nobody sees why we are fighting, but there is something inside of us that pushes us on. When there is accomplishment it is more to us than those on the outside, and so I quite understand the feelings that you have in seeing your dreams come true, and you are truly doing a marvelous thing.⁸

Meanwhile from within the state, Korson's work was gaining recognition. Perhaps the foremost authority on Pennsylvania folklore of the day was Henry W. Shoemaker, president of the Altoona Times-Tribune Publishing Company. In a warm personal note to Korson a few weeks before the Festival, Shoemaker offered these words of encouragement: "And the joy and the dignity you have given these people by digging them out of their retirement, and giving them this final opportunity for fame and appreciation, transcends any humanitarian project of the New Deal. If all of these folk activities could have the same recognition, I believe it would result in a spiritual renaissance all over the State."⁹

Finally the weekend of May 3 and 4 arrived. There was a driving rain. The program, originally scheduled for the park, had to be moved to the Allentown High School and the Lyric Theatre. The Friday night program featured Pennsylvania Germans. Saturday morning began with the Cornplanter Indians from Warren County. The afternoon program continued with bow zitherists, anthracite coal miners, and raftsmen. Saturday night's final program included Moravian church music, Negro folk songs, and anthracite coal miner folklore as a grand finale. The next day the *Allentown Morning Call* carried a headline which told the whole story: "First Pennsylvania Folk Festival Proves Great and Glorious Success."¹⁰ Despite the rain a total crowd of some 5,000 attended the combined events.¹¹

Later that month Korson received a letter from Homer P. Rainey, President of Bucknell University

⁵Zelda Popkin, "Folk Festivals Lure: Annual Trips Begin in May to Centres of American Arts and Music," unidentified newspaper column, Spring 1935, enclosed in a letter from Henry W. Shoemaker to George Korson, April 20, 1935.

⁶Rae Korson, wife of George Korson, interview at Washington, D. C., February 17, 1973.

⁷"First Pennsylvania Folk Festival Proves Great and Glorious Success," *Allentown Morning Call*, May 5, 1935.

⁸Letter from Sarah Gertrude Knott to George Korson, April 15, 1935.

⁹Letter from Henry W. Shoemaker to George Korson, April 20, 1935.

¹⁰"First Pennsylvania Folk Festival. . ." *op. cit.*

¹¹"Folklore is Preserved in a Festival," *The Literary Digest*, August 1, 1936, pp. 21-22.

in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.¹² Rainey felt that Bucknell would benefit from hosting the Pennsylvania Folk Festival the following year. Rainey was enthusiastic about folklore and felt that the small cost of sponsoring the Festival would be well worthwhile in terms of prestige and public relations. Rainey also hoped that after two years, the Festival might become self-sustaining. Korson went to Lewisburg and was impressed by Rainey's enthusiasm and sincerity. Rainey appointed him as Director of the Pennsylvania Folk Festival at Bucknell University with a full-time salary.¹³ This was the turning point in Korson's career. For the first time, Korson could devote himself entirely to folklore.

In September of 1935 Korson went to Lewisburg. It was difficult to leave Allentown. For one thing, he had established himself as a leading citizen of Allentown. For another, his wife Rae had established a small business of her own, the Allentown Home Made Ice Cream Company, which she was reluctant to abandon. Understandably, Korson was nervous about his



George Korson, Director of the Pennsylvania Folk Festival

During this period Korson directed the Pennsylvania Folk Festival at Bucknell University in Lewisburg. In 1936 preceding the Pennsylvania Folk Festival, five regional folk festivals were held in the state: 1) Philadelphia Region at Philadelphia, 2) Central Pennsylvania Region at Altoona, 3) Anthracite Coal Region at Wilkes-Barre, 4) Western Pennsylvania Region at Pittsburgh, and 5) Pennsylvania German Region at Allentown. Photo courtesy of George Korson Folklore Archive.

¹²Letter from Homer P. Rainey to George Korson, May 29, 1935.

¹³Rae Korson, interview.

new role. Korson the folklore writer was about to become Korson the folk festival administrator. At the Bucknell convocation Korson, putting on an academic gown for the first time in his life, was in the spotlight of attention.

He described the experience in a letter to his wife:

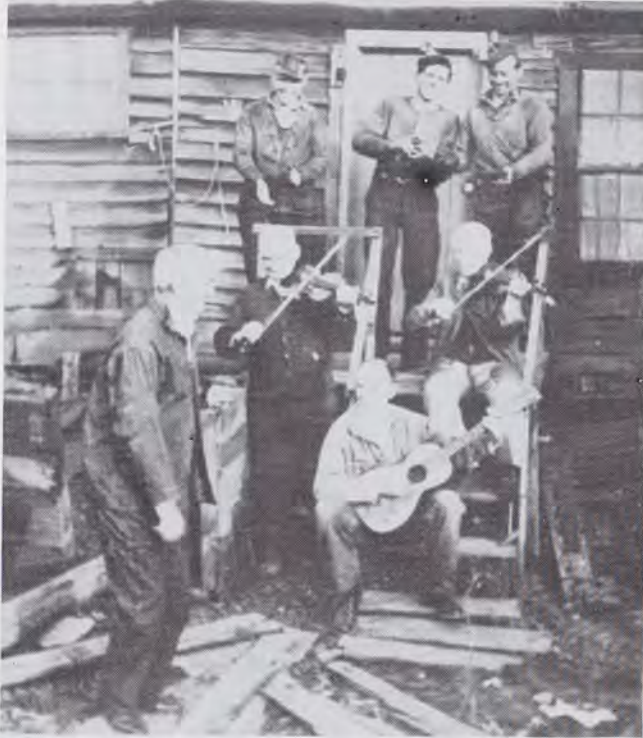
At the solemn convocation exercises in the First Baptist Church President Rainey made his announcement about me. I almost wept tears at the things he said about me and my work — where he got the details I don't know, but he had them. He spoke for more than an hour and devoted at least a third of his address to what Bucknell was going to do with folklore. That address marked the highest peak of my career. I feel very humble about it all and when I think of the big things they expect of me I am a little afraid. . . The way Dr. Rainey talked, the folk festival would be a permanent part of the university as it works in so well with the far-visioned policy of Bucknell. There is no doubt in my mind that they will want to continue it in future years.¹⁴

Korson threw himself into his work. Organizing a festival on the scale that Bucknell wanted would make heavy demands on Korson. It required considerable understanding of human nature to get along with the university administration and faculty on the one hand and the performers and civic leaders on the other. Staking his career on a single venture like this also required remarkable courage. Korson had to convince himself that he had made a wise choice. Korson knew that he was marching to a different drummer as shown in a letter to his wife: "The break that has come to me must certainly prove to you that I was on the right track all the time. . . I am different — the fact that I am the only man in Pennsylvania and of a few in the country who has made folklore a profession should prove to you that I am different . . ."¹⁵ Korson's immediate purpose in writing was to convince his wife that he was indeed "on the right track." But we see also in this letter his single-minded pursuit of folklore as a profession. His wife Rae may have had private doubts about his plans, but she sold the ice cream business and moved to Lewisburg where they took an apartment in a fraternity house. Korson must have known that what he was doing was historically important because it was during this period that he began to keep rather complete personal files and records of his accomplishments. Thanks to this foresight, we have a very good picture of what happened in planning the Pennsylvania Folk Festivals of 1936 and 1937.¹⁶

¹⁴Letter from George Korson to Rae Korson, September 20, 1935.

¹⁵Letter from George Korson to Rae Korson, September 30, 1935.

¹⁶At the George Korson Folklore Archive at King's College in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, there are 39 containers with correspondence. It is interesting to note that Container 5 has correspondence from 1918 to 1934 — a span of sixteen years — while Container 6 has correspondence from January to June of 1935 — a span of six months. The point is simply that it was apparently not until 1935 that Korson became self-aware of the historical importance of his work.



A group of seven unidentified anthracite miners sing and dance in front of a typical mine patch residence. Miner in foreground does a jig dance, accompanied by one guitar player and two fiddlers, while three miners in background (with mining caps) clap hands to the music. The photograph apparently carefully staged rather than spontaneous was part of the publicity material for the 1936 Pennsylvania Folk Festival at Bucknell University, Lewisburg. Photo courtesy of the George Korson Folklore Archive.

As a scholar Korson was undoubtedly motivated to use the Festival as a means of preserving and disseminating the traditional lore of Pennsylvania. However Korson had to keep in mind the goals of the Bucknell administration, which was itself in the process of change. Homer P. Rainey left Bucknell to become Director of the American Youth Commission. The Presidency passed to Arnaud C. Marts who both publicly and privately pledged continued support for the Pennsylvania Folk Festival. Both Rainey and Marts saw the festival mainly as a public service activity which would be good public relations. Sensitive to their wishes, Korson explained in an early memo four of the benefits accruing to Bucknell from the Festival:

“SOCIAL: It will provide a common meeting ground for the varied social elements that have gone into the making of Pennsylvania and promote a fuller appreciation of them. It will discover Pennsylvania for Pennsylvanians in a vivid, memorable way. It will awaken pride in the state’s customs and achievements, strengthen our people in a deeper loyalty and a stronger faith in their commonwealth.

CULTURAL: It will make available a mass of hitherto undiscovered folklore material for scholars, folklorists and historians, as well as for musicians and other creative artists.

ENTERTAINMENT: The folk festival makes for wholesome, thrilling entertainment. Its charm,

quaintness and simplicity combine to make an irresistible appeal to all classes of people.

TOURIST APPEAL: The widespread appeal of the folk festival is amply demonstrated in the South which annually draws thousands of tourists from all over the country to its folk festivals. Bucknell believes that its Pennsylvania Folk Festival will be equally attractive to tourists from other states. It will be the only major folk festival in the East.¹⁷

A clever innovation on Korson’s part was to hold five regional folk festivals prior to the state folk festival. This tended to legitimize Bucknell’s claim to be holding a statewide festival. It also helped in selecting the most representative material and the most competent performers. The Philadelphia Region Festival was held at Philadelphia on May 3, 4 and 5. The Central Pennsylvania Region Festival was held at Altoona on May 15. The Anthracite Coal Region Festival was held at Wilkes-Barre on May 25. The Western Pennsylvania Region Festival was held at Pittsburgh on May 30. Finally the Pennsylvania German Region Festival was held at Allentown on June 26 and 27. It was a demanding schedule, but Korson had to do things well. In the pursuit of excellence Korson was unwilling to spare himself. In an article for the *Bucknell Alumni Monthly* Korson explained his policy on regional festivals:

Preceding the state folk festival in Memorial Stadium, there will be a series of preliminary regional and local festivals in various parts of the state. It is our policy to help build these preliminary events into local traditions in the respective communities. The folk festival has a technique all its own and until local leadership is developed to handle it properly we shall have to continue to give assistance. The preliminary festivals help us uncover hidden sources of material and performers, while providing a means of promotion for the statewide program at Lewisburg which is invaluable.¹⁸

The Pennsylvania Folk Festival itself was scheduled for July 30 and 31 through August 1 and 2 of 1936 in the Memorial Stadium of Bucknell University in Lewisburg. The choice of Memorial Stadium as the site had some interesting and perhaps unforeseen consequences. Using a large concrete horseshoe which was designed for watching football dictated a certain kind of format. Certain tacit assumptions were made. For example, it was assumed that the audience would take their seats and watch and listen while “more than 800 performers” performed.¹⁹ This format contrasts vividly with contemporary folk festivals like, for example, the Kutztown Folk Festival.

¹⁷George Korson, “How the Pennsylvania Folk Festival of Bucknell University Can Serve the State,” memorandum to Arnaud C. Marts, Acting President of Bucknell University, 1936.

¹⁸George Korson, “Folk Festival News,” *Bucknell Alumni Monthly* (February 1937), p. 7.

¹⁹Pennsylvania Folk Festival, *Program* (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania Bucknell University, 1936), p. 2.

At Kutztown, Pennsylvania, the festival is held on a fair grounds, rather than in a stadium. The net effect is a "loose" arrangement rather than a "tight" arrangement. At Kutztown there is, to be sure, a "main stage" which spotlights music, singing, auctions, and pageantry. But only a small proportion of the people are there at any one time. Most of them are off wandering around talking to craftsmen, playing games, buying things, eating refreshments, and taking in the spectacle. The emphasis there, is "on informality — what the visitor saw was not a closed museum exhibit but a living demonstration, with tools he could touch and handle, and a demonstrator with whom he could chat and exchange techniques as well as lore."²⁰

The difference between Lewisburg then and Kutztown now is the difference between formality and informality. Though Korson may not have been overtly aware of his bias, as a newspaperman he shared the values and assumptions of typography. The plan of the Pennsylvania Folk Festival was linear, orderly and sequential. In McLuhan's terminology we would have to say that Korson's festival was "hot" in that it was a highly defined event because so much was given and so little had to be filled in by the listener. The festival of today tends to be "cool" — more like a seminar and less like a lecture. The contemporary festival allows the casual participant more freedom to wander about and discover the meaning of the festival for himself.²¹

The Pennsylvania Folk Festival was ballyhooed in press releases as "The Greatest Cultural Step in Pennsylvania in half a century," a quotation attributed to Col. Henry W. Shoemaker.²² Indeed it was an ambitious undertaking. The ardent festival goer could watch six different programs over a four-day period. The Festival opened on Thursday night with a program of "Racial Folklore" featuring Indian tribe rites, Ukrainian folk songs, and Pennsylvania German folk songs. The second day was given over to a presentation of occupational folklore including river raftsmen, Conestoga wagoners, canal boatmen, farmers, sailors, street criers, and anthracite coal miners. Saturday was devoted to contests and features. The University gave a cash award of \$100 to the winning square dance team and medals to individual performers including ballad singers and traditional fiddlers. Finally the program concluded on Sunday with leading choirs of the state singing hymns and sacred music.²³

After the dust settled and the crowds went home, Korson could bask in the satisfaction of a job well done. The press coverage had been favorable, and President Marts was pleased. There was one dark

cloud on the horizon— the financial picture. Expenditures for the festival had come to about \$8,000, but receipts totaled only about \$5,000. Still no one was overly concerned about a \$3,000 deficit. Ticket prices had been kept deliberately low, and no one expected the Festival to make money the first year. Nonetheless there was hope that the Festival could be made self-supporting in 1937.²⁴

Planning for the 1937 Festival started immediately. One criticism of the 1936 Festival had been that the folklore material needed to be given a more dramatic presentation. Korson's handling of this objection serves as a good example of both his integrity and his diplomacy. At Korson's urging the University had employed the professional public relations firm of Lawn and Wendt in New York City. They handled routine publicity and gave advice on how to get the most favorable press coverage. Both Victor H. Lawn and Paul R. Wendt pressed for more professional presentation. It is to Korson's credit that he accepted criticism of the mechanics of production, but he held out against excessive popularization. Thus Korson became one of the pioneer guardians of the integrity of folklore as opposed to "fakelore."²⁵ Of course, he did not call it "fakelore"; he called it "showmanship," but his judgement in the matter was fundamentally sound as shown by one of his reports:

Let us first examine the suggestions of Lawn and Wendt. Theirs is a plan for more showmanship and less folklore. Now staging a folk festival in a large open-air theatre like Memorial Stadium does compel the use of some showmanship. But it can be applied to the production without either impairing the integrity of the material or cramping the spontaneity of the performers. The platform should be moved close to the stands which would promote an atmosphere of intimacy between audience and performers which is one of the charms of a folk festival. Costuming, bright lights, and perhaps a judicious use of colored lights, and perfect amplification would certainly improve the performances. Further improvement lies in getting the performers on and off the stage expeditiously. The 'acts' themselves can be arranged in an effective order but we must be prepared to sacrifice such an arrangement for the sake of a nationwide radio broadcast.

These, in my opinion, are sound technical devices that can be applied to the festival effectively without sacrificing or compromising its intrinsic qualities. Showmanship that would take us beyond these bounds should be carefully considered. The folk festival has a technique all its own and one of our regional directors who refused to recognize it or employ it met with less than success last spring. ²⁶

²⁴George Korson, "Financial Statement of 1936 Pennsylvania Folk Festival" (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, Bucknell University memorandum, 1936).

²⁵The term "fakelore" was coined by Dorson in 1950. See Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 4.

²⁶George Korson, "Plans for the 1937 Pennsylvania Folk Festival" (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University memorandum, 1936).

²⁰Don Yoder, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²¹Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), pp. 7-32.

²²Pennsylvania Folk Festival, *Program, op. cit.*

²³*Ibid.*



THE INDIANS
ARE COMING!

... to the ...

PENNSYLVANIA
FOLK FESTIVAL

... in ...

Memorial Stadium
Bucknell University - Lewisburg, Pa.

Friday and Saturday
July 30 and 31, 1937

...More Than 500 Participants...

All Programs Eastern Standard Time

CHIEF LITTLE OWL
Nanticoke Indians, Delaware

Program cover for Pennsylvania Folk Festival of 1937, held at Bucknell University.

So Korson resisted suggestions to stress entertainment and to minimize folklore. Korson realized that part of the attraction of the Festival was that the performers were close to the soil and to the customs and traditions that they reflected. However in one important dimension Korson had to compromise. To hold down costs, the program was drastically shortened. Instead of six performances, there were three — Friday evening, Saturday afternoon, and Saturday evening. This abridgment may have been a blessing in disguise because it did force a greater degree of selectivity of material and performers.²⁷

The 1937 Festival ran into bad luck. Because of heavy rain on both nights, the Festival had to be moved from the Stadium to the Lewisburg High School Auditorium.²⁸ The program, a good balance of different genres from different ethnic groups, went on; but the expected crowd never showed up. Bravely the Festival opened on Friday evening July 30 with a program of "Folk Expressions of Pennsylvania Races." This included Indian dances, Welsh folk songs, Ukrainian folk dances, and a Pennsylvania-German schnitzing party. In addition there were Stephen C. Foster songs,

English folk songs, Scottish folksongs and dances, and finally a re-enactment of a Scandinavian Mid-Summer Fest. The next day, Saturday, July 31, was billed as "Nanticoke Day." In addition to Nanticoke Indian dances, there were statewide contests in fiddling, clog dancing, ballad singing, country auctioneering, and tall story telling. Finally that evening a program was held featuring "Occupational Folk Expressions of Pennsylvania." The program began with the State Square Dancing Championship Contest with the five regional teams in competition. The square dancing was followed by street cries, canal boatmen's songs, lumberjacks' songs, sea chanteys, anthracite miners' songs, and Conestoga wagoners' songs.²⁹

Despite the well-organized program, the Festival again lost money. It is impossible to reconstruct the exact chain of events here, but the fact of having lost money two years in a row put a strain on Korson's relations with Bucknell. As Bucknell lost interest, the search for a new sponsor for 1938 was initiated. The search was concentrated in the Philadelphia area since it was the center of the American Swedish Tercentenary Celebration that year. After considerable negotia-

²⁷George Korson, "Folk Festival News," *op. cit.*

²⁸Letter from George Korson to E. C. Nagle, August 4, 1937.

²⁹Pennsylvania Folk Festival, *Program* (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University, 1936).

tion it was decided that the Fourth Annual Pennsylvania Folk Festival would be sponsored jointly by Beaver College and the Pennsylvania Arts and Sciences Society. It was to be held at the Grey Towers estate campus of Beaver College in Jenkintown. Walter B. Greenway, President of Beaver College, and Louis Walton Siple, Director of the Society, agreed to collaborate on the presentation of the program on an even basis regarding the risks, or profits, incurred.³⁰

The 1938 Festival was limited to a single day — June 18, a Saturday. Though some items had to be cut out, the format remained much the same as in previous years. There were songs and dances of the Swedes, the English, the Scottish, the Welsh, the Pennsylvania Germans, the Slavs, and the Blacks. In addition there

FOURTH ANNUAL PENNSYLVANIA FOLK FESTIVAL JUNE 18, 1938

Through the courtesy of Bucknell University the setting for the nationally famous Pennsylvania Folk Festival has been transferred for 1938 from Lewisburg to Philadelphia, center of the American Swedish Tercentenary Celebration.

This greatest of all American folk festivals will be held on the beautiful Grey Towers estate of Beaver College at Jenkintown. In a medieval setting, with the Towers designed after old Alnwick Castle of Northumberland, England, as an ideal background for a folk festival, over 1000 participants will present the occupational and racial folklore of the Keystone State.



The site of Grey Towers has been considered by the sponsors of this year's Festival as ideally adapted to the convenience of visitors coming from Philadelphia or outside the city. Visitors from Philadelphia, New York, Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, Williamsport, Baltimore, Washington, and other cities will find fast frequent service to the Jenkintown station of the Reading Company.

were ballads of the anthracite miners, Conestoga wagons, and lumberjacks. Finally there were the usual contests in auctioneering, ballad singing, fiddling, and dancing.³¹

As it turned out, 1938 was to be the last Pennsylvania Folk Festival for a long time. Again the Festival was more of an artistic success than a financial success. In addition Korson and Siple had a number of disagreements in managing the Festival.³² President Marts of Bucknell offered to transfer the Festival to Beaver College.³³ President Greenway of Beaver was interested, but the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees at Beaver decided not to go ahead.³⁴ Later Korson approached the University of Pennsylvania concerning sponsorship, but they too declined.³⁵ In retrospect it seems unfortunate that the Pennsylvania Folk Festival was allowed to wither away. In addition to the problem of bad luck with the weather, there was the more basic problem that educational institutions in Pennsylvania like Bucknell University and Beaver College in the late thirties did not have enough seed money to sponsor the Festival long enough to make it self-supporting.

