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## Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 14, No. 4

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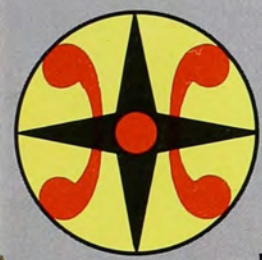
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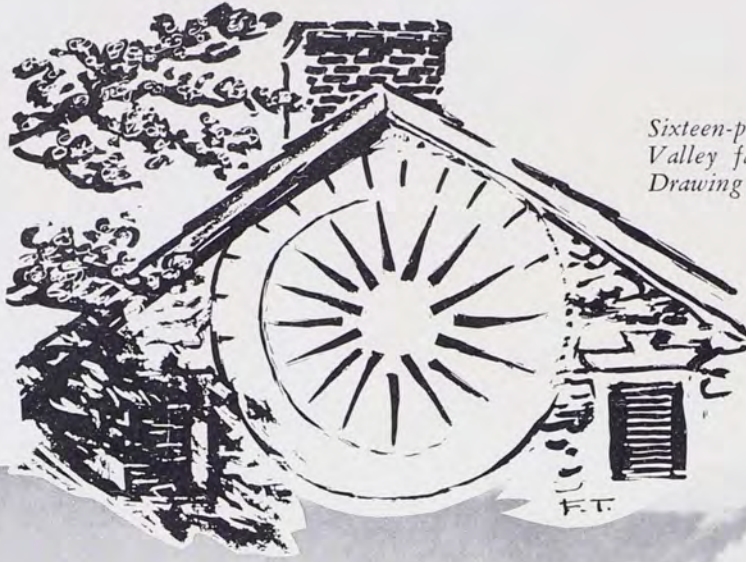
Folk Festival Issue - 75¢

# *Pennsylvania* FOLKLIFE

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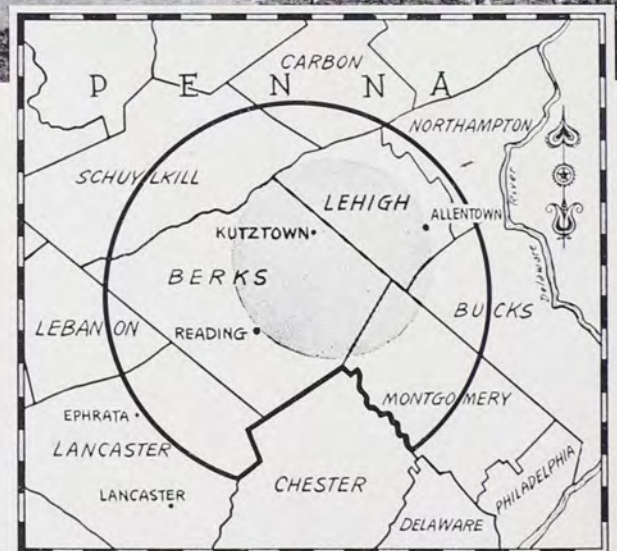




Sixteen-pointed Star from Oley Valley farmhouse near Kutztown.  
Drawing by Florence Starr Taylor.



Pennsylvania's "Hex Signs," featured on our cover, are actually just for decoration, despite several tenacious symbolist theories on their supposed witch-driving powers. The earliest references to their appearance on barns come from about a century ago, and they are geographically limited to the eastern part of the Dutch Country. Earlier the same designs appeared on tombstones, houses, fraktur, and other Dutch folk art. For "hex signs," their origin and the different theories about them, see Alfred L. Shoemaker (ed.), *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1955).



Kutztown is near the center of Pennsylvania's "Hex Sign" belt.



# *Pennsylvania* **FOLKLIFE**

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DON YODER



# Kutztown and America

By DON YODER

A salute to Kutztown on its 150th birthday as a borough! The Pennsylvania Folklife Society extends its good wishes to Kutztown and Kutztownians, at home and away from home, for present prosperity and for a happy and prosperous future.

In this article we should like to take a look at the Kutztown of the past, through the eyes of the historian, and at the Kutztown of the present, through the eyes of the tourist.

In the past fifteen years (1950-1965) the tourist has put Kutztown on the map in new ways. In a sense through the Folk Festival Kutztown has become the "capital" of the Gay Dutch world.<sup>1</sup> At least to the tourist who has flocked here in wheat harvest time in July, Kutztown has become a new symbol of the Pennsylvania Dutchman and his culture, as the Amishman of Lancaster County has also become to the outsider a special symbol of Dutchness and Dutchdom.

It may be just as well that there are two symbols of things Pennsylvania Dutch to the nation as a whole, for, as we have pointed out in our earlier cultural-historical analysis of Pennsylvania Dutchdom,<sup>2</sup> there are two cultures, two related but semi-separated cultural worlds in the Dutch Country, the little world of the "Plain Dutchman"—the Mennonite, the Amishman, and other related sectarians, who withdraw several steps from participation in the "world," and secondly, the "Gay Dutch"—historically the churchly Protestants of the Lutheran and Reformed (now United Church) persuasions, who accepted more of the "world" and its culture as part of life.

## *The Kutztown of the Present*

When Americans go to Europe one of the pleasures is that first walk through a new town, when one has settled at one's hotel for the night. Let us apply this common tourist technique and point out some things that can be seen on a guided walk—in this case verbal and with the Editor as your guide—through the Kutztown of the present.

First of all, Kutztown is a Pennsylvania Dutch and not a New England town, and it has always been a representative Dutch town built over the one-long-main-street plan. We are happy to report that this typicalness has been recognized—undoubtedly through the Festival and its impact on the nation—by the American architectural historians Christopher Tunnard and Henry Hope Reed in their valuable book, *American Skyline: The Growth and Form of Our Cities and Towns* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), which told the nation about the town plan of Kutztown.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For national coverage of the Festival, see Maynard Owen Williams, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival," *The National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1952, pp. 503-516; Helen R. Coats, *The American Festival Guide* (New York, c1956), Part I, Chapter VIII, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival," pp. 72-81; and E. Estyn Evans, "A Pennsylvanian Folk Festival," *Ulster Folklife*, V (1959), 14-19.

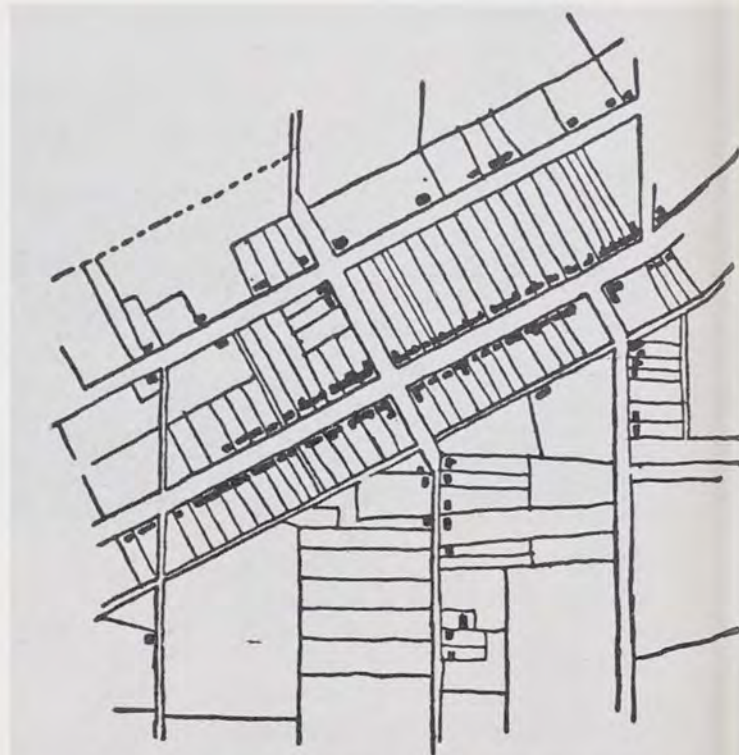
<sup>2</sup> Don Yoder, "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two worlds in the Dutch Country," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Summer, 1956, pp. 34-55.

<sup>3</sup> The book is currently available also in a 224-page Mentor Book edition (New York: New American Library, 1956).

That one long main street, down one hill from the "Normal School" and up another on its way to Maxatawny and Allentown, offers some interesting Victorian architecture, especially on the outskirts. In fact the Kutztown area as a whole is the center of some of the most elaborate "Dutch Victoriana" in Pennsylvania—products of several generations of Dutch carpenters whose scrollwork and porch decoration exceeds much that appears elsewhere, and in some (few) cases reflects local Dutch design as well as Victorian motifs.<sup>4</sup> The nearby town of Lyons has some of the most perfect examples in Pennsylvania of brick Gothic Revival domestic architecture.

In the center of Kutztown, in the oldest part of the town,

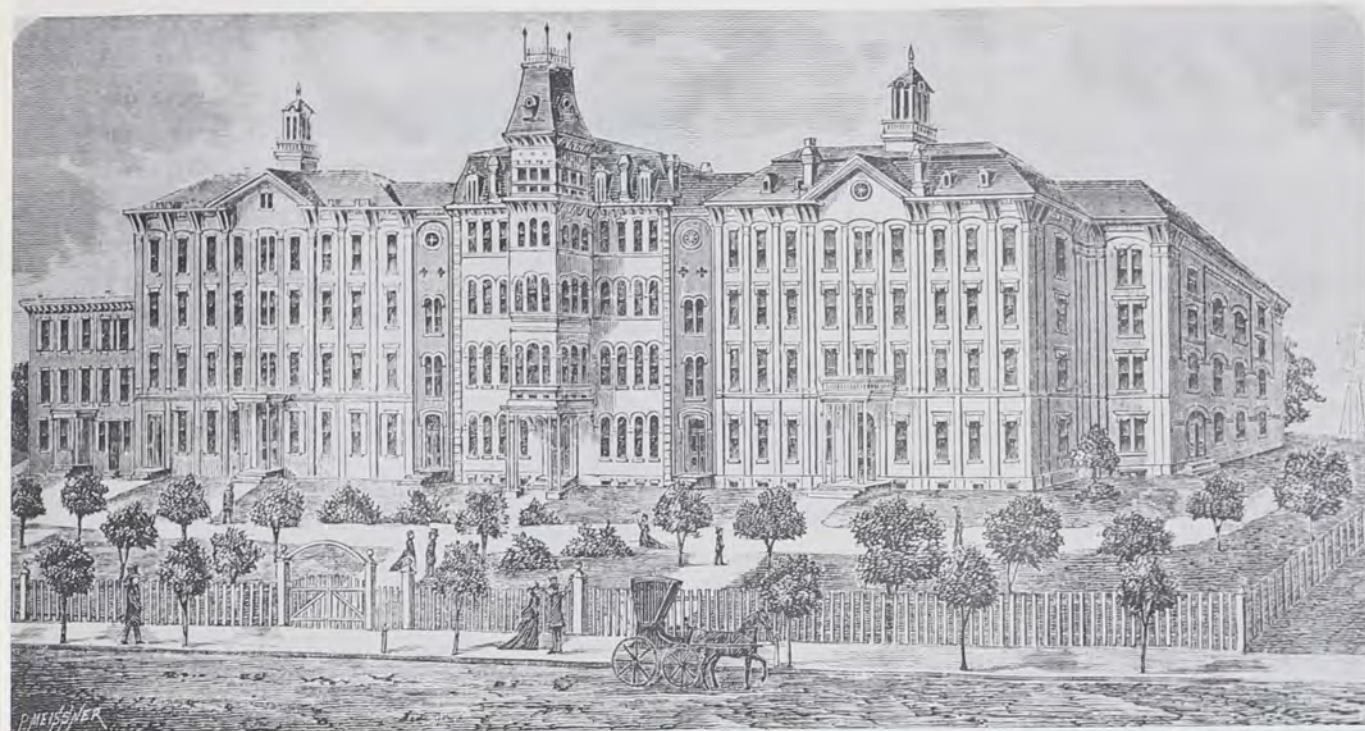
<sup>4</sup> See Elizabeth Adams Hurwitz, "Decorative Elements in the Domestic Architecture of Eastern Pennsylvania," *The Dutchman*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Fall, 1955, pp. 6-29. This article came out of the interest in the region on the part of the art department of Kutztown State College.



**Kutztown, Pennsylvania, founded in 1771, a close-knit Pennsylvania "Dutch" community laid out in linear fashion.**

*Kutztown's Town Plan, from "American Skyline" by Christopher Tunnard and Henry Hope Reed, New York, Mentor Books, 1956. This drawing, by John Cohen, and copyrighted by the authors, set Kutztown before a national audience as a typical Pennsylvania Dutch town.*





*Dutch Victoriana—the Keystone Normal School Building, now Kutztown State College. Generations of Dutch teachers were educated here in the 19th Century.*

there is, unfortunately, no tree-shaded town square as in the New England towns. Apart from the town clock and the bank and a defunct hotel where the buses on the Reading-Allentown line stop, there is no identifiable town center. But here and there along Main Street are store windows filled at festival time with heirlooms and Dutch art work. The houses themselves are of interest, for here and there along the street are old two-story stone Dutch houses, built flush to the street, which date from the period of the Conestoga wagon and the tri-weekly Reading-Easton stage.

Down where the road makes a bend past the post-office on its way to Allentown, several brick houses can be noted where the upstairs shutters are still functional. This is true also of the neighboring towns—again Lyons is an example. Today in most of America shutters are for decoration only. But in Kutztown a few families still close—or “bow,” as they say in Harrisburg—their bedroom shutters during the hot summer afternoons to darken and at least psychologically cool the upper floors of their houses—as of course Mediterranean Europeans still do, as American tourists know.

The Kutztown porches are of interest. Some of the older Victorian houses have no real porches on the street. They do have porches, but they are of the two-story, or double-decker, recessed type on the kitchen-wing of the house, with the upper porch opening from the bedrooms, the lower porch from the kitchen and dining-room.<sup>5</sup> A functional purpose seems to have motivated this construction, which is found geographically from Eastern Pennsylvania to Western Maryland. The wash can be hung out, sheltered from the rain, on the rainiest of days. And Monday as washday is sacred to Kutztown matrons, as it is to the Pennsylvania Dutch hausfrau everywhere. It's practically in the church calendar.

<sup>5</sup> See Olive G. Zehner, “Second-Story Recessed Porches of Southeastern Pennsylvania,” paper done at the Tyler School of Fine Arts, Temple University, December, 1963. This paper will appear in a future issue of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

But Main Street with its busy traffic should take second place to the back streets, where more typical Dutch houses and evidences of Dutch ways of life are yet to be seen. Back of Main Street to the South, in the rear of Fenstermaker's Hardware Store, note the “hitching lots” for the wagons and carriages of the Old Order Mennonites who are moving into the Kutztown area from Lancaster County, and making it, in these latter days of the Dutch culture, a center of “Plain Dutch” life as well as Gay Dutch tradition.<sup>6</sup>

To the North of Main Street is Walnut Street, which has many old structures, some of which are little changed from the early 19th Century. But go one street farther back, to the alley, and one sees many evidences of 19th Century Kutztown. Many of the back lots, beyond the two-story porches that we have just looked at, have gardens—and they are the most beautifully planted and scrupulously weeded vegetable gardens I have ever seen. A few lots have cherry trees and in cherry season—around Festival time—the back streets of Kutztown become a metallic wonderland of flashing metal pieplates attached to the branches of the trees, to scare off bold Dutch birds. Originally scarecrows were set up in the gardens, but Kutztonians have modernized in adopting the aluminum pie-plate.<sup>7</sup>

Occasionally, too, working in their immaculate gardens, we see women wearing the capacious sunbonnets that are still in style in the Dutch Country. They have a functional value and are still used, as the Dutch are the last to throw anything useful away.

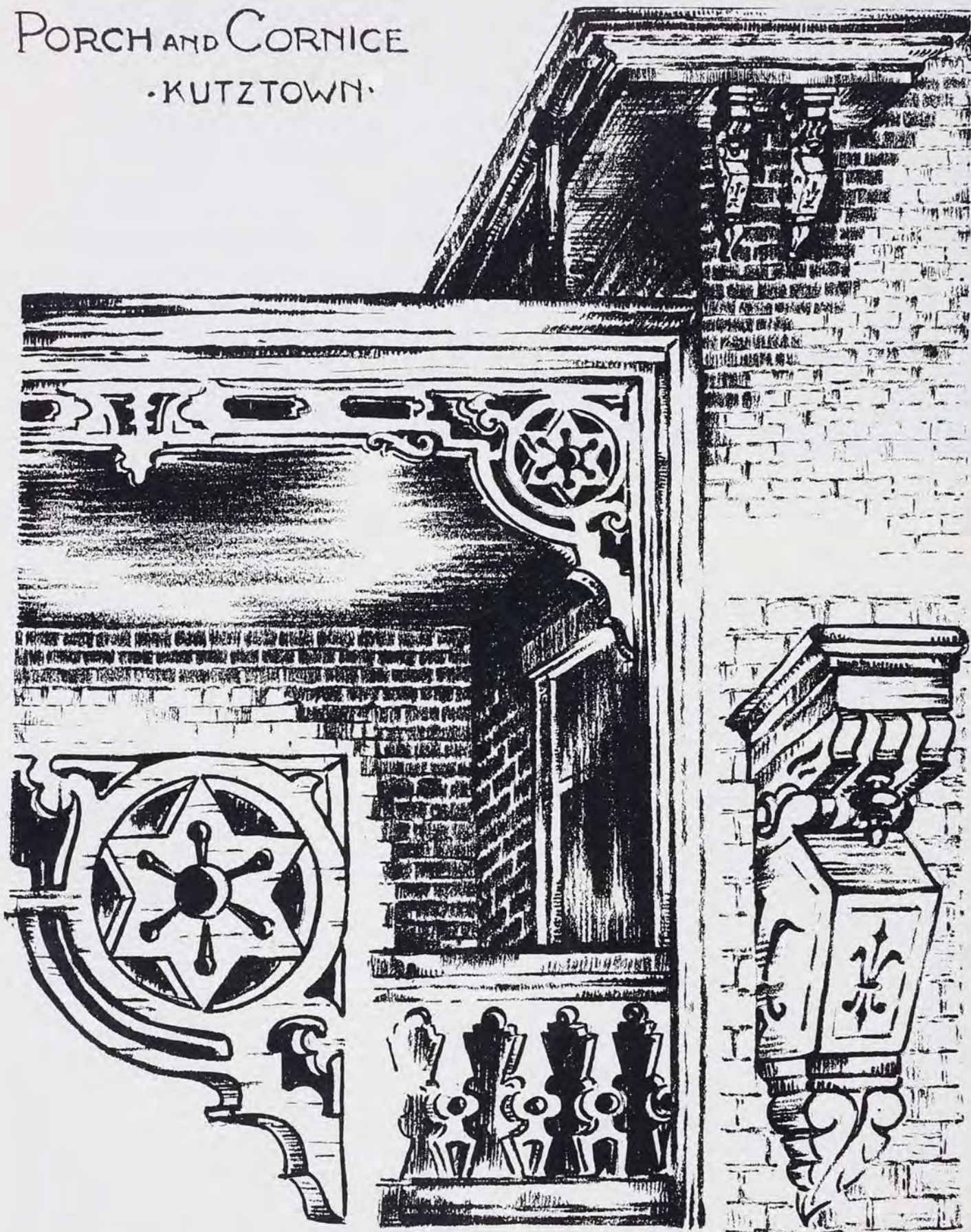
The last thing to note in the back yards of some of these homes is that a privy still stands in majestic isolation in

<sup>6</sup> For this group, see the article by Richard H. Shaner, “Kutztown's Mennonites,” in this issue; also Alfred L. Shoemaker, “‘Team’ Mennonites,” *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Fall-Winter, 1956-1957, pp. 38-42.

<sup>7</sup> For the scarecrow tradition in Pennsylvania, see Amos Long, Jr., “Dutch Country Scarecrows,” *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XII, No. 3, Fall, 1961, pp. 54-59.



PORCH AND CORNICE  
-KUTZTOWN-



*Dutch Victoriana from Kutztown's Main Street. Drawings  
by Elizabeth Adams Hurwitz of Kutztown State College.*



the middle of some of them—reflecting the 19th Century pattern of life.<sup>8</sup> And some of them are still used. They save water.

And at the alley, many of the lots still have their barns—miniature barns, to be sure—but beautifully decorated in barn red and white. In the 19th Century when the Greenwich or Maxatawny farmer retired and moved to Kutztown, he kept a horse, and some of them kept a cow, chickens, etc. In other words rural living was translated subtly into village life.<sup>9</sup> Today these barns are no longer used for animals, but house garden tools and lawnmowers. But they still stand.

One additional item on Walnut Street. On our walk through 19th Century Kutztown we should take a look at St. John's United (Reformed) Church and cemetery. The church was built in the centennial year of 1876 as a union church, Lutheran and Reformed, replacing the log Georgian church of post-revolutionary days. The long German-type structure, now a private dwelling, standing beside the modern Sunday School unit, was once the parochial school presided over by the town schoolmaster, who catechized the children and led the singing in church as "foresinger." As was the case with Pennsylvania's early Protestant parochial schools, the schoolmaster lived in one end of the schoolhouse.

In recent years the Lutherans sold their interest in St. John's to the Reformed, and built a new church on Main Street. A few years ago the high, proud tower, which used to dominate the Kutztown skyline, began to deteriorate and the tower was removed, so that the church is no longer the perfect example of Victorian Dutch church architecture. This is the church that for many years at the Festival sponsored a Sunday worship service in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect.

Before we close our walking tour of Kutztown let us look at the cemetery—the "Kaerrichhof" or churchyard as the Dutch called it. The older graves, near the church, are marked with elaborately carved decorated tombstones in the German language, accenting the German character of the culture of 19th Century Kutztown. The carvings are Victorian—elaborate floral and symbolic religious designs—and also Dutch, for they include among their motifs six-pointed stars which on Pennsylvania barns would be called (by the tourist) "hex signs."

Our tour of Kutztown in the present, viewed for the tourist through the eyes of a folklife scholar, is now at an end. We have been admittedly very selective here—pointing out items of Kutztown life in 1965 which point to the past. Apart from these, Kutztown is a modern town, with contemporary interests, industries, an excellent local school system, and the Kutztown State College which attracts students from all over the commonwealth. We salute both Kutztowns, the Kutztown that reminds us of our regional past and the Kutztown that is totally contemporary.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> On the outhouse, see Amos Long, Jr., "Pennsylvania Privies," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, July, 1963, pp.33-38.

<sup>9</sup> In the late 19th Century, Kutztown had a heavy incidence of retired farmers. This must be the significance of the item I once read in the Bellefonte newspaper, the *Democratic Watchman*, in an issue for the 1890's, "It is reported that there are seventy-two widows in Kutztown." This was in the exchange column, supposedly worthy of statewide interest.

<sup>10</sup> For contemporary Kutztown and its institutions, see Ruth E. Bonner, *Sesqui-Centennial Commemorative Book: Kutztown, Pennsylvania, 1815-1965* (Kutztown, Pennsylvania, c1965), 209 pp.

<sup>11</sup> Theophile Cazenove, *Cazenove Journal, 1794; A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania*, Edited by Rayner Wickersham Kelsey (Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1922).

### *The Kutztown of the Past*

We have said that in a sense, the Folk Festival put Kutztown on the map nationally.

But Kutztown has always been on the map, and related to American history. Theophile Cazenove, a Dutch traveler who visited Kutztown in 1794, wrote that it was then on the road to Pittsburgh, Kentucky, and Ohio.<sup>11</sup> Every year hundreds of wagons rolled through the village on their way west. Kutztown was on the way to a great many other places, too, but the current was westward at the time.

The earliest reference we have to Kutztown on the road map of Pennsylvania dates from 1736, when the road south from Levan's Mill (now Kutztown) was laid out to the King's Highway at John Yoder's fence in Oley. Earlier historians have hinted that the real reason for the roads was to accommodate the younger Levans and Yoders who were courting. "The Yoders and Levans being prominent in Provincial affairs at this time possessed sufficient political



*Thousands of Dutchmen were sung into the grave with hymns from Carl Herrman's popular "Der Sänger am Grabe." First printed 1848, at Kutztown, this funeral hymnal went through many editions; this is the fourth.*



The "Sad and Mournful Tale of Susanna Cox," a German ballad written after the Cox hanging at Reading in 1809, became the most popular ballad ever produced in Pennsylvania. The subject lived at Oley, a few miles from Kutztown, and so did the author, the country schoolmaster at Pricetown.

# Ein Trauer-Lied,

Enthaltend die Geschichte der  
Susanna Cox,

Die in Reading wegen Ermordung ihres Kindes  
hingerichtet wurde.

Ich merket auf, ihr Menschen all!  
Nun wird es euch gesagt,  
Von einem sehr betrübten Fall,  
Von einer armen Magd.

In Oley dort hat sie gelebt,  
Woht bei dem Jakob Gehr!  
Ihr Name war Susanna Cox,  
Wie ich ihn hab' gehört.

Sie hatte gar kein Unterricht,  
In weltl. und acstlich. Recht,  
Sie muß' den Willen Gottes nicht,  
Und auch nicht sein Gesetz.

Das ist uns Menschen wohl bekannt,  
Und geht so in der Welt;  
Wer von der Schrift hat kein Verstand,  
Der thut was ihm gefällt.

Ihr Nachbar, der uns oft bemußt;  
Sein Name der war Mertz,  
Der sie verführt durch fleischl. Lust,  
In Unfahl sie geführt.

Ein Beispiel gleich von Adam's Zeit,  
Wie uns die Bibel lehrt,  
Wie jene Schlange, der Satan's Weis,  
Die Eva hat verführt.

Durch die Beführung kam der Tod,  
Von Anfang in die Welt;  
So ging es der Susanna Cox,  
Durch diesen Mannesgeißel.

Er ehrete die Gesetze nicht,  
Er hielt so nur für Spott,  
Was die heil'ge Schrift zu uns spricht,  
An Siebenten Gebot.

Als Sch'mann er sie hat verführt,  
Und sie gebracht in Noth,  
Wied er bereuen wohl zu spät,  
Einmal's nach seinem Tod.

Sie hat es nicht geoffenbart,  
Sie schämt sich vor die Welt,  
Darin es Niemand sollt' erfah'n  
Vor der Gebährungs-Zeit.

Im achtzehnhundert neunten Jahr,  
Den vierzehnten Februar,  
Des Morgens früh um halb fünf Uhr,  
Sie's Kind zur Welt gear.

Da diese arme Sünderin  
Verblendet war so sehr,  
Hat sie ihr neugebor'nes Kind  
In die Ewigkeit versetzt.

So bald es aber war entsetzt,  
Dass dieser Mord geschehen,  
Da wurd' sie in Arrest gefesselt,  
Und sollte es gesehen.

Ein' Jury ward sogleich bestellt,  
Sie sollte es nachsehen;  
Was dieser armen Sünderin,  
Für Weithel sollt' geschehen.

Sie hielt wohl bei derselben an,  
Und bittet sie um Gnad';  
Doch klagten sie sie schuldig an,  
Dass Mord's im ersten Grad'.

Im's Courthaus führt man sie hinein,  
Vor den Herrn Richter Spayd,  
Wo sie ihr schrecklich Tod's-Urtheil  
Mit Weinen angehort.

Ein jeder kann nun denken wohl,  
Wie es ihr war zu Muth,  
Da sie auf'm Richtplatz sterben soll,  
Bedauernwerthes Blut.