Why did the Pennsylvania Folk Festival die in the late thirties? Why did it stay dormant throughout the forties? These are tough questions. The historian is always confronted with the problem of cause and effect. It is difficult enough to determine why things happened, let alone why they did not happen. Some people I have talked to have suggested that the Pennsylvania Folk Festival faded in the early forties because of World War II and gas rationing. People simply did not have the gas to get to something as frivolous as a folk festival. On the surface this explanation is plausible, but the real reason I suspect is much deeper. The real reason is that with the outbreak of World War II, America recovered from her identity crisis of the 1930's. People were no longer concerned with "the search for a usable past." With the onset of war prosperity returned and America could get on with business as usual. Folk festivals were suddenly relics of the past like the state guide book series of the Federal Writers Project or the WPA Federal Theatre or the murals on the walls of schoolhouses, town halls, hospitals, and post offices. Ironically when we look back at the 1930's now we see a period of financial disease coupled paradoxically with artistic health. Though everyone agrees that the 1930's were hard times, they were nonetheless good times for the arts, for folklore, and for the re-discovery of American traditions.

³⁰Letter from Louis Siple to Arnaud C. Marts, February 14, 1938.

³¹Pennsylvania Folk Festival, Advertising Flyer (Jenkintown, Pennsylvania: Beaver College Publicity Department, 1938).

³²See, for example, letter from Louis Siple to George Korson, March 19, 1938; and letter from George Korson to Louis Siple, March 21, 1938.

³³Letter from Arnaud C. Marts to Louis Siple, July 5, 1938.

³⁴Letter from Walter Greenway to George Korson, July 25, 1938.

³⁵Letter from Phelps Soule to George Korson, October 4, 1938.

Rational Powwowing: An Examination of Choice among Medical Alternatives in Rural York County, Pennsylvania

By SUSAN STEWART

In this paper I will discuss some changes of choice among ways of curing that occurred over a period of approximately fifty years in the life of my informant, Mrs. X of B—ville, Pennsylvania. This discussion is based upon a series of taped interviews that we conducted this fall in her home. It is supplemented by interviews with other members of the community, but not meant as a premise for generalization. I have concentrated on Mrs. X's ways of talking about medicine in relation to her personal history and have not attempted to make any categorizations or conclusions other than those offered by the data itself.

The Family and the Community

I began my work by talking to several families in A—ville and B—ville, small towns located in York County, Pennsylvania. I began the interviewing by asking about powwowing practices, and while most people said that they had never gone to a powwow doctor, most knew someone who had (sometimes as close a relative as a brother or sister) and most people knew several non-medical cures. No one directly talked about personal experiences with doctors outside of the "medical" tradition, and many informants cited the "hex murders" of 1928 as marking the end of powwowing practices in the area. Some people voiced resentment over media coverage of the murder, saying that it made the community look "foolish and backward". At the same time, many people had saved clippings from such coverage and/or had copies of Arthur Lewis's novel, *Hex*, billed as "a spell-binding account of witchcraft and murder in Pennsylvania."

Ambivalent feelings of curiosity and skepticism about unorthodox health practices characterized the interviews. The opinions of Mr. and Mrs. B. of B—ville were typical. Mrs. B. works in the B—ville cigar factory and says that many women there talk about "hoo-dooing and curing for this and that". She herself never went to a powwow doctor to be cured, but remembers that in the 1940's her cousin went to a powwow practitioner in Abbottstown to be cured of a lung ailment that "regular" doctors couldn't seem to relieve. Mr. B. said that "a poor family with five children" who lived on his parents' tenant farm often asked him to take ailing family members to a local powwow doctor to be cured. The children often had a malady called "taking off" or "liver grown" and Mr. B. said that the powwow doctor attempted a cure by putting the sick child through a horse collar or making the child crawl around a table leg. If the children had pneumonia the powwow doctor would throw an egg into the stove, saying a charm. The B—s disapprove of powwowing and describe it as a "boot-leg business." They added, "More than just the Dutch people believed in it. It was cheaper to go to the powwow doctors. Mostly babies got sick because they didn't have the right kind of food. Mostly only poor, uneducated people went to powwow doctors."

Mrs. B. mentioned a neighboring family, the X family who had practiced powwowing. She said that her mother had often saved the lives of the children of that family by telling the mother "to stop that powwowing business and get those children to a doctor." Through them I met Mrs. X who lives on a small farm approximately a mile from the B—s and her original home.

Mrs. X also sees her medical practices as being part of a family tradition. While the B—s, who always went to medical doctors and took commercial medicines, saw the Xes as being something of a community anomaly, Mrs. X told me, “I don’t think my family was unusual doing powwowing. I think it was just the way they was brought up. I think it goes back, one generation to the other, just like a lot of things.” At the same time, she has seen, throughout her life, a range of alternatives available for curing various types of illnesses and chosen among those alternatives according to a set of values and understandings informed by family and peer traditions and personal experience. Religion plays a minor role in the healing practices which she reported.

She said:

Mostly the preacher (Lutheran) would come around only if you were really sick, only not for contagious diseases. Then no one could get in. They put your store stuff on the porch. I remember the preacher come once when I had rheumatic fever when I was 15. He came to my bedside and prayed. I thought I wouldn’t walk again. It was three months after I had that before I could walk. I had a medical doctor then. Powwow doctors might say something about God or Jesus when they’re curing, but not medical doctors — they believe in medicine, see.

Types of Illness and Cures

Mrs. X knew a great many “home remedies” or ways of curing in the home which she herself could master. Following is a list of various types of illnesses and their cures. Her methods are given, otherwise I have listed the source of the cure:

cough — make a syrup of chestnut leaves and honey and drink it.

croup — goose fat and coal oil should be rubbed on the chest, or put ice on your throat. Never use anything warm, only something cold to make your throat open up. Goose and polecat grease mixed together also work when rubbed on your chest.

arthritis — take some spice bark and make a tea out of it. (Spice bark grows plentifully around the X farm).

diarrhea — make a tea out of ragweed.

thick blood — in the spring drink sassafras tea.

cramps — drink sheep manure tea.

abscess — put cold manure on it.

polis, carbuncle or boil — rub ham fat on it.

cold — render the fat out of a skunk (polecat), rub the polecat grease on your chest.

warts — cut an end off a lemon and rub the juice

on it, or make the wart bleed, put the blood on a penny, then throw the penny away. If you find that penny you get the wart back. Rubbing a raw potato on a wart will also get rid of it.

burns — rub raw potato on a burn.

delirious fever — go to a powwow doctor if a witch caused it.

sore mouth
stomach fever
burns on a baby
liver grown
taking off } should be cured by powwow doctor.

convulsions
pneumonia
diphtheria
smallpox } medical doctor should be consulted, vaccinations necessary.

appendix peritonitis — calls for medical doctor, hospital.

birth — medical doctor or practical nurse.

bone injuries — chiropractor (“bone doctor”).

muscle injuries — osteopath (“rubbing doctor”).

Preventive Medicine

The two most important types of preventive medicine practiced by Mrs. X are the use of vitamin pills and vaccinations. She talked to me at length about vaccination practices and how they have changed over three generations. When her mother was a child, children had to have a vaccination mark in order to attend school. The family would have the oldest child vaccinated and then scratch the younger children’s arms and distribute the older child’s scab among them. She said, “It’ll take so far as the scab part is concerned, but whether it makes you immune to smallpox, I don’t know. But they never got it. I think a lot of people did that because they didn’t have too much money. They just did that there to save money. You could vaccinate them all with one scab by transferring it down from one to another.” When she attended school, vaccination was compulsory and had to be documented. She says that she now believes that it is very important. Her daughter’s doctor advised against having a grandson vaccinated, but she insisted that the child get a vaccination.

“If there would be an outbreak it would be impossible to get them all done, you know, before they all get it.” She has kept track of the vaccination histories of her three grandchildren.

Nutrition also plays a strong role in her practice of preventive medicine. “I had a lot of belief in vitamin pills. My kids took vitamin pills when they were small,

you know, and I never had too much trouble with them. To tell you the truth, my oldest son said, "Mom, how comes we don't get sick and miss school. Other kids do." This "belief" in vitamin pills, like vaccinations, is also a source of conflict with the current local medical tradition. She told me, "My daughter over here goes to this doctor over here and he doesn't prescribe no vitamins for their little baby, and my daughter. He said her body has built up enough immune to colds, but I don't agree with him because that little thing was sick all last winter. She had colds all the time and I said to her, 'Why don't you go out and get vitamins for her?' and she said, 'Why, the doctor don't approve of vitamins when they're that small, there's only certain things they can eat.' "

While the women in her family over all three generations have practiced breast feeding, there has been a marked change in diet from Mrs. X's infancy to that of her grandchildren. As she herself put it,

When we was kids, they didn't have baby food on the market. What we ate was mashed potatoes and gravy, maybe something like that Mom could mash up. Now when my kids grew up you could buy baby food, but now baby food's got so expensive that my daughter, with her last little boy, was very few jars of baby food she bought. She takes food and puts it in the blender, makes her own baby food with fruit, vegetables, meat and all that stuff. Here last winter, if I killed a duck or something, I never cared for the liver, you know, I put it in the blender with some mashed potatoes and vegetables and a little gravy and blended it up and made baby food for the little ones.

She attributes her children's "good teeth" to breast feeding. Her son had his first visit to the dentist when he was sixteen and had no cavities. She said that she had some teeth pulled at the medical doctor's office when she was four, but that was the only time she remembers having dental care as a child. "They didn't have nothing to give you, they just pulled the tooth." In addition to tooth benefits, she sees the decline in "livergrown" as being related to more variety in children's diets.

The Powwow Tradition

The powwowing tradition was strongest in Mrs. X's life before 1950, when she lived with her parents. Her father was well-known among the community as a person who could effectively powwow for stomach fever. She said, "My mother had stomach fever different times. You get a bad cramp in your stomach and you can't keep nothing down, no food, no matter

what you eat. They call it upset stomach, more or less, same way, they called it liver-grow'd too, you know. If a child got it, you know, couldn't keep nothing down, they called it liver-grow'd too, because he wasn't growin', couldn't keep nothin' down. See at that time, see we didn't have food to feed babies like we do now. When my father cured for stomach fever, he took a fresh egg, a fresh chicken egg, and he took a cord string and then he wrapped it around the egg, not lengthwise, but the round way, and while he was doin' that, that's when he was powwowing, see, 'cause he was saying things to himself. I don't know what they were, it wouldn't do him no good to tell you. I mean me, he could have told you, because you wasn't no relative. Then he'd put the egg into the fire and if that egg busted, why, you had stomach fever and it would be cured. If it didn't bust, you didn't have stomach fever and then you'd have to seek for something else for a cure. I guess you went to a regular doctor, I don't know."

She repeated her belief that medical doctors use powwow cures that are watered down so that you have to keep making visits. "You take such a thing. You take, they have. What do you call it? They study on a lot of this stuff now like cancer, look how they have a special place, a what do you call 'em, *lab*, set up. That they're studying all the time on different diseases. You know they have a quicker cure, they're just not using it."

Rubbing Doctors, Bone Doctors

Within the past year, Mrs. X has discovered two other alternatives among her medical choices — what she calls, "the rubbing doctor and the bone doctor," the osteopath and chiropractor, respectively. Last December she injured her neck by falling on ice:

And you know, from that day on, I couldn't do a bit of work. I went to a medical doctor and he couldn't do me no good. All he did was give me dope, you know, to kill the pain. I kept that up for I don't know how many weeks. Well, in fact, they had me in the hospital for six days. They took X-rays, but they couldn't find out what was the matter with me. And they sent me home and said, "Well, how do you feel, Mrs. X." And I said, 'Well, my head still hurts,' and that's all they ever did for me.

Here again is expressed her dissatisfaction with "medical" cures, a questioning of their appropriateness and a sense of anonymity about hospital treatment. Her husband suggested that she make a visit to a local chiropractor, about whom she says, "He's

a chiropractor, a cousin of my husband's. In fact, his brother is married to my sister and they deer hunt together, D— and J—, so J— had trouble before that and he had gone to D— when D— first started up down here at the old hotel in (a neighboring town). And the first treatment I took felt different. After that, even if I just got sick headaches, I'd go down and take a treatment. They were gone." She has been very satisfied with the chiropractor's performance and says that he would be her first choice for the treatment of any bone injuries. She added that "the rubbing doctors and bone doctors say that there used to be a lot of operations done that weren't called for, that left the patient entirely an invalid."

Brendle and Unger in their work, *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1935: 192-193) discuss the term "livergrown" and say that it is a name for "a quite mysterious but common ailment in early childhood":

It is conceivable that there might be rare cases of the liver attaching itself through some morbid growth to the neighboring and outer parts, but since the ailment under discussion is known to everyone among our people, it is idle to think of any such explanation.

The muscular or fleshy part of the lower chest region, in the region of the short ribs, contracts as if by adhesions of some sort to some inner part, leaving the ribs sharply defined and giving them the appearance of being ridged or swollen; the abdomen itself consequently is or appears to be raised.

Apparently the symptoms are the same in Mrs. X's experience, but she sees it as an illness that affects adults as well as children.

She said that it wasn't unusual for powwow doctors to specialize as her father did, "it depends on how much you learn." She herself didn't know any of her father's cures, since she said that a powwow doctor has to teach his or her charms to a member of the opposite sex who is not a relative.

I think my Dad learned powwowing from someone else, not in our family. You see, you couldn't learn it from no one like son or daughter, or husband tell wife. You had to be, you know, just a friend. And it had to be like the man told a woman and the woman had to tell another man, she couldn't tell another woman or it would be no good, it wouldn't work, they said. And it couldn't be none of her relatives, it had to be a stranger.

For other illnesses treatable by powwowing, the family went to the local powwow doctor who lived

"right down here at the next farm. At that time Dad mostly went and got him, fetched him in horse and buggy." This powwower not only made house calls, he also came free of charge. Mrs. X remembers only a few specific sessions of powwowing. She told me that

One time when F— (her brother) was little, he had such an awful sore mouth, and they got someone, a Mrs. H—. She powwowed for sore mouth and she went to the barn and got some straw, in the cow's stable, and she took this straw and somehow went around his mouth. I don't know what she did do, you know. She went and powwowed around his mouth with the straw, you know. She was sayin' stuff, you don't know what they're sayin', you know, because they're talking to themselves. The person being cured usually can't hear what the powwower says.

She remembered another time when a powwow doctor was called for — a baby cousin had pulled a cup of hot coffee onto himself. A woman powwow doctor came every day and "took the fire out" of the burns with her cures.

The powwowing tradition became less vital to Mrs. X when she left home, although her husband's family was also familiar with, and practiced the tradition. She gave me the following history of the tradition:

I never took my children to a powwow doctor. Well, I'll tell you the truth about it, the powwow doctors practically all died off. Maybe they passed on what they knew, but we just never knowed of it. Don't you think that the powwowing doctors sort of come back from the Indians? That's what I sort of think. Maybe it was learned in the first place from the Indians. The powwowing doctors have their herbs and plants and things like that like the Indians had. They had the same thing. A lot of it's good, you know it? They claim that a lot of medicine is made out of the same stuff, but it's weakened down so it won't cure as quick.

Mrs. X had never heard of any powwowing books, such as *Hohman's Long Lost Friend* or *Egyptian Secrets*, nor had she ever heard of the *Himmelsbrief* practice. Her knowledge of powwowing and the efficacy of the cure rested entirely upon oral transmission.

Witches — Malevolent Medicine

Countering the benevolent medicine of the local powwow doctor, a woman lived on the *next* farm who was blamed by the X family for various community misfortunes. Mrs. X said that this woman put a spell on her brother C— when he was six:

When C— had a fever he would say, "I see the old bitch, I see the old bitch," so we took him to the powwow. He took a lock of my brother's hair, bored a hole in a doorway that C— passed through a lot, just at his height (C—'s). He took

the lock of hair and drove it in with a wooden peg. That's still at home. C— got better then. Something like that just can't be helped by a regular doctor.

Mrs. X's mother always said that a child lost in a diphtheria epidemic before Fern's birth was killed by this supposed witch. After this murder, the witch tried to put a spell on Mrs. X's sister, but their mother had caught on by that time.

My mother called a woman in York, a powwow doctor. Our neighbor, Mrs. G—, told her about her. When they got there, to the powwow doctor's, the woman said, "I knew you were coming" — she knew what it was all about. This woman took my sister's hand in hers.

She said some things and when she was done she said, "If you know this person, when I take my hand off hers, you'll know her." When my mother looked at my sister's palm, a picture of this woman, the one who killed my brother, came out of the hand. Then the powwow woman said, "You take her home. That woman will come to your door and want to borrow something. Take the girl's undershirt off and pinch it in a dresser drawer. When the woman comes, don't let her in. Cuss her to the four highest words in the Bible". We went home then, my mother did this and when the woman came she said she'd use the broom on her. The men were working on the road that night. It was raining and snowing and hailing. It was the worst night I've ever seen. The witch told the men that my mother had been talking about her. That was because the spell was broken. Bad witches have to work on someone all the time or they don't feel well.

Mrs. X said that she didn't know what the "four highest words" in the Bible were, but she remembered some ways that a witch could put a spell on you. "A witch can put a spell on you if they pull a string from your slip, or get a piece of clothing or lock of hair from you, or know your full name." In my preliminary interviews, the B—s had trouble remembering the names of the seven X children because they said that Mrs. X insisted upon calling each child by a variety of nicknames known only within the family. This might have been a protective measure on her part.

The neighbor woman reported to be a witch is the subject of a great deal of X family folklore. The Xes say that she killed her own son, because when the son went to join the army the mother disapproved, saying, "You'll never get any farther than camp." Mrs. X told me, "If you look in the World War I book under his name you'll see 'Died in camp — cause unknown.' And that's because she killed her own son. My mother always said that 'He died in camp. How could a mother be so mean?'"

Ironically, neighbors found the X family's belief in witches to be something of an anti-social form of behavior. At the same time the Xes' witchlore reflects a strong feeling that witches are made evil by their discourse with the Devil and are marked by their isolation from "everyday, normal" life and their antipathy to children and family.

Well, they say that witches have a book that they read. They read that backwards and then they can do most anything, and they got to work on someone all the time. They sell their self to the devil, they call it. Maybe she (the witch) was the kind of person who hated other people, who didn't want anyone to get ahead of her family. Maybe she enjoyed being like that.

Mrs. X added that many people who don't like children are witches, recalling a "neighbor of my uncle's who had no children and lives in (a York County town). He said, 'I wish a law would come in for shooting kids like it does for rabbits.'" That's the kind of feeling a witch has. That witch, she died when she was going on 80. She killed her daughter's husband because she didn't like him. Killed her own son in camp and kept her other son from ever getting married. She was a sorry-looking thing. She was always. She never talked much. People like that should never get married."

Mrs. X is impressed with the way witches are handled in Kentucky. "A neighbor woman told my mother one time, she was from Kentucky, said when they found a witch, like that, they took her out and cut her head off. That's it. They cut their heads off." She added that witches weren't always women, sometimes they are males who usually live by themselves without wife or children.

She went on to say that a neighbor had a witchbook once that had to be read backwards and forwards, but when he started to read it, "He couldn't sleep, he had a fit, it affected him that bad. He told my Dad that the Devil had told him to read it." She said that the witch on the next farm had such a book and that even when she was away from home, she could tell if someone had found it and begun to read it. When I asked how such books were distributed, she said that it was probably the Devil who gave them out, sometimes through peddlers or advertisements in the newspaper. She mentioned the celebrated witch named Rehmeyer who was murdered in the Hex killings of 1928. He was a hermit who lived in a place called, predictably, "Rehmeyer's Hollow." Mrs. X said that on certain nights you can "see things — hear him hollerin' and the murderers walkin' the graveyard where he's buried. They say the lights will go out in your car no matter how good your battery is." She added that she hadn't seen these things herself, but that her mother always could, since she was "born with

a veil." Her mother often saw ghosts and sometimes saw angels in the X home.

Medical Doctors

For Mrs. X, medical doctors have usually presented a first or last, rather unreliable, resort when faced with some physical illness. Their inadequacy seems to be based upon the limits of their belief — "For a medical doctor you mostly went if you had pneumonia, they believe in medicine, or well, not too often, but sometimes for sore throats. Only when the family had diphtheria they had the doctor come and give them a shot. I had pneumonia when I was a little girl, we had a medical doctor for that. They knew I had a bad cold, see. See, a powwow doctor is more for stomach fever. That's different than when you have a bad cold."

When Mrs. X was a child there was a doctor in B—ville, but Mrs. X refused to go to him because "half the time he was half drunk and didn't know what he was doing." She said that "once Mrs. G— doctored with him when one of her children was sick. And she got him down and he gave her medicine and she said, 'Well, that medicine just don't look right, you know,' and so she didn't give it to him and when the doctor sobered up, he came back real quick and said, 'Did you give that child that medicine?' and she said 'No,' and he said, 'Oh, my gosh, I'm glad you didn't,' he said, 'that was poison. It would have killed him.' And my mother said she never liked that doctor for that reason, 'cause he was drinkin' and he never knew what he was doing." Her mother sometimes took the children about fifteen miles by buggy to a Dr. Shanbarger. She added that there is a new doctor in B—ville now who makes house calls, "but then he charges a heck of a price, too. I think he charges, I forget what my sister did say, ten dollars? I know it's an awful price."

Doctors seem to be most often called upon to assist at birth. A local practical nurse also often assists with births. Mrs. X's mother had all her children in the home, while Mrs. X herself had her oldest daughter at home and the others at York Hospital, 20 miles away. She told me that all her grandchildren were born in York Hospital and that her son-in-law attended the delivery of her most recent grandson. She has seen a marked change in hospital practice, recounting how her cousin almost died of peritonitis in the 30's because of the distance to the hospital. The development of an ambulance service and use of the hospital for severe types of illness is fairly recent history in the area. Judgements about illness once seen as a choice between a powwow doctor and a "regular" doctor have now shifted in some cases to a choice between a medical doctor and the hospital staff.

Doctors, in most of Mrs. X's narratives, seem oblivious to the "real" situation of illness. In recounting how her mother lost a baby, she said "At that time doctors didn't know what was the matter, the doctor never really examined the baby." The doctor couldn't help in the case of the sister who died in infancy because he was unable to counteract the spells of witches. In another narrative she told about a time when her son M— began to foam at the mouth with convulsions while the family was on a shopping trip in a neighboring town. When they rushed him to the doctor, the doctor said, "Oh, I guess he had a little temperature. He's probably cutting teeth."

Some Tentative Conclusions

David Hufford began his paper, "Humanoids and Anomalous Lights: Epistemological and Taxonomic Problems" at the American Folklore Society meetings in 1975 by saying, "We don't say that Pennsylvania Germans *believe* that there is something they call pot pie." My interviews with Mrs. X reify this point in that they call for a re-examination of the notion of "occult cures." Within the context of her life cycle, choices made among alternative forms of medical practice seem to be informed mainly by what we might call "common sense." Her logic of choice is based upon a self-articulated understanding of the influence of tradition, trust in and loyalty to family ties, economic necessity and an active, vital use of the resources available to her. Her wide range of choice, at first glance somewhat eclectic, is actually based upon a strong, albeit rational, sense of appropriateness. In contrast to many of us, she has never expected miracles.

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Memories of a Moonshiner

By MAC E. BARRICK

Kentucky has a penchant for appropriating things Pennsylvanian. First there was the rifle, originating in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, but now popularly known as the Kentucky rifle. Then there was Daniel Boone, born near Reading but properly recognized as a Kentuckian. Further research may yet reveal that Kentucky Fried Chicken was, like scrapple and cream cheese, a Philadelphia invention, though present evidence indicates that chicken was first fried in Greece. But one thing belonging to Pennsylvania that has become perhaps unjustly associated with the Kentucky mountains is moonshine, and steps should be taken to correct that situation.

As any schoolboy knows, Pennsylvania has a long history of illicit whiskey production, dating from long before the establishment of the excise tax that led to the inaptly named Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. But not too many schoolboys know that the manufacture and sale of moonshine continued well into the 20th Century and in fact is still practiced clandestinely in remote mountain areas and even in some urban areas of Central and Southwestern Pennsylvania.

The history of moonshining in South-Central Pennsylvania is a long one that has left its mark on the landscape in the names of small streams of the area. The Rev. James B. Scouller, in writing the history of Mifflin Township, northwest of Newville along Cumberland County's Blue Mountain notes:

The next stream west, which was settled at an earlier day, had no need of a mill, for there was one already at the mouth of the Green Spring; so the first industry started by its inhabitants was the conversion of their surplus corn into whiskey, and a number of little distilleries started up, tradition says one on each farm, and the community, from a sense of the fitness of things, called it Whiskey Run. The next stream west, and only a mile distant, was jocosely called Brandy Run, because brandy is next and near to

whiskey, and a little better; and so the names have remained for more than a century.¹

Needless to say, the home industry begun by those early settlers also remained for more than a century, and though there is no evidence of such activity in the Whiskey Run area now, present residents recall vividly the names of local moonshiners and the former sites of their stills.

Roy F. Chandler, the prolific chronicler of Perry County lore, has interviewed several "retired" whiskey makers living in that area and included in his *Tales of Perry County* (privately published by Bacon and Freeman, Deer Lake, Pa., 1973) a sketchy description of the method used in operating a pot still:

Basically, as shown in the sketches, tubs of mash were allowed to ferment in wooden tubs. The mash choice and preparation is part of the distiller's art. Mash is grain, yeast, and water. Plus, the maker's ideas. Sugar, molasses, special grain mixes, and hops have all been included. After fermenting (a week to a month) the mash liquid is siphoned off into the copper pot. The pot is tightly sealed so that it is in effect a pressure cooker. (To make a cooker simply get two old apple butter kettles and weld-braze the open ends together. Cut a hole for the tubing and mash liquid and start cooking.) A fire is controlled beneath the pot so that it cooks constantly. The rising steam collects within the copper coil and it is cooled by passing through running water. As the steam cools it returns to liquid form. This is raw whiskey! Within our county the strength of the whiskey was determined by two methods. The old time favorite involved simply dumping a sample into a saucer or bottle cap and lighting it. If it burned blue it was good whiskey. White flame meant "No good"—might be poison! More scientific, was the use of a regular hydrometer. An over 100 reading was good stuff. Under

¹Conway P. Wing, *History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Scott, 1879), p. 235.

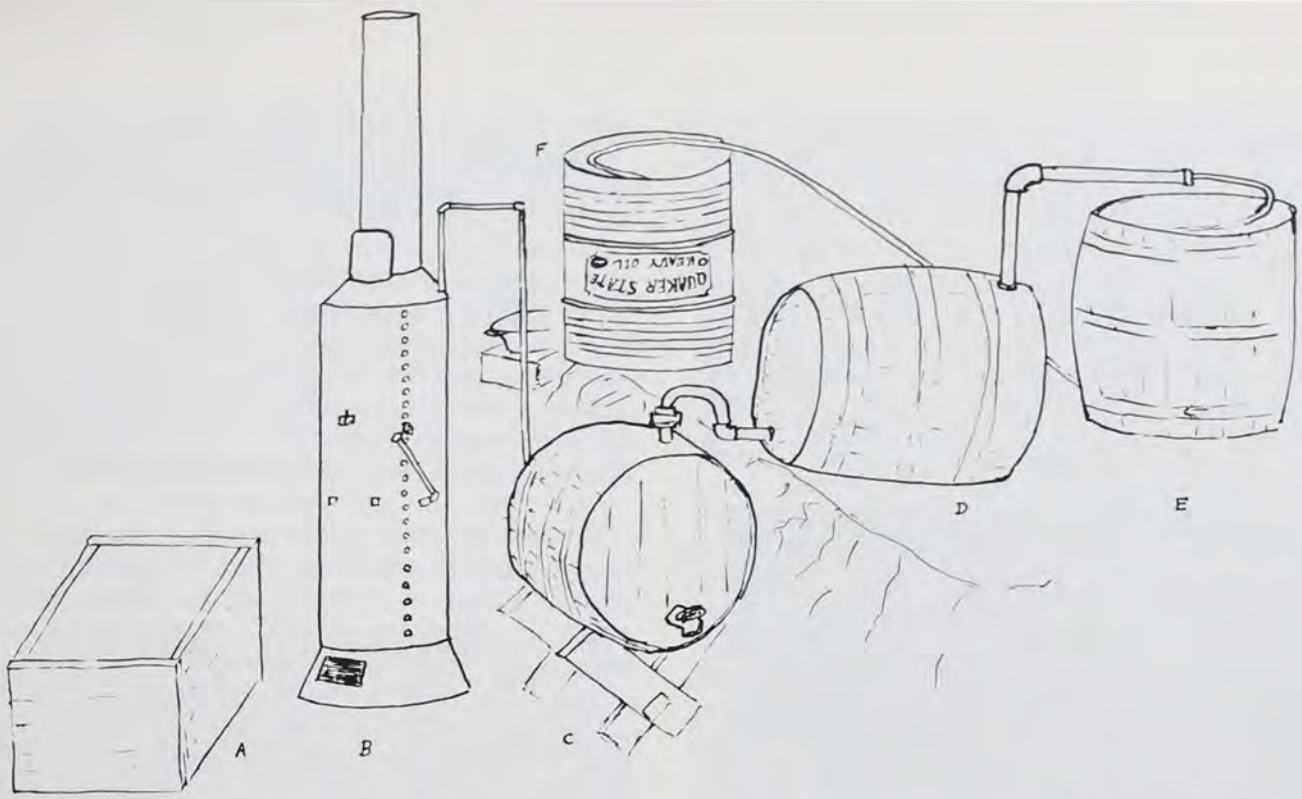


Fig. 3. A schematic drawing of the still in figure 2 shows the fermentation tubs (A), the upright boiler (B), the distilling barrels (C, D), each half-filled with mash and connected to the next barrel in succession by a two-inch copper tube. The preheater barrel (E) was filled with mash but open at the top; a copper coil inside this barrel (D) while at the same time partially cooling the alcohol vapor before it passed to the condenser (F) at the rear. In operation, the hand pump sat on top of the fermentation tubs at the left and provided water through the hose seen across the top of figure 2. Drawing by the author.

70 was considered unfit to drink. Perhaps poison. It was possible to make a second run from the used mash, but this distillation was considered poor stuff (pp.57-58).

Moonshining flourished in Perry County during the Prohibition decades,² but most of the operators ceased their activities when Prohibition came to an end in 1932. Moonshining continued in other parts of the state, however. Robert Byington in his study of Prince Farrington, a bootlegger in North-Central Pennsylvania, notes that Farrington "kept starting up stills only to lose them as the horde of 'revenooers' increased and his own resources dwindled," until finally "he was caught red-handed at a still on Tangascootack Creek on Sunday, August 25, 1946 (the date of 'the last raid')."³

The Perry County pot still described by Chandler represents a very early form of distillation, but one still used in primitive areas of the world.⁴ Its product, a very poor liquid called "singings" by Southern moonshiners, had to be distilled again at a lower temperature to purify it and produce a drinkable product called

"doublings."⁵ This required dismantling and cleaning the entire still, which was a laborious task. By the 1920's a "thumper" or doubler keg had been introduced into most moonshine operations making doubling unnecessary since the alcohol was distilled and purified in the same process.

Leo Fleegal, currently residing in Harrisburg, who operated stills along the Blue Mountain of Cumberland and Perry Counties, used a more elaborate and highly effective system.⁶ The heart of his operation was a three-horsepower steam boiler made by the Farquhar company of York. By burning hard coal, he was able to operate with very little smoke, thus aiding in the concealment of the equipment. Steam from the boiler under eighty-five pounds pressure was carried through half-inch copper tubing and injected into the bottom of a wooden barrel half filled with fermented mash through a two-inch copper tube punched full of holes to prevent the steam from making a noise. Based on the principle that the boiling point of alcohol is lower than that of water (176° Fahrenheit to water's 212°), this process raised the temperature of the mash to the point where the alcohol vaporized and escaped through another two-inch copper

²Paul B. Beers, *Profiles from the Susquehanna Valley* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1973), p. 79.

³Byington, "Prince Farrington: 'King of Pennsylvania Bootleggers,'" in *Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey*, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein and Robert H. Byington (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1966), p. 87.

⁴See Jess Carr, *The Second Oldest Profession: An Informal History of Moonshining in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 4-6; Esther Kellner, *Moonshine: Its History and Folklore* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1971), p. 58.

⁵The process is described in detail by Carr (pp. 74-83), by Kellner pp. (55-60), by Jim Couch in Leonard W. Roberts' *Up Cutshin and Down Greasy* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1959), pp. 60-66), cf. *The Foxfire Book*, ed. Eliot Wigginton (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1972), pp. 301-345, esp. 336-341.

⁶This is a variation of a system called the Georgia Type Still and described by Carr (pp. 190-192).

tube leading into the bottom of a second wooden barrel also half filled with mash. Fleegal's refinement of the process then involved carrying the vapor from that barrel into a third barrel, called a "preheater barrel," filled with mash but open at the top. This third barrel was an intermediate condenser containing twenty or thirty feet of coiled copper tubing through which the vapor passed, partially warming the mash while being itself partially cooled before entering the condenser for final cooling. Fleegal's condenser was a steel Quaker State oil drum containing forty feet of three-quarter inch copper coiling immersed in cold water (fig.5).



Fig. 5. Fleegal checks the proof of the whiskey coming from his condenser.

As the alcoholic content of the run dropped, based on a reading with the commercial hydrometer seen in figure 4, it became necessary to replace the mash. This was done by draining mash from the first barrel, then adding from the second, and finally filling the second from the third. The third or "preheater barrel" was always filled with new mash from the fermenting tubs. Fleegal himself describes the procedure: "There was a valve, coming up from between all these barrels, and an outlet on the bottom of here (referring to figure 2), that dumped the mash out. Just out a this barrel, but ya had a let air in there while it was dumpin' out, in this barrel, so it wouldn't pull from that one too. Then ya closed this barrel, closed, er, left that valve open,

opened this one into here, dropped that one into here. Ya dumped half of it out."⁷ He recalls what happened once when his assistant failed to let air into the draining barrel: "This fella forgot to open this one valve one night, when we were drainin' it, an' the bottom an' this front end of this barrel sucked in. Caved in. Cracked like a cannon. He got scared an' run an' he was a quarter of a mile away before I found out what it was doin' and I stopped it an' of course we couldn't go on for the rest of the evening. But actually, that was the only accident we had with it. He was always drinkin'. I never drank while I was makin' the still."

The mash was mixed in four-foot square tubs made of one-and-a-quarter inch cypress boards and generally consisted of a mixture of 220 pounds of rye and eighty pounds of yellow corn ground together, to which was added about 200 pounds of sugar and sufficient water to mix. This mixture was stirred frequently with a mason's hoe and it was often necessary to add cold water to maintain the proper level of temperature for fermentation to take place. Thus it was essential to locate the still "where there was water, and where the off-fall from the thing wouldn't pollute a stream, because it would cause cattle that drank the water to lose their calves, the mash they drunk, or so they claimed anyhow. I don't know if it would or not. This is just what some people claimed back in back of Linglestown. One time somebody was dumpin' their still back in there an' the cattle were droppin' their calves." Fleegal often spread his used mash in a field rather than dump it in the stream.

Water was drawn from the stream with a double-acting hand pump. "That pump would take a gallon, I'm not sure, two quarts, I think, each way ya pumped it, so it would take a gallon in a complete stroke. That way I could tell what I was doin' fillin' this top barrel up."

Preparing the mix was no problem. The grain was taken to a feed mill on East Pomfret Street in Carlisle to be ground. "The guy at the mill . . . Everybody got a cut out of it. Everybody thought ya made big money. Everybody got a cut out of it. The cops, would have a ball, ya had a donate to them, ya had a donate to everybody that come along, t' keep goin' . . . That fellow down there, then he'd get a, he'd get paid for the grain plus a quart or so a' good aged whiskey. And I'd say, 'I want this cleaned.' He always (said), 'I'll run it through the blower first, before I grind it. I know

⁷From an interview tape-recorded in Harrisburg, October 6, 1975. Except as noted, all quotations are from this recording.

⁸Bessie Jones was a well-known Carlisle madam whose establishment a local lawyer described as "a fine old institution, held in high esteem in the community" (*Harrisburg Patriot*, October 3, 1972, p. 17). She was stabbed to death October 1, 1972, allegedly by one of her putative underlings.

what you want it for.' And he would grind me grain, and make sure it was the proper proportions, and that it was ground fine, *fine*. That way you couldn't run it very fast."

The mash worked out in about five days and was ready to run, but only an experienced moonshiner knew when it was ready. Carr notes that gas bubbles coming to the top are a sure indication (pp. 218-219), but Fleegal had another method: "It was . . . to take an egg, a fresh raw egg, and put in it, and when not too much of the egg showed it was ready to go. That was one way and the proof tester was the same way. When it went down to zero, it was zeroed out in the fermentation, see? I had one of these that, but that was more for home brew than for this."

One minor problem in preparing the mash was that the four-foot boxes leaked and were hard to keep clean. Later round fermenting tubs were constructed of one-and-a-quarter inch cypress boards made by a silo manufacturer at Frederick, Maryland. These tubs were six feet across and reduced fermentation time considerably by allowing a greater area of mash to be exposed to the air. They were also easier to clean. "I could get in there with a scrub brush, just take my shoes an' stockings off an' get in there with a scrub brush, an' water, and scrub 'em down an' take steam from the boiler an' steam 'em down. Then I bought wood alcohol, which you could buy anyplace, then take a rag and smeared that all over there, and threw a match in there, before I set the next mash. Then if there was any, *any* kind of germs in there, that burnt it off, and it burnt if off quick an' it didn't burn the wood. But that way I could keep it more sterile. Then these tubs were only covered up with tarp. You didn't dare cover the mash tight. They could be covered with tarpaulins. And, uh, of course I had sticks across the top to keep the tarp from droppin' into there. Once in a while I'd get a mouse in there. I had something to fish him out."

Of course any impurities not removed by the distilling process itself were taken care of by filtering. Fleegal's filter was a simple but effective one: "I'd buy old felt hats, tear the lining out of 'em and what not, and I had a rack I'd put that on. It was strained through an old felt hat. That's all that was run through, before it went in the keg . . . It went through that very slow, and into the kegs. And there'd be absolutely nothing, it came out a there clear as water. But to make sure there was nothing we strained it through the hat." A more expensive filter system was available from an equipment supplier on Market Square in Harrisburg, but "we found out it wasn't nothin' but an old felt hat, and Mose Blumenthal [a Carlisle clothier] furnished them. Then they weren't old ones, they, we'd get new ones. Preferably they were white."

Once filtered, the moonshine was placed in charred oak kegs for storage or delivery. The charcoal gave the otherwise clear liquid a golden color and helped to age the product (cf. Kellner, pp. 60-62; Carr, p. 82). The price of the moonshine depended on the proof. The shine came out of the still at 145 proof in the early part of the run, but when the reading dropped back to about 75 or 80, the process was stopped and new mash used. When mixed in the keg for delivery, the whiskey averaged out to about 110 proof and the price was around \$12 a gallon. The price was considerably reduced if charcoal kegs weren't used, since the kegs themselves cost \$2.75 (five gallon) and \$3.25 (ten gallon) at a local hardware store and could be used successfully only once. Fleegal recalls an amusing incident regarding the re-use of an old keg: "Well, now the niggers bought, uh, whiskey in an old barrel, down where Bessie⁸ lives, lived, now. The whiskey, one of the niggers there, run a poker game an' gambling joint, plus a little upstairs business. He got his straight from the [still]. He wouldn't pay the difference for the kegs. He got it white, cause he got it in an old keg, an' the old keg, you can't, once it's used, you can't use it over again. So he got it in an ol' keg. I must tell you a story about that. I took five gallons down to this darky, an' he says, 'It's moldy.' I took the same five gallons, 'I'll take it back.' It was thirty dollars. I says, 'I'll take it back, an' I'll give ya another one.' So I took that same keg back, and smelt the keg, dumped it into another used keg, smelt it first, an' it was all right, took the same whiskey back to him, he said, 'That's all right.' Now the *keg* smelled, not the whiskey. But it had got musty from settin' around."

Getting his product to market was often the moonshiner's biggest problem. Some makers had special tanks built into automobiles and hired skillful drivers to handle them, or hid the whiskey under other more innocent cargo.⁹ Fleegal had no problem with delivery. Sometimes he used his own car, a 1929 Model A Ford roadster, which he nearly lost the only time he was arrested. The car was confiscated but he managed to recover it by paying the towing charge. Most of his whiskey was hauled in an open Model T Ford pick-up truck. J. Russell Barrick, who then owned a farm in the Blossville area, remembers another vehicle: "He had an old car [a four-cylinder Overland] there on our place with no license on it. I cranked it up and drove over t' Plainfield one time fer groceries, with no license. He used it t' haul the stuff, so if they caught him, there'd be no license. He bought it in a junkyard."¹⁰

The actual delivery to the customer was the most dangerous part of the operation and various means were used to conceal the whiskey at that time. Occasionally it was hidden in grain sacks but generally the keg was placed

⁹Cf. Kellner, pp. 131-138; Carr, pp. 123-124; Byington, p. 85.