Die Todtenwarrant man bald schrieb,  
Für diese arme Magd,  
Und ward zum Gouverneur geschickt,  
Nach der Lancaster Stadt.

Ein Mann, der sehr mittheilig war,  
Den hat sie selbst geschickt,  
Zum Gouverneur in jener Stadt:  
Der hat für sie gebitt'.

Allein für sie war kein Pardon,  
Gehangen muß sie sein,  
Den zehnten Tag im Juni schon,  
Der Welt zum Augenschein.

Die Todtenwarrant wurd' geschickt,  
Ihr vorgelesen gleich;  
Da hat sie bränlich Welt gebitt',  
Um Gnad' im Himmelreich.

Sie ward in ihrem Zustand,  
Besucht von Geistlichkeith;  
Und sie hat rüstlich Fuß gethan,  
Und ihre Sünd bereut.

Sie wurd' aus der Gefangenschaft,  
Um 11 Uhr ausgeführt,  
Dann ging es nach dem Richtplatz,  
Bedauernswoller Schritt.

Sie warnte alle Menschen treu,  
Besonders junge Leut'  
Und sprach: nehmt ein Exempel euch,  
An meinem Schicksal heut'.

Sie kniete auf die Erde hin,  
Und rufet den Herren an,  
Er mögt vergeben alle Sünd',  
Die sie alhier gethan.

Ihr Weinen war mittheidenwerth,  
Wie sie lag auf dem Knie,  
Die Thränen fielen auf die Erb',  
Wel weinten über sie.

Sie sprach, ich geh' zur Ewigkeit,  
In einem Augenblick!  
Ich Gott! nimm mich auf in dein Reich,  
Berstöß' mich Sündern nicht.

Nach diesem ward sie hingericht',  
Mitleidenwerthes End,  
Nach siebenzehn Minuten ist  
Schen Leib und Seel getrennt.

Nach ihrem Tode ward mit Fleiß,  
Von Doctoren viel probirt,  
Zu bringen sie zum Leben gleich,  
Doch es war ausfirt.

Wer dieses Vordchen hat gemacht,  
Und erlich hat gedicht,  
Der hat den Lammern mit betracht',  
War selbst bei dem Gericht.

Ihr Menschen all' auf Erden hört,  
Nur dieses Beispiel an,  
Wenn jemand ist so ungelicht,  
Wie's ihm ergehen kann.

Sie lebte gar nicht lang in Freud,  
Bis sie im Unfahl war;  
Bracht' ihre ganze Lebenszeit  
Auf vier und zwanzig Jahr.

## A NEW MOURNFUL SONG,

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF

# SUSANNA COX

Who was Hung in Reading for Infanticide, in the Year 1809.

FROM THE GERMAN.

Take notice now ye people all,  
And hear what will be said  
About a very gloomy case,  
Of a deluded maid.

She served as maid, in Oley long,  
With one named Jacob Gehr,  
Her name was Miss SUSANNA COX,  
I heard it mentioned there.

No education she received,  
She knew but what she saw;  
The will of God she did not know,  
Nor ought about his law.

To most people it is known  
How in the world it goes;—  
They who the Scriptures do not know  
Will do just what they chose.

Her neighbor who is known to us,  
Whose name was Mertz, withal,  
Seduced her with his fleshly lust  
And brought her to her fall.

'Twas similar in Adam's time  
The Bible teaches us,  
When the Old Serpent, loving crime,  
Did Mother Eve seduce.

Through her seduction entered death  
The world when it began;  
So went it with Susanna Cox,  
By this deceptive man.

The law he held in disrespect,  
And scorned to keep his hand  
From what the Scriptures do forbid  
In that heptade command.

As married man he her seduced  
And brought her in distress;  
He may repent, if not refused,  
At some time after death.

She had this matter not revealed,  
So much ashamed was she:  
She thought no person would take note  
Of her delivery.

In eighteen hundred and ninth year,  
In February, fourteenth day,  
At early morn, at half past four,  
Her child was born, they say.

As this poor sinner, viciously  
Deceived had been, you see,  
She did her newborn child remove  
To long eternity.

As soon as the discoverers saw  
The murder had been dealt,  
She was arrested by the law,  
And asked to own her guilt.

A jury soon was summoned, then,  
Who did investigate  
This helpless sinner's case, and name  
Her sentence or her fate.

She plead before the jurors there,  
For mercy she did pray,  
But still they found her guilty sore  
Of murder, first degree.

They led her int' the Courthouse then,  
Before Judge SPAYD—quite near,  
Where she her dreadful sentence—death  
With weeping had to hear.

You may imagine for yourself,  
How sorrowful she felt  
To wait her execution—death—  
Her blood was to be spilt.

The death-warrant was written soon  
For this poor maid alone,  
And taken to the governor  
Out in Lancaster town.

A man who was compassionate  
She hast'ly sent before,  
Unto the governor of state,  
Who plead and sued for her.

But he for her no pardon found:  
Alas! She must be hung  
Already on the tenth of June,  
To show the world 'twas wrong.

The death-warrant was soon returned,  
And then to her was read:—  
To God she prayed most fervently  
For grace till she was dead.

She was in her repentance by  
The clergy taught redress,  
For she repented candidly,  
And did her sins confess.

From prison she was taken out,  
About eleven o'clock,  
Upon the execution-place—  
It caused a moral shock.

She cautioned all mankind around,  
The young especially,  
And said, "Take an example now,  
By my ill fate to-day.

She knelt upon the earth in prayer,  
And asked the Lord alone,  
That he would all her sins forgive,  
Which ever she had done.

Her weeping was so sorrowful,  
As on her knees she lay;  
Her tear-drops fell upon the earth—  
They wept for her that day.

She said, "I go t'eternity  
Now instantly. O God,  
Take me into thy kingdom, see,  
Reject me sinner not!"

She's executed afterward:—  
A lamentable deed!  
And after seventeen minutes time,  
Her parting soul had fled.

And after she was dead, in vain,  
The doctors tried their skill  
To bring her back to life again,  
But all too late and ill.

And he who did this song compose  
And earnestly did dictate,  
Did all this misery behold,  
Was near the judgment seat.

Ye people all on earth give ear,  
Take this example here,  
When people are so ignorant,  
How they at last may fare.

She did not live in pleasure long  
Ere she was in the snare,  
She brought her whole life's journey on  
To four and twenty years.



influence to accomplish a project which, while ostensibly necessary as a public improvement, was a convenience to the younger members of the family."<sup>12</sup>

The Reading-Easton road was laid out in 1755, and until 1837 triweekly stages rumbled through Kutztown between Reading, capital of Berks County, and Easton, county-seat of Northampton County and gateway to New Jersey. In that year a daily stage was substituted. It was this road that was traveled by many visiting dignitaries, traveling shows, circuses, politicians, revival preachers, tramps, peddlers, everybody in fact. In 1839, according to an earlier Berks County chronicler, Martin Van Buren "was tendered a reception by a delegation which went out to meet him and escorted him to town with martial music." He dined at Kutztown with the local Democratic gentry. "He was on his way to Easton from Reading, amid the huzzas of the assembled multitudes."<sup>13</sup>

The Reading Railroad finally geared Kutztown into its network in 1870, building a spur from the main line at Topton. The historian, writing in the 1880's, tells us that "half a dozen trains each way are daily maintained, enabling the borough to have rapid communication with all parts of the country." Finally by 1901 trolley lines connected Kutztown to both Reading and Allentown and Kutztownians could sail over the breezy Maxatawny hills in the trolley. The automobile arrived soon afterward and Kutztown is now accessible from every direction.

#### *Kutztown in the Travel Literature*

Kutztown appears in many early travel accounts written by visitors to the early republic, and in the early historical geographies and gazetteers produced in the first wave of American nationalist feeling.

The distinguished German physician, Johann David Schoepf, who visited America in the 1780's, passed through Kutztown in August, 1783, coming West. "After sunset," he writes, "we came to Kutz-town (19 miles from Allentown and 31 from Nazareth). A well-to-do German, in order to cut something of a figure with his name in his ears, gave the land for this place, which is only some three years old, and the houses but few and not large."<sup>14</sup>

The New England clergyman and geographer, Jedidiah Morse, the founder of American geography, described "Cootstown" in the second edition of *The American Gazetteer* (Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1804), as "a post borough in Berks co. Pennsylvania." It is, he continues, "situated on a branch of Sauhoca creek, a branch of the Schuylkill. It contains 40 houses, and a German Lutheran and Calvinist church united. It is 17 miles NNE of Reading and 73 NW by N of Philadelphia."

J. E. Worcester's *A Gazetteer of the United States* (Andover, 1818) simply pirated Morse: "Cootstown" is a post-town in Berks County, Pennsylvania, 17 miles northeast of

Reading, 73 miles north northwest of Philadelphia, with 40 or 50 houses. Thomas H. Burrowes' *State Book of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1847) speaks of the four boroughs of Berks County, in this order: Reading, Womelsdorf, Kutztown, and Hamburg, and describes Kutztown, wrongly, as "on the Manatawny" 17 miles East of Reading. "It contains 693 inhabitants, and two churches" (p. 149). Thomas J. Baldwin and J. Thomas, *A New and Complete Gazetteer of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1854), known as "Lippincott's Gazetteer," says (p. 574) of Kutztown that it is a post-borough of Maxatawny Township, with two churches, 1 academy, and about 700 inhabitants.

In the tourist literature published in the automobile age, Kutztown achieved mention through its proximity to Crystal Cave. John T. Faris' *Old Trails and Roads in Penn's Land* (Philadelphia, 1927) says, "This country of the caves—for there are other caverns in addition to Crystal Cave—has been familiar to thousands because of its proximity to Kutztown, where the Keystone State Normal School has been sending out trained teachers for many years." He says, however, that the town is older than the school, and quotes Schoepf, improving on the translation which we have quoted: "A wealthy German, in order to tickle his ears with the agreeable sound of his name, gave the land for the place."<sup>15</sup>

#### *Kutztown and the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk-Culture*

It would be interesting to speculate on the self-consciousness of Kutztown in the Dutch culture. From George Kutz's tickling of his ears with the sound of his own name, to the present, there has been something special in Kutztown's pride in itself.

In the 19th Century there were two movements centered in Kutztown which illustrate this self-consciousness. The first was the "Free Synod" of the Reformed Church, led by the Herman clan of distinguished Reformed preachers, centered at Kutztown. This synod, popularly known as the "Herman Synod," was organized in 1822. Due to a combination of causes ranging from personality clashes to fear of English-language influence in the new proposed theological seminary, the Hermans and many of their friends and former ministerial students, seceded from the old synod and formed a schismatic organization. The constitution was drawn up at Kutztown on April 24, 1822. The device adopted to symbolize the new synod was "a flying Eagle, with the Gospel Trumpet and the Olive Branch of Peace." The schism was further deepened by the vitriolic pamphleteering of the Lutheran schoolmaster Carl Gock, of Albany Township near Kutztown, who stirred up popular opinion. Fortunately for the advance of the Reformed tradition in Eastern Pennsylvania, the old bitterness and misunderstandings had so dissipated by 1837 that the Free Synod could remerge with the original body.<sup>16</sup>

Significantly, at the same time as this flurry of independence in church affairs, Kutztownians were involved in an attempt to secede politically from Berks County as well, and make Kutztown the county-seat of a new county, to be called "Penn County" and to embrace parts of both Berks and Lehigh Counties. This Kutztown-centered and inspired movement dragged on in the Legislature and elsewhere

<sup>15</sup> Actually he borrowed the translation from Montgomery, *op. cit.*, or from Montgomery's source, *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, V, 75.

<sup>16</sup> For the Free Synod, see George W. Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1825-1934, Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1934-1952* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1952).

<sup>12</sup> W. W. Deatrick, *The Centennial History of Kutztown[,] Pennsylvania[,] Celebrating the Centennial of the Incorporation of the Borough—1815-1915* (Kutztown, 1915), 247 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1886), p. 858.

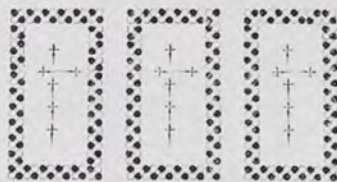
<sup>14</sup> Joh. David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784]*, translated and edited by Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 195. Schoepf says of the region: "The farm management seems pretty orderly. One gets a glimpse of many good stone houses, many of them very neat, and everything about the premises shows order and attention. The people are mainly Germans who speak bad English and distressing German"—a tribute to the fact that the Pennsylvanians even then spoke dialect. In his sketches he recalls the "strong and pleasant evening odor" of the blooming fields of buckwheat and the fragrant pennyroyal, "so common on all the roads."



## Ein sehr kräftiges, Heiliges Gebet,

Welches zu Cöln am Rhein in goldenen Buchstaben geschrieben und aufbehalten wird.

**S** heute stehe ich auf und neige mich gegen den Tag, in deinem Namen, welchen ich empfangen habe. Der erste ist Gott der Vater, † der andere ist Gott der Sohn, † der dritte ist Gott der heilige Geist, † der behüte mir mein Leib und Seel, mein Fleisch und mein Leben, welches mir Jesus Christus, der Sohn Gottes, selber hat gegeben; also will ich gesegnet seyn wie das heilige Himmel-Brod, daß unser lieber Herr Jesus Christus seinen Jüngern selbst gegeben hat. Ich gehe aus, und in das Haus über Geschwöll und Gassen, Jesus † Maria † und Joseph †, die heiligen drei Könige, Caspar †, Melchior † und Balthasar † sind meine Weg-Begleiter — der Himmel ist mein Hut und die Erde meine Schute. . . Diese sechs heiligen Personen be leiten mich und alles was ich in meinem Haus habe, und wann ich auf der Straße bin, so wollen sie mich behüten sammt meinen Ge-



Und wer dies heilige Gebet beten läßt oder höret beten, und bey sich trägt, der wird nicht des jähen Todes sterben, noch im Wasser ertrinken, noch im Feuer verbrennen; und wer dies heilige Gebet in seinem Hause hat, dem kann keine Pest, weder Donner noch Hagel schaden, und wo eine schwangere Frau ist, die in Kindes-Wehen ist, und nicht gebären kann, der gebe man dies heilige Gebet in die rechte Hand, oder bete ihr dasselbe vor, das sie es höre, so wird sie von Stund an des Kindes entbunden; so es getauft ist, lege man dieses heilige Gebet in die Wiegen, oder denke es demselben an, so wird das Kind von dem Wechreyen und anderem Uglück befrehet seyn, dann es soll kein Mensch seyn, der nicht dieses Gebet bey sich trägt, dieweil er vor allen diesen Nachstellungen befreuet ist.

† C † M † B.

Sancti tres Reges † Caspar † Melchior  
† Balthasar, orate  
pro nobis nunc & in horris mortis nos-  
trae, Amen.

fährten vor Dieb und Mörder, und bösen Leuten, die mir begegnen, die müssen mich alle lieb und werth haben, dazu verheißt mir Gott Vater †, Gott der Sohn †, Gott der heilige Geist †, Jesus, † Maria † Joseph, † (Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar,) und die vier heiligen Evangelisten seyn mit mir in allen meinem Thun, Handeln und Wandel, Gehen und Stehen, es sey auf dem Wasser oder Land, vor Feuer und Brand, die wollen mich bewahren mit ihrer starken Hand, Gott dem Vater † ergebe ich mich — Gott dem Sohn † befehl ich mich — in Gott den heiligen Geist † versenke ich mich. Die heilige hochgelobte Dreyfaltigkeit sey ob mir, Jesus, Maria und Joseph vor mir, Caspar, Melchior und Balthasar seyn hinter und vor mir zu allen Zeiten, bis ich komme in die ewige Freud' und Seligkeit, das helf mir Jesus, Maria und Joseph, Amen.

Ulrich u. Gehring's Dampfpressen-Druck, Kutztown, Pa.

*Protective Charm Printed at Kutztown in the 19th Century. Copied from Rhineland originals, this folk-religious prayer for protection from physical harm, spread widely in Dutch Pennsylvania. The letters "CMB" at the bottom center refer to the Three Kings—Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar.*

from 1824 to 1841.<sup>17</sup> It would be interesting, I repeat, to determine the connections between these movements and the underlying reasons.

Several other statements need to be made in relating Kutztown to the Pennsylvania Dutch folk-culture. The Kutztown area was one of the last Eastern Pennsylvania areas to give up the High German language in church and newspaper.

Kutztown as a German-language publishing center was famous in the 19th Century.<sup>18</sup> The *Geist der Zeit* and the *Neutralist* were famous German papers published and edited from Kutztown, before the Civil War, while after the Civil War, from the 1870's onward, there appeared the German *Kutztown Journal* and the hybrid German and English *American Weekly Patriot*, begun in 1874, which became the all-English *Kutztown Patriot* around the turn of the century. In 1915 the *Kutztown Journal* was the only German newspaper surviving in Berks County.

Linguistically today Kutztown is still bilingual. The "High German" of the 19th Century church services, pa-

rochial school education, and the newspaper, is now a thing of the past. But the third tongue of Dutch Pennsylvania, the tongue that was nearest to the heart of the Dutchman, the Pennsylvania Dutch (Pennsylvania German) dialect, is still very much alive in Kutztown and the neighboring rural areas. One hears it in the stores, the barber shops, the post office, in the back alleys, over the garden fences, at the Festival. Everyone talks English now, but the dialect is still spoken. Possibly the recent invasion of the area by the Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, a dialect-speaking group, will keep the dialect alive a little longer. It seems, however, to be fighting a losing battle against English.

Kutztown is also unique in its Dutch self-consciousness in that, so far as I know, it appears to have been the only town which sanctified the Dutch dialect with a public inscription, carved officially in stone. Kutztown's Centennial monument of 1876 is a museum piece in Pennsylvania Dutch epigraphy. It is not, however, trilingual, like the Pennsylvania Dutch culture of the 19th Century, but quadrilingual, adding Latin as a tribute the presence of the Keystone State Normal School (earlier Maxatawny Seminary) in the town. The Latin appears on the south side of the monument: "Nec scire fas est omnia." On the east, a German thought that reminds us of generations of German sermons from the

<sup>17</sup> Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; Deatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>18</sup> See the excellent account of Kutztown as a publishing center, by Conrad Gehring, "The Press of a Century," in Deatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-129.



pulpits of Eastern Pennsylvania: "Wie Gott mit unsern Vaetern war, so sei er auch mit uns." The west side proudly displays the no-nonsense motto of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: "Virtue, Liberty and Independence." And at last, on the north side, engraved for all posterity to read, the classical dialect tribute to the Pennsylvania system of free schools: "Unser Frei Schul Wesa kumt fun da Pennsilfownish Deitscha har. Der Govaner Wolf hat's geplamt un g'start und der Ritner un der Shunk hen's ausg'uehrt" (Our free school system derives from the Pennsylvania Dutch. Governor Wolf planned it and started it and Ritner and Shunk completed it).<sup>19</sup>

Kutztown is a typical center of Pennsylvania Dutchdom also in that it was a center of the folksong and folkdance tradition in the 19th Century. Also it shared, with the entire Dutch Country, deep confidence in occult means of healing (powwowing) and witchcraft in the 19th Century. There is even evidence that these beliefs are still alive among a certain dwindling proportion of the population.

As evidence of these connections of Kutztown with the folk-culture of Pennsylvania we publish three illustrations. (1) First is *The Sad and Mournful Tale of Susanna Cox*, the ballad (*Trauerlied*) produced by the hanging in Reading in 1809 of the young girl who a few miles from Kutztown, was accused of doing away with her illegitimate child. Philip Gombert, schoolmaster at Pricetown, on the ridge a few miles away from Kutztown, wrote the German ballad

<sup>19</sup> Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 869-870.

which became the most popular German-language ballad in Pennsylvania, in fact the most popular native Pennsylvania ballad. It was published in innumerable German and English editions down through the 20th Century, and occasionally, though rarely, an individual turns up who can still sing the 32 verses to the traditional tune, concluding with the solemn warning to all hearers to avoid the fate of Susanna Cox. It is for this reason—the fact that hangings produced ballads—that the Folk Festival includes daily a reenactment of the hanging of Susanna Cox, on an authentic recreated gallows modeled on the original in the Mercer Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society.

(2) The *Kutztown Reel* was one of the most popular of the local fiddle tunes in the Dutch area, and still is. It appears in manuscript fiddle-tune books by the middle of the 19th Century, and each year it is played innumerable times by Floyd Fike and his folkdance group to accompany the hefty Dutch folkdancers on the Folk Festival stage. Since our first republication of it in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* in 1954, it was even picked up and copyrighted by a local entrepreneur.

(3) The *Fire Charm* published at Kutztown in the late 19th Century is a local version of the CMB Fire-Charm so widespread in the German-speaking world. The CMB refers to Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, the "Three Kings" of the Christmas tradition. The charm seems first to have appeared in the Cologne area, where the great Cologne cathedral is dedicated to the Three Kings. It was used in Pennsylvania in houses and barns, and carried on the person to protect against fire and physical harm.

On the higher levels of Pennsylvania Dutch culture, Kutztown and its rural surroundings have produced a great many important ministers, teachers, and scholars who have pioneered in the scholarly study of the Dutch culture. Among these were (1) Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, for many years Principal of the Normal School and later Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; (2) the Reverend Dr. Philip Columbus Croll, Lutheran minister and author whose charming evocative book *Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley* is one of the pioneer regional studies dealing with architecture, church life, inscriptions; and whose periodical, *The Pennsylvania German*, begun in 1900 and continued under various titles through 1918, is one of the prime sources of information on many phases of the Dutch culture; (3) the Reverend Dr. John Baer Stoudt, folklorist and historian of the Pennsylvania Dutch, and founder of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (1935); and finally (4) the Reverend Dr. George W. Richards, internationally known theologian and ecumenical leader, for many years President of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States at Lancaster, and the Principal architect of the Evangelical and Reformed Church union of 1934.

These are only a few of the Maxatawny farm boys who went out into the "world" and took an objective look at the Pennsylvania Dutch and their culture and cultural problems. Placed alongside the ministerial Hermans and the Carl Gocks of the past, they pose again for us the question: How and why was Kutztown involved in so many movements that affected the Dutch Country culturally? It would be captious to claim preeminence for George Kutz's Town as the capital of the Dutch Country, but certainly through the years it has been one of the principal centers of Dutchdom and, for better or for worse, one of the up-country springs of the spirit of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

## "KUTZTOWN REEL"

P. S. D. NOLL

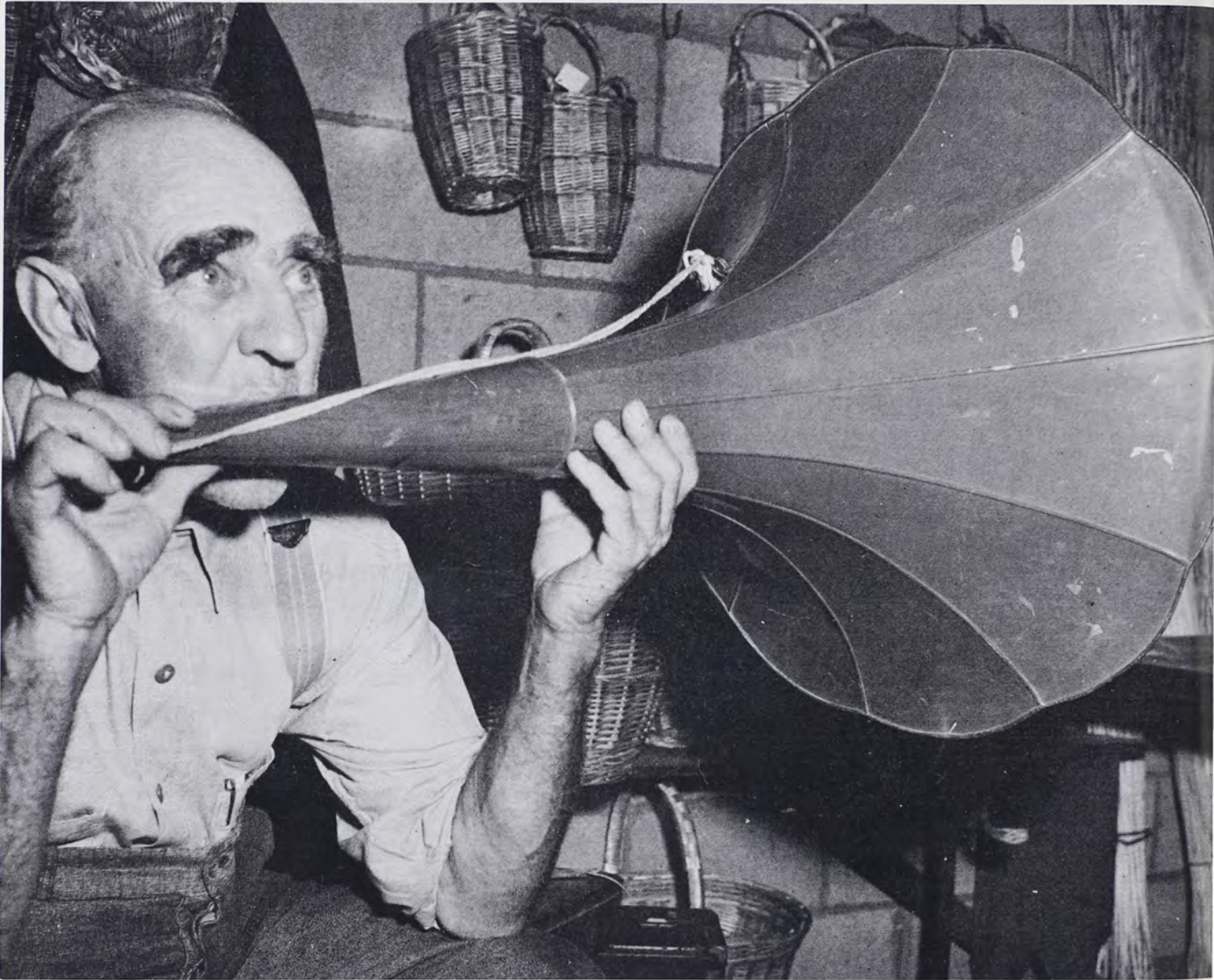
Copyright 1950 by P. S. D. Noll.

*The "Kutztown Reel," among the most popular dance tunes from the Dutch Country, appears in Pennsylvania fiddle-tune books as early as the 1850's. It reflects Kutztown's centrality in the "Gay Dutch" culture of Eastern Pennsylvania.*



# Sixteen Years of the Folk Festival

By ALLIENE SAEGER DeCHANT



*Ollie Strausser, the Basket Maker of Pricetown, makes music on his home-constructed "amplified harmonica."*





*Spinning Demonstration at an Early Folk Festival. Edith P. Fetterolf at the Wheel.*

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival, the largest of its kind in America, and now in its 16th season, has made a significant impress upon its home base, Kutztown. That impress is manifold.

Well do I remember in the earlier years checking the gates and parking lots to jot down in my *Patriot* reporter's notebook the number of states represented by the patrons. Now we take it for granted that all of them are. One day I was literally surrounded by military officers (in training at Bainbridge, Maryland) from Thailand, India and wherenot. On another occasion I helped to welcome a two-bus delegation from the United Nations. Arline Francis almost hugged our irresistible basket-maker, Septuagenarian "Ollie" Strausser.