¹⁰Interview, April 29, 1972.



Fig. 1. Pot still in use at Kutztown Folk Festival, July, 1975.

inside a paper box and delivered in that way to the buyer. Fleegal remembers “one time I delivered a five-gallon keg in a paper box, up on Third Street [Harrisburg], right across from where the Museum is now. There was a drug store in the bottom, and I took it out of the car and who do you think opened the door for me? For me to take that up on the second floor? It was one of the police. And it was gurglin’, but I’m sure he didn’t know what was in it.”¹¹

Fleegal’s stills were never raided, a fact which the folk mind attributed to the superior quality of his whiskey. “They let him go because he was makin’ the pure stuff. There was Dinges, he was arrested all the time. His stuff used t’ be green, poison.”¹² Of course the real reason no raids were made is, as noted above, that everybody, including the authorities, benefited from the moonshining operation. Fleegal’s only arrest occurred when he was not engaged in production but was selling someone else’s whiskey. “That wasn’t my own whiskey. I was out of, I wasn’t in the business. Not *this* business. I was jist bootleggin’. This is moonshinin’.”¹³ I was parked double, an’ a guy’d ordered this up the country an’ didn’t take it. He didn’t even taste it. So I stopped to get gas in, up along the Walnut Bottom there, and the guy, I tried to sell *him* this five gallon, stone crock jug of whiskey. And that whiskey came from down here, I drove down here back of High-, Hummelstown, over in here. That fellow’s dead, that made that whiskey. He worked at, his wife worked at Hershey

¹¹Interview, November 22, 1975.

¹²J. Russell Barrick, interview, May 31, 1963.

¹³Fleegal’s distinction is semantically sound, but the terms have become synonymous in common usage; cf. Kellner, p. 5; Carr, pp. 230, 233.



Fig. 2. Leo Fleegal’s still in operation in Fox Hollow, Perry County, ca. 1930-1931. Figures 2, 4, 5 courtesy of Leo Fleegal.



Fig. 7. This barn was used for the storage of raw materials and finished whiskey produced in Darr’s Woods at the base of the Blue Mountain (upper left).



Fig. 4. Chester Enck, Fleegal’s assistant, holds the hydrometer used for testing the alcoholic content of the run.

plant, an’ I think he did too. But then he made the whiskey, but he made it in a copper still in the cellar. And I’d go down there, and I forget anymore what, oh, twelve dollars for five gallons, but that was in an old keg or whatever, you’d bring your own container. And I had five gallons of this stuff, and I parked double on Main Street, in Carlisle, and had this in the front seat. A young, uh, policeman came along and said, ‘Open up that rumble seat.’ I said, ‘No, here’s the key. You open it up. I got a bomb attached. There’s a hand

grenade under there. You'll pull the pin when you do.' He said, 'You lift that up.' I made believe I was reachin' in the back, disconnectin' this thing in there in back, opened it, an' there wasn't nothing in back. But I had the five gallon keg sittin' in a thirty Ford, twenty-nine Ford roadster, in the front an' covered up with a blanket, all but one little corner. An' he was, the door was open on the driver's side, an' he was gonna let me go, then he saw that in there. An' he got it and he arrested me and the car stood there, an' he put me in jail right then and there. An' I said, 'Well, I'll give ya twenty dollars if you drop that jug an' break it on the way down.' 'Aw, nothin' doin', not me.' So he took me down an' he locked me up in the corner of the old market house. The police station was in the corner, back of the corner of the old market house."

He was quick to add that "it wasn't but a short time after that that he [the arresting officer] got laid off the police force." As punishment, Fleegal was given a light sentence, "a fine and that and three months in jail, but I served one month and was out on probation. And I hadn't paid the fine. Instead of, well, I *couldn't* pay the fine, so I'd go in and pay a dollar and a half a week. I had a report every, I think, every week, or every two weeks or so to the probation officer, and I'd pay him a dollar or a dollar and a half, whatever I had, as little as I could, to draw this thing out. He finally got tired of it and threw the slips away."

Fleegal's first still was a small stove-top pot still made in East Berlin by a fellow named Dutt Ritter. Entirely of copper, the still was just large enough to fit on top of a three-burner oil stove. A tube came out of the top leading directly to a condenser, and dough was used to seal the outlet on the still. Whole grain mash was used, set in a barrel, and this had to be strained after fermentation so that the mash wouldn't sink to the bottom and burn. The process was a slow one since one barrel of mash produced only five or ten gallons and that took all day to run.

Later Fleegal was introduced to the stream distillation process. "This I learned from a fellow that, this system of usin' the steam, I learned from a fellow by the name a' Woods, *maybe*. I don't think that was his right name. Maybe, that's what we always called him, Woody, but that's all he'd tell ya. He come from Baltimore, and there was a big distillery in Baltimore and this's the way they made it there. And ne came up there and he introduced me to this system." Russell Barrick remembers other details about this Woods, though not all of them are consistent with Fleegal's recollections: "The fellow that taught Fleegal how to make it, he said his name was Charlie Woods because he worked in the woods. He charged him a hundred dollars to show him

how to do it. And he guaranteed that it would be pure. He told him to boil it down on 90 proof and if he boiled it any more than that he'd get fusel oil in it. That's poison. That's what Dinges did, boiled it clear down till there wasn't anything left, and he got all that poison in it. Well, this Charlie Woods taught him to make it. He was from California and traveled around the country teachin' how to do this. He was a college graduate. He could study [analyze] anything you gave him an' tell ya what was in it."¹⁴

The first operation under this new system was established in a house belonging to an uncle, located at the entrance to McClure's Gap, north of Blosserville. The mash was fermented on the first floor, in the living room, and was drained through a hole in the floor into the distilling barrels which were kept in the cellar. There the whiskey was run off. Later this still was moved to Fox Hollow, in Perry County, just across the mountain from Carlisle Springs. When warning came of an impending raid, Fleegal loaded up the still on his Model T pickup and hurried back to Blosserville. One of the barrels fell off the truck at a curve in Carlisle Springs, but he just left it there and returned for it later, after unloading the rest of the equipment.



Fig. 6. Before setting up the Fox Hollow still, Fleegal operated in the basement of this house at the entrance to McClure's Gap, north of Blosserville.

Russell Barrick remembers that day vividly: "I was out in the field one day when I saw this still goin' up the road. He took it up an' put it in Ance Mentzer's cellar. He came down an' told me, 'I almos' got caught.

¹⁴Interview, May 31, 1963. Of course, fusel oil, a by-product of fermentation, is present in all moonshine, but is usually removed by filtering.

I heard they were gonna raid the hollow today.' So he loaded it up the night before. I don't know where he had it. He run it a while up there in Ance Mentzer's cellar,¹⁵ but then he got afraid. He asked me one time if I'd come up with a horse an' wagon an' haul it down. He was puttin' it in John Darr's woods. I wasn't to come until ten o'clock. He didn't want anybody t' know he was takin' it out. So I went up, an' it was after two till we got it down there an' unloaded. I was on'y up there one night with him, the whole time he had it up there. I wasn't close t' the still. I was sort a the watch, down at the road. We had about 400 gallons buried in our granary one time. An' tons of sugar, he used lots a brown sugar. An' he'd buy 'east by the five pound cake. He wanted me t' soak some rye for him, ferment it, so it'd start to sprout, before he'd have it ground.¹⁶ But I wasn't man enough for that. He had some special place he had it ground."¹⁷

The operation continued in Darr's woods for several years, and it was here that the larger fermentation tubs were introduced. Barrick continues: "He had a bar'l, oh, it was as big as a hogshed, an' he'd put two bar'ls of mash in there and put in the steam to boil the mash. He got a real upright boiler from a bakery.¹⁸ Then he'd drain the steam off an' cool it, an' he'd keep testing it. It'd start off around 140 or 50 proof, an' he'd keep cookin' it until it got down t' 90 proof. Now . . . some of these other fellows, they'd keep boilin' it till there wouldn't be anything left, before they'd throw it away. But this fella, this Woods, he told him that after it got down to 90 proof, there'd be this fusel oil, an' that's poison, but that from 90 proof up, there's no poison at all in it."¹⁷

"After he boiled it, he gave the mash to John Darr for his hogs, and it made the hogs drunk. Fleegal got a kick out a seein' those hogs stagger around and then roll over t' sleep it off. It didn't hurt them none. All it was was corn and rye and 'east. He had charcoal kegs to put it in. He give us a ten-gallon keg of it and we kep' it for over three years, but we gave most of it away. It was real stuff in the last couple of pints. He said he wished he could a kep' it all that long . . . He use' t' walk down the street in front a the jail with a jug of it in his hand. It looked like vinegar. That's what he told people it was. But he didn't make anything off it. He on'y got \$10 a gallon for it."¹⁹

¹⁵Further inquiry indicates that the still was not operated at this location but was only stored there briefly.

¹⁶The purpose of sprouting the grain was to produce malt, thereby changing the starch of the grain into sugar which yeast converts into alcohol (cf. Kellner, pp. 57, 231). Most moonshiners bypassed this step by using large quantities of sugar.

¹⁷Interview, April 29, 1972.

¹⁸In fact, Fleegal bought the boiler new from the Farquhar Company for about \$200 or \$300 and lent it for a time to a bakery in Carlisle. The boiler was later sold to a dry cleaning establishment in Hanover for \$75.

The constant insistence on the fine quality of Fleegal's whiskey is reminiscent of the praise lavished on Prince Farrington's product by northern Pennsylvanians (see Byington, pp. 91-92) and is suggestive of one of the reasons that Fleegal became a moonshiner, to produce good liquor. When prohibition ended, Fleegal went out of the business, assuming that good whiskey would soon be readily available. "But when I tasted that first stuff they sold in the liquor store," he says, "I wished I'd a kep' it. I had a hundred and seventy-five gallon, if I'd a kep' that, it was better than anything they had in the liquor store and *still* have." Of course his primary reason was financial. "It was a good second job." The mash took about five days to ferment, so that it could set during the week while Fleegal worked elsewhere and he worked on weekends. With the larger tubs, between ninety and 125 gallons could be run in a twenty-four hour period. And after the initial investment, the operation was not expensive. "I paid the help in booze," so there was no large cash outlay. As for the effort involved, "I enjoyed it," says Fleegal. The illegality of the business didn't bother him, for he asserts: "Prohibition was one of the worst laws ever made, for this reason only. People that wouldn't drink booze before would take it and drink it because it was against the law, and to show they could get it. It was like these kids with marijuana right now."²⁰

The slight disparity evident between the first hand memories of the moonshiner and the sometimes vicarious recollections of a contemporary observer may be due to several factors, such as the sometimes faulty memory of a man who is no longer young, an emphasis on details with which the speaker was more personally concerned, or a tendency to romanticize historical facts in the first shadings of legend-making. Byington has noted how the documentary truth about Prince Farrington has yielded to a folkloric idolization of the outlaw-cum-folk hero. A similar idolization exists in the minds of Leo Fleegal's friends, so that when the facts of the matter are insignificant or colorless, more exciting details are substituted. The hidden jug of moonshine in the front seat of a car is brought out into the open and flaunted in open defiance of an unjust law by a folk figure who is impervious to legal recriminations. In this respect a minor Pennsylvania moonshiner becomes in the folk mind the equivalent of a Robin Hood or a Jesse James, aiding in a struggle against unfair persecution. Obviously, however, neither the store of anecdotal material concerning the man, nor the diffusion of knowledge about him, is sufficient to imbue his legend with an extensive cultural significance. But then again, perhaps all that is lacking is a good press agent.

¹⁹J. Russell Barrick, interview, May 31, 1963.

²⁰Fleegal, interview, November 22, 1975.

The Pennsylvania Germans: Folklife Studies from Autobiographical Sources

By GARY D. HYDINGER

The writing of autobiographical literature implies (usually) a certain sophistication not commonly attributed to the "folk." Certainly neither a 20th Century governor of Pennsylvania (Pennypacker) nor a University of Pennsylvania professor (Weygant), who considered himself an important middleman in introducing the art of Yeats and Frost to America, are members of "the folk," yet autobiographies of each are among the sources used for this project. In the selection of materials felt to be suitable for this paper, several definitions of "folk" and "folklife" have been employed. Least acceptable are the now antiquated synonyms "something old" or "bygones." More generally, "folklife" has been taken as a certain level of culture, language, technology, etc., available to or practiced by people. In the small, rural 19th Century community, almost all aspects of life might properly be termed "folk." In the more sophisticated urban environment, these elements are reduced, though never eliminated.

The attached annotated bibliography gives some specifics on the sources for this paper. Conspicuous in their absence are any works representing the plain sects: using Meynen¹ and Kaplan² to locate autobiographies, I could find none from these groups. Most of the authors were Lutherans. The years from 1850 to 1947 are covered by these autobiographies, though the 19th Century has probably received closer analysis. All the writers took a positive view of their Pennsylvania German heritage and experiences, sometimes, perhaps, resulting in a slightly less-than-total representation (as with Henry and Rothermel). This is, however, more a sin of omission than of commission. It should also be borne in mind that different communities and eras were under consideration: the materials

presented below represent part of the range of folklife among the Pennsylvania Germans over the span of a century. Just as the choice of books was selective, so too were the areas drawn for them. The fact that discussion of food occurs in several sections of this paper may be more the reflection of this writer's appetite than a concern of the Pennsylvania Germans with food (perhaps). Further, the less familiar an item was to me, the greater its chance of inclusion. On the other hand, an attempt has been made to present a fairly wide field of topics so as to generate a feel for life among Pennsylvania Germans.

INSECTS

Aside from the Mormons, no group in America has given enough attention to insects and their influence on life. Sudden, sharp pain from unseen sources often reveals an individual's deep-seated beliefs. In the 19th Century, wasps were not infrequently the source of such revelation. The stories related by Smith and Henry are provided in the appendix. It is interesting that the church-goer attributes his pain to the Devil while the doctor resorts to witches—perhaps either as rivals to his role as healer or as thwarted persons, jealous of his cures. More seriously, both incidents show that even homes and clothing could not be protected from such noxious visitors.

Despite the repeated reports of the cleanliness of the kitchens of the Pennsylvania Dutch, flies were an acknowledged problem. In the absence of screens for doors and windows, "it was nothing uncommon to see flies suddenly scalded in your cup of coffee or in a bowl of soup" (Riegel, 1964: 39). Riegel also mentions a device used by his mother at meal time, but Snyder (p. 34) gives a fuller description:

Indispensable in every home also was an instrument known as the 'fly chaser.' Made usually of pink, green, or blue paper, it consisted of long strips about an inch wide attached to a stick more than a yard in length. The stick in question was most frequently found to be the lower end of a

¹Emil Meynen, *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America: Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their Descendants 1683-1933*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1937.

²Louis Kaplan, *A Bibliography of American Autobiographies*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962.

discarded buggy whip; the upper or thinner end reclined upon the kitchen door frame for use upon any mischief makers in the family. This fly chaser, when in use, made a rustling noise and was manipulated to and fro by the hired girl over the table when flies were too plentiful in the kitchen. Daily, during warm weather, all the rooms were darkened with but one door left open, and in systematic manner, the women used them or their aprons to chase the flies into the open.

This quote provides us with much information aside from the description of a bygone instrument. Note the practice of conservation: nothing was thrown away. That the hired girl, or in her absence, the mother, was stuck with this chore suggests they held the lowest priority for eating at mealtimes. Riegel continued to mention that they attacked the flies "in force" prior to bedtime. So they were not merely accepted: they were viewed at least as pests, if not as health hazards. The response of their technology was pitifully inadequate. It is only through such reminders as these, that we dwellers in an era of insecticides can be aware of the former extent of such problems. No wonder DDT had such wide usage.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

The Pennsylvania Dutch had as wide a range of superstitions and beliefs as any group, and each author lists them one after another. Interestingly, no one seems to admit that they personally operate by these beliefs, though Henry rather bluntly states that while her grandmother "scorned any idea of ghosts and witches . . . she firmly believed in these stellar signs" (p. 146). Pennypacker notes that he was "born upon a Sunday and, therefore, gifted with the power to pow-wow and to see fairies as the opportunity arises" (p. 31), but makes no further mention of it. On the other hand, guides to the degree of belief are often not given when they would be useful. In 1920 Weygandt was told that "the visit of a snowy owl to a window sill" portended death in the house (p. 192). From this limited account, one could state conclusively only that this was still told by some in "Dutchland" as late as 1920: a very limited statement.

Not all of these were restricted to oral tradition. Smith notes that Baer's Almanac contained various superstitions, most of his examples being weather lore (p. 20). He is one of the few sources giving beliefs regarding calendar dates: sunshine on St. James Day, July 25th, is a "token of cold weather after Christmas." Rothermel notes that the forefathers of his hero, on Ash Wednesday, "sprinkled ashes on the backs of their cattle" (p. 26).

This is one of the frustrating things about lists of beliefs: they often assume that the reader knows the meaning. In this instance, what was the purpose of such action? Similarly, when Snyder lists subjects of dreams, such as cats, muddy water, white horses, hair

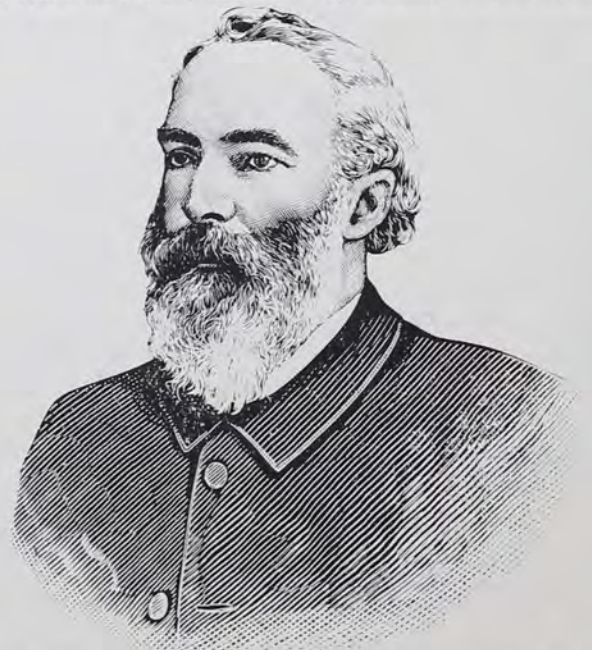
pins, and crickets (p. 24) as being the source of much speculation, he says only that they caused many a plan to be changed. Why? Are they all negative images? He doesn't even refer to them as omens. Are they all indicative of the same thing?

Occasionally, interpretive guides are provided, as in this example from Henry regarding the saying upon receipt of garden seeds: "'Well, I daren't thank you for these, or they won't grow. But sometime when I pass your garden, I'll throw a stone in it for you.'—their way of saying they would do her a return service when the opportunity came" (p. 15).

Belief in the effects of the moon and the signs of the zodiac was widespread, though not universally accepted. The sympathetic magic of the increasing or decreasing moon as the time to plant and butcher or attack weeds or nuisances, respectively, is not unusual. However, the signs of the zodiac also had such literal sympathetic effects: "The sign of the crab was avoided for all such vegetables as tomatoes, cucumbers, beets and the like. If they were planted on 'crab' days they were sure to be scallopy and gnarled, not smooth and round as they ought to be" (Henry, p. 146).

Such factors could be of even greater significance to one's life. Dietterich cites the couple who postponed their wedding a week lest they, being married in the decrease of the moon and the sign of the crab, should, like the crab, go backwards all their life (p. 195). Nor was he averse to utilization of interpretations of lunar phases and zodiac signs in assessing blame for a marriage he performed (see appendix, item C.)

I believe it was Oliver Wendell Holmes, in *Elsie Venner*, who voiced the 19th Century belief in prenatal influences: if something frightened a mother, her child would be, in some way, similar to that source



Pastor Dietterich, frontispiece from his autobiography of 1892.

A WONDER OF GRACE,

THIRTY-THREE YEARS IN THE MINISTRY.

SHORT SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LABORS OF REV. H. A. DIETTERICH.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

"Come and hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul." Psalm 113: 16.

YORK, PA.:
P. BREWER & SONS,
1893.

Henry A. Dietterich was a native of Central Pennsylvania who became first an Evangelical circuit-rider, then a Lutheran pastor.

of fright. Dornblaser, while not explicitly making a casual statement, does, by suggestion, bear witness to the belief in upstate Pennsylvania. He knew a cripple, one Joseph Hayes, whose hand, all fingers gone, "had the shape of a bear's paw." His mother, he continues, "was terribly frightened by the appearance of a big black BEAR" several months before her son's birth (p. 29).

A good example of how beliefs are continued, if not formed, was experienced by this writer. When I came across the following statement by Rothermel, I thought it to be, perhaps, a nice novelistic touch: "By some hidden instinct the Pennsylvania Dutch give the name of the father to their youngest child. It is a rarity to find any error in their calculation" (p. 24). The next book read was Dietterich's and, on the first page, we are told that his father's name was Henry, that he was given the name Henry Alonzo, and, in a family of twelve, he was the youngest! His third son was George Henry, "being named after both of his grandfathers, and Henry being my name also in part" (p. 120). In suspense I read on—would this be the last son? Such was not to be the case, however, and we learn (p. 227) that the fourth and final son "received the name of Willie Alonza." Now Alonza is not quite Alonzo (perhaps a typographical error?). Was he hedging his bet assigning his name as middle name? Was some error

in calculation made? Was there ever such a belief? None of the other sources contained sufficient information to confirm or deny this.

RELIGION

With several of these books written by ministers, there is sufficient information available for an extended report on formal religion, but that is beyond the scope of this paper. Some church—any church, it seemed—was a unifying factor in small communities. This was seen particularly in the Union Churches. Lutheran and Reformed groups especially seemed concerned with having a building in which to worship. Nineteenth-century construction of churches required time, effort, and materials in lieu of less plentiful money. Henry describes such an occasion, making clear the sense of community which was reinforced by such activity (p. 196), as well as the product. It was a "simple" building with doors centered on the east, south, and west sides. The three aisles inside continued from the doors to the altar, dividing the pews into four sections. A gallery was provided on each of these sides. The fourth wall was reserved for "cathedral windows" and the pulpit which, rather tulip-shaped, rose above the floor (pp. 197-198). (A photograph of this pulpit from the "Old White Church" appears facing the title page.)

But this information as well as the seating arrangements by age and sex are available from other sources. However, glimpses into attitude and usage of these

My Life-Story for Young and Old

BY
THOMAS FRANKLIN DORNBLASER, D.D.

ALUMNUS OF WITTENBERG COLLEGE,
AND HAMMA DIVINITY SCHOOL

AUTHOR OF "SABER STROKES IN THE CIVIL WAR"

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL FIFTY-NINE YEARS

PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR

1930

Thomas Dornblaser was a Centre County farm boy who became nationally known as a Lutheran minister.

features are attained through use of these books. From Dornblaser we know that the section where the Elders and Deacons sat was called the "Amen Corner" (p. 33). When a death caused a vacancy among a section of seating, the void was filled only after a "respectable period of time," though the duration is not specified (Henry, p. 204). Marriage was a rite of passage which was also signaled in the movement of each spouse from the single to the married section. Such a promotion often occasioned some teasing: "When my mother tried to make her advent into the married section as quietly as possible, the women for a time refused to admit her, while the congregation smiled" (Henry, p. 198).

Ministers received support through offerings of their congregations, but this often meager income was supplemented, on an annual basis, by donation parties. Crist (p. 39) received food for the horse as well as the family and a full woodshed from one of these held at his parsonage. For Dietterich, a hotel was once rented and food for a supper was provided by friends. People attending the dinner came for miles around and pledged or delivered cash donations after the meal (pp. 105-106). The general appreciation for good preachers was such that congregational affiliations were no bars to presenting gifts. Crist once received both a new sleigh and money for a buffalo robe from "the young men of Birmingham" despite the fact there were no Lutherans among them (p. 39).



Thomas Dornblaser photographed in the 1860's with his sister.

Religion as felt and practiced among the Pennsylvania Dutch tended to the practical rather than the theological side. There were, of course, exceptions to this, especially during periods of revivals. Dietterich relates the agonizing case of a dying wife and mother who demanded that she be baptized by immersion. To do so would have killed her for the weather and river were cold. She could not be swayed by his reasoned arguments that "God did not require impossibilities of her, in order for her salvation" and that any other mode of baptism would suffice—even if only until her recovery. So she died lamenting her lack of salvation (pp. 137-140).

Rothermel's hero, a deacon in the Reformed Church, however, did not even believe in a hell (p. 9). Furthermore, his minister derived part of his popularity with



Class of 1866, Lutheran Missionary Institute (now Susquehanna University), Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania. Left to right, front row: Heathcox, Dornblaser, Kistner, and Burrell; back row: Koser, Dr. Born, J. H. Harpster.

the congregation by not disturbing his membership with "abstruse theological discussions, for which he himself had no zest" (p. 55). Religion was something lived and not talked about (Henry, p. 148). Family worship might be led by the father every day before breakfast, but the women were not always present if they had not finished milking (Dornblaser, p. 12).

Congregations followed leaders more than denominations. Perhaps an extreme case was the Zollingerite sect which split apart an Evangelical Association congregation. Upon Zollinger's death, they became Hofferites, once again taking the name of their leader. Their organization was anti-church rather than pro-anything (Dietterich, pp. 147-148). Church synods or general councils often dispatched preachers to such locations to return the erring people. In the cases of Dietterich (above) and Crist (p. 41), these efforts met with success. The case of Pastor Riecke and his Philadelphia congregation resulted in violence. For his "freethinking" doctrines he was denied membership and barred from entrance into the church by a policeman. His supporters hurled stones through the windows

as the ordained minister, Dr. Mann, preached, winning for themselves a night in jail and a police escort for Dr. Mann (Spaeth, pp. 108-109). In all cases, return seemed more a response to an effective individual rather than through doctrinal appeal.



Dr. Adolph Spaeth, emigrant Lutheran minister and professor.

COMMUNITY

There were many ways of creating and preserving a sense of community. Festivals are a prime means, but they will be covered later. The sense of belonging was extended to hired men and girls as well as the old and widowed. Henry noted that children were used to help the latter: boys carried water or gathered fruit for her grandmother's friend. She brought soups, potpies, or plates of shad when visiting her grandparents (p. 160). At picnics, throwing away leftovers was prohibited but it was "a reproach" to carry home your own (Rothermel, p. 106). So baskets were made up for the old or widowed, including monetary gifts as well. The flow was not just one way: the widow of Henry's youth often stayed up nights attending to the sick, thus giving those who had worked in the field and by the sickbed all day a chance to sleep. In addition, knowing home remedies and such things as teething aids, she was a boon to young mothers (p. 160).

In Rothermel's novel, the hired man is treated as one of the family. In addition to taking meals with the family, he shared with them the evening around

the kitchen table. He showed concern for the well-being of the children as well as the animals on the farm. His worth was recognized by the family, and, in addition to monthly wages, he was presented a calf as a start for his own herd.

The young Riegel even shared a bed with a cigar-maker who worked for his father and, at least once, this produced some problems when the man was drunk (p. 35).

rites of passage: DEATH AND FUNERALS

There are many rites of passage in any community, but for Pennsylvanians of the 19th Century, those concerned with death were of major importance. In chapter after chapter in Dietterich's book, the theme is "in the midst of life we are in death" and what have you done to prepare for this next world. Evidently it was not rare for one to plan his own funeral, including pall bearers, hymns, scripture lesson, and even the text for the funeral sermon (pp. 313-314). Funerals were held at the house or church prior to the creation of funeral parlors. Dietterich notes the story of a man killed while on his way to buy black gloves to wear to his grandmother's funeral (p. 169). Wax flowers were used in the winter in the country, Riegel noted, though other sources indicate fresh flowers at other times of the year.

A glass-sided black hearse was used to convey the coffin to the burial ground and the horses were draped with black fly net. Smith (p. 19) also noted the use of a white hearse drawn by a white horse for a child's funeral. Black crepe was hung on the doorways as a sign of mourning (Pennypacker, p. 514).

Funerals are also to help the living continue, and a funeral dinner was an aid to both the travelers to the service as well as the family. Snyder discusses the role of the "kicha dribble," usually the same man, but in any event one man who acted as a manager. He had to procure hostlers for the horses of visitors or for carriages to meet those who came by train. He had to "purchase, prepare, and serve" the food for all guests. The meal was either at the house or a local hotel. In addition, he had to make sure that there were enough tables, chairs, utensils, cooks and waitresses to care for everyone (p. 50). Raisin pie was the one generally-acknowledged funeral dish.

The widower of Rothermel's book observes a mourning period of six months, symbolized by the wearing of a black band on the coat sleeve. There are indications, however, that a one-year period was generally more acceptable (pp. 110-111).

FOOD

There were various practices involved in the raising of foods: the use of lunar signs and the zodiac have already been noted. In the Henry neighborhood, all

the fruit of a tree belonged to the tree's owner, no matter if the tree was near a property line and the fruit fell in the other lot (p. 21). She raised a prize pumpkin by rather unusual methods: the vine had produced only one fruit, so the end of the vine was clipped and also the leaf nearest the pumpkin. Every morning, she would funnel a glass of sweet milk into the hollow stem.

The selection of seeds from catalogues provided families with entertainment during the winter months. Seed companies, such as Dreer's, not only introduced new plants to people; they would, upon request, provide suggestions for their preparation and use (Henry, p. 20). Kitchen gardens were not restricted to ordinary vegetables: Pennypacker's grandfather's had currants, gooseberries, black currants, and strawberries in addition to asparagus! (p. 19). Snyder noted rhubarb, endive, and tea among the crops (p. 31).

Foods may be divided by the location of their storage in the houses. Into the attic went dried foods such as corn, lima beans, apples, and pears, as well as dried herbs. Riegel mentioned that the sweet apples, peeled or not, were threaded in 18" lengths and hung in the attic to dry for later use as "snitz" (1964, p. 39). Hickory nuts, walnuts and chestnuts were also stored there, along with the omnipresent applebutter. The cellar was used for fresh vegetables. Potatoes were stored in bins, but beets, carrots, cabbage, and celery are among the items often covered with loose earth. At least in Germantown, parsnips were allowed to freeze in the ground, with leaves and brush piled over to prevent them from freezing too deep. Fresh tomatoes, wrapped in tissue paper, could be kept unwrinkled until Christmas time (Weygandt, p. 65). Among the varieties of apples stored by the Henrys' family, between straw layers, were Fallawalters, Belleflowers, Pippins, and Rambos (p. 131). She also catalogued vats of spare-ribs and pork tenderloins besides those of vinegar and cider jugs.

Among those not influenced by the temperance overtones of much of the last half of the 19th Century, home wines would still be made. According to Snyder, husband and wife each had separate recipes, according to their taste. Grape, strawberry, dandelion, rhubarb, and wild cherry wines might be found bottled and stored in the cellar (p. 34).

There was seasonal variation in food. "In winter especially there was a greater emphasis on pork and saurkraut, sausage, scrapple, mush, and 'snitz and nepp,' while in summer there was more beef, chicken and smoked meats" (Riegel, 1964, p. 40). Since both hogs and cattle were slaughtered in the fall, why was there this seeming preference for pork products in the winter? Could it be a desire for heavier dishes in colder weather or was there less beef slaughtered than pork? No

answers are given. There were definite limits to food preservation: "April and May were the 'seven hungry weeks,' when everyone was tired of the winter fare, and the first vegetables and fruits were not yet available. There was a weary Sahara between the last apple in April and the first cherries in June" (Henry, p. 11).

Meal hours seem to have been fairly uniform: dinner at noon and supper at six were mentioned by almost everyone. Breakfast time varied from sunup for hired workers at harvest time to seven o'clock for townspeople. Nine or ten a.m. was the time for the "piece" for field workers. Farmers might have preferred the fare described by Rothermel (pp. 23-24) which included "bread and butter, sandwiches, some hard-boiled eggs, some cold roast beef, radishes, and onions" and a jug of home-made beer to that described by Snyder (p. 33) of cake, lemonade or iced tea, and pie. Of course, it could have been meat pies or some such more substantial than fruit pie, so perhaps the fares were not that different. However, only Snyder mentions a 3 P.M. "piece" so perhaps Lehigh farmers made up in quantity what they lacked in substance.

Breakfasts everywhere were substantial, including eggs, ham or bacon, scrapple, mush, fried potatoes, and coffee, sometimes with pie. There were no juices or fruits ever mentioned. At least along the Perkiomen in the first half of the 1800's, rye bread was made exclusively. Round straw baskets were used to hold the bread as it raised (Pennypacker, pp. 516-517). Riegel (1964, p. 38) commented that supper was mostly leftovers from the noon meal. Among the food combinations favored by some were blue stem balsam tea with "apie" cake (Henry, p. 50), an open-faced sandwich with layers of "schmeer case" and apple butter (Smith, p. 8), and, as a special treat, ice cream (vanilla) with "very salty pretzels" and strawberries, in season (Snyder, p. 33). Soups were used as main courses (Riegel, 1964, p. 40) and were probably of the substantial type described by the militiaman in *Eleven Days* (p. 24), with rice, meat-bones, and occasionally poultry. (Rice may have been the result of the army supply system rather than a routine part of the Pennsylvania German diet.) Fruits such as oranges and bananas were available only upon special occasions such as Christmas or at Sunday School picnics when vendors brought them into the community.

AMUSEMENTS

Judging from these books, the Pennsylvania Germans enjoyed a wide range of amusements for both young and old throughout the year. The books consulted often separated boys' and girls' games at school, but, in doing so, gave only names with no descriptions of the play. Pennypacker reported "mumble-the-peg" as a game played among girls (and also boys) in 1857. Was

ELEVEN DAYS IN THE MILITIA

DURING THE

WAR OF THE REBELLION;

BEING

A JOURNAL OF THE "EMERGENCY" CAMPAIGN
OF 1862.

BY A MILITIAMAN.



COLLINS, PRINTER, PHILADELPHIA.
1883.

this the game played with flipping a knife into the ground, or the game (called "mumbley peg") described by Smith (p. 8), which involved batting a whittled peg into the air with paddles, or something entirely different altogether? Conversely the descriptions of the terms and games using marbles, as recounted by Pennypacker (p. 37) and Smith (p. 9), indicate a remarkable degree of continuity and uniformity over the last century to the game—at least as I played it—in the 1950's.

Almost universally acclaimed among these sources were the joys of sledding. Primarily a boy's pastime, most sleds were home-made from barrel staves. It was a big event when a sled was given to a boy or for the boys in the family. There was almost a reverence in the attitude of Henry and her brother as they checked and dried the latter's sled each night (p. 54).

Both Henry and Rothermel provided insights into quilting parties. Obviously, quilting skills varied among the women invited, but the provision of several quilting frames—according to Henry—allowed a consistency in the finished product as most "found their level naturally" (p. 149). Quilts could be made of plain square patches (done by those with lesser sewing skills), intended for use on the workmen's beds, or with patterns, intended for family use. "Philadelphia Pavement" and

"Easter Flower" were two designs requiring rather intricate appliqués, but Henry provides us with no further description (p. 149).

FESTIVAL

Festival is used here in a very general sense to describe those celebrations which occur on a regular calendar basis during which a community reaffirms and reenforces its sense of existence. Community may be defined in terms of family, religious group, or political organization such as a township. In order of their occurrence among the church portion of the Pennsylvania Germans (post-Civil War), these include Christmas, New Year's Day, school exhibition (sometimes held as a Washington's Birthday observance), Memorial Day (May 30th, formerly better known as Decoration Day), Sunday School (summer) picnic, and Harvest Home celebrations. (Interestingly, Easter received little comment within these sources.) Fairs were an important event in any town, but belong, perhaps, to the periphery of this group. The entertainment and planning for all these events were generated locally and none had the economic overtones of the fair.

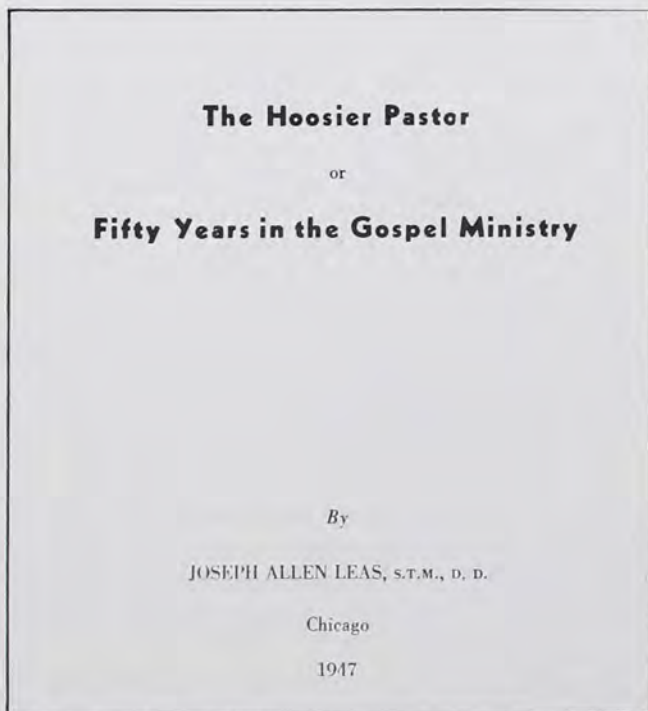
A brief description of Sunday School picnics should demonstrate the variety of values and functions present during festival. The date varied, unlike most of the others, and it was selected to avoid conflicts with those of surrounding communities, for attendance was not limited to church members. The number of people participating was an indicator of the success. Huge picnic lunches were prepared, but special foods were also made available. Vendors or local committees set up ice cream stands. Fruits such as oranges and bananas were often first encountered at these outings. The provisioning of the old and widowed with the leftovers from the picnic has already been mentioned: it also served to share the sense of participation with those unable to attend.

While the church was the instigator and organizer of the event, its message was not the major factor for most participants. There were definite religious overtones. A parade with the Sunday School's banner, followed by the minister, might commence the day's official activities (Henry, pp. 88-89), but once at the grove, other events took precedence. Not all the speeches given on these days were by the minister or even on religious topics. Bands might play stirring tunes, but their selection might mingle such favorites as "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "Nearer My God to Thee" with "The Star Spangled Banner" (Rothermel, pp. 103-104).

Memories, as evidenced by the writing, tended to recall more exciting things such as the food or the games, especially the kissing games, also called ring games. Festival is often a time for behavior otherwise

disapproved or discouraged. It may function as a relief valve or, more simply, in this case, as a rather accelerated period of courtship for people with limited time for socializing due to long work days. (See Rothermel, pp. 106-107 for this aspect.) Once again, Henry provides good insight into the ambiguity of attitudes brought forth by such events: "I suppose catch-and-kiss games are, and ought to be taboo; nevertheless I am glad I had that one, blissful, unchecked, undisciplined, unforgettable Celebration" (p. 93). ("Celebration" here refers to her name for the Sunday School picnic, not particularly the kissing game.)

Christmas was the occasion for special terms and traditions among the church groups of the Pennsylvania Germans. The term "putz" was commonly used for the creche. The "Belsnickel" were (was?) an institution whose visit on Christmas eve was not always fully enjoyed by the younger children. Riegel (1964, p. 36) equates the figure with Santa Claus, but Rothermel clearly indicates (pp. 85-89) that they (he describes two characters) were of a different tradition. The costumed individuals, as he described them, in false faces depicting animal heads, announced their presence with switches lashed against the windows. The quizzing of the youngsters on their behavior (and school work) was followed by the tossing of candy or coins on the floor, but even then the judicious application of the switches either withheld the tantalizing reward until further questioning was completed or made the capture of the bounty more difficult, if not a little painful.



This volume deals with the Pennsylvania German Diaspora, describing a childhood spent in Illinois.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has attempted to handle two purposes: to analyze the usefulness of autobiographical materials for folklife studies and to present specific examples demonstrating the range of folk-cultural materials found in these books and articles. It is certainly far from complete in suggesting the latter.

For example, music was not handled at all. Scattered through most of the books are titles and occasionally a stanza or two of spirituals sung at camp-meetings (itself another area not covered). For one more familiar with the area, that is, having a greater reference already developed, these could be quite useful in fleshing out one's understanding of these meetings.

On the other hand, Dietterich presents a whole text of what he calls the "Libby Prison Hymn" ("I am a poor wayfaring stranger, / I'm journeying through this world of woe . . .") (pp. 184-185). He goes further to tell his role in the dissemination of this song in Pennsylvania: his son suggested and paid for the printing of this song. Dietterich then used it at his camp-meetings and afterwards sold sheets, realizing a profit of \$18 for the boy. This was in 1870. It had an effect, he said, for nineteen years later; one of the members of a sister congregation requested it for his funeral.

There is a wealth of material here. A more limited scope would allow a richer presentation, but I felt it was necessary to be as much suggestive as explicit in such preliminary work.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCES

Anonymous. *Eleven Days in the Militia During the War of the Rebellion; Being a Journal of the "Emergency" Campaign of 1862. "By a Militiaman."* Philadelphia: Collins, 1883. What might be called an "Occasional Autobiography," this brief book covers only an eleven-day period. Military life is perforce extraordinary (though usually exceedingly dull) in circumstances of living, but a few insights into songs, strength of religious practice, and medicine were given.

Crist, Jacob Bishop. "Memoirs of a Lutheran Minister," edited by Don Yoder. *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVI: 3 (1967): 34-41. Dealing with the last thirty years of his life, this work has its primary value in describing the relations between a preacher and his many congregations. A Pennsylvania Dutchman who spoke no German, he traveled extensively through the central and western portions of the state.