Kutztown spruces itself up at Festival time and we smile when the outlanders dub us "crazy clean" and report far and wide that our alleys are as clean as Main Street. Merchants decorate their windows with heirlooms and assemble souvenirs. Grocers stock up on "wantables" at the Festival, and garagemen see to it that there's gas a-plenty. Teen-age boys and even younger, make "parking signs" and enjoy the contacts that result. Womenfolk, especially those who prepare the Festival food, get dogged tired by the time the ten-day event, now reduced to a week, is *vorbei*, but admit that "We like to meet so many people from so many places and see them enjoy themselves." And streamers span each entrance to town and we're ready!

Our Kutztown Fair Association, which owns the grounds used by the Festival, has added new buildings. There's a permanent stage. The office, police and press headquarters and first aid station are under one roof. Macadam areas have been increased. Sanitary facilities meet state regulations. Instead of half a dozen flood lights during our first Festival we now have 40, plus 10,000 feet of other wiring, not to mention half a dozen amplification sets.

The Festival has put us on our mettle, with the result that we have been praised for our skill in handling bumper-to-bumper traffic and parking on the grounds. The latest improvement is a modern fence at the parking area.

We enjoy helping to "set up" which is no small task, what with temporary buildings, exhibits, arts and crafts, the food area, not to mention manning the three gates. There must be plenty of straw for the haystack the Festival children love to climb. And it takes the half-a-dozen Granges a long time to arrange the thousands of heirloom items which so intrigue the outlanders.

The Festival has also taught us how to supply the demand for overnights, some of whom stay for several days. We houseclean our rooms, add something new, and some of us offer breakfast. Mrs. Herbert Christman, near town, the mother of six daughters and four sons and grandmother to no less than forty, mind you, opens up her age-old farmhouse to 16 a night. "I've had doctors, lawyers, a minister and dear knows who all," she says. "Some come back year



*Folk Art Experts Discuss Fraktur. Left to right: Dr. Donald Shelley, Frances Lichten, and Dr. Earl F. Robacker.*



after year. One young fellow stayed on, married a Topton girl and now has a farm near here." Grandma Christman has a peacock named Wando, whose pea hen wife is Wanda, and she gives peacock feathers to Festival children.

We have likewise learned how to speed up the serving of our *greftig* (savory) meals. At the beginning, the food tents were on the Commons, but we soon discovered that the long lines of expectant *fressers* blocked tourist traffic there. Subsequently a special area was designated, with adequate facilities and little waiting. Of course we offer everything from a glass of mint tea, a bowl of rivvel soup, or a funnel cake to full-course dinners served family style (all you can eat). Our menus list not only chicken pot-pie, ham and beans, *schnitz und knepp* and the seven-sweets-and-seven-sours, but lemon-strip pies, funny cakes, raisin tarts and five-layer cakes. As for our shooflies, you have a choice of wet or dry bottoms. We are constantly amazed at the gusto with which our patrons make the food disappear, for it's what we eat all the time and count "just for so."

Perhaps that which impresses us most about the Folk Festival is its emphasis on authenticity. Down through the years Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker and Co-founders Dr. Don Yoder and Dr. J. William Frey, have exercised constant vigilance. Ollie, the basket-maker, grew his own willows for his weaving. Jennie Schwoyer and her assistants have been quilters for years. The cow, milked daily to the wonder of city boys and girls, isn't Elsie. There is therefore no honky-tonk at the Festival, no "rides," not even balloon sellers, who are also refused a license by our Burgess. "Once you let commercialism creep in," Dr. "Al" said again and again,

"you kill the Festival."

In addition to the hundreds who help keep the Festival goin' throughout the crowded, long-hour week, there are many in Kutztown who never buy a ticket at the gates. Genuine Pennsylvania Dutch, a number of them still use the dialect. Frugal-minded, they exclaim, "Why should we pay to see and hear stuff that we've had around here all our lives?" They are the ones who are astounded each new season that so many folks from such faraway places consider it worth the time and money to stop by.

Those of us, however, who continue our interest in the event, find much food not only for our bodies but for mind and heart. Our astonishment is that the historians in charge dig up such an array of old yet new folkways. Somehow we've failed to sense how rich our heritage is. We have therefore been impressed by the cultural programs, based on conscientious, inspired, and dedicated research. Seminars are conducted by experts; exhibits are carefully chosen; and the panorama pageants, with authentic costuming, are rewarding and vigorously applauded. "Customs of the Year," also bonafide as to origin and spirit, bring back memories, and the subsequent laughs are often belly laughs, not polite snickers.

The Festival has also inspired in us an appreciation of our folksongs, or our folk hymnody tradition. We like it that our Kutztown State College youth have organized the Heidelberg Polka Band, which contributes to the program.

We wish we'd kept up our skill at square dancing and jigging, as have the champion teams, the members of which are aged sixty and beyond! Well do I remember a crisis that





*"Country Schoolmaster" Francis Hoy, at Festival in 1960*



*"Seminar" on Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery.  
Edna Eby Heller, Cookery Editor, right.*

arose early in Festival history, when it was discovered by the Powers That Be that square dancing and jigging are not the same, "by far not!" First and second prizes were to be awarded for the champions and when both went to the square dancers, the "jiggers" went wellnigh haywire. Twin prizes saved the night.

Most of us Kutztown Pennsylvania Dutch have "heard tell" of powwowing and hexerei, witchcraft and waterwitching, and some of us have almanacs hanging in our kitchen. But few of us have sensed that our heritage also includes funeral lore, snake lore, fowl and feather lore, and household lore. We have also taken our Pennsylvania Dutch architecture for granted, and wonder why our Festival guests praise our doorways, our double chimneys, our lace-edged porches and cornices. Some of the outlanders even take time out to sketch them.

Still another "impress" that the Festival has made upon us is the spiritual side of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Seminar leaders have made a special study of our religious heritage. Morning worship in a rural church has been enacted, and a local congregation invites Festival frequenters to stop by for a sermon in the vernacular.

Kutztown is proud to be the site of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival, and is deeply grateful for the manifold impress it has made on our "Population 3500" town.

May the spirit of the "free-for-all" square dancing on the commons, each Festival night, continue to be symbolic of our relationship not only with the annual event, but with our new-found friends across the world.

May the dream of a Folklife Center, the objective of the Festival, become a reality!





Three types of redware pots, the tallest just over six inches in height. The plain apple-butter pot is glazed inside; the flower pot with piecrust top and attached saucer bottom is unglazed; the ornamental slip jar is highly glazed—clear outside, deep yellow within.



Twelve-inch sgraffito pie-plate with peacock in characteristic pose—head turned over shoulder—is the work of Jacob Medinger. Eleven-inch slipware plate also has peacock decoration. The unglazed penny bank and the highly glazed bird whistle were intended for children.

## Like the One Grandma Had!

By EARL F. and ADA F. ROBACKER

Orange and blue candle storage box; painted toleware candlestick with candle ejector; handled tin mold with eight-candle capacity. The candle box, with sliding top, has highly competent tulip decoration.







*"Small" ten-gallon copper apple-butter kettle with wrought iron bail fastened to kettle by solid brass inverted tulip. Iron kettle ring supports like the one shown were not needed when the kettle was suspended from a trammel.*

*All articles shown are from the Robacker Collection*

*Photography by Karas of Hartsdale, New York*

What the visitor to the Folk Festival can assimilate in a day or two is likely to bear a relationship to how much he knew about the Pennsylvania Dutch before he arrived at the Festival. If his roots are in the soil of the Dutch Country, his satisfaction will probably be compounded of recognition and reunion, and he will pick up rapidly what is offered. If he is a "foreigner" or an "outlander"—that is, if this is a voyage of discovery, so to speak, he may find a confusing blend of old and new, traditional and contemporary, the obvious and the unclear, and could well use a guiding hand. The purpose of this article is to comment on some of the things the visitor is likely to see, either on the fair-grounds or in the nearby Dutch Country, and show how they link the past and the present.

No Festival visitor could miss the "*Lattwarick-kocha*"—the applebutter boiling which goes on all day. It is too early in the year for the best apples for the purpose, but the somberly clad, sun-bonneted matrons in charge of the operation turn out a good product just the same. The pungent smoke from the wood fire under the kettles may get into their eyes now and then, and the broiling sun may beat down, but the stirring must not pause for even a moment. The thin copper kettles used for this purpose—their delicate orange-pink color obscured on the outside by soot—are peculiarly prone to damage from burning, and the sticky contents must be kept in constant motion.

There seem to be few "little" applebutter kettles; in days gone by, one thought in terms of twenty or even thirty gallons, and utensils and implements were in proportion. The copper itself was fragile, but the top rim was rolled over a heavy iron cirlet, and the equally heavy iron bail was fastened on with huge copper rivets. Today, most applebutter is commercially made, and many of the great pink kettles have been burnished within an inch of their lives and are used to hold fireplace logs. Whether the change is a promotion or a demotion the visitor will have to decide for himself.

Once applebutter was cooked, it had to be stored, and the red-clay potters of the Dutch Country knew exactly what to do about it. Unlike canned fruit or vegetables, applebutter did not need air-tight containers or a vacuum seal. The test

of the doneness of the confection was to place a spoonful of it, while it was still hot, on a plate. If it "wept out" at the edges—that is, if the cider tended to separate from the dark, sweet apple mixture, it needed more cooking; if it held its shape and there was no separation, it was done.

This thick mixture, flavored according to individual preference with cinnamon or cloves, and in some cases with wintergreen or saffron, was ladled into redware clay pots, glazed on the inside. The housewife would cover the pots with cheesecloth or paper, fastening these impromptu tops with string, and set them away in a dark cupboard until she needed them.

The study of redware pottery is a many-faceted one, too long to go into, here. The visitor to the Festival could do worse than pay a visit to an antique shop and seek out a redware specimen as a souvenir. The smallest applebutter pot is likely to hold about a pint, and the size ranges upward to about three gallons. Other redware objects he may discover are baked-bean pots, bowls, platters, mugs, or pie-plates—and his chances are likely to be as good sixty to a hundred miles away from Kutztown as in the immediate vicinity.

The pie-plates mentioned above are no more likely to be seen on the tables of the eating places at the Festival than are the applebutter pots, and for very good reasons: There are too few of them left to be much more than a pleasant memory—and they would be too valuable now to risk in use even if they were available. The thousands of yesterday have dwindled to the dozens of today.

Those who should know, say that no pies are so luscious as those baked in these heavy, flat, coggle-edged redware pie plates in an outdoor oven. Pennsylvania has been called the "pie belt" of the United States, and while there is little that is regional about pie-baking today, it seems that the term was once peculiarly apt. Many a housewife baked from twelve to twenty pies at a clip, three times a week, and pies appeared on many tables at every meal.

From a collector's point of view, redware pie-plates vary in desirability according to the kind and degree of decoration they possess. Most highly desired—and rarest—is the kind in which a design, and sometimes a name and a date as well, is scratched through the glaze while the clay is still somewhat soft. This kind of decoration is known as "sgraffito," and the best specimens went into museum collections long ago. Favorite designs were tulips, birds, horse and rider, the so-called "tree of life" motif, and more or less geometrically shaped flowers.

A close second in desirability is the slip-decorated object, in which a thick glaze was trickled over the plate in such designs as simple wavy lines, birds, hearts, tulips, or other reasonably simple motifs. Potters aver that more skill is called for in creating a good slipware design than is required for sgraffito, and they are probably right. Everyday pie-plates were not ordinarily decorated at all; only presentation



Characteristic patterns in tin cooky-cutters. The man-on-horseback is a much sought-for design. The flat-lobed heart is of the type found on the earliest fraktur, dower chests, and pottery.



Simple fraktur birth certificate ("Sarah Haldeman was born February 22, 1829") of superlative quality, by Christ B. Hartman, "Professor of Penmanship." This is believed to be a Monroe County piece. Colors are tones of yellow and brown, in a candle smoke-decorated frame.

or "show-off" pieces seem to have received elaborate treatment. In addition to pie-plates, a few bowls, jars, and other objects were given a sgraffito or fancy slip treatment.

Less taxing to the pocketbook than fine redware is another relic of Grandma's day: the candle-mold. In the time when surplus tallow accumulated on farms until it reached the point at which there was enough to convert to candles, the tin candle-molds were of considerable importance. Many of these molds produced six or eight candles at a time, but those which could turn out a dozen—or several dozen—were by no means rare. The wick or string was first fastened in each separate tube; then the melted tallow was poured in and allowed to harden. Such exotic creations as hand-dipped, bayberry-scented candles, familiar in other parts of the country, were unknown in the Pennsylvania Dutch tradition. One reason that so many molds have survived is the fact that a little wax remained on the molds after using, and there never was a chance for rust to get in its destructive work. Another may be that, for all their interest as survivals of a bygone practice, they are a little difficult to utilize in home decoration!

Cooky-cutters, bright and shining, make their appearance each summer at the Festival, and their use later in the year helps to keep alive one of the strongest of the Dutchland Christmas traditions: the overflowing hospitality which saw to it that no guest ever went without food and drink. Cookies were baked by the bushel, in all the cut-out patterns the housewife had at her command—perhaps a dozen, oftener thirty or forty, sometimes more. The new cutters sold at the Festival are usually practical as well as attractive, and

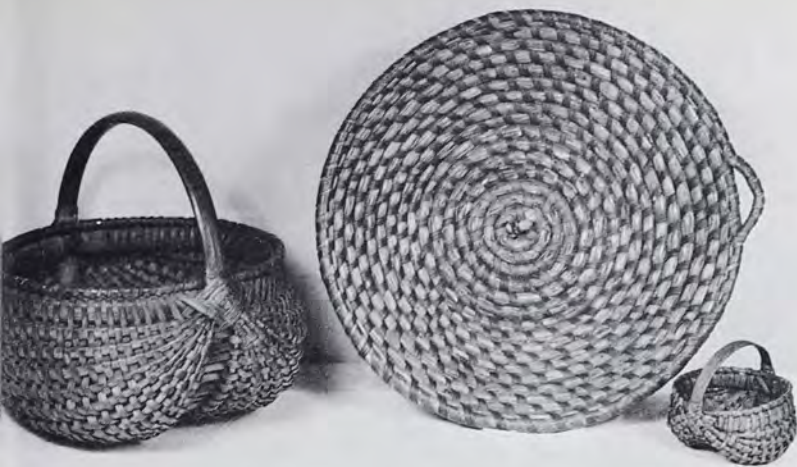
they are geared to present-day use. Some of them are actual replicas of venerable cutters which go back beyond the middle of the 19th Century.

To the antiques collector, however, these are of less interest than the often intricate, sometimes nearly unusable objects of days gone by. Seemingly, almost everything that came under the scrutiny of the whitesmith ("tinsmith" to us) could become a cooky pattern: the clothespin, the kerosene lamp, the potted tulip, the umbrella; the dog, the cat—and every animal in the ABC book; the rose in the garden or the pumpkin in the patch—and every bird and fowl known to the Dutch Country; the star, the heart, the clay pipe, the frog; the figures of the Nativity. Most cooky-cutters were fashioned on the spot by itinerants in early years; later, they could sometimes be purchased at country stores. Seldom are two found which are exactly alike.

To a degree not true of any other Colonial strain, the Pennsylvania Dutch made a thing of beauty of the written documents they kept: birth and baptismal certificates; an occasional marriage certificate; specimen pages of capital and small letters used as copybooks for school children; valentines; awards of merit for such feats as memorizing verses of Scripture, etc. In the beginning, the major lettering used was print rather than script, and the letters were "broken" horizontally, often in an elaborate design. These "fractured" letters were akin to an old European type design called Fraktura, and the decorated Pennsylvania Dutch documents are known by the general term "fraktur."

However, it is as much the colored design which accompanies the lettering as the lettering itself which lends fraktur its charm. A great many of the pieces which have survived to today were executed by "professionals"—schoolmasters or





Two types of Dutch Country baskets: the white-oak type with sturdy oak handle and diamond-shaped binding (in Pennsylvania Dutch, "arsch-backe korb"); and a coiled rye-straw basket in which bread was placed to rise. The miniature is a one-egg size child's plaything. Rye-straw basket, eleven inches across.

clergymen who, in addition to masterly handwriting, often had some artistic skill. Not all pieces are equally competent, however, and some seem almost certainly to have been done by children. Most sought after are pieces which have been done entirely by hand, which bear dates in the late 18th or very early 19th centuries, and which carry the signature of the artist.

The designs vary from writer to writer, as might be expected, but there is a kind of common denominator in fraktur: Whatever else may be included, there will be tulips, or hearts, or birds, and probably all three. Many of the colors have faded, but now and then one finds a piece in which the reds, yellows, and greens appear to have lost but little of their original brilliance. One fraktur writer used mermaids as part of his design; some used the sun or an urn or a clock, rounding out any unused areas with vines or flowers. Angels are frequent in fraktur decoration, but human figures are rare.

A decision each collector has to make for himself is the point at which he will say Yes and the one at which he will say No to a damaged specimen. In chinaware or pottery, for instance, the closer one can come to a flawless collection, the better off he is, both financially and in prestige. This condition applies in only a limited degree to fraktur; every fragment of fraktur has a market value, and only a completely uninformed person would destroy even a scrap of it.

In populous communities and in later years there were more demands for records of vital statistics than the schoolmasters and the clergymen could supply. Moreover, the general level of quality in handwriting seems to have been less high than it was earlier. In consequence, partly printed documents were turned out, often by newspaper presses, leaving only personal data to be supplied. To assist the untrained scrivener even further, outlines of angels, birds, flowers, cherubs, etc., were printed; all the owner had to do was fill in the color.

Visitors to the Festival may see superlative early fraktur in the collection of the Folklife Society. Souvenir reproductions of considerable interest are usually available at some of the craft shops.

Attention should be called to the excellent baskets once produced widely in the Dutch Country. Among those the casual antiquer is most likely to find are the woven rye-straw basket, the one of white-oak splints, and the more recent bent-willow type.

Spatterware designs (schoolhouse, rooster, profile tulip) showing three degrees of spattering: saucer, narrow edge; plate, wide edge; pitcher, all-over. These are red spatter pieces. Plate, nine inches; pitcher, four and a quarter.



Usually, one of the charms of an antique is its age. Somewhat paradoxically, this condition applies very little to baskets; most collectors would rather have their baskets new and clean than old and discolored. There is little that can be done to clean up a soiled rye-straw basket, because of the brittle, fragile nature of old straw. It is easier to rejuvenate a white-oak basket so far as cleaning is concerned, but many old baskets have broken splints too brittle to touch.

Rye-straw baskets, created by binding a continuous coil of straw with oak splint and interlocking the tiers as one goes along, often held loaves of bread in the rising stage, in days gone by. Small ones, round or oval, were used for eggs at Easter time. Large hampers with the same kind of construction served as storage depots for dried apples ("schnitz"), for goose feathers, for carpet rag balls, for quilt "piece-patches" —or for a dozen other odd-and-sundry objects which needed to be kept dry and out of the way.

The tougher, more durable white-oak baskets were made in a great variety of shapes and sizes. Some are flat and were used to hold grain when the sower of wheat, for instance, walked back and forth over his fields broadcasting the kernels by handfuls. Some were used for measuring the grain at harvest time, or for apples or other fruit. Half-melon-shaped ones have oak handles, and were used for gathering eggs. Egg baskets vary in size from the child's plaything which would hold one egg to those large enough for four or five dozen.

Willow baskets, being very light in weight, were used principally as clothes baskets, although nowadays they may be found in a variety of ornamental shapes.

Table settings for meals at the Festival are of the simplest, and one no longer sees the kind of dishes once reserved for ultra-important occasions, or just for show. Long associated with the Pennsylvania Dutch country was a Staffordshire product imported from England and called "spatterware" by us today. (It probably had no special name at the time of its importation.) Just why it was so popular in the Dutchland we can only guess, but its gay colors and clean-cut decorative motifs are at least partly responsible.





*Child's rocking chair completely in the tradition of Pennsylvania Dutch paint-decorated furniture. Pink roses, green foliage, and gold striping show to advantage against a dark brown background.*

The name comes from the fact that before the dishes were put into the kiln for glazing and firing, color was applied by means of a sponge dipped into pigment of the desired color and spattered along the edge of the piece to be decorated. Sometimes this band of color was narrow and sometimes wide; not infrequently the entire surface of the article was spatter-decorated. Usually this sponged decoration was supplemented by added decoration, outlined by hand and then filled in with a brush.

Two factors largely determine the desirability of a spatterware piece, as the collector sees it: the color of the spatter and the nature of the supplementary design. Yellow spatter seems to be the rarest, and therefore highest in price. Green follows—and then red, pink, blue, brown, and purple, oftenest alone but sometimes in an unlikely combination such as purple and black.

A well known early collector once indicated a personal preference for the peafowl as a decorative motif on spatter, and his approving nod lent importance to what is actually one of the most frequently found patterns. Much less common and considerably more romantic is the little red schoolhouse. (There is also a little blue schoolhouse, even more attractive.) Tulips, either open or in profile, acorns, doves, roosters, stars, and various kinds of floral patterns—all these have their admirers. Exceedingly rare are the sailboat, the cannon, the windmill, the deer, the beehive, and the red and green parrot. In later years, transfer patterns, often of shield-and-eagle design, were used on blue or lavender sponged plates and platters, but transfer patterns never



*Sarah Ann Sabina, in her blue serge dress with white braid, was the first American doll with a papier-mâché head (1858). With Mary Alice Magdalena (circa 1870) she occupies a miniature Pennsylvania Dutch painted settee.*

achieved great popularity.

It should perhaps be observed that some of the craft shops at the Festival carry modern spatterware. Some pieces are adaptations made to meet the needs or desires of our own generation; others are copies of originals. An occasional piece of genuinely old spatter may sometimes be seen at the Grange exhibits on the Festival grounds, and now and then one of the dealers at the antiques show may have a piece for sale. For an original, multiply by twenty to thirty what you would pay for a good reproduction.

Painted furniture with colorful floral decoration, as a commodity in actual use, is almost a thing of the past. Chairs, rocking chairs, footstools, and settees of high quality are now seen only rarely, although articles with not much more than traces of the original paint find ready sales in most antique shops. Paint-decorated furniture is being rather extensively reproduced nowadays, and it appears to have a good many devotees. Both the reproductions and the 19th Century furniture owe their inspiration to the much earlier paint-decorated Dutch Country dower chests—which were inspired in their own day by memories of Old Country originals.

Some of the paint decoration has been achieved by the use of stencils; some—especially the striping—is frechand; some is a combination. Favorite background colors are cream, brown, and green, favorite motifs are birds, fruit, flowers, especially roses, and overflowing cornucopias or baskets. Conventionalized gilt foliage and borders are to be found on many stenciled pieces.

Holidays in the Dutch Country have traditions not always matching those of the rest of the country. Much was made of Harvest Home, for instance, but little of Thanksgiving. Special foods like fasnacht cakes for Shrove Tuesday and noodles for Good Friday seem to have been purely regional in nature. Christmas and Easter, however, were of major importance, and many facets of our present nationwide celebration of these occasions are of Dutch Country origin. There are those who maintain that both the American decorated Christmas tree and the Christmas greeting card originated in Pennsylvania; there are also dissenters on





*Papier-maché rabbits with leather ears. Many such rabbits were jelly bean containers and had removable beads. The tin specimen is a twelve-inch cookie-cutter. The egg shells, used for Easter egg tree decoration, are contemporary. (It takes from two to five hours to incise an egg shell!)*

the point! Evidence is strong, however, that American use of the Easter rabbit, colored, decorated Easter eggs, and egg baskets are of Pennsylvania origin.

Egg decoration reached a peak of quality not attained in the 19th Century in other parts of the country, although there must have been Polish, Hungarian, and Ukrainian egg decorators at work even then. Most eggs to be decorated for Easter, usually as gifts, were hard-boiled and then painted by hand. Pencil, pen and ink, brush, transfer, and other techniques were used in addition to just plain dyeing. More subtle and far more time-consuming was the process of incising or "carving," as it is often called. A considerable number of the incised eggs which have survived to the present time are initialed and dated—some as far back as the late 1700's.

Decoration did not stop with the eggs themselves. Some were turned into little "pitchers" by the addition of a fancy cylindrical paper base and a handle. Some were transformed into "Easter birds" by the addition of a beak and pleated paper wings and tail. Most eggs subjected to this kind of treatment were actually egg shells from which the contents were blown after the ends had been pierced with a needle. The same thing is true of the colored eggs, with or without added decorations, which were hung on the egg tree at Easter time. The making of Easter egg trees, popular as the practice has become nowadays, does not enjoy the long tradition of the Christmas tree.

One of the most appealing egg decorations is peculiarly Pennsylvania Dutch in inception and treatment—the "binsa-graws" egg. "Binsa-graws" is a kind of reed; when it is green, sections between nodes in the stem are cut and the pith is pushed out by a long, thin match stick or comparable object. The white pith, compressed as it leaves the reed, straightens out and is wound tightly about the egg, usually starting at the large end, and pasted down. Then colored decorations are applied—usually by brush, freehand. The various stages of binsa-graws egg decoration are frequently demonstrated at the Folk Festival.

The fine art of quilting is one of the few household activities which have not undergone major changes over the years. It may or may not still be a salvage operation for small scraps of cloth left over from the making of clothing, but it still means cutting out a multitude of small patches, arranging them according to a pre-determined pattern, sewing them



*"Piece-patch" quilt in perennially popular star design. Calico patches (plus a few of challis and chintz) are set against a calico background of sizable pink and blue blocks. The wide border, also of calico, is dark green. Once garish, in all probability, it now gives an effect of pleasantly muted richness.*

together by hand, and then supplying a woollen middle and a cotton bottom for the finished product, uniting all three with myriads of tiny stitches, also according to a pre-determined pattern.

A generation or two ago, the making of a quilt was a kind of winter community project, taking place in the church basement as often as in a private home. It seems unlikely that very many quilts are made at home today. Quilting frames were set up and kept in place for weeks and sometimes months before a quilt could be completed; few homes now are so geared that a sizable room can be withdrawn from use for such a period of time.

Most quilt patterns had names—sometimes descriptive, sometimes puzzling to the non-initiate. Some quilts were patch-work; some were appliquéd. In most cases, when the maker of a quilt sorted out the various pieces of fabric she had saved for the purpose, she discovered that she needed to augment her own supply with calico designed expressly for the purpose and sold at the country store. For years, one of the attractive features of the Folk Festival has been a display of bolts of the same kind of fabric—for sale—that our great-grandmothers used in their quilt-making.

It would have been unthinkable that these same great-grandmothers should try to cook without using butter—slathers of butter, as a matter of fact. For those who made their own, it was almost as unthinkable that they should not decorate it by using a carved wooden mold pressed firmly





*Well liked butter mold designs. The tulip is of walnut; the semi-circular eagle would be used twice on a jar of butter to give a complete design. The "AEH 1866" identification is the reverse of a whittled mold, not a design. Initials and dates are rarely found.*



*Three types of iron trivets: die-cut five-heart design, anvil-wrought tulip cut freehand from heavy iron plate, and heart formed from a long, inch-wide iron strap. Legs, not shown to advantage here, are about two inches long.*

*Dutchland peacocks "just for fancy." The smaller specimen at the top is of black merino with dashing red glass beads. The two mounted on spools at the bottom are interesting principally because of their pleated paper tails. An attempt has been made to indicate the "eye" in each plume.*



down upon the pat or roll or jar, especially if it was to go to market. It is said that each housewife had her own particularly favored design, which became a kind of trademark for her product. Whether the statement is true or not, some of the most skillful non-professional woodcarving on this side of the Atlantic was done by the men who created these butter molds. A very few are initialed or dated; we do not know who the artists were, although we know that there must have been a great many competent whittlers and carvers.

The tulip was a favorite motif in butter mold decoration, as were the heart and the eagle. The swan and the rose were attractive; the six-pointed figure, the whirling swastika, and the sheaf of wheat were well liked. In later years, the cow—often a machine-turned mold—became a favorite. In the days when placing a pound pat of butter on the dinner table was standard procedure, it was also standard procedure to see that it was appropriately fancified.

Artistic expression among the Pennsylvania Dutch reached a peak in objects of wrought iron. It might seem that iron would be a medium too stubborn for fine line and sharp detail, but the evidence is to the contrary. Door hinges in particular, from the so-called Moravian ram's horn hinges to strap hinges terminating in beautifully rhythmic tulips, attest to the skill of the metal worker. Fireplace tools, such cooking appurtenances as revolving grills and toasters, off-hand creations like a deftly turned shoehorn or a rein-hold to be driven into a log when timber was being transported to the sawmill—these and dozens of others give evidence of the skill and the urge toward beauty which so many of our forefathers possessed.

Among wrought iron objects the skillfully made little trivets which have come down to us should especially be mentioned. Seemingly they possessed just one characteristic in common: Raised on three short legs, they provided a temporary resting place for something hot—a flatiron, perhaps, or a pot of coffee, or a small vessel of food removed from the fire. Some, like the grills and broilers they closely resembled, were formed of thin rods of iron, pounded four-square on the anvil and then twisted and fastened while the metal was still malleable. Others were cut out of sheets of metal in fancy shapes—tulips, hearts, and the like. Some were made of strips of metal adroitly hammered into shape. Still others were first hammered thin and then subjected to a stamping-out process with fancy-shaped dies.

Finally, something should be said of the prevalence of birds in Dutch Country decoration. Little has been made of the fact that birds, more than hearts or tulips or so-called hex signs with six points, are an almost universal decorative folk motif in Pennsylvania. They occur from earliest times and in all media. Were there more birds in Pennsylvania than elsewhere? We know that the North Carolina paroquets became such a scourge to peach growers and wheat farmers in the 18th Century that they were hunted almost to extinction. We know that peacocks were admired, eagles revered, barn swallows protected, bluebirds loved, distlefinks (wild canaries) cherished. All these and dozens of others were given form in fraktur, on painted furniture, in pincushions, in cooky-cutters, and in chalkware; in iron, in pottery, in woven coverlets—in fact, in every place in which decoration was desired. After other opportunities and possibilities appeared to be exhausted, many more were turned out just "for fancy"—for Christmas trees, for toys, and apparently "just for because." Why? Perhaps someday some diligent researcher—now paying his first visit to the Dutch Country—may be able to give us the answer!





*Gay Dutch Farmstead near Kutztown now owned and operated by Old Order Mennonites.*

# Kutztown's Mennonites

By RICHARD H. SHANER

Both tourists and local Pennsylvania Dutchmen coming to Kutztown are surprised to see the many "horse and buggy Dutch" living here. The tourist is astonished because he can hardly believe that certain Dutchmen have kept their 19th Century ways; and the Dutchman is surprised because this is the first time since the founding of Penn's colony, that the plain people have moved into the Gay Dutch capital. Being among the first people to settle Pennsylvania, the Plain Dutch built their homesteads on the fertile Lancaster Plain, and the Gay Dutch in the fertile Oley and Penn Valley. Since their migration to Pennsylvania in the 17th and 18th Centuries, the plain people have continued to center around Lancaster; and the gay people the width and breadth of the Oley and Penn Valleys, with their center at Kutztown. Living on the Lancaster Plain for many generations, the plain people have bought as much tillable land as their economy will afford. However, since their families are quite large, there is just not enough land available to accommodate their offspring in farming. Consequently the large farms of the plain people have been subdivided among the children and today an average-size farm in Lancaster County consists of only fifty acres. With land currently bringing over one thousand dollars an acre in Lancaster County, the Plain Dutch have been forced to seek farming land elsewhere, or go out of farming completely.

In their search for good but reasonably priced farmland

in America, the Plain Dutch have visited almost every fertile spot on the North American continent. Even during earlier periods of their history in Pennsylvania, plain groups have migrated North to Canada, South to Virginia, and West to Ohio and Indiana. As land in the Eastern United States continues to increase in value, the economic position of the farmer, both Dutch and non-Dutch, will be uneasy. Despite this fact, many Plain Dutch farmers are unwilling to leave Lancaster. Their soil on the Lancaster Plain is considered to be one of the finest in the world. Likewise the climate of Lancaster County is so excellent that many of them can produce a "second" crop during the growing season. Although the land in Canada and in the Western states may be cheaper, many plain people are reluctant to leave Lancaster County because they know that the new land will never match the fertility of their traditional home. In order to survive in Lancaster County the Plain Dutch have come to rely more and more on their cash crop—tobacco. Most plain people do not smoke and dislike the practice; however, if they did not produce tobacco as a cash crop, they could not meet their high mortgage payments. Thus, the Plain Dutch have an innate yearning to remain in the Dutch Country, and no matter what the cost, Pennsylvania will continue to be their home.

Prior to the 20th Century there was only one substantial migration of Plain Dutch within the Commonwealth, and





*Old Order Mennonite Farmhouse with many additions. This sect, like Lancaster County's Amish, follow the older rural practice of large families.*

that was to the Big Valley of Central Pennsylvania. Locating in Mifflin County as early as 1791, this group of plain people (Amish) now consists of nine distinct religious groups.<sup>1</sup> The second substantial migration of plain people within the Commonwealth occurred in 1949, when a group of Mennonite families moved into the Penn Valley.<sup>2</sup> Sociologically, the new community of Mennonites at Kutztown, in the Penn Valley, represents a new horizon in folk culture. For the first time since colonial days the Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch have welded together economically to seek survival in rural Pennsylvania. It indeed seems strange that this acculturation of both dialect-speaking groups has taken so long to occur. Although both groups share in a common historical background, geographical location and general culture, their basic difference in religious belief has divided them all these years.

While living in Lancaster County one summer I was astonished to hear that one of my Amish friends believed that to be Pennsylvania Dutch, you must have Amish blood in you. He did not of course realize that the Plain Dutch (Amish, Mennonites, and Brethren) represent the minority of people who comprise the Pennsylvania Dutch people. Likewise, he did not even know that the Gay Dutch (basically Lutheran and Reformed) existed and shared with him the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and culture. You can imagine the shock this young Amish gentleman had when I took him home with me to Berks and Lehigh Counties. He

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent account of the Mifflin Amish, see John A. Hostetler, "Amish Family Life", *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Volume 12, No. 3, October, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> Since the beginning of the Old Order Mennonite settlement at Kutztown, another small group have migrated to Union County in Pennsylvania, from Lancaster.

was amazed to hear that the Dutch dialect was spoken more in Lehigh and Berks than in the county of Lancaster. We visited old union churches and read old tombstones written in German, and 18th Century dateboards on old field-stone houses.

When the first Mennonite families moved into the Kutztown area in 1949, the Gay Dutch people of that area called them the "Amish". Recognizing their plain clothes, horses and buggies, water wheels and wind mills, the Gay Dutchman surmised that these families were Amish. If the plain Dutchman is ignorant of the Gay Dutchman, then the reverse is certainly true. One newspaper man from the Allentown *Morning Call* came to interview the newly begun settlement. He was not prepared any more than the increasing numbers of tourists that visit the Dutch Country, and went away with just as much. Interviewing several families the newspaper man said, "Are you Amish?" The Mennonite replied truthfully, "No". The newspaper man becoming vexed inquired if there were any Amish families around Kutztown, and the Mennonite replied that he did not know but perhaps the family across the way were Amish. When the news reporter arrived at the designated farm, he encountered the same routine, for there are no Amish around Kutztown! Among the Old Order Mennonites that have moved to the Kutztown area, there are some that are just as plain and strict as the Amish, but religiously they are not Amish. If this reporter would have picked up a copy of Frederic Klees' book, *The Pennsylvania Dutch*, he could have easily known the difference between all the plain sects. The most obvious clue was the fact that the married men of the plain families at Kutztown did not have beards. Next of all these people were using gasoline and diesel tractors for

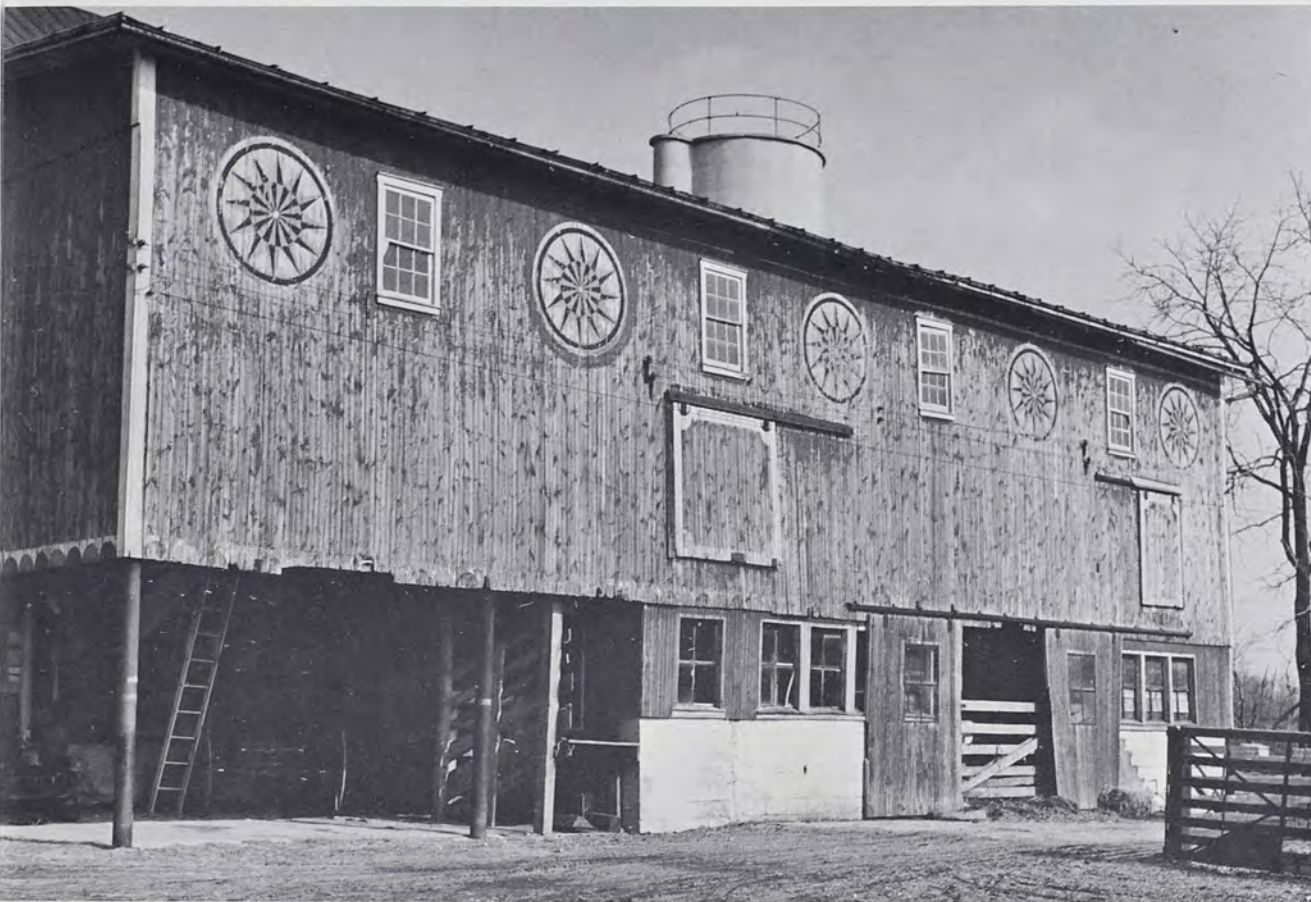


farm work, instead of horses and mules. Last of all they erected a large impressive "meeting-house" at Kutztown for worship, and the Old Order Amish worship only in the homes of the families.<sup>3</sup> Thus, without a willingness to learn

<sup>3</sup> A less conservative Amish group, known as "Church Amish," worship in small meetinghouses. They are found in several of the Amish settlements of the United States.

the difference the people of Kutztown call their Penn Valley Mennonites the "Amish."

Whether he calls them the "Kutztown Amish," or the Penn Valley Mennonites, the tourist that travels to Kutztown will be in for a surprise. Previous to 1949 the greatest disappointment experienced by a tourist was the fact that when they came to see Pennsylvania's Plain Dutch, they could not find



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*"Hex Signs," put on the Kutztown barns by their former "Gay Dutch" owners (Kutztown is a center of Pennsylvania's "Hex Sign" belt) are now repainted by the Mennonite owners.*







*The Mennonites have brought the tobacco culture with them from Lancaster County into the Kutztown area.*



Pennsylvania's world-famous hex-barns. Thousands of tourists traveling to the Plain Dutch capital, Lancaster, are astonished to find that there are no hex-sign painted barns in all of Lancaster County. Of course there are not any, for these people are the "plain" people. The beautiful hex-signs are painted on the barns of the Gay Dutch people in Berks and Lehigh County. Since the migration of the Old Order Mennonites to the Kutztown area, the tourist may now see one of the "seven wonders of the world". Standing on the slopes of the Penn Valley are large bank-barns with smartly painted hex signs, white-washed board fences, narrow dirt roads, and sharp black buggies and carriages pulled by prancing horses. Yes, the Plain Dutch at Kutztown have accepted these gayly-colored barn decorations and have repainted them.<sup>4</sup> There is indeed a new horizon in folk-culture here, and a magnificent acculturation between the two worlds of the Pennsylvania Dutch.<sup>5</sup>

The story of the Penn Valley Mennonite settlement at Kutztown is a story of courage and hope. It was the first substantial migration of Old Order Mennonites in Lancaster County to ever seek another home within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. One of the Mennonite leaders that pioneered in the migration to Kutztown was Ezra Burkholder, Sr. Like

<sup>4</sup> Although the Mennonites accept the hex signs "just for nice," they do, of course, not believe in "any of this hexerei stuff". For that matter neither do the Gay Dutch people believe that hex signs will ward away "witches".

<sup>5</sup> To understand more about the two types of Dutchmen, see Don Yoder's "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two Worlds in the Dutch Country," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Volume 12, No. 3, 1956.

others in Lancaster, he was conscious of the extreme difficulty of finding farms on the plain for his seven sons. With an eye toward relocating on cheaper land, he traveled to Canada, the western part of the United States, and numerous other locations. Although he had relatives who were members of the settlement in Canada, the land was too far north, and the soil not very productive.

As Ezra continued his search for new farm land, he made frequent trips to Kutztown to buy hay and straw from a Gay Dutchman. During his visits he could not help but notice the large farms and successful farming in the Penn Valley. On occasion he would ask the Gay Dutchman about the fertility of the soil there, and the price of farms. Proud of his Berks County, the Dutchman explained to Ezra that the farms were productive, and priced fair. Ezra could not quite understand how the corn crop of the Penn Valley could be so excellent, when the Gay Dutchman did not use very much manure for fertilizer. Finally the Gay Dutchman satisfied Ezra's curiosity and took him to see farms for sale in the area, and also the rest of the Eastern Penn Valley. They





traveled in and around Kutztown, and through the valley basin to the potato country of Lehigh County. Throughout the tour Ezra was constantly reminded of the productivity of the soil, for on almost every farm, were limestone kilns and often a quarry. The Penn Valley contained one of the richest limestone soils in North America. In fact, were not the caves at Kutztown (Crystal Cave) and at Bethlehem (Lost Caves) the result of the vast deposits of limestone.

Ezra Burkholder was very impressed with the fertile Penn Valley and remembered that as a boy he was told about it, "but it went in one ear and out the other". Although the land in the Penn Valley was not as cheap as in Canada and the West, it was cheaper than in Lancaster and was perhaps just as fertile.

When Ezra got back home he informed his family about the fertile land which was only in the next county, Berks. The land was not very cheap compared to Canada, but the barns are large (sometimes 100 feet long) and the average farm consists of about 100 acres. It was not uncommon to find a Gay Dutchman farming as much as 300 acres of land around Kutztown. It was true that Kutztown lay north of Lancaster and the growing season was perhaps a week later in coming; however, the soil was very productive.

Ezra was willing to set up one or two of his sons in farming at Kutztown, and if they did not like it they could come back. Certainly the offer was a fine one, and the sons would be farming more than double the acreage they could look forward to in Lancaster. The sons, however, did not become excited and of course did not want to leave their plain friends in Lancaster. The wives refused, and the fathers-in-law thought it unwise for these young couples to leave the beloved Lancaster area. One of Ezra's uncles was "violently" opposed to seeing the Old Order Mennonites move into the Kutztown area. The uncle would state that the soil is not fertile, the climate not so good as Lancaster, and you cannot grow tobacco there to pay off your farms. Ezra would explain that there is limestone soil there, as good as Lancaster. However, the cash crop tobacco was never tried in the Penn Valley. If tobacco could not be grown here, within a few years

the new settlement would be economically stunted. Ezra had faith in the Kutztown soil, and did believe that a cash crop could be cultivated to insure the economic success of a new settlement. It seemed Ezra was outnumbered on all sides, but he could not forget the fertile Penn Valley. He said to his sons, "It is not a must." In order to start a new settlement a Gay Dutchman of Lancaster who wanted to farm desperately accepted Ezra's offer, and Ezra set him up in farming.

Eventually as other members of the group became acquainted with the Penn Valley, four families settled there in 1949: the Eli Burkholders, the Ivan Leids, the Ivan Martins and the Amos Sauders. It was not too difficult to adjust to the new location, for the Pennsylvania Dutch farmsteads of Lancaster and Berks Counties are very similar. At first electricity which was installed on the farms was not rejected, for there were other matters pertaining to the farm operation which had to be attended to first. Since the Gay Dutch did not keep horses, many of the horse stables were converted for other purposes. One of the first changes on the Gay Dutch farms was that of restoring the horse stable to its rightful purpose; since the Old Order Mennonites will not use any other than horse-drawn transportation. Within a very short time the newly arrived families felt at home and were busy on their farms. As time permitted electrical fixtures in the homes were replaced with gas and gasoline lamps. In order to pump water for the farmstead large windmills were erected, or underground water-wheels. Naturally tobacco was planted and being a success, large tobacco sheds were built for drying. Within the next five years twenty-one Mennonite families settled in the Penn Valley, including Ezra Burkholder, Sr.

After a while even the uncle of Ezra, Sr., who was opposed to the new location, visited the Penn Valley settlement. Traveling to the Kutztown area with a fertilizer dealer, he was given an opportunity to see many of the farms in the Kutztown area. Upon returning to his beloved Lancaster County, the uncle announced to his neighbors that the territory, comparatively, "was the nearest to being Lancaster County that he had ever seen." In the next ten years (1954 to 1963) twenty-five additional Mennonite families moved into the Penn Valley settlement. Today about forty-five families call the Kutztown area home; a forty-sixth family is expecting to move back to Lancaster. Of Ezra Burkholder's family ten have farms in the Penn Valley, and four have farms in the Lancaster area. Although Kutztown is not too great a distance from Lancaster, by horse and buggy it is a good distance away. Almost all of the Plain Dutch of Kutztown are satisfied and happy that they moved there, but wives still lament that "it is a little too far from Lancaster". The settlement is now only fifteen years old but it has grown substantially. In their plain world at Kutztown they have a fine meeting-house with horse sheds, a harness shop, a carriage shop, a wheel-wright, two schoolhouses, a hardware shop and some of the finest Dutch farmsteads that ever were built. The new settlement is nearly self-sufficient except for a blacksmith, furniture-maker, and plain clothing dealer. As more and more families join the new settlement, the longing for Lancaster County decreases and the plain community fulfills its needs.

All of the Penn Valley Mennonites are Wenger Mennonites, a title which can be traced to the first leader of the Old Order Mennonites, Joseph Wenger. In Lancaster County there are eight Wenger meeting-houses, each called by their location—Groffdale, Martindale, Weaverland, Churchtown,



*Plain Meetinghouse for Kutztown's Mennonites. Built recently, it follows traditional patterns found in Lancaster County, Ontario, Virginia, and the Midwest.*



Bowmanville, Conestoga, Muddy Creek, and New Holland. Only Ontario, Canada, has as many meeting-house groups as Lancaster County. The Penn Valley Mennonites are now in the process of dividing into three meeting-house groups. At present the Mennonites west of Kutztown share a meeting-house with the Horning Mennonites at Walnuttown. In addition to the Walnuttown meeting place there will probably be a third at Topton which is east of Kutztown. Mennonite Church meetings are held the second, fourth and possibly fifth Sundays of the month at the Kutztown meeting-house. Meetings on the first Sunday of the month are held at the Walnuttown location and there is no meeting on the third Sunday, as yet.

True to the Plain Dutch tradition, all services are held in High German, with men sitting on one side of the meeting-house and women on the other. Both Bibles and song books are printed in German. Without formal training in the reading of High German, most Mennonites read quite well. Church leaders are chosen by lot and of course serve for life. The main religious leader is the Bishop who is guided by the Deacon, and helped by the Preacher. Eli Burkholder is the Bishop for the Penn Valley settlement, and was ordained by three other Bishops: Aaron Sensenig of Lancaster, Edward Bowman of Canada, and William Weaver of Indiana. He like other Bishops will serve his order without any financial reimbursement. Although the use of electricity is tolerated by the Order, no religious leader may have electricity. If for example a person has electricity and the "lot" falls upon that person, he will then have to have the electricity taken out of his farmstead. In general most of the Mennonites do not have electricity, but those that do are usually of the younger generation.

Next to the Church, the one-room schoolhouse is perhaps the second most important institution. At first the Mennonites utilized one of the brick, Gay Dutch schoolhouses which was vacated in their area at Fleetwood. Since this first schoolhouse was located at the extreme west end of the settlement, children from the east end had to be driven there in an automobile. Of course, since the Mennonites do not own cars, or drive them, an outsider had to be hired to take the children to and from school. Recently this school problem has been solved with the building of two new one-room



*Author examines double door at meetinghouse. The community does its own carpentry work.*

schoolhouses. The old schoolhouse has now been renovated into a hardware and bicycle shop. Children attending both the "West" and "East" Penn Valley schoolhouses, now can either walk there or bicycle there. On an average, both schoolhouses accommodate about 28 to 30 students. Desks inside the schoolhouse are arranged in typical style, with the larger desks to the back of the room and the smaller ones to the front. The teacher's desk, a traditional schoolmaster's type, commands a position of respect at the front of the room.

Plain Dutch schoolteachers, in general, are not professionally trained in colleges to teach school. However, being a product of the traditional one-room school system, they may be able to judge best how to teach effectively. Most teachers have been young Mennonite women who devote their time to teaching until they become married and start a family of their own. The teacher is responsible for teaching grades one through eight. Children in the various grade levels go about their studying until it is time for the teacher to check their work. As one group stands in a straight line





*Family Carriages, costing \$650 each, and equipped with electric lamps for night driving, tied at hitching posts outside meetinghouse.*

at the front of the room reading orally, the other grade-groups are busy at their desks awaiting their turn. Teaching eight grades and all basic subjects, the teacher has to be a reasonably intelligent person. Visiting one of the Mennonite schools I was not only pleased to find that the teacher was an intelligent person, but a very versatile one at that. Besides the various charts of progress, and drawings of art hanging on the walls, there were also imaginative essays and rules of safety written by the students. One of the essays I hereby submit as an example of the acculturation taking place between the Gay and Plain Dutch. It is an imaginative essay about Santa Claus, a Gay Dutch figure who is not ordinarily a part of the culture and thinking of the Plain Dutch.

#### *How I Found Out About Santa Clause*

I was very curious about how Santa Clause came down the chimney.

One day curiosity got the best of me. I got a ladder and climbed up to the chimney. I stood there a while undecided what to do. The[n] I climbed down the ladder. I got a sack full of toys put them over my back and went up the ladder with my sack full of toys on my back like Santa Clause does.

Whew! It was dark and dirty. All of a sudden I realized I was stuck. What should I do? I thought now how would Santa Clause do? I sat thinking for 15 mins. At last I started screaming. At first nobody heard me. I screamed again. My parents heard me. But they didn't know where I was. Then they saw my ladder. They had to take down the chimney to get me. When they got me out I took a bath. Now to this day I know Santa Clause doesn't come down the chimney.

Children have a fifteen-minute recess in the morning and afternoon. Lunch time consists of a half hour at noon, which is eagerly awaited. During the winter recesses the young pigtailed girls go up to the front of the room and stand on top of the large floor hot-air vent that heats the room. Boys usually gather in the basement of the building during recess to exercise their restlessness, and play games. In order to



*Bicycles, Wagons, Buggies, and Family Carriages at Horse Sheds of Kutztown Meetinghouse.*

assemble the group at the end of recess or lunch, the teacher rings a bell which is kept on her desk.

When a boy becomes fourteen years of age, and has completed the eighth grade, he becomes a half-day scholar. This means that the boy will spend a half day in school and the other half day learning the agricultural trade on the farm. The half day which is spent on the farm learning agriculture is strictly enforced. If there is a farm sale in the area, or any other event not strictly pertaining to farming, they may not attend. At the age of fifteen, the half-day scholar becomes a full-day scholar in farming, his chosen work.<sup>6</sup> There is no one in the United States that would deny that the Plain Dutch are not the best farmers in America, and their sons learn the same skills.

This past winter, I was given an invitation to teach at one of the Mennonite schoolhouses at Kutztown. As a professional teacher I thought it would be a good experience, and I liked it very much. Probably the most outstanding observation I made, was that the children were very well behaved and attentive. The climate for teaching and learning was more personal and direct than in the public schools of Pennsylvania. These students had a direction in life—farming—

<sup>6</sup> In addition to boys, girls are also taken out of school at the age of fifteen, and they too play an influential part in the farm operation.



and their education was to be the means of survival in that competitive field. There was an immediate relationship between their families, the farm, and this school of learning. Too often in the public schools of Pennsylvania and the United States, we lose this personal touch in education, which leads to a better direction in life. Instead of the American family becoming directly involved with the school, it maintains an impersonal embassy there—the PTA.

Not all of the Old Order Mennonites send their children to the Mennonite schoolhouses. Some send their children to the public schools. Although most of the children are within traveling distance of the one-room schoolhouses, a few of them are not, and it is more practical for them to attend public schools on buses provided.

Life on the farm is not an easy one for the Mennonites in Kutztown. Since the large commercial dairies require rigid standards for membership, Mennonites not accepting modern techniques cannot ship milk. Some of the younger Mennonites, however, do have electricity and will comply and ship milk. The majority of plain people have turned to the raising of cattle for beef. One quite large family shipped as many as 500 head of cattle to a local auction in one year. In other instances, beef cattle were sold directly to butchers in the Kutztown area. An enterprising Mennonite even tried to fence in his land, and attempted to herd cattle as they do out West. The experiment failed of course, because the land is too expensive and fertile to herd cattle profitably. The main cash crop is naturally tobacco. Over 250 acres of filler tobacco were grown in the Penn Valley last year. Dotting the area around Kutztown are huge tobacco drying sheds, some of which are so new that they have not been painted yet. Not all grow tobacco, however. One Mennonite said, "I don't smoke tobacco and I don't grow tobacco." In addition to tobacco, corn and various grain crops can also serve as a cash crop.