Dietterich, Henry A. *A Wonder of Grace or Thirty-Three Years in the Ministry, Being a Short Sketch of the Life and Labors of Rev. H. A. Dietterich.* York, Pa.: P. Anstadt & Sons, 1892. Skims his youth and concentrates on his years in the ministry, beginning at age 21 with the Evangelical Association. After 18½ years, he converted to the Lutheran ministry where he practiced for the rest of his life. Expressing a continuing concern with death in the midst of life, the book stresses the joys and assurance of preparedness through religion. A practical preacher, his work contains materials ranging from texts of hymns to a virtual dictionary of fatal illnesses of the 19th Century to the use of the zodiac as a decision-influencing device. A useful book in the study of 19th Century religion in a practical rather than a theological orientation.

Dornblaser, Thomas Franklin. *My Life-Story for Young and Old.* (Printer and place of publication not given.) 1930. A didactic book by a somewhat-prideful Pennsylvania German from the central portion of the state. His pastorates were in the mid-west, so only the first half concerns life in Pennsylvania. A rather straight-faced presentation, as are the expres-

sions of all the friends and relatives whose portraits are contained in this book.

Henry, Katherine. *Back Home in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1937. Some of the stories of this book were originally written for newspaper and magazine publications. There is a definite masking of certain personal facts and, in looking at the first two decades of her life, the author has used rose-colored glasses. Still, it is the only source I located written by a woman and it does give a good presentation of many aspects of life.

Leas, Joseph Allen. *The Hoosier Pastor or Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*. Chicago, 1947. A Lutheran minister with a delightful sense of humor, he was raised by his maternal grandparents after his mother's death. They moved to Illinois when he was only two, so he typifies the Pennsylvania-German westward movement.

Pennypacker, Samuel Whitaker. *The Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1918. A one-time Governor of Pennsylvania, this bibliophile specialized in materials from his native state and gives an insight into reading materials in the homes of plain people. Because he was a member of upper society and somewhat of a name-dropper, he presents only a little material of folkloric interest throughout most of the first 500 pages. However, his closing sketch of John B. Pennypacker was somewhat more useful.

Riegel, Lewis Edgar. "Reminiscences [sic] of Centerport, 1876-1885." *Pennsylvania Folklife* XIV: 2 (1964): 34-47.
"Reminiscences of a Boyhood in Reading, 1883-1890." *Pennsylvania Folklife* XVI: 3 (1967): 2-19.
Obviously dealing only with the author's youth, these articles manage to present vast amounts of close observation on a wide range of both adult and child experiences. The first deals with small-town life, the second with urban living. Outstanding source material.

Rothermel, Abraham H. *The Dumb Dutch by One of Them*. Myerstown, Pennsylvania: The Church Center Press, 1948. I have no idea to what extent, if any, this novel is autobiographical. Presents several years in the life of a Reformed Church deacon, his family, as well as a hired hand, his sister-in-law, and a schoolteacher who lived with them. Like Henry's book, it situates belief, customs, practices in the "natural" course of life. Cross-checking materials with autobiographies tends to support the accuracy of this book.

Smith, Harry E. "The End of the Horse and Buggy Era." *Pennsylvania Folklife* XVIII:3 (1969): 2-25. Almost a third of this article describes the entertainments, ranging from marbles to circuses, available in Sunbury, Pennsylvania, in the three decades beginning with the 1890's. There are many glimpses provided into the public and private domains, but the article is extensive rather than intensive in the treatment given.

Snyder, Henry L. *Old Zionsville*. Miami, Florida: Southern Publishing Company, 1947. This general history of the south Lehigh County town acknowledges sources ranging from the novels of Elsie Singmaster and Cornelius Weygandt to Emil Meynen's *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America* in its bibliography. The book is not an autobiography, but one senses that personal observation was used for the more recent era, especially seen in the detail and fond handling of the sketches at the house auction and the Literary Society.

Spaeth, Adolph. *Life of Adolph Spaeth, D.D., LL.D.* "Edited by his Wife." Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916. The title page gives further insight into the nature of the work with the inscription "For the sake of the Church" and the note "Told in his own reminiscences, his letters and the recollections of his family and friends." It is a rather formal biography of a formal man, a German-born and raised Lutheran minister who immigrated to Philadelphia in 1864. I found it to be of very limited use for folklife studies.

Weygandt, Cornelius. *On the Edge of Evening; The Autobiography of a Teacher and Writer Who Holds to the Old Ways*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946. From a rather prestigious family, he was raised in Germantown and was three-eighths Pennsylvania Dutch. There is not much of use here; perhaps his novels deal more fully with the non-scholastic and literary worlds. Despite a stint as a newspaper reporter, he seems an individual more at ease in the library than in the country, even as a child. Still, an interesting autobiography of a hard-working professor.

APPENDIX

Item A:

"Folk humor, like the running brook, 'goes on forever'. Stories are passed on from generation to generation. For instance this story about a farmer who had a pair of quilted winter trousers that he wore on Sundays only. In the summer the garment was hung up in the attic. One Sunday in early winter the weather turned very cold and the warm trousers were brought out and worn to church. The man sat close to the stove and became very warm. The 'testimony' time came and as was his custom the good man stood up to give his testimony, or 'speak for the Lord'. He began, 'Brothers and Sisters,' but stopped and passed his hands down his legs. Unknown to him a colony of wasps had made a safe retreat in the thick padding during the cool days of Fall. He began again, 'Brothers and Sisters.' Suddenly he stopped with an agonized expression and shouted, 'I have the Lord in my heart but the Devil is in my pants,' and turned, dashed down the aisle to the door.

The folklore element appears at this point. Having heard the story I told it at home only to have Mother dryly remark, 'I heard that story when I was a little girl.'"

Smith, p. 23

Item B:

"On another wild night the Doctor accepted the invitation to stay at the home of a farmer whose wife was ill. He was put into a northwest bedroom, seldom used, leagues away from any stove. The bed was biting cold, with a cellary dampness; but there was a fat featherbed. Gradually the Doctor's body warmed a spot for itself, and he fell asleep. A smart sting on his ankle half waked him, and he sent down an investigating hand—which promptly got a similar sting. He lost no time getting out of that bed. In trying to find his match case he walked into various pieces of furniture. At last he gave it up and called.

'Bill! Bill! Bring a light. The witches are in this bed!'

When Bill came they found the bed crawling with wasps that had been thawed from their winter sleep by the warmth of the Doctor's body."

Henry, pp. 183-184

Item C:

"In the fall and winter before leaving White Deer charge, I had married several couples, and the next summer, for some cause, the one couple parted. Soon after their separation we received two letters from friends on the charge, and among other things they said, 'You did not tie that knot right, for they have parted already.' So I must make some reply, and get out of it as best I could. I picked up the Almanac and looked at the sign in which they were married. It was in the decrease, and consequently dark of the moon. The little moon pointed down, and the sign was in the Lion. I thought, good enough, here is a chance for me. So I wrote to them, that I was sorry the couple had separated, but the fault was not mine. It is because of the sign in which they were married. Being in the dark of the moon, would prevent them from seeing each other's good qualities. Being in the decrease of the moon, would cause their affections for each other to decrease. The little moon pointing down would naturally draw their affections from their hearts to their feet. And the sign being in the Lion, which is the King of beasts, would spring between them and shake his shaggy mane at them, and no man could tie a knot to hold against such odds. I hope this explanation will be satisfactory. They took a hearty laugh over it, and replied that it was satisfactory. I am not much of a believer in signs, but this would serve my purpose in this case."

Dietterich pp. 304-305

Student Life at a Pennsylvania Dutch College

By LEONARD PRIMIANO

The diaries and personal memoirs of former Pennsylvania Dutch college students are a storehouse of information on the academic life and extra-curricular activities of a student attending a nineteenth-century Pennsylvania Dutch college.¹ The decision to enter college was, naturally, a momentous one. These schools were not large and their administrative guides thought it best to limit the spaces available in them. The personal diary of such a man as J. Spangler Kieffer details not only daily activities, but presents a picture of college life which is refreshingly realistic. Published books of "recollections," such as those by Theodore H. Appel, though quite helpful, seem to dilute the real potency of life at college. The diary of Henry Harbaugh, though not containing his actual "college days" passages, also gives us a picture of school (through the eyes of a member of the faculty).² Many reasons can be given for any lack of realism in the recorded memories of an individual.

Men, such as Kieffer and Harbaugh, never expected their diaries to be published and therefore decided (especially J. Spangler Kieffer) to say exactly what was on their minds. Theodore Appel's *Recollections Of College Life*, written in his later years, illustrates more of the point of view of a faculty member (which he was when he wrote his "Recollections") in his daily descriptions, than that of a student. Perhaps he wished to use this as a good example for the "students" of his day.

For what basic reasons did these schools exist? They were established to continue a tradition of basic Protestant education, and just as important, to continue the

study of the German language and literature. Dr. Appel writes: "In a country like ours the instructions had to be conducted mainly in the English language; but this did not necessarily set aside the mother tongue of the Church" (German-Reformed). "In the college, it was taught and honored for what it was worth in itself, and for the rich treasures of learning and literature which it contained."³

Upon examination of the writings, one becomes aware of the distinct differences between "Dutch" colleges and others in the United States, from the very beginning. "In most cases, in this country, college preceded Theological Seminaries. In fact, the colleges were at first all more or less theological, and young men preparing for the ministry had to depend mainly on their college training. In the Reformed Church, however, the historical order was just the reverse: first the Seminary and then the College, which grew out of the former and was involved in it as a germ from the first."⁴ These schools followed the educational philosophy that: praying and working should constantly be brought into a closer unity; this order should continue in college as in life; and success in life depends on being a good speaker as well as a good thinker. Conversation, discussion, and the art of debate were always encouraged (only at the proper time, of course).

What was the daily routine for students attending college at this time? In 1839, the day would begin with the ringing of some device, be it a bell or gong, to awaken the students from their slumber. During the winter the students were awakened at 6:00, in the summer at 5:00. The mornings were considered of utmost importance and were not to be wasted. The bell or gong held by the appointed "awakener" went from corridor to corridor until the door of each student had been passed. Lamps were lit in each room; the new day began. Assembly for prayer followed in most cases. Theodore Appel recalls the coldness of the hall

¹It should be noted that this examination of college days favors those activities related to old Marshall College in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, and to the new Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Specific examples from these schools will be used, but generalizations can be drawn for all "Dutch" colleges. This is simply because the men used as sources were educated within those environments.

²They also highlight, to the reader, the changes the years bring to a college. Theodore Appel and Henry Harbaugh were members of the faculty of Franklin and Marshall College, when J. Spangler Kieffer was still attending. Comparing the written memories of these men points out the changes which new generations bring.

³Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life* (Reading: Daniel Miller, Printer and Publisher, 1886), p. 144.

⁴Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life*, pp. 66-67.

in which they knelt for prayer. It was without heat and the early morning cold made it "as cold as a barn".⁵ Time was then spent preparing for the day's lessons, after which breakfast followed. This pattern of prayers before breakfast did go through many changes, but prayer before or after dining had been in effect for many years. Recitations began at 9:00. Any time before this was spent in relaxation, either walking or talking. Those who had not sufficiently prepared, undoubtedly used this remaining time for study. Turning to the diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, we note distinct changes in this schedule by the middle of the century. He writes: "This morning I arose at seven o'clock. Coming downstairs, I found the others at breakfast. Studied until time for recitation. While going to College we saw coming through the fields a poor woman, going out in search of wood. She was very poorly protected against the cold. Her thin dress which reached but below her knees was roughly blown about her by the wind. She formed but one specimen of the many untouched poor who are found in the cities." "I recited History and Latin and came off very well."⁶

The recitation period stopped for a break at 12:00. The bell or gong would call the students from one class to another. Recitations were one hour in length. The lunch period lasted until 2:00. Between the hours of two, four or five, the day's classes were finished. Students were then called again to prayer with the faculty in attendance as well.

Again, the changes are noticeable, when one reads the list of activities of J. Spangler Kieffer just twenty years later. His afternoon was not filled with classes and study hours: "In the afternoon, I went to the Post Office with Erb. Passing the remains of the fire, we stopped to look at them, but a man bade us to go away, lest the wall should fall on us."⁷ "In the afternoon, a man came to our room at the back window, with a large basket of all kinds of fancy china ware, asking whether we had any old clothes to trade. Love invited him in. He was a Hollander, but spoke good English. Love had considerable fun with him, in bartering different articles of clothing. He, at length concluded to trade an old pair of boots with a pair of pants, for two elegant perfume bottles and another small fancy article. He had the pair of pants on at the time, but stripped them off. We went to recitation, where he as well as myself told the story. He repeated it afterwards, I suppose, for he was everywhere greeted with the cry of 'crockery ware'. . . To think of Love stripping off his pants to sell his pants for perfume bottles!"⁸

Dinner was served between the hours of five and seven. Dr. Appel makes note of the infamous evening "Nine O'Clock Rule". This said that students were to be in their rooms to study in preparation of the following day's recitations at 9:00 in the evening in winter, and at 10:00 in the summer. Another activity of the evening was the "prayer meeting" announced by the school bell or gong at 9:00. "They were useful in exercising young converts in the gift of prayer; but they did not work well. The students were weary, and one of them occasionally would fall asleep on his knees and not rise with the rest of us. Besides these meetings seemed to be out of time, and the secular students did not like them; and usually objected to them on the grounds that they were held during study hours, and annoyed them in their preparations for the next day."⁹ We are told that these meetings eventually faded out; however, years later a form of evening prayer could still be found. "Went to catechising in the evening. The lecture was the most interesting I have yet attended, on the 8th and 9th commandments. Mr. Harbaugh alluded to lotteries, gift establishments, etc. Lottery tickets were kept by Mr. Harbaugh in his Bible. 'It is a good place. When we attempt to get them the thoughts of the book will frighten us from our evil designs.'"¹⁰ Students may have been checked that they were in their rooms studying at 9:00, but later they would sneak out into the neighboring towns "to spend the night in fun and frolic."¹¹ By the middle of the century, this "rule" had passed from the scene.

A schedule of studying, eating, sleeping, and conversing can indeed become monotonous. College life, assuredly, is not meant to be a comfortable vacation time, and could not equal the homelife of the students. "[On Saturday] we came to Philadelphia safely, but a little the worse for wear, as we had not changed shirts, collars, drawers or stockings, or blacked our boots, in all the time of our absence. . . . Monday morning visited Independence Hall, went to some auction rooms, and bought a translation of Tasso for 55 cents. Tuesday morning went to the mint, then to the Philadelphia Library founded by Franklin. In the afternoon, at four o'clock, we left for Lancaster and arrived here at 8 o'clock. . . . Seems a descend, not very agreeable, to come back here to live on bread, butter, molasses, beef and potatoes, and to sleep on straw."¹² The monotony of college was, however, greatly relieved by anniversaries, commencements, and other special activities which would occupy the students.

Of the many available activities, Literary Societies were the chief form of diversion. Be it their debates,

⁵Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life*, p. 120.

⁶The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, February 18, 1858.

⁷*Ibid.*, February 18, 1858.

⁸*Ibid.*, November 23, 1858.

⁹Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life*, p. 160.

¹⁰The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, June 27, 1858.

¹¹Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life*, p. 124.

¹²The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, January 4, 1860.

their building and library drives, or simply the feeling of rivalry they created between students, they played a major role in college life. The two important Literary Societies were the Diagnothian and the Goethean. "They occupy pleasantly and profitably the attention of the students, are a potent element in the formation of their characters, and prepare them in their own way more than anything else for the duties of practical life. They are always the first to confront the new student, and he has no rest until he had made a choice of one or the other, and is fully initiated."¹³ These societies ran their own halls, libraries, and special activities. They encouraged debating, oratory, and composition in their meeting's proceedings.

Unlike present conditions, years ago a college did not supply students with a building dedicated to physical and gymnastic activities. These activities had to be accomplished through other means. Students themselves used the surrounding college terrain for hiking, boating, ball playing, and walking. "Having read and written until nearly eleven o'clock, I set out for a walk with Erb and Millet, to cool ourselves before retiring. I had on my slippers without stockings, study gown, shirt unbuttoned, no hat, no vest. Millet was in the same deshabelle, and was smoking a cigar. It was a delightful time for walking, cool and pleasant The thought arose in my mind — how pleasant it should be to wander over the familiar walks of old Mifflinburg on such a night as this, with some lovely creature at my side."¹⁴

When faculty members decided to stop the debating contests held by the Literary Societies because of the intensity of the student rivalry they provoked (these contests would throw entire communities into a frenzy), these organizations decided to supplement this loss of activity by sponsoring different celebrations. One held an "Anniversary" celebration and another held an "Exhibition". Both would bring out their best speakers, writers, debaters, and poets.

Of course, as the students were given greater freedom, they were more available to entangle themselves in interesting pastimes. "We went to town after dinner — great crowd in streets — just seen the great ox in Orange Street slaughtered."¹⁵ "Yesterday afternoon accompanied by Erb and Millet I went to the prison to see the murderers."¹⁶ "At ten o'clock we went over to the negro church. They have quarterly meetings. A number of persons were outside looking through the windows. One preacher had just ceased and another arisen as we arrived. He began in a low voice and took for his text: 'The eyes of the Lord are upon the right-

eous.' His manner was so laughable as to cause me to shake greatly. I had never before heard a negro preacher; but I had seen pictures and here I found how faithful they were. He soon became excited, roaring and howling so much so that I thought he would burst his throat. He would yell like a hound, hammer with his feet on the floor and hands on the pulpit; stretch his body so far as almost to fall over; while ever and anon, he would fiercely rub the sweat from his old poll with his handkerchief."¹⁷ "At three o'clock went to the depot to see the Indians. It was advertised that 27 Indians of the Sioux tribe were coming to visit the Rifle Works. By report they were to have been here yesterday. A great crowd was gathered today but the people were again disappointed."¹⁸

Commencement days, the closing of the college careers of some and of the school year for all, were always grand affairs. Held in September at the beginning of the century, by the 1850's, they were switched to the middle of June. When Marshall College had its Commencement, all of Mercersburg and nearby communities would turn out for the festivities. The playing band, the Church Service, the Alumni Address, and most importantly, the Literary Address highlighted this occasion. "The speaker had to bring with him reputation in the republic of letters."¹⁹

Vacation periods were always happy times, but the colleges allowed for very few of them (this also changed with time). The two vacation periods given called for a break of six weeks in the fall, and six weeks in the spring. The winter term consisted of a lengthy twenty-two weeks. During vacation, students would travel home to enjoy their family and friends, or remain behind to work at their research or serve as teaching assistants at nearby schools. Students always attended classes during the summer. For many years, there were no religious "Holy Days" celebrated within the college community. The reason for this was that these days had become secular "holidays". Students, in the early 1800's, remained at school for Christmas, New Year's, and Easter. Good Friday was not even recognized. "In theory the Church Year was asserted and maintained over against those who denied its claims; but in practice it was in great measure ignored, not only at Mercersburg and Chambersburg, but in many other places in the regions round about."²⁰ In 1844, Dr. Philip Schaff came to Mercersburg and was puzzled why so little was done to commemorate the important Holy Days. He revived the faith of the students, and restored credit to the observance of certain sacred days.

¹³Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College, Life* p. 131.

¹⁴The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, June 26, 1858.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, February 22, 1858.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, April 1, 1858.

¹⁷The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, June 22, 1858.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, June 24, 1858.

¹⁹Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life*, p. 171.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 166.

By the middle of the century many changes had taken place and the students themselves celebrated the spirit of a holiday. This is how the Theological Seminary located at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, had changed its policy: "Until the present year (1864) it was the custom of the Seminary to begin in October and end in July; the year being divided into a long and short session, separated by a short vacation. For certain reasons, it seemed good to change this order; to make instead of two sessions, one, which would extend, without interruption, from the beginning of September to the beginning of May, and leave the remainder of the year for vacation. We have entered upon this new order. (The Seminary opened on September 6.)"²¹ Here is an example of how the Fourth of July was celebrated: "In the evening (of the 3rd) I accompanied Messers Nicks and Cort to the Connestoga bathing. As we came home, sky-rockets were being shot into the air, and bonfires were in all the streets . . . This afternoon we were called downstairs, and treated to wine and cakes in honor of the 4th. Erb wouldn't drunk his."²²

Academically, these schools seemed most interested in philosophy, languages, and mathematics, while the sciences were built up gradually. When Marshall College was first organized, it was decided that four professors were needed to fill the different departments. However, money ran out after three were acquired, so a tutor was employed for the lower classes in the languages. Some experiences of education are helpful to exemplify their diversity as the years passed: "Thus encouraged, and surrounded by such an atmosphere, the students, — many of them, not all, — prosecuted the study of German with considerable zeal. Our objective point was to be able to read Schiller, Goethe, and other giants in the German pantheon for ourselves."²³ "Today the diversion of our class in which I am included read compositions. Subjects various. One of them by Skyles was headed, Lancaster: Lager Beer and Pretzel Emporium."²⁴ "Mr. Hockman formed a petition to Prof. Koeppen which was signed by the class. It stated that inasmuch as this was the birthday of Washington, the father of his Country, the class asked him to deliver a lecture on a suitable subject, instead of history and begged to be excused from German in the afternoon. It was handed to him, but he said that he could not grant it, and that he would talk better about Roman History than anything else. During recitation a paper was handed around to which all signed their names who were agreed to remain away from the German recitation in the afternoon. I signed it, and consequently did not attend."²⁵

²¹The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, October 19, 1865.