With the exception of the labor involved in the growing of tobacco, farming among the Mennonites does not differ very greatly than farming among their Gay Dutch cousins. Their religious order is not quite as strict as the Amish, and the Church does tolerate the use of gasoline and diesel tractors for farming. The only stipulation is that the tractor must be on "iron or steel". A tractor with modern rubber tires will not be tolerated, but a tractor on old-fashioned iron and steel wheels will be permissible. Therefore, both tractors on "steel" wheels, and crawlers on "steel" tracks are used by the congregation. Whereas the Amishman has about 50 acres to till with his horses, the Kutztown Mennonite has at least 75 to 125 acres to till. With so much land to be plowed and cultivated, the Mennonites do not neglect their horses, and still use them for the light farm work. In operating their farms the Plain Dutch constantly come into the town of Kutztown for parts to their tractors and other farm supplies. Kutztown, a unique farming community, can supply almost any need. The most unique characteristic about Kutztown, for the Mennonite, is the fact that it is Pennsylvania Dutch. When a Mennonite enters a store, mill, or implement shop in Kutztown, he can order what he wants in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect. In Lancaster County many of the farming establishments are run by only English-speaking people, and therefore the Mennonite must speak English. Unfortunately, there are many items in the Dutch dialect for which the Mennonite does not readily know the English equivalent. Furthermore, there are several terms in the Dutch dialect for which there are no English equivalents! Doing business in Kutztown, the Mennonite

farmer feels more at home than in his own Plain Dutch center of Lancaster.

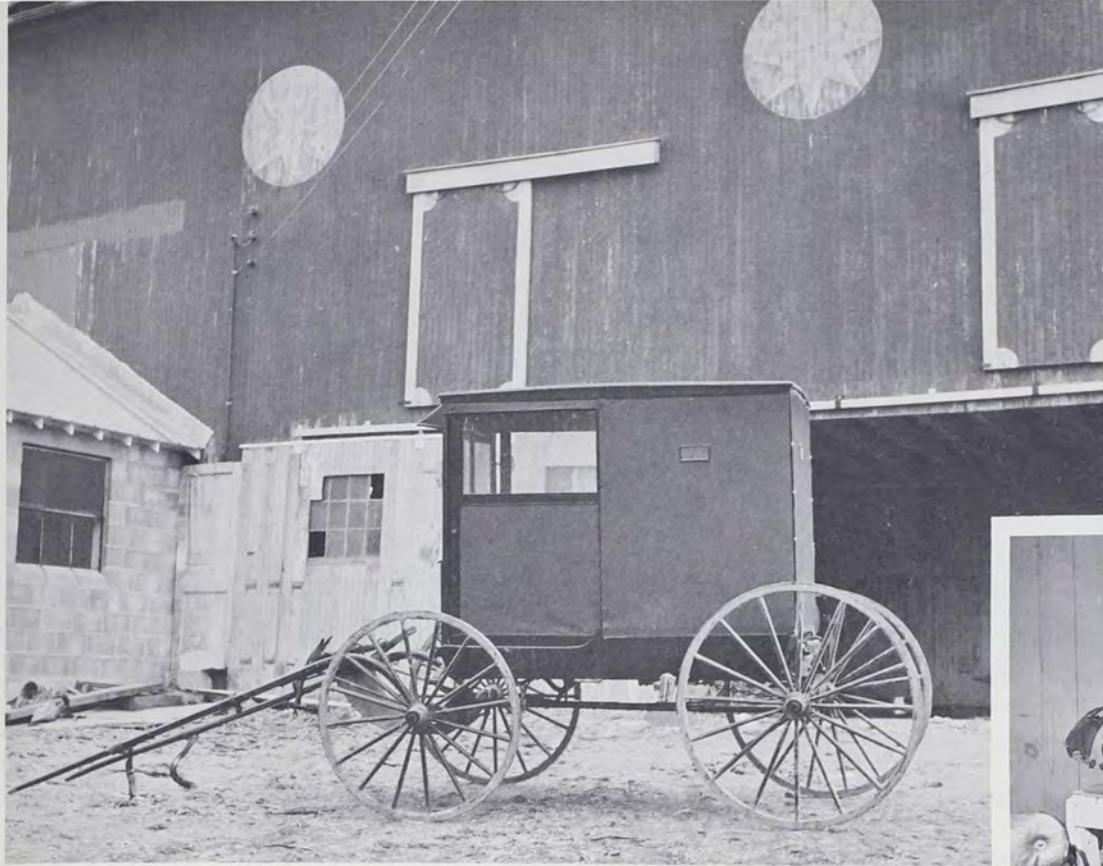
Family life among the Plain Dutch at Kutztown is drastically different from the Gay Dutch. There is no electricity for the majority of the homesteads, and therefore, no radios, television, dishwashers, power-tools, etc. When the first of Kutztown's "Amish" arrived, they tore out modern kitchens, baths and other electrically contrived conveniences in the farm homes. Their Gay Dutch neighbors looked on in horror. How can anyone tear out a beautiful formica-stainless-steel-knotty-pine-electrically-equipped modern kitchen! "It is a sin to take those conveniences out," said one Gay Dutchwoman. The same woman continued to state that they are not as religious a group as you think. "Some of them do have electricity; why don't they all let the modern kitchens in their homes?" My answer to her was this: "Is not religion both a matter of formal philosophy from the Church, and also the individual's philosophy toward his God?" If one person believes that it is right for him to have electricity, that individual is responsible for his own decision. Thus, within the Old Order Mennonites, and for that matter within almost any religious group, there is a certain amount of deviation according to the views of the individual members. In the course of conversation with my Gay Dutch informant, she admitted that she had worked on Ascension Day, a day when generally NO Dutch person works. She then stated that it was her decision that since she had no time to do that work any other day, God would understand and approve. It is impossible to stereotype the Plain Dutch sects; they are made up of individuals whose wants and desires are not too different from the rest of mankind. Their methods and set of values may not be the same as ours, and they may not be uniform even among their own Order.

Unfamiliar with the plain people, many Gay Dutch people could not understand how the plain people can live without certain domestic conveniences. First of all there is either a water-wheel or windmill on the farm that is without electricity. Through the power produced by one of these machines, water is pumped from a well to a storage tank. From the tank it flows into the house by gravity. Upon reaching the house the water line may feed into a smaller tank, and also terminate at a cold-water faucet at the kitchen sink. Water feeding into the smaller tank is then piped to a wood or coal kitchen range where it is heated. Heated water is then piped back from the stove to the original tank where the heated water is stored. From the hot water tank, water can then be tapped for washing, etc.

Electricity is a by-product of the modern world, but natural gas comes from the earth and therefore can be used by the Mennonites. Many homes have bottled gas which is used for lighting the house, cooking ranges and also refrigeration. The natural gas lamps give a bright glow, almost equal to electricity. If a Mennonite woman has a gas range, new or old, it will be black and not the fancy porcelain white. Women that have both a gas stove and an old-fashioned coal range, often use both with no actual preference.

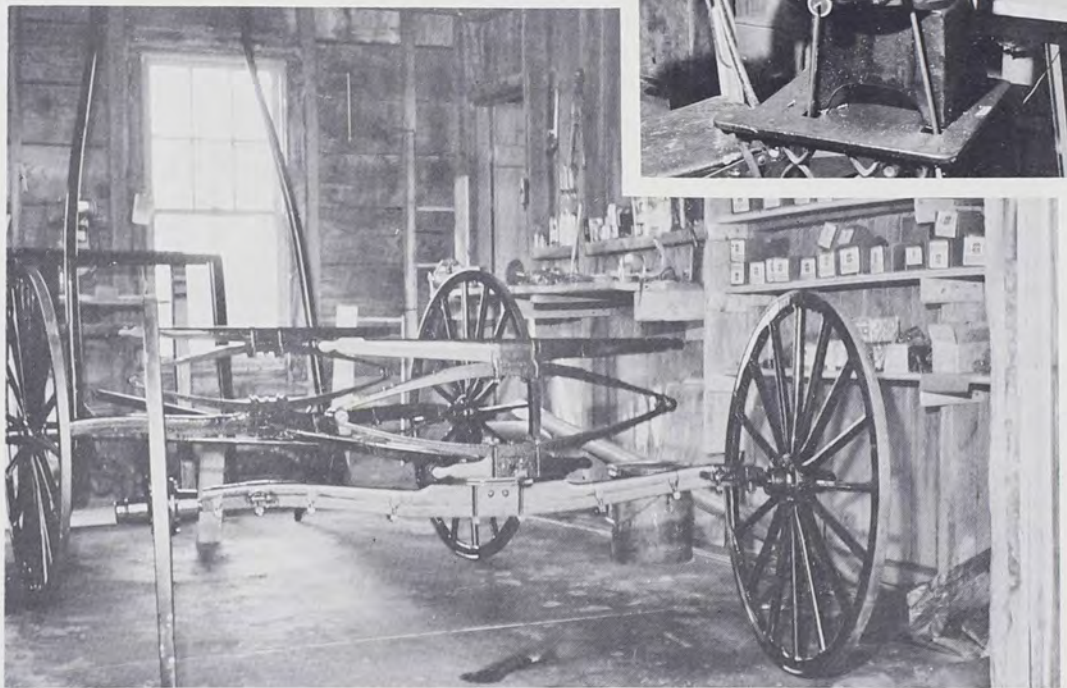
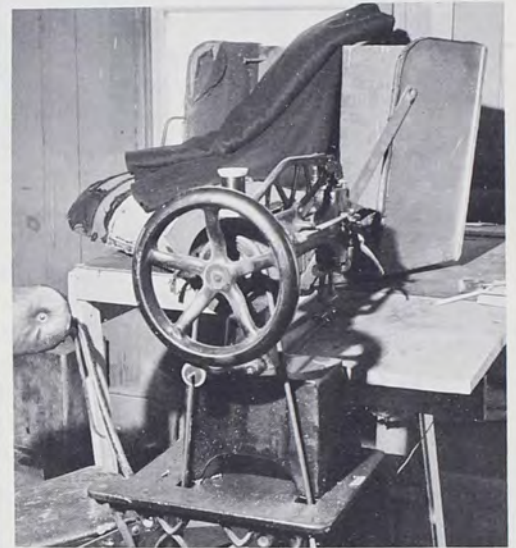
Most plain people's kitchens are very large and accommodate an equally large dinner table. There are many kitchen cabinets for cooking utensils, but the cabinets are made simple, and are of natural varnished wood. The old-fashioned iron-made kitchen range is usually the only source of heat. Lined up on benches, or hanging on the kitchen wall are several gasoline lanterns which are used at night to take care of the chores on the farm. Of all the rooms in the house the kitchen is the most important and the most used. With





*Family Carriage  
of the Old Order  
Mennonites.*

*Sewing Machine for  
Carriage Upholstery.*



*Interior of Mennonite  
Carriage Shop, Kutz-  
town.*

large families going back and forth from the out-buildings and the kitchen, it is very hard for the women of the household to keep the kitchen clean. Upon entering a Mennonite woman's kitchen, she will almost always say, "You may come in if you don't scare!" Considering the rural kitchens of America, and the number in the family, the Plain Dutch are somewhat immaculate.

The Mennonite family is quite large, ranging from one or two offspring to as many as sixteen. Certainly boys are looked upon as a blessing for the help needed on the farm, but daughters also are of importance, and justly so. Wives generally give birth to their children on the farmstead, with or without the aid of a doctor or midwife. On occasions a doctor is called for, but it is becoming difficult to get a doctor to make such house calls in the 20th Century. Children are

given typical Plain Dutch names—Aaron, Amos, Ezra, Isaac, Ammon; and for girls; Rachel, Emma, Esther, Ruth, Anna. The child takes on his mother's maiden name for his middle name, and thus families are easily traced. Children are an integral part of the farm operation and help as soon as they are able. Girls learn the domestic arts very quickly, and take pride in their quilting, needle work and embroidery. Boys help with the farm work according to their capabilities, and the older boys help in the stripping of tobacco.

Some Mennonite women, in addition to the necessary household work, find a little time to grow plants, do quilting and other domestic hobbies. Men generally do not have any leisure time, but find some time to read newspapers, attend public sales, and perhaps write a few letters. The only link many families have with the outside world, is that which



is provided them when they hitch up the family carriage and drive into town. Most of the families buy their foodstuffs at Kutztown, and other local stores. The women love to go to the dry-goods store to pick up cloth for sewing, etc. There is no plain clothes dealer in Kutztown, so that on occasion the Mennonites must drive down to Lancaster to buy hats, coats, etc. It takes, on the average, four hours to travel to Lancaster County from Kutztown by horse. In order to escape the congested traffic, many journeys are begun before sun-up. Although the Mennonites enjoy going down to Lancaster, the distance is too great to permit it frequently, and therefore they buy the majority of their goods at Kutztown. In order to accommodate the Mennonite customers some Kutztown stores have provided iron rings for them to tie their horse and buggy.

As a young settlement, the Mennonites are continually building. Quite often there are barn-raising, and also barns being torn down. It is not uncommon for the plain people to buy a barn, carefully take it apart, and skillfully erect the same barn at another location. In some instances barns or tobacco sheds are erected on the middle of a farm, a good distance from the rest of the farm plant. The reason for this is that the father on that farm expects to eventually subdivide the farm into more than one. He will divide the farm according to the size farms he thinks is necessary for his sons to make a living on in the future. A barn-raising is not only work, but it provides an opportunity for the Order to assemble together. Depending where the barn raising is, the members will either drive there in spring wagons, or be driven there in an auto. During the past few years a Gay Dutchman with a large station-wagon has made it a habit to drive the Mennonites around to such events for a regular fee.

Young folks are given an opportunity to socialize at the "Sing". About twice a month the young teenage children gather at one of their Plain Dutch neighbors, and have a song fest. The "Sing" is almost always held on a Saturday night and lasts from about eight to ten in the evening. From miles around the young Mennonites of courting age would drive to the host's home in their courting buggies. Songs are sung in both German and English. After several rounds of singing, the youth will engage in dancing and playing games. Their most popular games are: Shoot the Buffalo, Skating West, Sally the Miller, and the Needle's Eye. Actually their games are more akin to barn dancing. Formal square-dancing as such is not done by Mennonite groups. Most sets have more than four couples, and the dancing is less standardized. Besides the "Sing" there are quilting parties and also ice-cream parties which are attended by the young. Since the Penn Valley settlement began, more than one couple has been married here and are now starting their families in the valley.

Mennonite craftsmanship is very fine, and often clever. With the horse-drawn vehicle their only link with the outside world, there was a need to have a carriage shop at Kutztown. Walter Zimmerman, a young member of the group, had been working at a carriage shop at Bowmansville. He therefore took orders for buggies from his neighbors, and when there was a great enough demand, established a carriage shop. Located on the outskirts of Kutztown, Walt has a small shop where he can manufacture and repair buggies. Since he is not yet engaged in the shop full time, he continues to work at the Bowmansville shop and also does some farming. On occasion he may buy the frames to buggies in Lancaster, and complete them in the Kutztown shop. Wheels for the buggies and carriages are bought from West Chester, the city that

supplies almost all the Plain Dutch with wooden wheels. When a buggy has been built and is ready to be painted, the top part is given as many as eleven coats of primer and enamel. After the buggy has been outfitted with battery-operated lamps,<sup>7</sup> covered with green felt and canvas, it is a masterpiece of craftsmanship. The courting buggies (open buggies) are often decorated by the young lads with red reflector tape. A typical Mennonite family carriage sells in the Order for about \$650. Work for both the Gay Dutch and Plain Dutch is done at the Kutztown carriage shop.

Next to the carriage shop, the harness shop is probably just as important. Operated by Ivan Leid, the shop offers a wide assortment of harness and harness accessories. Working on an old-time saddler's bench, Ivan can make harness for ponies or large workhorses. Many of the Mennonite families have ponies and pony-carts for the younger children. As a result of his fine work, people come from far and near to have leather sewn or repaired.

Mennonites are not afraid of work and do many small jobs by themselves. Once in awhile one member may ask another to shrink his buggy wheels, but many are self-reliant. About the only task which is not tackled by the community, is that of having their horses shod. In most cases Gay Dutch blacksmiths are hired to shoe the horses.

The key to the success of the Penn Valley settlement is to be found in the solidarity of both the family and Church, and their ability to remain separated from the modern world. Pre-school children do not speak anything else but Pennsylvania Dutch prior to going to school, and are not influenced by the English-speaking world. After being educated for eight years in a one-room schoolhouse, the children are again brought back to the solidarity of the farm. With a limited scope of the vast world in which they live, they are not tempted to leave the Order, and go about the plain life which is so very familiar to them. Living in the Gay Dutch capital of Pennsylvania, the Plain Mennonites are certainly more influenced by the modern world than they were in Lancaster County. Whether or not the Penn Valley settlement will resist change, accept some acculturation, or become more modern, only time will tell.

<sup>7</sup> Electric lamps are mandated on Plain Dutch vehicles by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, but vehicles operated in daylight are not required to have lights.



*Some buggies are decorated by their teen-age owners with reflector tape (arrows).*





*Courting Buggy and winter-blanketed horse parked at 20th Century barbed-wire fence.*

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37. Eli & Anna (Stauffer) Weaver.
38. Elmer & Elizabeth (Burkholder) Weaver; Arlene, Leon, Lewis.
39. Harvey & Lizzie (Shirk) Weaver; Eli, Noah, Alta, Luke, Ellen, Sara, Adam, Elmer, Martha.
40. Jason & Alma (Ringler) Weaver (Deacon); Pauline, Anna, Daniel, Eugene, Vera.
41. John & Edna (Burkholder) Weaver; James, Esther, Laura, Annetta, Anna Mae, Ruth Ann, Edna Jane, John.
42. Edwin & Annie (Hoover) Zimmerman; Lizzie, Martha, Anna, Ammon, Melvin, Harvey, Rachel, Annetta, Edwin, Glen.
43. Irwin & Mabel (Zimmerman) Zimmerman; Michel Lee, Nathan Leroy, Philip Lester, Ruth Elaine.
44. Moses & Ella (Leid) Zimmerman; Mabel, Lester, Anna, Ella, Mary, Walter, Ivan, John, Edward, Emma, Moses, Harold, Alma, Verna, Elam, Paul.
45. Rufus & Esther (Snyder) Zimmerman; Leon, James.



# Pennsylvania



**SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1965**

**STAGE PROGRAM**

12:00-12:30	Heidelberg Polka Band	5:00- 5:30	Snake Lore
12:30- 1:00	Food Specialties at the Festival	5:30- 6:00	Heidelberg Polka Band
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts	6:00- 6:30	Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art
1:30- 2:00	The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb	6:30- 7:00	Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country
2:00- 2:30	Dutch Funeral Lore	7:00- 7:30	Dutch Farm, Weather & Garden Lore
2:30- 4:00	Major Folk Festival presentation: Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch (see program page 37)	7:30- 9:00	Major Folk Festival presentation: Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch (see program page 37)
4:00- 4:30	"Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist	9:00-11:00	Free for All Square Dancing on Folk Festival Commons
4:30- 5:00	Easter and Christmas Lore		

**OTHER EVENTS**

Hanging	11:30 a.m. & 3:30 p.m.	Gallows
Amish Wedding	12:30 p.m. & 4:30 p.m.	Green Chair
Dutch Witchcraft & Trial	1:30 p.m. & 5:30 p.m.	Trial stage
Dutch Medicine Show	2:30 p.m. & 6:30 p.m.	Medicine stage
Slaughtering & Butchering	11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Butcher shop
Children's Games	12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons
Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations	1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons





# 5th Annual Dutch Folk Festival

**GRAM**  
1965, Kutztown, Pa.

SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1965

## STAGE PROGRAM

12:00-12:30	Heidelberg Polka Band	5:30- 6:00	Snake Lore
12:30- 1:00	Food Specialties at the Festival	6:00- 6:30	Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts	6:30- 7:00	Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country
1:30- 2:00	The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb	7:00- 7:30	Dutch Farm, Weather & Garden Lore
2:00- 2:30	Dutch Funeral Lore	7:30- 9:00	Major Folk Festival presentation: Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch (see program page 37)
2:30- 4:00	Major Folk Festival presentation: Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch (see program page 37)	9:00-11:00	Free for All Square Dancing on Folk Festival Commons
4:00- 5:00	Carbon County Musiganders		
5:00- 5:30	"Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist		

## OTHER EVENTS

Hanging	11:30 a.m. & 3:30 p.m.	Gallows
Amish Wedding	12:30 p.m. & 4:30 p.m.	Green Chair
Dutch Witchcraft & Trial	1:30 p.m. & 5:30 p.m.	Trial stage
Dutch Medicine Show	2:30 p.m. & 6:30 p.m.	Medicine stage
Slaughtering & Butchering	11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Butcher shop
Children's Games	12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons
Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations	1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons





## MONDAY, JULY 5, 1965

### STAGE PROGRAM

<p>12:00-12:30 Heidelberg Polka Band          12:30- 1:00 Food Specialties at the Festival          1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts          1:30- 2:00 The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb          2:00- 2:30 Dutch Funeral Lore          2:30- 4:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          4:00- 4:30 "Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist          4:30- 5:00 Easter and Christmas Lore</p>	<p>5:00- 5:30 Snake Lore          5:30- 6:00 Heidelberg Polka Band          6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art          6:30- 7:00 Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country          7:00- 7:30 Dutch Farm, Weather &amp; Garden Lore          7:30- 9:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          9:00-11:00 Free for All Square Dancing          on Folk Festival Commons</p>
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### OTHER EVENTS

<p>Hanging          Amish Wedding          Dutch Witchcraft &amp; Trial          Dutch Medicine Show          Slaughtering &amp; Butchering          Children's Games          Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations</p>	<p>11:30 a.m. &amp; 3:30 p.m.          12:30 p.m. &amp; 4:30 p.m.          1:30 p.m. &amp; 5:30 p.m.          2:30 p.m. &amp; 6:30 p.m.          11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.          12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.          1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.</p>	<p>Gallows          Green Chair          Trial stage          Medicine stage          Butcher shop          Folk Festival Commons          Folk Festival Commons</p>
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## TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1965

### STAGE PROGRAM

<p>12:00-12:30 Heidelberg Polka Band          12:30- 1:00 Food Specialties at the Festival          1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts          1:30- 2:00 The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb          2:00- 2:30 Dutch Funeral Lore          2:30- 4:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          4:00- 4:30 "Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist          4:30- 5:00 Easter and Christmas Lore</p>	<p>5:00- 5:30 Snake Lore          5:30- 6:00 Heidelberg Polka Band          6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art          6:30- 7:00 Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country          7:00- 7:30 Dutch Farm, Weather &amp; Garden Lore          7:30- 9:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          9:00-11:00 Free for All Square Dancing          on Folk Festival Commons</p>
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### OTHER EVENTS

<p>Hanging          Amish Wedding          Dutch Witchcraft &amp; Trial          Dutch Medicine Show          Slaughtering &amp; Butchering          Children's Games          Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations</p>	<p>11:30 a.m. &amp; 3:30 p.m.          12:30 p.m. &amp; 4:30 p.m.          1:30 p.m. &amp; 5:30 p.m.          2:30 p.m. &amp; 6:30 p.m.          11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.          12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.          1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.</p>	<p>Gallows          Green Chair          Trial stage          Medicine stage          Butcher shop          Folk Festival Commons          Folk Festival Commons</p>
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## WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 1965

### STAGE PROGRAM

<p>12:00-12:30 Heidelberg Polka Band          12:30- 1:00 Food Specialties at the Festival          1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts          1:30- 2:00 The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb          2:00- 2:30 Dutch Funeral Lore          2:30- 4:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          4:00- 4:30 "Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist          4:30- 5:00 Easter and Christmas Lore</p>		<p>5:00- 5:30 Snake Lore          5:30- 6:00 Heidelberg Polka Band          6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art          6:30- 7:00 Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country          7:00- 7:30 Dutch Farm, Weather &amp; Garden Lore          7:30- 9:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          9:00-11:00 Free for All Square Dancing          on Folk Festival Commons</p>
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### OTHER EVENTS

Hanging	11:30 a.m. & 3:30 p.m.	Gallows
Amish Wedding	12:30 p.m. & 4:30 p.m.	Green Chair
Dutch Witchcraft & Trial	1:30 p.m. & 5:30 p.m.	Trial stage
Dutch Medicine Show	2:30 p.m. & 6:30 p.m.	Medicine stage
Slaughtering & Butchering	11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Butcher shop
Children's Games	12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons
Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations	1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons

## THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1965

### STAGE PROGRAM

<p>12:00-12:30 Heidelberg Polka Band          12:30- 1:00 Food Specialties at the Festival          1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts          1:30- 2:00 The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb          2:00- 2:30 Dutch Funeral Lore          2:30- 4:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          4:00- 4:30 "Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist          4:30- 5:00 Easter and Christmas Lore</p>		<p>5:00- 5:30 Snake Lore          5:30- 6:00 Heidelberg Polka Band          6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art          6:30- 7:00 Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country          7:00- 7:30 Dutch Farm, Weather &amp; Garden Lore          7:30- 9:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          9:00-11:00 Free for All Square Dancing          on Folk Festival Commons</p>
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### OTHER EVENTS

Hanging	11:30 a.m. & 3:30 p.m.	Gallows
Amish Wedding	12:30 p.m. & 4:30 p.m.	Green Chair
Dutch Witchcraft & Trial	1:30 p.m. & 5:30 p.m.	Trial stage
Dutch Medicine Show	2:30 p.m. & 6:30 p.m.	Medicine stage
Slaughtering & Butchering	11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Butcher shop
Children's Games	12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons
Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations	1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Folk Festival Commons





## FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1965

### STAGE PROGRAM

<p>12:00-12:30 Heidelberg Polka Band          12:30- 1:00 Food Specialties at the Festival          1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts          1:30- 2:00 The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb          2:00- 2:30 Dutch Funeral Lore          2:30- 4:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          4:00- 4:30 "Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist          4:30- 5:00 Easter and Christmas Lore</p>		<p>5:00- 5:30 Snake Lore          5:30- 6:00 Heidelberg Polka Band          6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art          6:30- 7:00 Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country          7:00- 7:30 Dutch Farm, Weather &amp; Garden Lore          7:30- 9:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          9:00-11:00 Free for All Square Dancing          on Folk Festival Commons</p>
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### OTHER EVENTS

<p>Hanging          Amish Wedding          Dutch Witchcraft &amp; Trial          Dutch Medicine Show          Slaughtering &amp; Butchering          Children's Games          Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations</p>	<p>11:30 a.m. &amp; 3:30 p.m.          12:30 p.m. &amp; 4:30 p.m.          1:30 p.m. &amp; 5:30 p.m.          2:30 p.m. &amp; 6:30 p.m.          11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.          12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.          1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.</p>	<p>Gallows          Green Chair          Trial stage          Medicine stage          Butcher shop          Folk Festival Commons          Folk Festival Commons</p>
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## SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1965

### STAGE PROGRAM

<p>12:00-12:30 Heidelberg Polka Band          12:30- 1:00 Food Specialties at the Festival          1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Handicrafts          1:30- 2:00 The "Horse and Buggy Dutch" and their Garb          2:00- 2:30 Dutch Funeral Lore          2:30- 4:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          4:00- 4:30 "Professor" Schnitzel, Dutch Humorist          4:30- 5:00 Easter and Christmas Lore</p>		<p>5:00- 5:30 Snake Lore          5:30- 6:00 Heidelberg Polka Band          6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art          6:30- 7:00 Horse shoeing in the Dutch Country          7:00- 7:30 Dutch Farm, Weather &amp; Garden Lore          7:30- 9:00 Major Folk Festival presentation:          Panoramic Pageant of the Plain Dutch          (see program page 37)          9:00-11:00 Free for All Square Dancing          on Folk Festival Commons</p>
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### OTHER EVENTS

<p>Hanging          Amish Wedding          Dutch Witchcraft &amp; Trial          Dutch Medicine Show          Slaughtering &amp; Butchering          Children's Games          Hoedown and Jigging Demonstrations</p>	<p>11:30 a.m. &amp; 3:30 p.m.          12:30 p.m. &amp; 4:30 p.m.          1:30 p.m. &amp; 5:30 p.m.          2:30 p.m. &amp; 6:30 p.m.          11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.          12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.          1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.</p>	<p>Gallows          Green Chair          Trial stage          Medicine stage          Butcher shop          Folk Festival Commons          Folk Festival Commons</p>
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# MEN OF ONE MASTER

"Men of One Master" is an epic of the Pennsylvania Amish struggle to survive.

**Written and Directed by Brad Smoker**

**Music by Glen Morgan**

The musical numbers in quotes.

**Scene One: An Amish Church Service**

"Gonna Find That Freedom Land"

Gregorian Chant

You are eavesdropping upon an Old Order Amish Church service. The hymns of praise and martyrdom chanted by the congregation date back to 16th Century Europe where they had their origin in the Gregorian Latin Chants.

**Scene Two: The Origin of the Men and their Ideas**

Their beginning was another land, a much earlier land—Europe 1650—in the ideas of Menno Simon and Jacob Ammen.

**Scene Three: Penn's Land Settlement.**

The Amish hear William Penn and follow his dream to a Freedom land.

"The Land Is God's Land"

"Seven Sweets and Seven Sours"

"Bundling by the Blue Gate."

**Scene Four: An Amish Wedding and Frolic**

"Vexed With A Hex"

**Scene Five: The School Controversy**

Let the children be educated to the earth.

"What Is A Man"

**Scene Six: Market Day and A Hope of Tomorrow**

"The Much Dutch Touch"

Finale: "Where Can We Go From Here"

**ABOUT THE AUTHORS:**

Mr. Smoker is a theatre graduate of Syracuse University and an independent producer of The By Hex Playhouse. He is also author of a symphonic drama about James Buchanan, *The Bachelor President*.

Mr. Morgan has a doctorate of music from Indiana University and is presently head of the music department of Lycoming College. Many of his compositions have had symphony presentation across the U.S.

*The history of the Amish in Europe, the ideas and concepts of their religion, their mode of life, the church service and its music—all of these are authentic. Although the young Amish dance at their Sunday evening frolics, we have supplemented our accurate information of the Amish with choreographed dances and background music for their pageantry values of spectacle. We do not believe this will divert from the honesty of information portrayed about the Amish.—Brad Smoker.*





*FREE FOR ALL*  
**Square Dancing**  
FOLK FESTIVAL COMMONS  
Afternoons and Evenings  
*1:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.*

**Children's Games**  
FOLK FESTIVAL COMMONS  
Everyday  
*12:00 to 5:00 o'clock*

**NEXT YEAR'S**

*17th ANNUAL*

**Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival**  
**Kutztown, Pennsylvania**  
**JULY 2-9, 1966**



# Festival Highlights

Photographs taken at the 15th Annual  
Pennsylvania Dutch Festival, 1964.



*Participants in Brad Smoker's Pageant of Amish Life, "Men of One Master."*



*Dr. Phares Hertzog,  
lifelong naturalist,  
demonstrates  
Pennsylvania snake lore  
to skeptical festival  
visitor.*



*The Heidelberg Polka Band provides festival tunes throughout festival week.*

## Festival Highlights







*Grandmother Mabel Snyder of Temple teaches her granddaughter how to boil lye soap, Pennsylvania Dutch style.*

41



*Carrie Lambert Serving "Mush," a staple food found on every Pennsylvania Dutch table in the 19th Century.*



# Festival Highlights



*Champion Hoedown Teams demonstrating Dutch Country variations on 19th Century American dance techniques.*



*From the hanging of Susanna Cox in Reading in 1809—reenacted daily at the festival—came the most popular ballad ever sung in Pennsylvania, "The Sad and Mournful Tale of Susanna Cox." Johnny Brendel at the microphone.*



*William B. Yeakel, farmer and hymnsinger from the Lehigh Hills.*





*Participants in Brad Smoker's Pageant of Amish Life, "Men of One Master."*

## — THE FESTIVAL AND ITS SPONSORSHIP —

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation. Purpose of the Society is three-fold: collecting the lore of the Dutch Country; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public both in this country and abroad. All proceeds from the Festival are used to further these goals.

The offices of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society are located at 218 W. Main Street, in Kutztown, Pennsylvania. Directors are Dr. Don Yoder, Mark R. Eaby, Jr., and Thomas E. Harting.

AN INVITATION to become a subscriber to the Society's periodical, PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE. (Subscription \$4.00 a year; single copies \$1.00 each.) Now in the sixteenth year, PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October. Each issue appears in a colored cover, with 48 pages-or-more of text, and is profusely illustrated.

Subjects covered include: architecture, cookery, costume, customs of the year, folk art and antiques, folk dancing, folk medicine, folk literature, folk religion, folk speech, home-making lore, recreation, superstitions, traditional farm and craft practices, and transportation lore.



# Festival Highlights



*Festival Crowds enjoy Dutch cookery, served farm family style by adept cooks from the nearby Dutch churches. Pass that chicken, please!*



*Contemporary  
photographs  
by Amos Long, Jr.*



*Dan Naftzinger shows his ice harvesting equipment. Note saw's handles (left), seat, and saw (right); ice jabber, held in hand, and spike pole, lying on plow.*

*This is the way  
ice-plow was ridden.*



# The ICE-HOUSE In Pennsylvania

By AMOS LONG, JR.

In the past the harvesting and storage of ice was an important annual event in rural Pennsylvania. To some of the men it meant an opportunity to earn additional wages over the winter months and to the older boys the chore provided a reason for absence from school while they helped to fill the ice-house with the heavy square or oblong blocks of ice.

The *Lebanon Courier* on January 11, 1882, carried the following reports: "The ice teams (in Fredericksburg) were busy hauling ice from Grove's Dam. The ice is over five inches thick." "Last week (in Myerstown) nearly all the ice houses in town were filled with ice four inches thick, taken from Miller's Dam, east of town. Some twenty-five persons were engaged for several days in cutting, hauling and storing it."

During earlier years there were few structures more necessary to most farmers than a good ice-house. In an article appearing in the January 27, 1855, issue of the *Lancaster Inland Weekly* concerning ice-houses, the following statement is found: ". . . the ice house with many farmers is considered almost as necessary as the wood house or the barn."

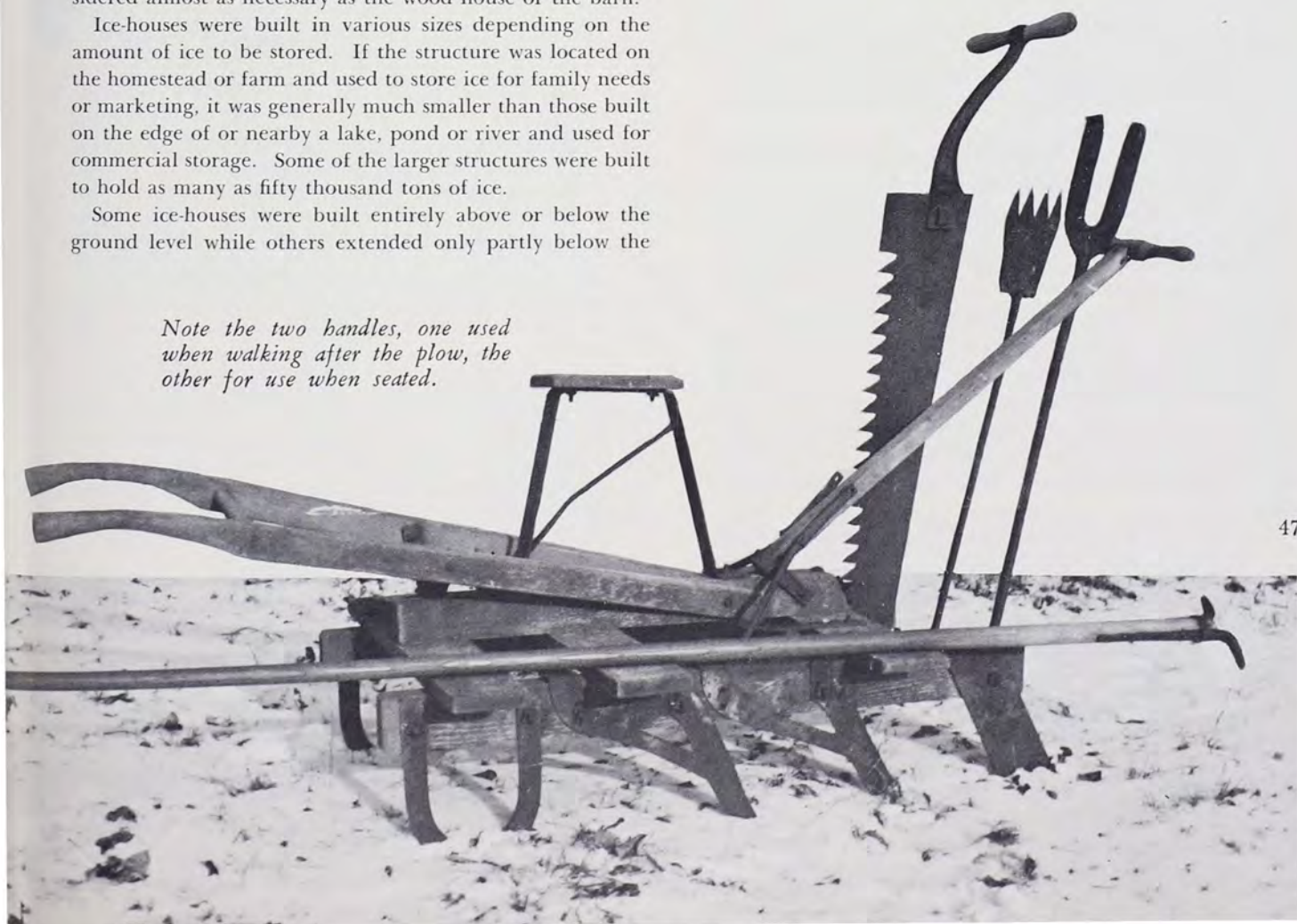
Ice-houses were built in various sizes depending on the amount of ice to be stored. If the structure was located on the homestead or farm and used to store ice for family needs or marketing, it was generally much smaller than those built on the edge of or nearby a lake, pond or river and used for commercial storage. Some of the larger structures were built to hold as many as fifty thousand tons of ice.

Some ice-houses were built entirely above or below the ground level while others extended only partly below the

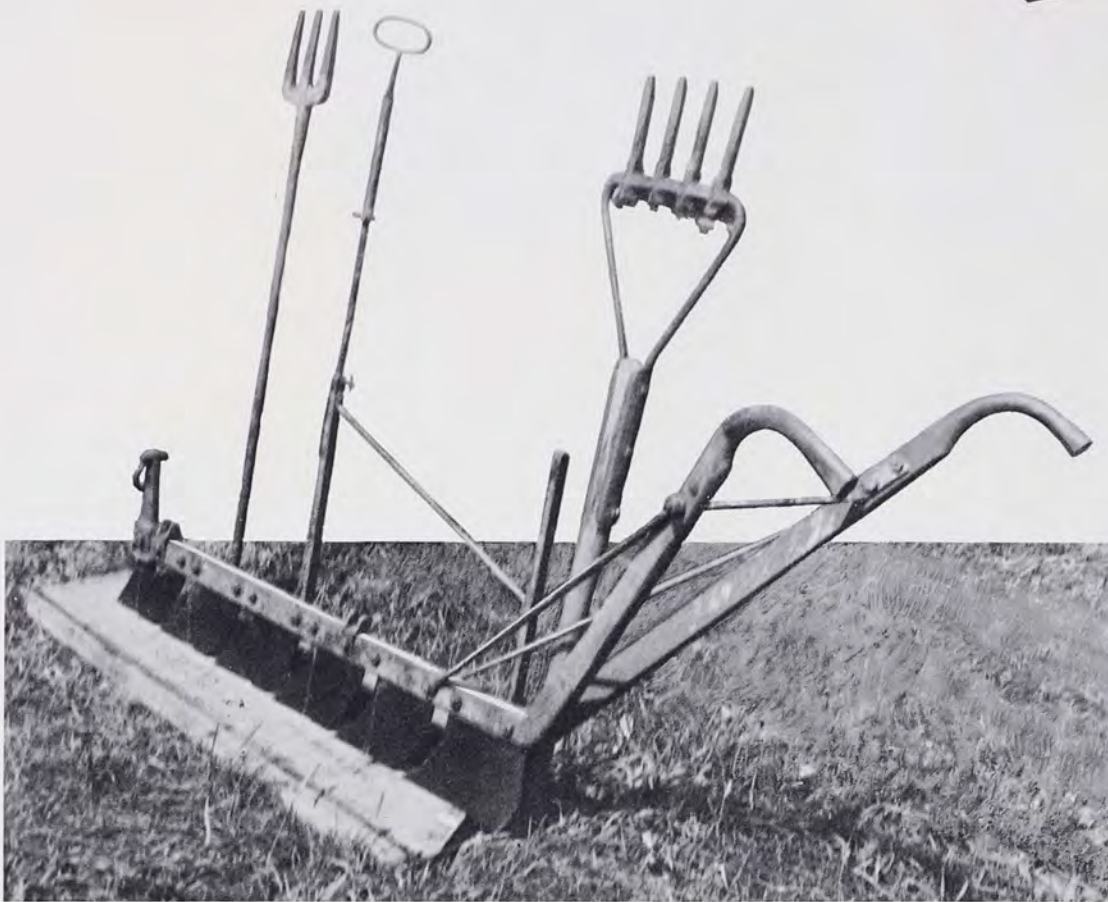
surface. Those constructed entirely below ground level were referred to as ice-cellars. Most frequently ice-houses were built somewhat out of sight and when possible in a wooded or shaded area. Most of the informants whom the writer contacted and who had experience with ice-houses, felt that a wooden structure, built in a wooded area, partly beneath the ground surface, served its purpose better than any other type.

Most of the family-type ice-houses were small wooden structures constructed with wide, hardwood boards with battens covering the openings between. Several informants told of temporary structures in which poles were dug into the ground and rough boards and the battens nailed on the inside against the poles so that the ice and sawdust when packed against them would not force the boards outward as readily. The walls of the cellar were constructed of wood,

*Note the two handles, one used when walking after the plow, the other for use when seated.*







The "Ice King"—Eight-inch Walking Ice-Plow, manufactured by W. T. Wood & Co., Arlington, Massachusetts.



Illustration of Ice-Saw.

stone or brick. In fewer instances the entire structure was built of masonry. Roofs were adapted to the type of building; most of them having a gable, hip, or less frequently a cylindrical design.

In a description of ice-houses given in the *Lancaster Inland Weekly*<sup>1</sup> the following requirements are given: ". . . there must be a space of one foot between the walls and the earth behind them, to fill with tanners' bark, straw or leaves, to act as a nonconductor, for the protection of the ice. A cellar nine feet square and nine feet deep will contain about twenty-seven carloads of ice, enough for a large family . . . the walls may be made of timber cut in a wood lot and laid up in the common cob-house fashion or in the way in which the pioneers of new settlements erect their log cabins."

A correspondent of the *Lewisburg Chronicle*, over the signature of "A Dutch Farmer," gives the following simple and cheap plan of making an ice-house for farm and family use:

"Two years ago I built an ice house by digging about two feet in the ground and pulling the earth around so as to keep the air out when finished; then put a frame over it, sixteen feet by twelve feet, the posts eight inches thick, boarded with inch boards and filled with tan; a floor on top, about twelve inches of tan on that, and then a middling steep shed roof with boards. I had a partition of boards made through the short way, cutting off five feet for a milk-house and leaving the ice house eleven feet by twelve feet and ten feet deep.

<sup>1</sup> "Ice Houses," *Inland Weekly*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, January 27, 1855.

"There is a door two and one-half feet square on the north side near the upper floor, to fill the ice in. The ice is cut into blocks as big as can be handled easily, and some broke fine to fill in and around the sides. I put no straw around the sides, but fill it as tight as I can, and then shut it up till in April or May, when it has melted away from the sides about three or four inches; then I put sawdust on top, about four inches thick and let it run down the sides, to cover the ice all over with sawdust.

"We had plenty of ice till winter, after using it the whole summer through. In hay and harvest, we take a can of water, throw in a chunk of ice, and take it to the field; this will keep cool half a day, and if there are a good many hands, we take some chunks of ice along in the morning to the field, wrapt up in flannel, and that will keep all day; then whenever we get a can of water, we throw in a piece of ice—and in this way we have cool water all day.

"The whole cost of my ice house and milk house did not exceed forty dollars and I would not do without one for five times the cost."<sup>2</sup>

Near the larger cities, more durable, double-walled, barn-like structures, used for commercial storage, were erected along the rivers and lakes to house the ice. These large barns were divided into rooms twenty to forty feet square

<sup>2</sup> "A Cheap Ice House," *Gazette and Democrat*, Reading, Pennsylvania, February 16, 1850.





*Ice-cutting days in 19th Century America. Drawing by Walter W. Calvert, Courtesy of the Farm Journal.*

and the ice was stored in a similar manner as in the smaller houses. The ice was then brought into the city, loaded on barges or railroad cars during the summer months. Some of these large structures are still in existence and are being used to grow mushrooms or for storage purposes.

In constructing a more permanent type ice-house, usually six or eight-inch studs are used, sheathed on both sides, and the area between filled with sawdust to form the sides of the structure. One informant told of nailing two by four inch studs, about two feet apart, vertically upon the outside sheathing. These studs were also sheathed with clapboards which formed an air space around the entire building. This space was left open at the top and bottom and allowed the air as it became heated by the sun's rays to pass up through the space and out at the top.

A ceiling was constructed at the level of the horizontal beams and the area above insulated with sawdust similar to the side walls. Some of the larger structures had louvers placed at each end of the building beneath the roof to provide the necessary ventilation for the space between the ceiling and the roof. Some had additional ventilators built on the roof.

The earth itself formed the best floor. If the soil was sandy, the water from the melted ice was easily absorbed. If the floor of the ice-house consisted of a dense, clayey loam, which tends to hold water, other absorbent material was required or the ice would not keep. Several informants told of covering the floor with as many as eighteen inches of insulating material. Together the sawdust and earth absorbed the water, which resulted from the melting ice. However, regardless of the type of soil, insulation or absorbent mate-

rial, there was always some water. Although some of the large ice-houses had one or more traps placed in the floor to catch the water, it usually was not a good practice because it frequently allowed air to reach the ice and caused it to melt more rapidly in that area. Whenever possible it was important to prevent the access of air.

Usually a bitter cold day was selected to lift the ice from a nearby body of water. When the weather was so cold that the snow glittered and was like sand underfoot, when the ice could be lifted from the surface and the dripping water would freeze instantly, when the ice was smooth and dark, swept bare of all snow and twelve or more inches thick, the weather was perfect for cutting ice.

Although the cutters preferred to have the ice at least twelve inches thick for harvesting, sometimes it froze to only several inches depending on the weather and temperature. Some informants told of waiting for several days to harvest the ice hoping that it would get thicker only to have a warm spell arrive, resulting in no ice. Most informants agreed that it was best to harvest ice during the coldest months; if it got too late in the season, the ice became too wet and "rotten" as one "old timer" referred to it.

After the ice was from six to twelve inches thick the harvesting began. Upon arrival at the scene, the men trudged or rode across the ice with their saws, axes, and other equipment to the middle or other edge of the water. If there was snow on the surface, some of the crew scraped it off. In some instances, one of the men, usually with a horse-drawn ice-plow or scorer, marked off along the length and breadth of the surface. The guide marks were made in reasonably straight lines and determined the length and width of the



pieces. Generally when ice was cut on a small scale for family use, it involved mostly hand work with the use of few if any mechanical devices.

After the scoring was done, a hole or section of ice was chopped free, and the broken pieces removed, leaving an area of open water. Some of the older boys or men then positioned themselves at the edge of the opening, lowered a big-toothed cross-cut saw into the water and began to saw out the blocks of ice by hand much as wood is sawed. Side by side they sawed through the guide marks. With an axe or saw the ice was cut across and a block of ice rose and floated free.

The saw, similar to the wood-saw, had a long, narrow blade with a wooden handle at the end. In later years when ice was harvested on a larger scale, a power saw frequently replaced the hand saw.

As more ice was cut to the desired lengths, the blocks were pushed along the resulting channel of dark, icy water with long spike poles to the opening. The blocks of ice were then picked up with large, metal ice-tongs, loaded on the horse-drawn sled or wagon and hauled to the ice-house. When the ice-house was used for commercial storage and located beside or near the water's edge, as it frequently was, the ice was guided through the channel or opening toward the chute and immediately packed inside the ice-house.

When the ice had to be transported for storage and the ground was covered with snow, a sturdy sled was used. After the sled was loaded, the horses could be seen and heard trotting briskly, collar bells jingling, steel runners squeaking on the hard packed snow, hauling the loads to the ice-house. If the ground was bare, a heavy wagon was used instead. Both sled and wagon were generally drawn by two sturdy horses or mules. The person in charge of transporting also helped to load and unload.

Before the ice was stored in the ice-house, usually three to six inches of sawdust, which had previously been hauled from a nearby sawmill and piled on a mound inside or just outside the door of the ice-house, were spread over the floor with a shovel and the first layer of ice was laid on top leaving about six inches of space between the ice and the walls which was also filled with sawdust. If the ice-house had an air space around the exterior of the entire structure, the ice was placed nearer to the inside wall. The type and structure of the building largely determined how far from the walls and how much packing to use as insulation. The better the building was constructed the less insulating space was required.

The blocks of ice were generally laid about three inches apart, frequently less because it was found the nearer the ice formed a solid mass, the more could be stored and the better it would keep. Approximately forty-five cubic feet of space was allowed for each ton of ice to be stored.

Each crack and crevice was filled with sawdust and tamped down lightly with sticks or other narrow instruments. After the first tier of ice was placed, a layer of sawdust several inches thick was shoveled on top and well into the corners. Another layer of ice was placed on top of the sawdust; this was repeated until the ice-house was filled or as much was stored as wanted or needed. A smooth oak, or chestnut plank and a rope or chain hoist were usually used to get the blocks of ice into the lower area or up to the higher tiers as storage progressed. The sawdust placed between each layer served as an effective insulation and allowed the blocks of ice to be removed more easily.

After the sled was unloaded, it was returned to the ice-

bed for another load while some of the workers remained in the ice-house to spread the sawdust. Frequently if there were enough workers, there was more than one sled or wagon being used to haul the ice. While one sled or wagon was being unloaded at the ice-house, the other was at the source being loaded. Some of the informants told how fast and hard they worked to keep after but often before they finished covering the ice with sawdust, another load of ice had arrived.

Keeping warm inside the ice-house was usually no serious problem. With proper dress, protected hands and feet, the exercise of bending over and kneeling on the ice, pushing and packing the sawdust down into the cracks and crevices, and an occasional stimulant for some, the men were able to keep from getting too cold.

When the last load was brought in and put in place, and the last layer of sawdust shoveled into the space around the sides and spread in a deep layer over the top, the job was done. It usually took several days to a week or more to fill the larger ice-houses. Properly buried in the sawdust, the blocks of ice would not melt in the hottest summer weather and kept well into the fall if the ice-house was in good condition.

Ice was similarly kept in improvised cellars or in a portion of the cellar beneath the dwelling-house when only small quantities were needed by the family or if there was no ice-house. Some older folks told of storing ice beneath the barn floor. Sections of the floor were removed and the ice was buried in sawdust or other insulating material. Others told of storing ice beside the coldest stone wall inside the barn structure.

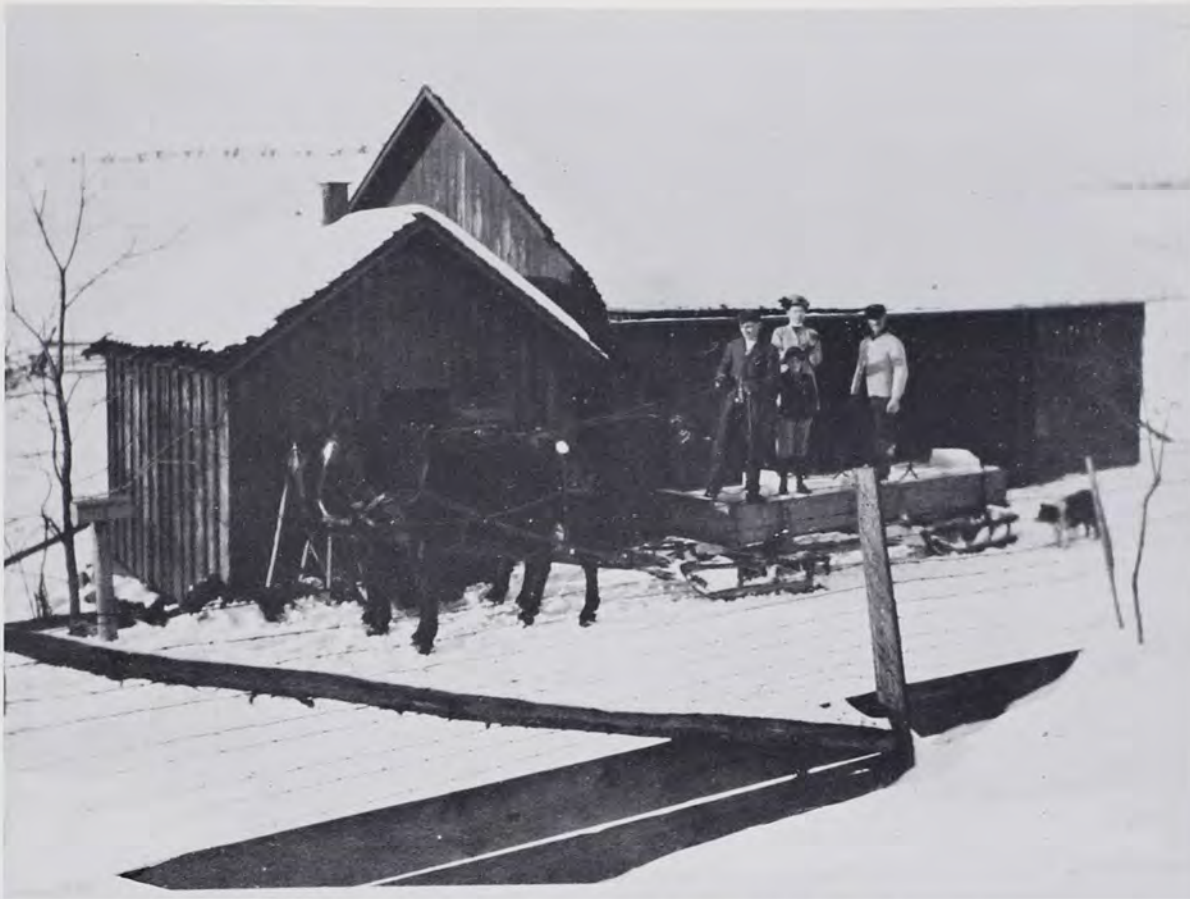
When sawdust was not available, straw chaff or hay leaves were used as insulation; although these materials did not provide the protection that sawdust did. Occasionally water was poured over the ice after it was packed, when the temperature was very cold. This consolidated the mass because of the water which froze solidly over it. This practice was not used too frequently because with proper care the ice kept well without resorting to this additional toil and sometimes loss. Proof of the effectiveness of the insulating material and method of storage was if the ice could be kept until late fall from the previous winter.