²²*Ibid.*, July 4, 1858 (Sunday).

²³Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life*, p. 146.

²⁴The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, February 19, 1858.

²⁵*Ibid.*, February 22, 1858.

An interesting faculty is an integral part of college life. Several accounts give intriguing descriptions of some of the faculty at old Marshall and new Franklin and Marshall Colleges. Professor Edward Bourne: "According to accounts, he possessed a stalwart frame, was a man of marked physique of a ruddy countenance, with sandy hair and for all the world an Irishman — one that was quite unsophisticated. He drilled them in Greek and Latin."²⁶ Professor Albert Smith: "He examined us in the Ancient Languages gently, and spoke kind words to us . . . Professor Smith did not, however, and most probably could not fully appreciate the situation in which he was placed. With his age and experience he could not properly understand that he was in Pennsylvania and not in Vermont, laboring among a people and students, whose religious training and ideas differed in many respects from those of New England. . . he withdrew from the institution. . . It was perhaps for the best."²⁷ Dr. Emanuel V. Gerhart: "We had compositions under Dr. Gerhart on Friday. He commended all the productions except mine; on that point he said nothing to me. The old wretch! I sometimes feel that I could show him to the contrary!"²⁸ Dr. John W. Nevin: "Dr. Nevin preached in the Chapel. He's as stern as an old Roman and as dry as old chips. I am none the better for his discourse, because I didn't listen to it."²⁹ Professor William M. Nevin: "Billy is very economical of his time and is never so gracious as to let us lose an hour of recitation. 'Only think,' says Skyles, 'the old fellow was mean enough to get sick a week during last vacation. He put it off all session. How mean! Especially when he might have done it as well during the session.'³⁰

Professor Adolphus L. Koeppen, Professor of Aesthetics, History and German from 1852-1861, was one of the greatest scholars and poorest disciplinarians a college ever knew: "Prof. Koeppen had just returned from the city, and some of the students shook hands with him and inquired whether he had a pleasant journey. He replied it was most delightful, and that we would now proceed to the Roman History."³¹

Dr. Henry Harbaugh, friend of Theodore Appel and of all the students at Franklin and Marshall College, lived a short but devoted life. An interesting passage: "Rev. E. Kieffer came. As interested today, spent the evening with him. He brings his son to college — Spengler."³² "A telegraphic despatch lay on my table. It said, 'Funeral of Dr. Harbaugh at Mercersburg, Tuesday at eleven o'clock.' So Dr. Harbaugh is gone. May God have compassion upon the bereaved family

²⁶Theodore Appel, *Recollections Of College Life* p. 176-177.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 177-180.

²⁸The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, July 3, 1858.

²⁹*Ibid.*, November 21, 1858.

³⁰The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, January 24, 1859.

³¹*Ibid.*, March 1, 1858.

³²The Diary of Henry Harbaugh, September 15, 1857.

and upon the bereaved Church!"³³

One last notation of interest about Dr. Theodore Appel, Professor of Mathematics at Franklin and Marshall College, written by his pupil E. Spangler Kieffer: "I sat [in the College Chapel] in the corner, to the left of the chancel, where the Professors used to sit in my day, not far from the exact spot where Dr. Koeppen used to sit. As I sat there many thoughts and memories came to me. . . I thought of Dr. Appel; just fifty years from the time I first saw him and came under instruction in his classroom; now we were carrying him to his grave. I remembered how he used to stand there preaching; I could hear his voice preaching or praying. I recalled one expression I heard him use more than once in prayer; he used to pray that we might be enabled by God's grace to follow those 'who had gone before us on their shining way to glory.' Now he has himself joined their number."³⁴

CONCLUDING NOTE

Our look at the life of a student attending a Pennsylvania Dutch college is concluded. Much of our study has dealt with the thoughts of Theodore Appel and J. Spangler Kieffer. It was not intentional to make the college days of Dr. Appel seem so dreary, solemn, and study-filled. It is true that his activities were under stricter supervision. However, he did enjoy many other activities, which he chose not to disclose in his *Recollections Of College Life*. His participation in the major school activity of writing and publishing a school-newspaper shows this.³⁵

What is truly disappointing, is that in the end these Pennsylvania Dutch schools, which were so rich in the culture of their locales, so proud of their religious beliefs, and so interested in the preservation of the German language, would fall prey to the changes which today have affected all colleges and universities. They have become co-educational institutions, and many have lost all connections with their religious roots. This, however, is demanded if enrollments are to be kept up, and the schools kept open. Ironically enough, it was discovered while involved in research for this project, that Franklin and Marshall College has been discussing the plan to eliminate their "major" studies program in German. What would Theodore Appel say about that?

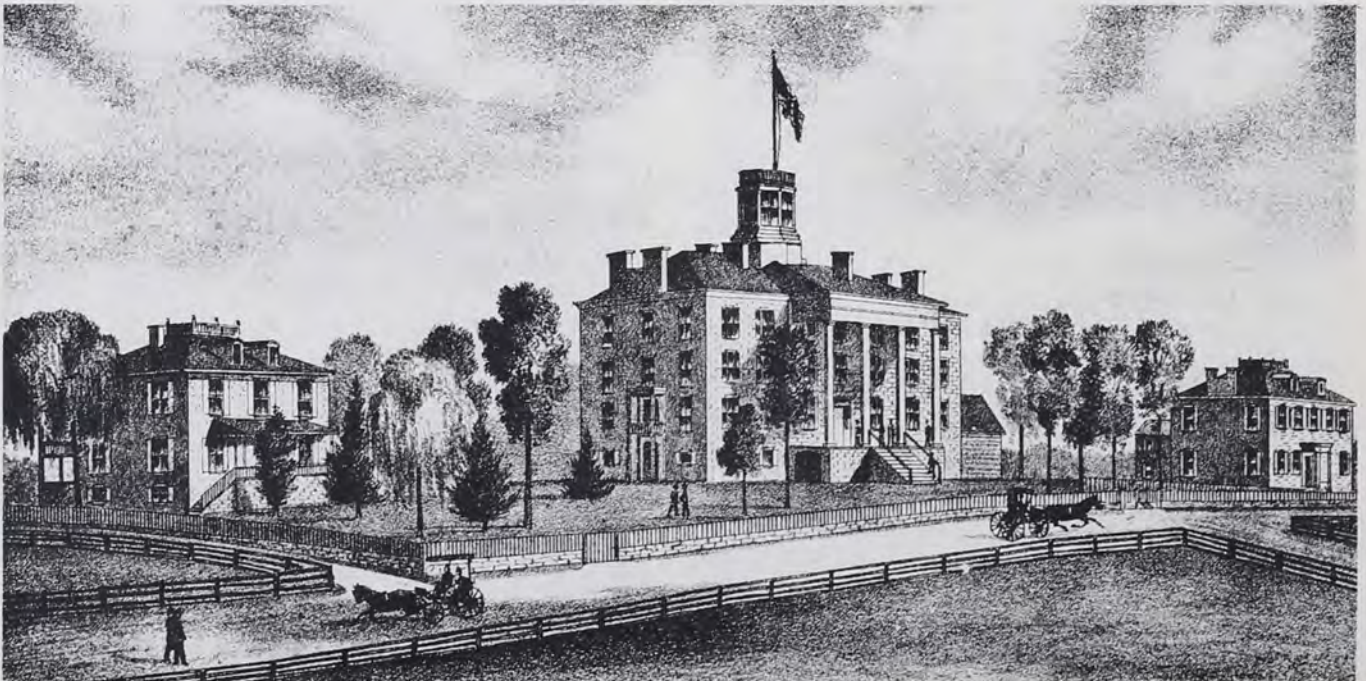
³³The Diary of J. Spangler Kieffer, January 2, 1868.

³⁴*Ibid.*, October 3, 1907.

³⁵There were five student newspapers published in Theodore Appel's day. He was directly involved with one. Ten copies were handwritten by the editors and passed from room to room by the subscribers.

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Pennsylvania German Astronomy & Astrology XIII:

Health and the Heavens

By LOUIS D. WINKLER

INTRODUCTION

The first elaborate records concerning astrology and human health belong to the ancient Greeks. In the second century A.D. Claudius Ptolemy, renowned astronomer and astrologer, compiled the *Tetrabiblos*, the Bible of Astrology. The "Introduction" to the *Tetrabiblos* contains tables which help explain a number of fundamental characteristics concerning astrology and health that are found in the Pennsylvania German culture. These tables will be reproduced below and subsequently referred to in discussions of the "Almanac Man," death, blood letting and cupping.

Table I is a listing of the signs of the zodiac as they appear in the sky from west to east. Each sign is assigned a "gender-sect" pair in alternating fashion. The sex and portion of the day involved in the associations refer to their involvements in earthly matters.¹

TABLE I

Sign	Gender	Sect
Aries	Masculine	Diurnal
Taurus	Feminine	Nocturnal
Gemini	Masculine	Diurnal
Cancer	Feminine	Nocturnal
Leo	Masculine	Diurnal
Virgo	Feminine	Nocturnal
Libra	Masculine	Diurnal
Scorpio	Feminine	Nocturnal
Sagittarius	Masculine	Diurnal
Capricorn	Feminine	Nocturnal
Aquarius	Masculine	Diurnal
Pisces	Feminine	Nocturnal

Vom Aderlassen und Schröpfen.

Ob man schröpfen will, und wann die rechte Zeit sei, kann ein Leibes frösch so leicht erachten, als man es thun können kann. Namlich, wann es in der Haut jucket oder brist, sonderlich wann schwebende Blatterdosen kommen, woraus gemeinlich die bekante Pöste leidet. Wann man schröpfet, soll die Schube nicht warm sein, denn wenn der Haut bloß, bzw. noch weder warm geblieben, und schagt die Kälte drin, so wird eben so leicht schlimmer als besser: will es das erstemal nicht werden, so kann man's zum zweyten oder drittemal wiederholen.

gut 666 666 mit. 666 mit. gut mit. mit. 666 gut mit.

Der Widder regiert das Haupt, darinnen ist auch Aderlassen, aber nicht am Haupt.
 Stier, den Hals und Gurgel.
 Zwillinge, die Schultern, Arme und Hände.
 Krebs, die Zunge, Hals und Magen.
 Löwe, das Herz und Rücken.
 Jungfrau, den Bauch und Gebärmere.
 Waage, die Nieren und Blase.
 Scorpion, die Scham.
 Schütze, die Hüften.
 Steinbock, die Knie.
 Wassermann, die Hoden und Schenkelbeine.
 Fische, die Füße.



Die Planeten beherrschen:
 Saturnus, das rechte Ohr, Brüste und Wachen.
 Jupiter, das linke Ohr, Herz, Leber und Nieren.
 Mars, das ganze Haupt, Galle.
 Sonne, das Angesicht, vornehmlich die Augen und Zähne, Herz, Gestirne und Schenkel.
 Venus, Nieren und Gebärmere nach Mann und Frauen.
 Mercurius, das Gehör, Ohren, Gehirn, Zunge und Schenkelbeine.
 Der Mond, Gebärmere nach Mann und Frau, Gehirn, Niere, Wachen, Bauch, Eingeweide, auch (neben Jupiter) Leber, und (neben Sonne) Angesicht und Augen.

Merke das ich zu erinnern, daß mer Aderlassen will, es sei auf dem Arm, auf einer Hand oder Fuß, so muß das ganze Gesicht ansehend warm sein, ist es aber kalt, so muß, dasjenige, so Aderlassen will, durch Weib, hartes Gehen oder durch heißes Trinken das Gesicht erst erhitzen, sonst lauft das Blut gar nicht, aber nur das dünne, und eine solche Aderlaß ist oft mehr schädlich als nützlich.

Was vom Blut nach dem Aderlassen zu muthmaßen ist.

1) Wenn roth Blut mit Wasser oben beudet, bedeutet gute Gesundheit. 2) Roth und schaumig, viel Geblüt. 3) Roth mit einem schwarzen Ring. 4) Schwarz, schaumig oder eiclich, viele Feindtgeit und kalte Hüfte. 5) Wenn Blut in eine Weisung gehet, sondern Verwirrung. 6) Wenn Blut ohne oder Melancholie. 7) Gelbes Blut, Verwundt oder hitzige Galle. 8) Gelbes Blut, nicht an der Leber und Galle. 9) Wassericht, beweiset eine schwache Leber, oder überschwemmten Magen. 10) Dick, hart und jähres Blut, ist ein Zeichen der Verstopfung, oder Melancholie.

Vom Hulsfällen.

Obt Weiblich lösen ist, wann der Mond abnimmt und unter den Erde ist, im Stier, Jungfrau oder Steinbock, am besten aber wann der Welt aus dem Welt ist, das ist im Februario. Aber Wärme nicht haben will, kann solche im Frühling, ehe der Welt aufliegt, nur durch die Schale bauen, daß der Welt nicht aufsteigen kann; wer aber wartet, bis der Welt aufliegt ist, der muß hernach ganz durch den Spund bauen.

Figure 2: Blood-letting and cupping, and sign associations with the Almanac Man.

¹The disbeliever in astrology takes great delight in pointing out that the alternation of sexes results in Taurus the bull becoming female.

Verification of the complex use of the Almanac Man as suggested above is found with a closer examination of Figure 2.² One example is that Jupiter, the sun and Leo are all involved with the heart, and the associations of these two planets and the sign are seen in Tables II and IV. Several additional examples can be easily found which relate a planet and sign through a common part of the body; this is consistent with Tables II and IV. An unusual example involves the right ear and Saturn, and the left ear and Jupiter (Figure 2). According to *Tetrabiblos* I. 4 and Table II, Saturn and Jupiter are *extreme* and *similar*. That is, Saturn and Jupiter were thought to be the farthest from the earth as well as masculine and diurnal. Similarly, each ear is located on an *extreme* portion of the body and both ears are quite *similar* in nature. Further, left-sidedness and right-sidedness are preserved in the scheme via Table IV. For example, Saturn, which controls the right ear, is in exaltation when in Libra, which is found on the Almanac Man's right side. Jupiter, which controls the left ear, is in exaltation when in Cancer, which is found on the Almanac Man's left side.

The description of the use of the Almanac Man here contradicts the brief description given in Articles I and XI in this series where body parts are affected as the moon appears to pass through the signs. Use of the moon is a simplified use of the Almanac Man. Figure 1 suggests at least that the moon can be used for seed planting. An examination of Figure 1 also presents confusion since its heading involves the phrase "... when the earth is in . . .", which is meaningless. Only the planets viewed *from earth* can appear to be the signs.

When this writer attempted to make a large number of correlations among Figure 2, Table I-IV and *Tetrabiblos* III. 12, many more agreements as well as apparent discrepancies were found. This is not surprising since discrepancies might have developed during approximately two millennia of evolution from the time of *Tetrabiblos*.

DEATH

Death is discussed in *Tetrabiblos* IV.9 in a section entitled "Of the Quality of Death". According to this chapter "natural" deaths are generally attributed to the planets acting by themselves. When death is "violent and conspicuous" both maleficent planets, Saturn and Mars (Table II), are acting "together".

Jacob Zimmermann died in 1694 just before his band of Pietists embarked for America when Saturn and Mars were acting together³ (i.e. in conjunction) in Capricorn. This is an astrologically auspicious sign since Capricorn is Saturn's solar house (Table IV) and Mars is in exaltation there (Table IV).

²If the reader is not familiar with the astrological symbols for the signs, compare Figures 1 and 2 and the signs can be deduced.
³Article XII of this series.

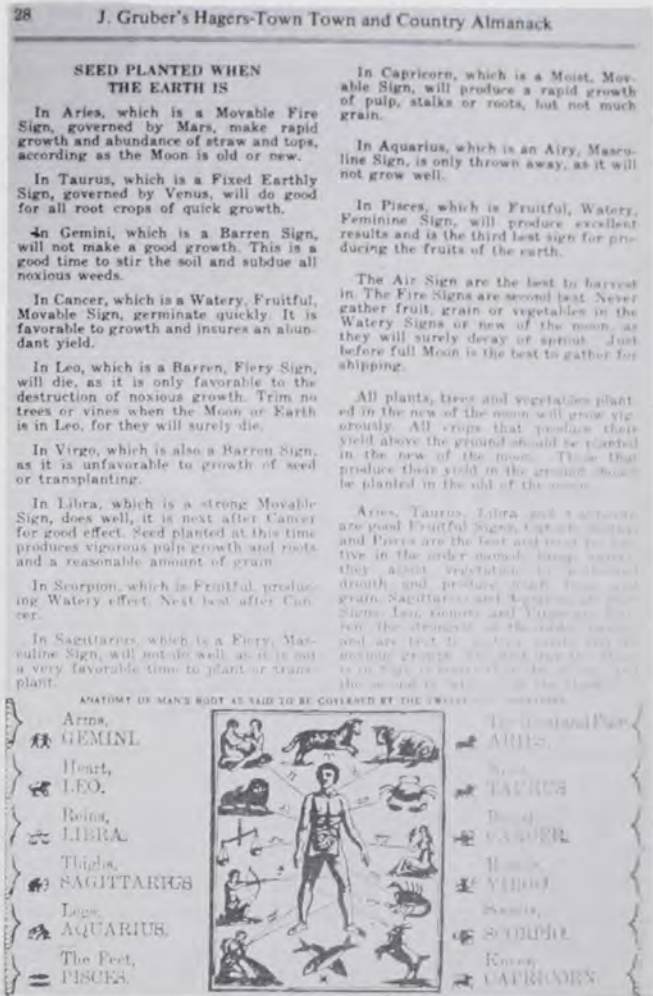


Figure 1: Zodiacal signs related to the parts of the body and seed planting. Courtesy of Hagers-Town Town and Country Almanack.

THESE May Inform all whom it might Concern That M^r. John Keighin of Hatsfield in the Province of West New Jersey, hath Lived with me (here under named) a considerable time, as a Disciple, to Learn the Arts & Mysteries of Chyrurgery, Physick, & the Natural Sciences, whereby to make a more perfect Discovery of the hidden Causes of more occult & uncommon Diseases, not so easily to be discovered by the vulgar Practice. In all which he has been very Diligent & studious, as well as in the Administration of the Medicines, & in the various Cases; wherein his Judgment may be safely depended, upon all things. So far as he follows my Instructions. And Hope he may in all things answer the Confidence that may be reposed in him. Germantown Febr. 20. 1727. C. Witt.

Figure 5: Certificate in chemistry, medicine and astrology awarded by Christopher Witt. From J. F. Sachse, "The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742, Vol. I," Philadelphia, 1899.

The comet of 1743 was specifically mentioned as being an announcement of "plague and famine" and "death".⁴ The apparition was particularly significant astrologically because it was simultaneous with the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Leo. Tables I and II indicate that the two planets and the sign, respectively, are all masculine and diurnal.

Death is also frequently associated with the waning moon (Figure 3) which is depicted on tombstones. This crescent symbolizes the last phase of life on earth while astronomical symbols in general symbolize the life hereafter in heaven. These topics were discussed at length in Article IV of this series.

BLOOD LETTING AND CUPPING⁵

The subjects of blood-letting and cupping do not appear in *Tetrabiblos* explicitly, and thus appear to have been developed during medieval times. Figure 2 suggests that certain signs are favorable, somewhat favorable, or unfavorable for blood-letting and cupping. This sign association seems to be through the moon as it is in the simplified case of the Almanac Man. In Figure 4 blood-letting and cupping symbols⁶ are placed alongside of the sign the moon appears to be in. A complex medieval or ancient origin for blood-letting is possible since *Tetrabiblos* II.12 indicates Jupiter and Mars are "lord" of the arteries and veins, respectively, and many other relationships between the parts of the body and signs and planets have been mentioned above.

When the appropriateness of signs in Figures 3 and 4 are compared they differ in eight out of twelve cases. In Figure 3 there are three favorable, five somewhat favorable and four unfavorable signs for the expurgations, while in Figure 4 there are three favorable, three somewhat favorable and six unfavorable signs. It is likely that these differences are caused by the long history and evolution of these practices.

The signs of appropriateness indicated in Figure 3 are the most traditional and depict Aries, Libra and Aquarius as the most favorable. This is reasonable astrologically since Aries and Libra are the most "moveable" of signs and Aquarius involves the most liquid. Aries and Libra contain the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, respectively, where the sun's motion in declination (i.e. perpendicular to the ecliptic) is at the maximum rate. This maximum mobility is very likely asso-

⁴Article III of this series.

⁵Fine examples of the devices used for blood-letting and cupping are found in the Hershey Museum (Hershey, Pennsylvania). The lancet exhibited is elaborate in configuration so that it can be properly manipulated while incisions are made. The associated cupping glass is thick so that it can hold a sufficient quantity of heat when warmed. By warming the cupping glass and holding it to the part of the body desired, a partial vacuum is produced as the glass and air in it cool. The cupping glass could be used to draw out the blood after the incision is made, or draw blood to the area of interest before the incision is made.

⁶ (‡) favorable; (+) somewhat favorable; (no symbols) unfavorable.



Figure 3: Crescent waning moon on Pennsylvania German Tombstones. Courtesy of Pennsylvania German Society.

ciated with the flow of blood. Aquarius is depicted with a pitcher from which water is flowing and is consequently also associated with the flow of blood.

In *Tetrabiblos* II.9, entitled "Of Colours of Eclipses, Comets, and the Like," the descriptions are tantalizingly reminiscent of blood-letting. While blood is described as "red," "black," "white," "blue," "green," and "yellow" in Figure 2, colors of formations near "comets, eclipses and the like" are described as "black," "white," "red," "yellow," and "variegated". Perhaps to the medieval mind blood-letting and cupping are some of "the like".

HOME CURES AND HYGIENE

Remedies for ailments and instructions for care of parts of the body which are astrological in nature are fairly common in early Pennsylvania German culture. These practices are evidently carryovers from medieval times. Frances Bacon (1561-1626), the English philosopher, was of the opinion that half of medicine was astrology. The Pietist physician *Hexenmeister*, Christopher Witt (d. 1765) issued astrological-medical certificates (Figure 5).

Astrological home remedies⁷ are associated with the waning or new moon most of the time. Whenever the moon is mentioned another time specification generally accompanies it. In J. G. Hohman's⁸ collection, Friday is the accompanying time for astrological remedies:

- 1 For epilepsy: ". . . on the first Friday of the new moon."
- 2 For fits and convulsions: ". . . on a Friday morning before sunrise, in the decrease of the moon"
- 3 For wens: "To remove a wen during the crescent moon."
- 4 For poll-evil in horses: ". . . on the last Friday of the last quarter of the moon."
- 5 For rheumatism: ". . . on the first Friday in the decreasing moon."

Hohman includes a list of thirty-one unlucky days he relates to health. The days are:

⁷The best collection of home remedies is found in T.R. Brendle and C. W. Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures," *Pennsylvania German Society*, Vol. 45, 1935. ⁸J. G. Hohman, *Der lange verborgene Schatz und Hausfreund, oder Getreuer und Christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann*, (Skip-packville: A. Puwelle, 1837).

January 1,2,3,4,6,11,12	July 17,21
February 1,17,18	August 20,21
March 14,16	September 10,18
April 10,17,18	October 6
May 7,8	November 6,10
June 17	December 6,11,15

He further indicates "whoever takes sick on one of these days seldom recovers health".

From Daniel's book⁹ of 1796 the cure for epilepsy involves the following astrological proviso: ". . . the sun is in the sign of Leo and the moon new, on Sunday morning just as the sun is rising." The temporal constraints are so numerous here that if the concept of the new moon is interpreted strictly the conditions may not be realized. In general, however, the conditions are only realized during one day of the year. Daniel's cure for a toothache starts: "Friday morning before sunrise, in the waning moon. . . ."

In a German book¹⁰ published in Philadelphia during 1749, the cure for epilepsy involves: ". . . four days before, and four days after, each full moon for a period of seven months."

On a slip of paper collected by Brendle and Unger, the cure for hemorrhoids involves: ". . . before sunrise, the last two mornings in the old moon. On the first morning of the new moon Do this three times every new moon." Indeed, these represent an elaborate use of the waning and new moons.

The waning moon is even depicted on the cover of one of the very popular home remedy collections¹¹ of N. Culpepper who refers to himself as a student of physics and astrology. The waning moon or its last stage (new moon) is of importance to healers of this type. Starr¹² indicates during 1891 in Clinton County:

"I am told that (a powwow doctor) is most powerful on Friday of a new moon, and that, on one such evening of the summer I called upon him, he had three hundred patients."

Personal hygiene is also associated with the moon concerning the hair and nails. E. M. Fogel's collection¹³ indicates the following:

1. "Hair should be cut in the zodiacal sign of the shaggy Leo; in the waxing moon; on the first Friday after the new moon; on the first Friday of the new moon to prevent it from falling out. It should never be cut in the waning moon as that will cause baldness."
2. Baldness can be caused "if the moon shines upon the head of sleeping persons."

3. "If rain falls on the bare head, especially during dog days, baldness and headaches will result". It is presumed that the dog days referred to here are the hot, humid days in July and August when Sirius (the Dog Star) rises approximately with the sun.

In an 1826 collection¹⁴ it is recommended that nails should be cut: "On a Friday in the decrease of the moon. . . . If the decrease of the moon comes on Good Friday it will help for a whole year."

In an 1827 collection¹⁵ the nails are to be cut on the "first Friday of the new moon in the morning."

The above samplings of home remedies and hygiene very frequently refer to the waning moon. The origin is evidently ancient also since *Tetrabiblos* I.2 states "plants and animals in whole or in some part wax and wane" with the moon. The most repeated home remedy concerns epilepsy and indeed is related to the moon in *Tetrabiblos* III. 14.

References to a general influence of the moon and mental disorders or temperaments are found in both *Tetrabiblos* and the etymologies of a variety of words. These words include "looney," "lunatic," "mooncalf," "moon-struck," and "moony".

CONCLUSIONS

The origins of the Almanac Man, blood-letting, cupping, and home remedies have *all* been traced to *Tetrabiblos* and *all* involve the moon. Originally the astrology of the Almanac Man was quite complex. Simplification to the moon is probably of two-fold expediency. First, when the moon is involved the participant can easily make astrological judgements himself. Second, opportunities to exercise the astrology come much more frequently when the moon is concerned. The moon passes through the signs in 27.3 days while it takes some planets months to move from one sign to another, or even years to achieve auspicious arrangements.

The simplification to the use of the moon is analogous to the well known simplification of horoscopes. Classical horoscopes are highly mathematical in character and require an astrologer for interpretation. There is a strong tendency for doing-it-yourself in astrology. In the case of horoscopes the astrology has been reduced to the position of the sun in a sign. In the case of health the astrology has been reduced to the position of the moon in a sign or the moon's phase. Prognostications and body function have been popularly reduced from the complex tenets of *Tetrabiblos* to conspicuous features of two of the greatest astrological authorities, the sun and moon.

¹⁴*Eine Sammlung Auserlesenen Rezepte Heilsamer Mittel bey Krankheiten der Menschen und des Vieh zu gebrauchen.* M. M. Croll.
¹⁵*A Collection of New Receipts and Approved Cures for Man and Beast* (Chambersburg: D. Bollmer) and (Shellsburg: F. Goeb, 1827).

⁹Referred to as an "oblong book" published by Waldenberger in York in the reference in Note 7.

¹⁰*Ein Jeder Sein eigen Doctor oder Des armen Land-Mannes Artzt. Kurzgefasstes Weiber-Büchlein Erthält Aristotels und Alberti Magni Hebammen-Kunst Mit denen darzu gehörigen Recepten* (Ephrata, 1796), enlarged edition in 1799.

¹²F. Starr, "Some Pennsylvania German Folk-Lore," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, IV (1891), 321-326.

¹³*Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1915). Surprisingly this fine and elaborate collection of beliefs includes a negligible number of an astrological nature in the area of "Folk Medicine and Medical Superstition".

A Traditional Family Reunion

By GORDON C. BAKER

In this era when family reunions are once again becoming popular and more and more families are yearly organizing new reunions, it is interesting to review the history of a traditional family reunion. The Stewart Reunion in Western Pennsylvania is particularly noteworthy for two reasons: first, it has been held continuously since 1909, without a year ever being missed; and second, excellent records of both the reunion and the family have been preserved.

This reunion is officially known as the Annual Reunion of the Descendants of Daniel and Rebecca Stewart. It has been held since 1909 on the third Saturday of August in or near the small Southwestern Pennsylvania town of Point Marion.

This yearly gathering of the Stewarts has kept the family members closely knit to one another. In most families few know who their first cousins are let alone their third and fourth cousins. Due to the reunion, distant cousins keep in close contact with each other year around. This is indeed refreshing in a time when most people say that the family as a unit is breaking up.

The Stewarts were a gregarious family and always had their homes full of people, both relatives and non-relatives. These non-relatives included boarders, who paid their way, and folks down on their luck who just happened by and were taken in.

There is no doubt that the family members were having picnics and family get-togethers well before 1909. However, that was the first year a determined effort was made to get the whole family together at one time and place.

Daniel Stewart (1825-1887) and his wife *Rebecca* (1831-1903) were both descended from old Southwestern Pennsylvania families. Daniel was a grandson of James Stewart (died 1823), a Revolutionary War veteran who lived in Greene County, Pennsylvania. Rebecca was a Blosser whose family settled at an early date in Springhill Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. After

their marriage, in 1847, they lived in a log house on Crooked Run in Greene County. In 1870 they moved to a small farm in Stewartstown, West Virginia, which is very near the Pennsylvania border. Daniel was a farmer by occupation, but he and his sons worked in the construction of Lock Number 9 on the Monongahela River at Hoard, West Virginia. Daniel and Rebecca had 18 children of whom ten reached adulthood and married.



Daniel and Rebecca (Blosser) Stewart



Family Reunion of Stewart Clan: Surviving Children of Daniel and Rebecca Stewart, with spouses.

The children were *Mary* (1848-1851), *David* (1850-1915), *Jemima* (1852-1911), *John* (1854-1926), *Olive* (1856-1918), *Keener* (1859-1933), *Rachel* (1861-1862), *Daniel* (1863-1940), *Jeremiah* (1864-1949), *George* (1865-1865), *William* (1867-1929), *Quinter* (1869-1941) and *Myrtle* (1873-1934).

There were also five stillborn children who were not named. Only one son, Dan, was a full-time farmer. All the others worked at various trades and occupations with some farming as a sideline.

Jerry, William, Quinter and Myrtle lived in Point Marion and evidently were the organizers of the reunion.

On the occasion of the 50th Reunion, Charles W. Stewart, then president of the Stewart Reunion, wrote the following reminiscence of the first reunion, held when he was ten years old.

“The dictionary describes a reunion as ‘The act of uniting again or a gathering of relatives, friends, or associates after separation.’ We are sure that this was the motivating idea in the minds of those first convening the thought of a reunion. As to who this may have been, the planning and arrangements were left

to those members of the family living in or near Point Marion. Some of these were William, Quinter, and Jerry Stewart and Myrtie Stewart Blosser and their wives and husbands and families.

“This was quite a task and necessitated much work and planning, for we must remember that 50 years ago there were few paved roads, picnic grounds with running water, tables, playgrounds and the like as we have today, no cars or buses, few passenger trains, few telephones or the many accepted luxuries of today. Keeping these things in mind you can readily picture some of the work involved. A spot at the edge of Point Marion on Camp Run, a short distance from the old baseball field, was selected for our first reunion. Then the work began; the grass and tall weeds had to be cut by hand with scythes, a big barrel or hoghead, cleaned and prepared for sufficient water. That hoghead had not been used for some time and was dried out making it like a sieve. Water had to be poured into it until the wood got water soaked enough to hold the water. Those of us who carried the water for this purpose learned how much water can be poured

into a barrel without filling it. After several hundred gallons of water and several days it finally got tight enough to be of service. When the time arrived the hogshead was loaded on a wheelbarrow by my Dad and wheeled about a mile from our home to the picnic spot, then filled with water carried in pails from a nearby spring. So for the beverage.

“Then began the meeting of the clan and keeping in mind few trains or other transportation, the gathering of relatives started 2 to 3 days in advance. Uncle Jack Stewart and family from Hundred, West Virginia, was usually one of the first to arrive, followed by other members of the family until the day long planned for also arrived. So on August 14, 1909, with much ado, well filled picnic baskets, a barrel of water and a great spirit of renewed family fellowship, the first reunion of the descendants of Daniel and Rebecca Stewart became a reality. It was a beautiful day, dinner served on cloths placed on the ground, remember no tables. Memory fails as to the program of the day except an organization meeting and plans for future reunions with William Stewart as first president. Games and races were also enjoyed, a picture taken with all present and thus ended our first reunion with that hogshead still holding water.”

A newspaper clipping of the first reunion was found among the personal effects of Aunt Eva Stewart, wife of Quinter Stewart. The article says in part, “All went with well filled baskets, dinner being served at 1:00 p.m. The table was one of the most beautiful and finest ever seen in Point Marion. Everything the heart could wish for was on the table. The day was spent in ball games and racing. Q. M. Stewart rendered several selections on his violin. W. L. Johnson sang several solos which were enjoyed by all.”

There is no one who can now recall why the reunions were always held on the third Saturday of August. Older family members just say that it has always been on that date. There is only one occasion when it was not held on the third Saturday. In 1943 the reunion was postponed for one month due to the death of Lloyd Stewart.

Even during two wars the reunion continued. Records indicate that there were smaller numbers in attendance during the war years, probably due to transportation difficulties.

In the 1930's two closely related families, the Blossers and the Nieman, joined the Stewarts. For a short period the reunion was called the Stewart, Blosser

and Nieman Family Reunion. It was during this period the reunion was at its peak in attendance. Several hundred were at each reunion. Within a few years the other families lost interest or formed their own reunions and it revolved back to the original Stewart family.

The picnic meal was what everyone looked forward to with special interest. There is one thing that was certain, the Stewart women were all good cooks. Fried chicken, ham, meat loaf, homemade noodles, new limas, baked beans, fresh cottage cheese, homemade bread and rolls and all kinds of vegetables fresh from the garden loaded down the table. For dessert there were all kinds of cakes, pies, cookies and fruit. On occasions ice cream or watermelon were served later in the afternoon.

A highlight of each reunion has been the awarding of prizes. Gifts were given to the oldest, youngest, person traveling the farthest, couple married the longest, and largest family. In later years a gift was always given to the person who attended the most reunions. Until her death in 1974 this was always won by Sylvia Stewart Baker, who had only missed one reunion since it started in 1909. Other unusual prizes have been awarded to the family heavyweight and in 1968 Mike Early won a prize for being the dirtiest.

The reunion day itself has always had a fairly close set schedule. Relatives start arriving well before noon. The picnic meal is served at about 1:00 p.m. At 3:00 p.m. a business session is conducted when officers are elected, minutes read, and a collection taken. After business matters are taken care of there follows the awarding of prizes and entertainment. At 5:00 p.m. the leftover picnic furnishes a light meal and then the folks start to head for home. In between all this was plenty of time for visiting with one another.

Entertainment was held after each business meeting. This was primarily songs, stories, recitations and talks given by various members of the family. At the first reunion, Quinter Stewart played the violin and W. L. Johnson sang several solos. This started a tradition that continues down to the present. A review of the minutes indicates that some of the entertainment included in 1932 a reading by William Colebank, 1933 music on violin and solo by Roy and Ruth Michener, 1935 a duet by W. L. Johnson and his daughter Marguerite, 1936 several talks given by members of the family, 1939 talk by Charles Baker, 1944 Andrew Bohan sang “From the Hall of Montezuma,” and 1945 Frances and Janet Matthews sang “Don’t Fence Me In.” The 50th Reunion in 1958 had a great array of entertainment including instrumental music by Ronald Smith, songs by Marvin Lee Smith and the Matthews Family, a history of Stewart Family and a history of the reunion.



Group Picture taken at First Stewart Reunion (1909).

Hymns were also popular and several were usually sung at each reunion. The minutes reveal that "Blest Be The Tie" was sung more often than any other hymn. This could be called the theme song of the Stewart Reunion. Other popular hymns at the reunions were "Life's Railway to Heaven," "Faith of Our Fathers," "God Be With You," "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," "In the Garden," "Beyond the Sunset," "Count Your Blessings," and "Rock of Ages."

Until very recent years a preacher was always invited to the reunion. The preacher normally was asked to say grace before the meal, pray before the meeting and to give a benediction at the end of the meeting. These preachers were normally the ministers of the Trinity Methodist Church in Point Marion. Several of the Stewarts were among the founders and charter members of this church. In recent years these functions have been handled by family members.

The reunions have always been held in the vicinity of Point Marion. The early ones were all held at Camp Run Park in Point Marion itself. With the advent of the automobile, reunions were held in various picnic grounds near the town. Some of these included Happy's Place and Cartright's Grove just across the state line in West Virginia and Morgan's Grove a few miles north of Point Marion. In 1941 the family started gathering at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles O. Baker on Blosser Hill, one mile north of Point Marion. The reunions continued there for 30 years until 1971. Since then the reunions have been held at Cooper's Rocks State Forest in West Virginia and Rainbow Park near Haydentown, Pennsylvania.

Today's descendants carry on a tradition of long standing with the spirit of togetherness and family companionship.

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 45:

Roads, Ferries, Fords and Bridges

Our questionnaire series focuses upon traditional aspects of Pennsylvania life in past and present. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information on the communication network between farms, towns, and cities.

1. *Roads.* Describe the roads you remember from your childhood, particularly those before the age of the automobile. Were most of them plain dirt roads? Describe the problems involved in traveling over them from dust, mud, and uneven surfaces. Were the roads graded in any way? Were they oiled, cindered, or surfaced with crushed stone? Who was responsible for roads in the period before the automobile—the township, the state, the local community?

2. *Streets.* Describe the town or city streets that you remember from your childhood, particularly those before the age of the automobile, or in the early stages of automobile travel. What materials were they paved with? How were they lighted? How were they cleaned? How did the “parking” system for horsedrawn transportation differ from that for the automobile? Were streets used for playing areas for children, for block parties for ethnic groups, and for festivals in the past as in the present?

3. *Paths.* Those of you who grew up in the country will remember networks of paths—from one farm to another, through the woods, over the mountains. These were usually fit only for walking, i.e., wheeled transportation was not suitable for them, although in some cases the loggers’ trails and similar paths through the woods could take wheeled transportation. Describe such routes of communication as you remember them from your childhood days. When were these routes used? How did they develop? How old do you think they were? Were some of them abandoned earlier roads that the woods attempted to reclaim?

4. *Stiles.* In earlier farming cultures there were paths across fields from farm to farm. In order to get over the fences, there were either gates or stiles, the latter a kind of stair that enabled one to climb over the fence. Will you describe these for us?

5. *Fords.* In the past some roads went directly through the smaller streams. These routes for crossing streams were of course called fords. Describe those

which you remember, and locate them geographically.

6. *Ferries.* On the larger streams there used to be ferries. There is only one left in Pennsylvania today, the Millersburg Ferry across the Susquehanna from Millersburg to Liverpool. List the ferries that you remember and describe their principle and equipment.

7. *Foot Bridges.* Over some smaller streams there were bridges for foot travelers. Usually these were for the convenience of the people of a very limited area, one or two farms perhaps. How were these constructed, and how were they kept up? Were fallen logs ever used for crossing streams?

8. *Stone Arch Bridges.* For wagon transportation more solid bridges had to be built. In the early period these were often built of stone. Please list and describe the stone arch bridges that you are familiar with, with precise locations. Describe any architectural features they showed, preferably with sketches. How were the arches constructed? What principles of stone construction were involved in building these bridges?

9. *Covered Bridges, I.* The favorite member of the bridge family for nostalgic Pennsylvanians is the covered bridge, a dwindling race. Will readers describe those familiar to them, listing the streams they crossed, the roads involved, and the size. What principles were involved in their construction? Why were they covered? What was the purpose of the inner arches? How were they roofed? What was the longest covered bridge with which you are familiar? Were they usually painted? If so, what colors were used?

10. *Covered Bridges, II.* Some covered bridges charged toll to the travelers using them. Describe the rates that you remember. Covered bridges were also susceptible to a great deal of lore in the past, as favorite courting places, scenes of holdups, and ghost visitations. If you are familiar with any of these uses of covered bridges, or the stories about them, please relate them for us.

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
Logan Hall Box 13
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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF
CONGRESS OF AUGUST 12, 1970

(Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

Of Pennsylvania Folklife, published 5 times yearly at Lancaster, Pa., for October 1, 1975.

1. The names and addresses of publisher, editor, business manager are: Publisher - Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Lancaster, Pa., Editor - Dr. Don Yoder, Philadelphia, Pa., Business Manager - Mark R. Eaby, Jr., Lancaster, Pa.

2. The owner is: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Box 1053 or 3 Central Plaza, Lancaster, Pa. 17602 and Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 19426.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None

4. Extent and Nature of Circulation

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest To Filing Date
A. Total No. Copies Printed	40,500	2,300
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	22,500	10
2. Mail Subscriptions	11,000	1,800
C. Total Paid Circulation	33,500	1,800
D. Free Distribution By Mail, Carrier or Other Means - Samples, Complimentary and other free copies	1,000	50
E. Total Distribution	34,500	1,850
F. Copies Not Distributed		
1. Office Use, Left-Over Unaccounted, Spoiled after Printing	6,000	450
2. Returns From News Agents	None	None
G. Total	<u>40,500</u>	<u>2,300</u>

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed) MARK R. EABY, JR.
Business Manager



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