Ice-houses were also used for storage of foods. The *Lebanon Courier* of January 11, 1882, reported that "Jacob Basehore (in Fredricksburg) built a large ice house last fall. He intends to store eggs in the same during the summer." From the *Reading Gazette and Democrat* of July 21, 1887: "To keep eggs for any length of time, they are usually packed in the best western oats in barrels and placed in ice houses. About seventy-five dozen are placed in a barrel. For shipment, eggs are usually placed in chaff, on account of being lighter than oats. Chaff draws dampness, and for this reason oats were used instead for storing away eggs."

Natural ice has been regarded by many as an expensive luxury through the years. It has been an important commodity and has contributed greatly in making us a healthier people. The *Lancaster Inland Weekly* previously cited, reads: "The use of ice, during the hot season, in the country, is only one among the many luxuries and comforts which have accumulated on the farmers' board since agricultural papers, periodicals and societies have given impetus to our agriculture."

If there was no spring-house or cool ground-cellar on the farm, ice was used to chill the water in the large milk-trough where the milk was kept in sizable crocks or cans until it was





*Filling the Ice-House. Photograph dated December 28, 1910,  
Collection of Dr. Berton E. Beck, from Lycoming County, Pennsylvania.*

gathered by or taken to the creamery. In the home, if ice was stored, it was dug out of the sawdust as it was needed and used to cool water, prepare iced drinks and make ice cream on hot summer days. Those families which were fortunate enough to have an ice-box during the latter part of the 19th and beginning of the 20th Centuries, before the time when artificial ice was easily obtained, frequently had an ice-house which was filled and used for this purpose.

Frequently ice-houses were maintained and large quantities of ice were used by creamery operators; particularly when making long shipments of milk and butter. Ice was used by hucksters in transporting produce to the markets, by the general store and hotel keeper for preserving foods and cooling drinks. Hospitals used large quantities of ice for general health protection. Morticians used ice for preserving the body before burial in the days when present methods of embalming had not yet been developed.

As the proper time of the year approached, many owners of ice-houses contacted men in the community who took on the task of cutting the ice and filling ice-houses on a custom basis. Generally the one in charge supervised the cutting and harvesting. He may have employed up to a dozen men for several months during the winter. It was their responsibility to help cut, harvest, haul, and pack the ice in the purchaser's ice-houses. After the ice was cut from the body of water, it froze again under proper weather conditions and the ice was cut again. This may have been repeated several times a year.

The ice was brought in from local creeks, rivers, and lakes. When there was no large, deep body of water nearby, some

communities and farmers constructed a dam partly for the purpose of supplying ice. This arrangement proved very practical because the water level of the dam could usually be raised several inches after the surface had frozen solid, allowing the layer of water on top to freeze. After the water level was raised several times, the ice was thick enough to cut.<sup>3</sup>

Harvesting ice was not a job for weaklings. The pieces of ice had considerable weight and bitter cold weather made its demands. Frequently the work was rushed somewhat to take advantage of the cold. Usually clad in heavy jackets, fur caps with ear muffs, and high boots, the men were warmly but not too heavily dressed for the task. One of the informants recalled that frequently the weather was so cold that the moisture from his steaming breath froze on his beard. The horses' nostrils were similarly affected making it difficult to breathe.

This work also had its dangers. The weight of the ice sometimes got the best of a worker causing him to slip and fall into the water. Fortunately most of the workers never

<sup>3</sup> There is still a section of the state penal code which concerns malicious mischief to ice-ponds. Section 951 under Article IX which deals with offenses against real property reads:

"Whoever wilfully throws, places or casts upon the ice forming, formed or being upon any pond, stream, river, creek or canal, owned or leased in whole or in part for the production of ice for sale, any timber, stone, earth or other substance, or enters upon, or in anywise injures or defiles the ice thereon forming, formed or being, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars (\$100), or undergo imprisonment not exceeding three (3) months, or both."





*The Naftzinger Ice-Pond,  
Lebanon County.*



*Ice Shed on Dan Naftzinger Farm,  
Bellegrove, Lebanon County, Penn-  
sylvania.*





*Victorian Ice-House on former Coleman-Altman Estate in Lebanon County.  
Note ventilating louver, similar to those on fancy Victorian barns.*

suffered more than a severe cold dunking or minor injuries. Occasionally there were those who became victims of serious injury or sickness as a result of the work.

One of the informants told of working at the water's edge and how he lost his balance and fell headfirst into the cold, icy water. Because there was nothing to grab hold of, his fear was that he would be drawn beneath the solid ice where he would be unable to get out or be rescued. But before he realized it, he said, one of the workers had grabbed hold of his leg and yanked him out on the ice. He related that he was so cold and stiff that he could hardly get on his feet. He also stated that one could not be too careful on the slippery ice and that the experience taught him to be even more careful on the job.

Leon Keener, in his seventies, from Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, told of an ice-house which was improvised from an unused limekiln. The kiln was located on his parents' farm, now owned by Harry Kine, one and one-fourth miles south of Schaefferstown on route 501. He said a peak roof was built over the kiln and ice was stored in sawdust in its interior. The ice was used primarily for a creamer, a cylindrical container in which cream is separated from the cooled milk, by allowing the cream to rise naturally, and for preserving foods which his parents took to market.

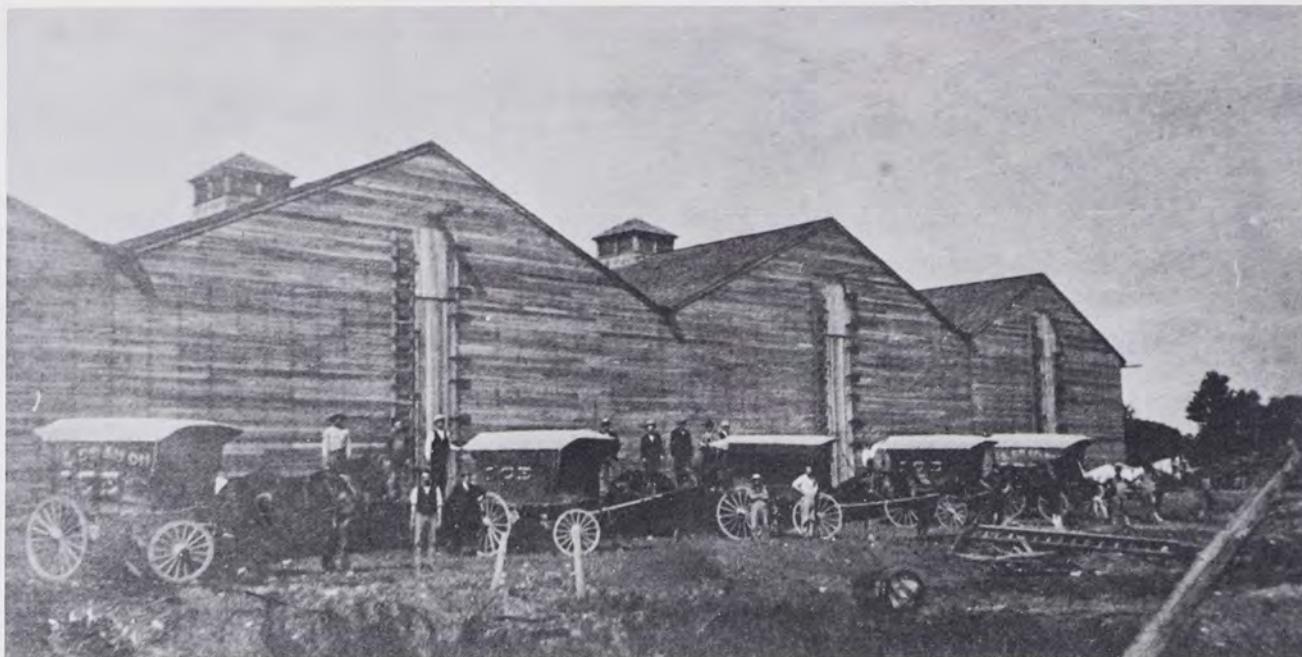
Ed Keener, 75, Colebrook, Lebanon County, managed the Colebrook Ice-House which was located in that community and last owned and operated by the United Ice and Coal Company in Harrisburg. The ice-house had four rooms and was thirty feet high. He said, the company preferred the ice to be eighteen to twenty inches thick. This thickness was obtained by tapping the lake from which the ice

was taken, several times, so that several inches of water would flow over and freeze on top of the frozen ice. The ice was marked off with a handmarker, cut with plows, and generally sawed to measure twenty-two inches wide and twenty-eight inches long.

There was also another ice-house located at Mount Gretna, Lebanon County, and together one hundred men were employed on a part-time operation under his supervision during the winter months. He said they used to edge the ice, stand it up on end, but too many men got hurt so the practice was discontinued. In a scrapbook collection of newspaper clippings at the Berks County Historical Society Library, the following statement is found relating to edging ice: ". . . it is by far best to pile ice cakes on the edge . . . placing the cakes on edge does not encourage melting as by placing them flat." Mr. Keener said that instead of sawdust as a packing, they used newspaper and sea grass which they purchased by the bale. Alternate layers of paper and sea grass were used to provide sufficient insulation between the rows and layers of ice. He remarked that men and horses occasionally fell or broke through the ice and into the water and that it involved quite an operation to rescue a horse. He related, however, that neither man nor horse were lost while he managed the operation.

Harry M. Stehley, R. D., Elizabethtown, Lancaster County, grew up in what was known as the Brubaker Valley between Brickerville and Clay. He told of his experiences sawing ice, guiding it out of the water with the long spike poles, and hauling the cakes to the ice-house. He said the ice was pulled into the ice-house with a horse and rope, a method similar to that used when storing hay in a barn. He told of two





*Large Wooden Ice Barns, Stover's Dam, Lebanon County, 1900. Used for commercial storage of ice for Lebanon Ice Company.*

fellow workers, Rufus Gaul and Thomas Enck, who were carpenter and woodworker by trade. They invented a mechanical ice-saw with a gauge which was used during later years in the harvesting process. He said it was important to have strong and vigorous men on the job when harvesting ice because a block of ice four feet long, two and one-half feet wide, and two feet thick weighed more than one hundred pounds.

The family water supply for domestic and farm use flowed by gravity from a spring located in the meadow several hundred feet from the house. Since the water had warmed by the time it got to the house, most of the ice which had been stored in the ice-house was used during the hot summer months to cool and refresh the drinking water. He said, at home when neighbors or friends came for ice, his parents sold it for ten cents a burlap bag.

Schuyler Brossman, Rehrersburg, Berks County, in an article in the December 15, 1960, issue of the *Lebanon Daily News*, wrote that at one time the community of Rehrersburg had at least eight ice-houses. The interior of the largest one measured twenty-five feet by thirty feet and fifteen feet high. It was owned by local creamery operators, Jarade Himmelberger and Silas Shade, and was later sold to the Hershey Creamery Company. The smaller ones measured from ten to fifteen feet wide and twelve to twenty feet long. All of these have been demolished and only their memory remains.

Dan Naftzinger who resides near Bellegrove, Lebanon County, is the only person the writer contacted who still cuts and stores ice in an ice-house. He built the structure into a hill beside the pond from which the ice is harvested. The ice is brought in directly from the pond, then guided onto a chestnut plank into the ice-house through a door on the front which is slightly higher than the level of the pond. The structure has two other openings, one on the side for convenience and another in the rear on the lower level for withdrawal of the ice. The ice-house is thirty feet long, twenty-five feet wide and twenty feet high. It has a concrete floor with a drain in the center.



*Ice-House Doors and Chain Hoist used to lift ice into building.*





*Frame structure near Bernville, Berks County, the left end of which was once used for ice storage.*

Dan removes the ice from the pond anytime after it is four inches thick. The thickest ice he removed was twelve inches. He said the ice has to be at least three or four inches thick to hold a horse or mule. On one occasion, his mule did break through but it managed to get out on top again on its own. From that time he had difficulty getting the mule on the pond. He said the only way he could get him on the ice was to back him on and then hitch him to the ice plow or sled. The ice is used to make ice cream and to help preserve his market produce. He told of filling the ice-house, year after year, all of his married life. In recent years, however, because of age, he cuts and stores only enough for his own requirements. He stated that when he no longer stores ice, he will use the building for storage of wood for fuel.

John Sherk, R. D., Annville, said that no matter how careful one might have been while cutting ice, it was practically impossible to keep from getting wet. Frequently, the first thing he did upon returning home from harvesting ice was to remove his wet and stiff overalls and stand them behind the kitchen stove. He recalled that when they cut ice, there were no definite measurements because most of the ice was used at home. It was generally cut so that it was convenient for handling, usually four feet long, two feet wide, and whatever thickness the ice happened to be. Many times they were instructed to cut the ice to fit the empty spaces in the ice-house. He related how he and a co-worker, Ira Brightbill, had a habit of cutting extremely large pieces of ice. Some were so large that they broke the chute which was used to put the ice inside the ice-house. He told of working for fifty cents a day from dawn until dark and hauled as many as twenty loads a day when they had enough help.

John G. Hoke, aged eighty, who lives in Quentin, Lebanon County, helped to stack ice in the still existent ice-house located on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Union property, formerly the Coleman-Alden Estate, located along U.S. Route 322, between Quentin and Cornwall. The structure was built during the years of 1883-1884. The ice was gotten from Penryn Lake, brought to Cornwall on railroad freight cars and then hauled to the ice-house either by

wagon or sled drawn by two sturdy horses.

Mr. Hoke stated that usually two men worked inside the ice-house. The first ice that was stored in its interior was sent down a chute to the lower level which is twenty feet below the surface. The ice was stacked one layer on top of another, insulated with sawdust, until the ice-house was filled or until a sufficient quantity was stored. Much of the ice was stacked on end. He told that even during the late summer months, the ice and sawdust were frozen together so tightly that occasionally the ice had to be split apart. The ice stored in this structure was used primarily for the ice-boxes and refrigerators on the estate.

John Donmoyer, who resides on a farm in the Harper's area of Lebanon County, told of filling the ice-house that still stands behind Harper's Inn. He said that during the 1920's, he and many other young men were glad to help fill ice-houses to provide additional income. The ice was gotten from the Swatara Creek and Shuey's Mill Pond. Ice twelve inches thick was removed from the Swatara and a thickness of sixteen or more inches from the mill pond. He told of driving on the Swatara with the horses and sleds. If the weather was ideal and the ice heavy, they had as many as four sleds, four to eight men cutting and two to four men removing the ice and loading the sleds. The driver of the sled helped to load and unload. Since it was often a custom to receive the noon meal from those who employed them, all the workers came along in with the last load before dinner and helped to unload. An extended beam with a pulley, located near the peak of the roof, was used to pull the ice up into the higher areas of the ice-house.

Franklin Wike of Schafferstown, Lebanon County, related that it was often a custom to supply hard cider or other alcoholic drinks to the men who helped fill the ice-houses in his area. This helped to keep the men warm and gave them more incentive and stamina to get the job done. On one occasion, he recalled, they had four barrels of hard cider at their disposal. One of the workers drank too much and as a result fell into the water while sawing the ice. "But we fished him out," Mr. Wike said. Their crew consisted of about fifteen men and often they were supplied with dinner and supper. He told how they peddled the ice for one cent a pound, most of it being used in ice-boxes within the community. His ice-house was located south of Schaefferstown. It was thirty feet long, thirty feet wide, and thirty feet high. The cellar was ten feet deep. Like most others the structure has been demolished and a chicken house erected in its place.

Local harvesting and storage of natural ice passed out of existence with the invention of the ice-making machine and the electric refrigerator. Artificial ice was introduced after 1850 and continued to replace natural ice until World War I when equal amounts of natural and manufactured ice were being used.

Even though some natural ice is still cut and stored in the more northerly parts, ice-houses and dam sites from which ice was once harvested have been removed so that little or no evidence remains. The dam areas have been drained and are now being pastured. The stream which once fed the dam continues to flow on serving as an abode for muskrats, while the banks continue to be inhabited by other small game.

As a result no longer is it possible to hear the sounds of the cutters' saws and tongs nor is there the fun and fellowship of the men and boys as they cut the ice and drove the teams along the snow-covered roads; thus marking the end of another era in which progress has taken its toll.



# The Conestoga Wagon

By EVELYN A. BENSON

CONESTOGA WAGON 1750-1850. George Shumway, Edward Durell, Howard C. Frey (Early American Industries Association and George Shumway. \$12.50.)

Before canals, before railroads, before trucks, the freight went west and the freight came east. First it was furs on the backs of Indians, then it was furs on the backs of horses, and after that it was merchandise of every kind for the frontier settlements, carried in wagons over primitive, rocky, dusty or muddy roads.

As early as 1717 a wagon leaving Philadelphia for the west or returning from the west to Philadelphia came to be spoken of in that city as a "Conestoga wagon," its name referring to destination or point of departure. Originally the phrase "Conestoga wagon" was applied to any wagon, of any shape or size, which traveled between Philadelphia and Conestoga on the Susquehanna, and they were certainly made wherever a wagonmaker might live, whether Philadelphia, Chester or Bucks counties, the only counties existing in Pennsylvania before 1729.

As time went on there developed in eastern Pennsylvania a distinctive large wagon capable of carrying heavy freight over the mountains. Its sloping-sided bed seems to have been derived from an English or Dutch wagon, its gears may be of German origin. Its ensemble is the Conestoga wagon of literature and legend, the six-horse team freight-carrier of the early 19th Century. Conestoga wagon-jacks bearing dates from 1735 to 1889 may be seen today, but no wagon of the classic Conestoga type made before 1800 is known to exist.

The construction of these famous wagons centered in the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, as did the development of an especially strong, large horse, the Conestoga horse, bred to pull them in six-horse teams.

Thirty-five years ago John Omwake published *The Conestoga Six-Horse Bell Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania* in which he lovingly assembled all information he could find about the Conestoga wagon and the large horses which drew it. Much of the research for this book was the work of Howard C. Frey assisted by Henry K. Landis of the Landis Valley Museum. The book was issued in a limited edition and has long been out of print.

In the intervening years the craftsmanship and functional beauty of the old wagons has become more and more appreciated. New information about their history and the history of the wagoners has turned up. Howard Frey has continued his research and others have added to it. The Early American Industries Association, interested in the collection, classification and preserving of the tools of the early crafts, sponsored collection of additional material and chose the *Conestoga Wagon* as the subject of its first book-publishing effort. In 1963 Dr. George Shumway agreed to complete the research, prepare the final manuscript and join in the publication. The result is *The Conestoga Wagon 1750-1850*, published in 1964.

To most people, any covered wagon is a Conestoga wagon. Dr. Shumway has formulated a definition which clearly distinguishes a Conestoga from other covered wagons. In the first place it is a beautiful piece of handicraft, and it has most of the following features:

## *Characteristic Features of a Conestoga Wagon Box or Bed*

- Cloth cover to protect wagon contents.
- Bows of bent wood to support the cloth cover, numbering between 8 and 12.
- Staples of iron in the top and middle side rails to hold the bows.
- Side panels with curved profile, swept up at front and rear, top and bottom rails.
- Sides constructed of three more or less horizontal rails and 8 to 12 more or less upright standards, with the space between the rails filled with boards.
- Front end panel not vertical, but slanting, and fastened with pins to extensions of top side rails. Top half sometimes removable.

*Dust jacket of "Conestoga Wagon"  
Drawing by Nick Eggenhofer.*





Decorative chip carving on extreme edges of front end panel and rear end gate.  
 Top rail and middle rail of front end panel downbowed in the middle.  
 Rear end gate not vertical, but slanting, removable, and fastened at the top with pins to extensions of the top side rails.  
 Top rail and middle rail of rear end gate bowed upward for the sake of appearance.  
 Tool box on left side.  
 Front bolster permanently fastened to box.  
 Feedbox support chains fastened to top rail at rear.  
 Lazy-board.

*Running Gear*

Rear wheels 54 inches in diameter, or greater, and containing 14 or 16 spokes.  
 Linch pins for holding wheels to axles.  
 Axles of wood, shod top and bottom with iron clouts, but not completely sheathed with a skein.  
 Tongue, one horse in length, rigidly fixed to front hounds.  
 Axe sheath of iron, and axe handle ring, on left front hound.

Rear hounds fastened to rear axletree by iron hound pins.  
 Brake mechanism, if present, operated by long iron lever on left side, and no original provision made for later type of rear brake lever.  
 Tar pot hook and staple.  
 Iron hub caps over the ends of wheel hubs.  
 Staple in tongue for feedbox lug.

Continuing to quote Dr. Shumway's definition of a Conestoga wagon:

"Certainly not every Conestoga wagon possessed all of the features mentioned, but most of them did. Occasionally a Conestoga was built without a tool box, or without a lazy-board. But a wagon which has a flat floor, straight bottom side rails, and which lacks feedbox chains and staples for bows, probably does not deserve the name of Conestoga. . . .

"Although southeastern Pennsylvania was the center for the manufacture of Conestoga wagons, they undoubtedly were made and used also in the neighboring states of New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and probably also in the Carolinas where people from Pennsylvania settled at an early date. Emigrants from Pennsylvania took Conestogas

SHUMWAY  
 DURELL  
 FREY

CONESTOGA WAGON  
 1750-1850

# CONESTOGA WAGON

## 1750-1850

FREIGHT CARRIER FOR 100 YEARS OF  
 AMERICA'S WESTWARD EXPANSION

*by George Shumway, Edward Durell, Howard C. Frey*



SHUMWAY



to Ontario in the 1790s, and used them there for farm vehicles."

Part I of this interesting book is devoted to the Conestoga wagon's place in history. Philadelphia's "Conestoga Wagon" Inn is actually mentioned in an advertisement of 1741, some years earlier than the 1750 date cited in the book, but this is a minor point beside the excellent account of the Pennsylvania wagons raised for use of General Braddock in the campaign of 1755. One hundred and ninety-four persons from eastern Pennsylvania filed claims for loss of wagons or wagon equipment after Braddock's defeat. Of these, the names of at least eighty-six are Scotch or English, some few others are French Huguenot, and the remaining hundred or less are German or German-Swiss.

Roads, travel and taverns on the roads leading west from Philadelphia in the days of wagon travel receive their share of attention in this well-organized volume. Dr. Shumway defines the golden age of the Conestoga wagon as a period of about thirty years, from the end of the War of 1812 to the time the railroad reached Pittsburgh and Wheeling.

The wagoners who guided these great ships of inland commerce over the mountains became subjects of legend, verse and song. They sang ballads of their own which are a part of our folklore heritage, and their souls were bitter against the railroad which put them out of business.

Part II is about the Conestoga horse and team, including a chapter on their harness. The Conestoga horse developed in 18th Century eastern Pennsylvania as the type best adapted for pulling heavy loads over long, rough and hilly roads. These large and handsome horses have become extinct since the need for their great strength and pulling power has vanished. There is an interesting report on the Conestoga horse (not then extinct) in the *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1863*. The training of a Conestoga wagon team is covered in a short and very interesting chapter of the Shumway book written by Albert I. Drachman.

Part III deals with the Conestoga wagon itself, its construction and all its parts and accessories.

The excellent illustrations which accompany each of the



*Covered Wagon and Four-Horse Team stopped at log house on the Pennsylvania frontier. Engraving by Augustus Köllner.*





*Pennsylvania Covered Wagon Returning from Philadelphia Market. Not all covered wagons were Conestoga wagons, as this article points out.*

chapters are an integral part of the text, presenting photographs of classic Conestogas, their various parts and associated material.

Included are the following:

- Thirty photographs of existing Conestoga wagons of the best type.

- Reproductions of half a dozen 19th Century pictures in which Conestoga wagons are shown.

- Three early 19th Century pictures of Conestoga horses.

- Six pages of photographs of Conestoga harness and bells.

- Three pages of diagrams showing the method of hitching the Conestoga horses to the wagon, and the single rein, called the jerk line, which was the sole means of controlling the team.

- Ten pages of line diagrams of all parts of the Conestoga wagons with explanatory legends so that the most curious child or grownup can find the answer to any question about "how does it work?"

- Ten pages of photographs of interesting hardware hand-crafted with care by the wagon smiths, i.e. hasps, toolboxes, toolbox hardware, contents of a toolbox, axe sheath, stay chain hooks, wagon jacks, tar pots.

- Sketch of a Conestoga wagon by the celebrated Lewis Miller of York, including names of wagonmakers and blacksmiths whose good work in York made them notable.

- Four maps showing lines of travel taken after the American Revolution to Ohio and the West.

- End paper drawings and jacket design are by Nick Eggenhofer.

The reviewer can suggest only one area of early Pennsylvania travel and wagon use which has been overlooked in the preparation of this fine book. That is the wagon road from Philadelphia to and through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and the emigrants who traveled it. Covered wagons carried families through Pennsylvania southwest to the Shenandoah for a generation before the American Revolution, long before the Ohio Valley opened for settlement.

The culture of the Shenandoah Valley is an extension of that developed in the agricultural areas of eastern Pennsylvania.

As early as 1704 a Swiss promoter found fur trader guides at Conestoga who took him over the Susquehanna, down the Monocacy Trail to the Potomac, thence into the Shenandoah in an exploration for lands suitable to Swiss settlement. James Logan's account book mentions wagons traveling from Philadelphia to Conestoga on the Susquehanna in 1716. There were certainly two wagon roads west of Susquehanna to the Potomac before 1737 because in that year a Blunston license to settle land over the river locates a tract "on the *old* waggon road to Potowmac & about three miles beyond the falling spring"; another settlement in the same neighborhood, the same year, is "betwixt the *old* and the *new* waggon Road upon the run that passes thro John Peter Salin's meadow."

The *old road* from Susquehanna to the Shenandoah crossed the Susquehanna at the Blue Rock, thence was known as the Monocacy Trail to the headwaters of that stream down which the traveler went by water to the Potomac. The *new road* crossed at Wright's Ferry (Columbia), ran westward somewhat north of the Monocacy Trail, crossed the first ridge of mountains and the upper branches of the Antietam before reaching the Potomac.

The "old road to Potowmac" extended into the Shenandoah Valley well before 1737 because William Mayo's Map of the Northern Neck of Virginia made in 1736 or 1737 shows a well established "Waggon Road to Philadelphia" coming from far south in the Shenandoah Valley to its Potomac crossing west of the Susquehanna River. Lewis Evans' 1749 map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., shows the continuation of this "Philadelphia Wagon Road" from the point where it crosses the Potomac in western Maryland, traversing Pennsylvania to the Susquehanna River, thence via Lancaster to Philadelphia.



# Folklife Studies Bibliography 1964

## Periodicals: Part I

By DON YODER

The increasing importance of folk-cultural studies as a research field in America, with its spread into the universities, and its expression in archives and folk museums, has prompted the present Research Bibliography on Folklife Studies, to include both articles and books that appeared in 1964. While it will be of interest to American scholars working in this field, it is, of course, especially oriented to Pennsylvania folklife studies. We trust it will supplement the folklore bibliographies already published in America, those

of the *Southern Folklore Quarterly* and the *Abstracts of Folklore Studies*.

End of semester duties at the University have forced me to divide the Bibliography into two sections, the second to follow in the Winter 1965 issue. At that time we will publish Part II of our digest of periodicals in the field, and attempt to note briefly the important books in folk-cultural studies which appeared in 1964.

Dr. Don Yoder, University of Pennsylvania

*American Quarterly*, Vol. XVI No. 2 Pt. 2, Summer 1964. See for Articles in American Studies, 1963; American Studies Dissertations in Progress; Writings on the Theory and Teaching of American Studies; and American Studies Programs in the United States.

*ACLS Newsletter*, American Council of Learned Societies, Vol. XIV No. 4, April 1963. Richard M. Dorson, "Should There be a Ph.D. in Folklore?," pp. 1-8.

*The American German Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, December 1964-January 1965. "The Dream of Friedrich List," pp. 33-35. On the *Readinger Adler* and the development of the coal region.

*Brethren Life and Thought*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Cornelius J. Dyck, "Harold Stauffer Bender." William R. Eberly, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of Henry Kurtz."

Vol. VIII, No. 2: Kenneth I. Morse, "Kermit Eby: the Man and His Ideas," on the well-known labor leader of rural Brethren background, whose *The God in You* is one of the best portrayals of "plain" life in the rural Midwest.

Vol. VIII, No. 3, Summer 1963: Emmert F. Bittinger, "More on Brethren Hymnology," pp. 11-16. Analysis of editions of *Die Kleine Lieder Sammlung* (Hagerstown, 1826), and *A Choice Selection of Hymns from Various Authors* (Canton, Ohio, 1830).

Vol. IX, Nos. 1-2, Winter and Spring 1964: Donald F. Durnbaugh and Lawrence W. Schultz, "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963," pp. 3-177. Lists 1287 items by Brethren authors. It is arranged chronologically, is "complete" to 1900, selective after 1900. It includes books, broadsides, hymnals, genealogies, periodicals, almanacs. It does not include books and articles about the Brethren by non-Brethren authors.

*EMC Bulletin*, Vol. XL, No. 10, October 1961. Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia. "The Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives," pp. 1-9. History of library and archives, which deals with Mennonite history. List of 100 rare items of Mennonitica, with some title-pages handsomely reproduced.

*Ethnology: An International Journal of Cultural and Social Anthropology*, Vol. III No. 2, April 1964. John A. Hostetler, "Persistence and Change Patterns in Amish Society," pp. 185-198.

*Folk Life: Journal of the Society for Folk Life Studies*, Cardiff, Wales, Vol. II, 1964. Alexander Fenton and James J. Laursen, "Peat in Fetlar," pp. 3-26.

Alan Gailey, "The Ulster Tradition," pp. 27-41.

F. G. Payne, "Welsh Peasant Costume," pp. 42-57.

Caoimhin O Danachair, "The Combined Byre-and-Dwell in Ireland," pp. 58-75.

Torwerth C. Peate, "The Long-House Again," pp. 76-79.

John West, "The Forest Offenders of Medieval Worcestershire," pp. 80-115.

Correspondence: "Knur and Spell," pp. 116-117.

*Folklore*, London, Vol. 75, Summer 1964. Peter Opie, "Proposal for a Dictionary, Arranged on Historical Principles, of English Traditional Lore," pp. 73-90. Proposes a folklore dictionary based on dated citations, similar to the *New English Dictionary*.

*Human Organization*, Winter 1963-1964. John A. Hostetler, "Folk and Scientific Medicine in Amish Society," pp. 269-275.

*Journal of the Alleghenies*, Vol. I, No. 1, Spring 1963. Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr., "The Worthy Vexation: History and Life in the Allegheny Highlands," pp. 3-7. The Alleghenies, a "vexation" and obstacle to settlers, road-builders, even to tourists, have also preserved the culture of the hill people settled among them. Regional crafts, cookery, folktales, superstitions, are still in evidence here. The Council of the Alleghenies has been founded to help to preserve the individuality of the region, encourage research into the history, arts, literature, folklore, and demography of the entire Allegheny Tableland, as well as minister intelligently to the tourist through folk festivals and museums.

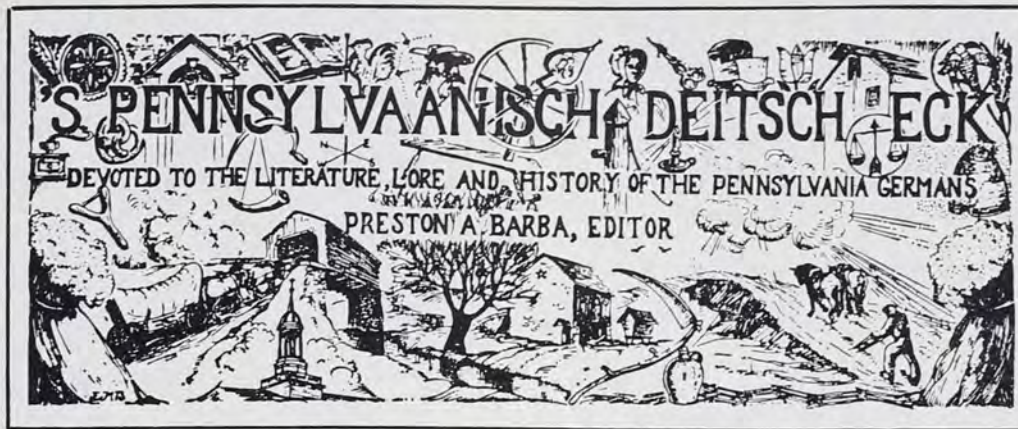
Clifford Hamrick and Robert Munn, "The Allegheny Highlands: A Socio-Economic Portrait," pp. 7-10. A depressing analysis of the "poverty zone" character of the region today, with high birth rate, declining population, dwindling industry, substandard education. Parts of Western Pennsylvania, Western Maryland, West Virginia, and Virginia are involved.

Vol. I No. 2, Summer 1963: Jan Gleysteen, "Steam Railroading in West Virginia," pp. 3-5. Some information on logging.

Gerald C. Studer, "Master Printer Goeb: The Goeb Bible," pp. 6-10. Friedrich Goeb (1782-1829) arrived from Germany in 1804 and became a printer and publisher in Chambersburg and Somerset. Although he printed assorted newspapers, almanacs, pamphlets, and books, he is remembered chiefly for publishing, in 1813, at Somerset, the first edition of the Bible published west of the Alleghenies.

*Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. IX No. 1, Spring, 1964. Robert H. Byington, "Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Pennsylvania," pp. 3-12. Outlines the project of Wayland D. Hand, Director of the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology at U.C.L.A., the *Dictionary of American Popular Beliefs and Superstitions*, with which the Pennsylvania Folklore Society is cooperating. Dr. Byington urges attention on Pennsylvania's urban and occupation lore: "For too long now collectors of Pennsylvania folklore (with only two or three significant exceptions) have concentrated upon rural folk life—and Pennsylvania German rural folk life, at that!"





Dr. Preston A. Barba's "S Pennsylvaniaisch Deitsch Eck," appearing weekly in the "Morning Call" (Allentown), has for over thirty years, since its inception in 1935, offered a wide variety of articles on many phases of Pennsylvania's folk-culture.

Kenneth S. Goldstein, "The Collecting of Superstitious Beliefs," pp. 13-22. A valuable discussion of the problems involved in field collecting, and pitfalls to be avoided by the collector.

Mac E. Barrick, "All Signs in Dry Spells Fails," pp. 23-28. Weather predicting methods from Cumberland County, with some collation with standard sources.

"Folklore Fragments," pp. 29-31. This section—"in admitted imitation of *Western Folklore's* 'Notes and Queries'" —includes collectanea.

Vol. IX, No. 2, Summer, 1964: Kenneth S. Goldstein, "The Broadside Ballad," pp. 39-67. Lists and analyzes American song sheets and their influence on the song traditions of America. Excellent on nomenclature: long sheets, slip sheets, cut sheets, double sheets, slip cards, etc. The article is accompanied with many well-reproduced cuts of British and American broadsides, with several interesting pictures of broadside sellers.

Harold Krellove, "New Year's Verse of the Printer's Boy," pp. 68-73. Discusses an early American practice which in Pennsylvania is dateable back to the 1720's. Reproduces four Philadelphia examples, from 1746, 1749, 1765, and 1778, all from the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Mac E. Barrick, "Blue Mountain Tales," pp. 74-76. Folktales gathered along the Blue Mountain on the Cumberland-Perry County border.

"Folklore Fragments," pp. 78-79. "Snatches and snippets of folklore," including "Slow and Fast Bullets," "How the Last of the Buffalo Disappeared from Union County," "The Shaking Church," and "The Singing Angels."

Vol. IX, No. 3, Fall, 1964: Charles E. Welch, Jr., "Some Drugs of the North American Indian—Then and Now," pp. 83-99. A contribution to ethnobotany and ethnopharmacology by the Head of the Department of Languages and Social Sciences at Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science.

Mac E. Barrick, "Folk Medicine in Cumberland County," pp. 100-110. Beliefs and medical practices, almost entirely of the non-occult variety, collated with Fogel, Hand, and the motif index, with some evidence culled from Pennsylvania newspapers.

Robert H. Byington, "Powwowing in Pennsylvania," pp. 111-117. Mostly excerpted from Hohman, from the "Second and Improved Edition" of *The Long Hidden Friend* (Carlisle, 1863).

"Folklore Fragments," p. 118. Folk medical items collected in Pennsylvania, on "swiney," cold, fever, goiter, baldness, insomnia, toothache. cuts.

*The Lock Haven Review*. Lock Haven State College. Series 1, No. 5, 1963. George D. Wolf, "The Tiadaghton Question," pp. 61-71. On the Pine Creek Declaration of Independence.

Robert H. Johnston, "The Aboriginies [sic] of Cawichno-

wane," pp. 27-33. On the Indian culture on the Great Island, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna at the mouth of the Bald Eagle Creek.

*Methodist History*. Lake Junalaska, North Carolina. Vol. XII, No. 1, New Series Vol. II, No. 2, January, 1964. Edwin Schell, compiler, "Methodist Traveling Preachers in America, 1773-1799," pp. 51-67. Biographical material on early circuit-riders, many of whom served in Pennsylvania, with dates of service, appointment, etc. By the Executive Secretary, Baltimore Conference Historical Society, Baltimore.

Vol. XII, No. 2, April, 1964. Raymond Fitzhugh Wrenn, "Methodism's Borderland: Annual Conferences and Districts in Northern Virginia," pp. 48-56. Valuable for its discussion of the ecclesiastical relations of this area to Central and Western Pennsylvania in the pioneer days of American Methodism.

Vol. XII, No. 4, October, 1964. Charles E. Kachel, "Similarities and Differences Between the Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church," pp. 12-22.

Frank W. Stephenson, "The Development of the Methodist Protestant Church Particularly in the Midwest," pp. 33-42. Some material on Pennsylvania rootage of this movement, especially in the Pittsburgh area.

*Mountain Life & Work: Magazine of the Appalachian South*. Berea, Kentucky. Vol. XL No. 1, Spring 1964. Henry Glassie, "The Smaller Outbuildings of the Southern Mountains," pp. 21-25. Valuable cross-cultural analysis of "smoke or meat houses, tool sheds, spring houses, milk houses, pump houses, well houses, wash houses, root cellars, or apple houses," in which there is great variation but basically only three forms, one derived from the tidewater areas of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and two from eastern Pennsylvania. This invaluable article is based on field research in Eastern United States, and illustrated with architectural drawings of buildings in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; Harford County, Maryland; Fauquier and Smyth Counties, Virginia; Carter County, Tennessee; and Macon County, North Carolina. For the folk-cultural influence of Pennsylvania on the upper South, this article is of first rank.

*Names: Journal of the American Name Society*. Vol. 12 No. 1, March 1964. C. A. Weslager, "Hockessin: Another Delaware Place-Name Puzzle," pp. 10-14. Historical information, including folk-etymology, on the Indian name of this Delaware Quaker settlement connected closely with Chester County Quakerism.

John R. Krueger, "Beer Brand Names in the United States," pp. 6-9. See for "Dutch" and "German."

*New York Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. XX, No. 1, March, 1964. Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., "Jemima Wilkinson: Historical Figure and Folk Character," pp. 5-13. Analysis of



career of Jemima Wilkinson (1752–1819), religious fanatic of Quaker background, called the "Universal Friend." Born in Rhode Island, she lived in Pennsylvania before founding her communitarian experiment in New York State. "American Folk Culture: A Graduate College Program," pp. 130–133. Description of the first American academic program in folk-cultural studies, to begin September, 1964, at the State University College at Oneonta in conjunction with the New York State Historical Association at Coopers-town.

*Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1963, Franz and Gerhard Maresch, "Das Dürrhäusel im oberen Pielachtal,"* pp. 17–22. Information on European roots of the "dry house."

*'S Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch Eck*, edited by Dr. Preston A. Barba. *The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania. Now in its 30th year of publication, this weekly column, available to libraries and individuals in reprint form, is an invaluable source of information on Pennsylvania German life and thought.

"A Newspaper Editor Prays," January 4, 1964. A New Year prayer of Christian Jacob Hutter, editor of *Der Lancaster Correspondent*, January 4, 1800, translated from the German.

Preston A. Barba, "Lichtmess—Candlemas," February 1, 1964. Historical materials, with lore, rhymes from the Palatinate and Pennsylvania.

Elmer L. Smith and John Stewart, "Pennsylvania German Folklore in the Shenandoah Valley" (continued). Hunting Lore, February 1, 1964. Other Bear Stories, February 8, 1964. Valentine Day, Liebesbrief, etc., February 15, 1964. St. Patrick's Day, Michaelmas, March 14, 1964. German Place-Names in Shenandoah Valley, March 21, 1964. The Wetzels, an Indian Fighting Family, April 11, 1964.

Elmer L. Smith and John Stewart, "A Dutch Get-Together," October 24, 1964. Program and description of the 3d annual Get-Together of Pennsylvania Dutch Speakers, St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Jerome, Shenandoah County, Virginia. Some lore and folklore.

Elmer L. Smith and John Stewart, "The 100th Anniversary of An Assassination: Death of the Dunkard Elder John Kline Recounted," November 28, 1964.

Elmer L. Smith and John Stewart, "The Black Walnut," December 19, 1964. Materials on gathering, hulling, and using walnuts in cookery, with several recipes.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Candle Making," February 8, 1964. From account book of A. E. Deininger, Millheim, Centre County, 1840's and '50's.

*Alle Sadde Wadde*. Questionnaires on dialect terms and answers sent in by readers. February 22, 1964: dialect place-names. March 14, 1964: place-names and dialect terms, sent in with copious notes of meaning, by Prof. Paul V. Kunkel, Cedar Crest College. March 21, 1964: dialect terms. March 28, 1964: dialect terms and place-names. April 4, 1964: dialect terms. May 2, 1964: almost the entire issue, on dialect terms, mostly from Prof. Kunkel. June 6, 1964: plant names, barn terms, etc. June 13, 1964: tombstone cutting terms, dialect terms for peony and lilac. July 11, 1964: Hollenbach on peony and lilac. July 25, 1964: Leonard Shupp's list of dialect bird-names, more tinsmith terms, etc.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Sheep and Wool on Local Farms in Bygone Days," February 29, 1964. Historical treatment, with some information and terms from account books.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Peter Wotring—Sein Schreib Buch—1799," March 7, 1964. Farming, harvest, and business accounts of a house-carpenter, cabinet-maker, and coffin-builder of Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, 1799–1806. Valuable for influence of dialect and English language on High German at this period.

Grant M. Stoltzfus, Review of John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964), by courtesy of the *Menonite Historical Bulletin*. April 4, 1964.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Expenditures to Build a Barn in 1850," April 11, 1964. From A. E. Deininger Account Books, Millheim, Centre County. Full German quotations.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Mush, Buchweetze Kuche, Pannhaas, oder Gebrotner Mush," April 18, 1964. Short

discussion of mush in past and present, with an 18th Century German description of *polenta*.

"Shoofly Pie," April 18, 1964. Described as "one of the triumphs of the Pennsylvania German kitchen and unknown elsewhere," with guesses on the origin of its curious name (*chouffleur*, *Schubli*, *Schuffli*, etc.), and several recipes.

David B. Kaufman, Review of Benjamin Trexler's *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale* (Allentown, 1880–1886), April 25, 1964.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Der Blechschmidt," May 9, 1964. Important historical discussion of tinsmith's trade, with discussion of dialect terms and quotation from account books.

Ludwig August Wollenweber, "Das Wilde Heer," May 16, 1964. A "dialect" story, with Lancaster County locale, with *Ewich Yaeger* theme, from Wollenweber's *Gemaelde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (Philadelphia and Leipzig, 1869).

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Account of a Hired Girl in a Pennsylvania German Family One Hundred Years Ago," May 16, 1964. Given in German, with notes, from the Deininger account books of Millheim.

David B. Kaufman, "Frontier Experiences with Indians in Our Area," June 6, 1964. Translated from *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale*.

Pierce E. Swope, "Der Libanoner Morgenstern," June 13, 1964. Analysis of several items from this Lebanon German newspaper of 1820.

David B. Kaufman, "The Discovery of Coal in Our Area," June 20, 1964. From *Skizzen*.

David B. Kaufman, "Independence Year, 1776, Nationally and Locally," June 27, 1964. From *Skizzen*. Continued July 11, 1964.

Klaus G. Wust, "The Pennsylvania Germans of North Carolina: A Challenge to Future Historians," July 18, 1964. On migration southward, "Tunkers" of North Carolina, German Printing in North Carolina, and an analysis of the Cook Collection of materials on Germans of North Carolina, at Duke University.

"A Rare Book," August 1, 1964. Some discussion of Dr. Constantine Hering's *Homoeopatischer Hausarzt* (Philadelphia, n.d.).

[Preston A. Barba], "The Life and Works of Eli Keller, Pennsylvania German Poet," August 15, 1964. This issue deals with emigrant generation of Keller family. The Keller manuscript poems, drawn from in this series, are in the Pennsylvania German section of the Muhlenberg College Library. Continuation, on colonial ancestry, and collection of dialect proverbs by Keller, August 22, 1964. Continuation, with actual biography of Keller, and examples of his poetry, August 29, 1964. Continuation, with list of his published dialect poetry, September 5, 1964. Continuation, September 12, 1964. Continuation, September 19, 1964: Flax Culture and Its Utility, by Keller. Continuation, September 26, 1964: on flax. October 3, 1964: on spinning. Continuation, October 10, 1964: Keller's poetry. Continuation, November 7, 1964: Keller's poetry and proverbs. Continuation, November 14, 1964: poetry. Continuation, November 21, 1964: poetry with some notes. Continuation, December 12, 1964: poetry and notes.

David B. Kaufman, "Fairs Long Ago," September 12, 1964. From *Skizzen*, with quotations from *Friedens-Bothe*, 1822, 1826, and 1835.

Elmer L. Smith, Review of Charles H. Huffman, *The St. Michaels Story: Two Centuries of Church History* (Staunton, Virginia, 1964), 66 pp. History of church founded 1764 in Rockingham County, Virginia, October 10, 1964.

David B. Kaufman, "The Sea Voyage of a Pioneer in 1731," October 17, 1964. From the *Skizzen*, the autobiography of the Moravian Indian missionary John George Jungmann, born 1720 in the Palatinate.

Elmer L. Smith, review of Allen Benjamin Clark, *History of the Amish of Delaware* (Dover, 1963), 103 pp. From an M.A. dissertation in history at the University of Delaware, the book deals with the largest Amish settlement south of Pennsylvania, at Dover, Delaware, October 24, 1964.

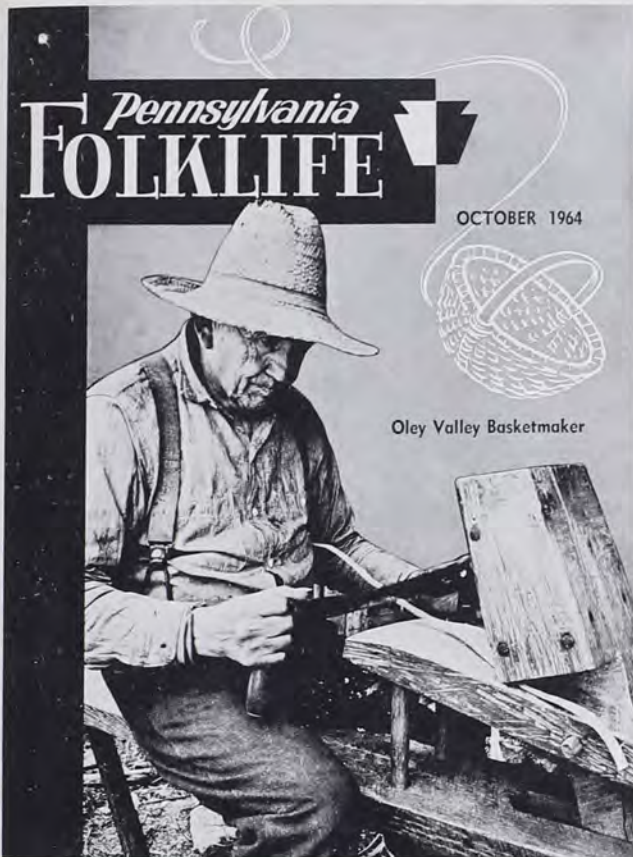
Klaus G. Wust, "John Peter Ahl (1748–1727), Ministerial Tramp and Medical Pioneer in Seven States," October 31, 1964. Biography of Lutheran pastor, revolutionary soldier, and doctor, principally in Virginia, the Carolinas, Western



# Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

OCTOBER 1964

Oley Valley Basketmaker



"*Pennsylvania Folklife*," originally "*The Pennsylvania Dutchman*," is now in its fourteenth volume.

Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

Klaus G. Wust, review of Smith, Stewart, and Kyger, *The Pennsylvania Germans of the Shenandoah Valley*, November 7, 1964.

Preston A. Barba, review of John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, November 21, 1964, reprinted from *Pennsylvania History*, October, 1964.

Raymond E. Hollenbach, "Ausschteier," December 5, 1964. Historical data on dowry custom, from account books from the 1830's to the 1890's.

David B. Kaufman, "Something about Colonial Travel in Our Area," December 26, 1964. Some historical perspective, with quotations from Weiser, Zinzendorf, Muhlenberg, etc.

*Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, July, 1963. Earl F. Robacker, "Piece-Patch Artistry," pp. 2-10. On quilts and quilt-patterns in Pennsylvania.

Don Yoder, "The Horse and Buggy Dutch," pp. 11-17. Pictorial article with text on Amish and Old Order Mennonite cultures in Pennsylvania.

Leo H. Bixler, "Pine Tar and Its Uses," pp. 18-23. Descriptions, with drawings, of how to make a tar-pit, material on uses of pine tar especially in folk medicine, and biography of Geirmon Straub, one of the last surviving tar-pit operators in Northumberland County.

Edna Eby Heller, "Much Ado About Cookies," pp. 24-27. Recipes for Soft Sugar Cakes, Honey Cakes, Heifer Tongues [*Rinds-Zunge*], Sandtarts, Chocolate Jumbles, Brown Moravian Cookies.

Program, 14th Annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival, Kutztown, Pennsylvania, June 29-July 6, 1963, pp. 28-32.

Amos Long, Jr., "Outdoor Privies in the Dutch Country," pp. 33-38. Pioneer article, illustrated with photographs, on the architecture and interior decoration, from wallpaper to stained glass windows, of the Pennsylvania privy.

Richard H. Shaner, "Distillation and Distilleries Among the Dutch," pp. 39-42. History and description of whiskey and birch distilling in the Kutztown area.

Don Yoder, "The Folklife Studies Movement," pp. 43-56.

Extensive historical survey and analysis of the "folklore" and "folklife" strands in folk-cultural research, with information on folk museums, folklife archives, and university folklife programs in Europe and America. Detailed information on history and research program of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society.

Vol. XIII No. 4, July 1964. Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Dutch Harvest Home," inside front cover. Brief history, with historical photograph, of custom of decorating rural churches with harvest fruits in summer and early autumn.

Earl F. Robacker, "Stoneware—Stepchild of Early Pottery," pp. 2-7. History of glazed gray stoneware in Pennsylvania, with photographs of types of vessels.

Alexander Marshall, "The Days of Auld Lang Syne," edited by Don Yoder," pp. 8-19. Two accounts, "Habits and Manners of the People of Chester County 75 Years Ago" (written 1877-1878), and "Recollections of How Chester Countians Farmed and Lived Three-Score Years Ago" (written 1879), dealing with rural life in the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian sections of Chester County, northwest of Downingtown.

Amos Long, Jr., "Grout-Kootch, Coldframe, and Hotbed," pp. 20-27. The first published historical study on the devices used by Pennsylvania farmers and gardeners to raise plants from seed.

Susanna Brinton, "Memories of Three Spring Farm," pp. 28-31, edited by Don Yoder. Susanna Brinton (1833-1927) was a Quaker farm girl of Lancaster County who recorded her life in drawings. The sketches, made in the 1840's and '50's, are valuable for the evidence they show of acculturation between Quaker and Pennsylvania Dutch rural cultures.

Program, 15th Annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival, July 3-11, 1964, Kutztown, Pennsylvania, pp. 32-39.

Edna Eby Heller, "Saffron Cookery," pp. 40-41. Historical notes on use of saffron in Pennsylvania, with recipes for Chicken Corn Soup, Lancaster County Filling, and Schwenkfelder Cakes.

George L. Moore, "My Childhood Games," pp. 42-57. Detailed descriptions of indoor and outdoor games, Sunday games, barn games, Halloween amusements, party puzzles, from Lebanon Valley half a century and more ago.

Phil R. Jack, "Western Pennsylvania Epitaphs," pp. 58-64. Analysis of themes of the epitaphs.

Vol. XIV No. 1, October 1964. Richard H. Shaner, "The Oley Valley Basketmaker," pp. 2-9. Detailed description, with photographs, of oak basket making techniques of Fred Bieber of Bieber's Loch in Lehigh County. The article closes with a description of the Ascension Day Vendues at Fredericksville.

Earl F. Robacker, "The Sheen of Copper," pp. 10-15. History of copper utensils used in Pennsylvania, with photographs of types, and bibliography.

Amos Long, Jr., "Pennsylvania Corncribs," pp. 16-23. Pioneer article, illustrated with many photographs, and including descriptions of husking bees, uses of corn husks, and some lore of the corncrib, as for example outwitting corncrib thieves.

Berton E. Beck, "Land-Clearing in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania," pp. 24-29. Authors memories of land-clearing process, before 1900, with discussion of the lumberman's axe, under-brushing, slashing, new ground, etc. Illustrated with contemporary photographs.

Paul D. Brumbach, "Funerals in My Childhood Days," pp. 30-34. Reminiscences of a Kutztown undertaker, who recalls here the German funeral services he attended as a preacher's son in the Reformed parishes of Eastern Pennsylvania before 1920. Valuable especially for the favorite funeral texts and hymns of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Phil R. Jack, "Folk Medicine from Western Pennsylvania," pp. 35-37. Information, some of it from 19th Century newspapers, on herbal and occult folk-medicine in Western Pennsylvania.

Victor C. Dieffenbach, "Peddlers I Remember," pp. 38-48. Superbly told memories from the 1880's and '90's by a frequent contributor to our pages, the dialect columnist who calls himself "Der Oldt Bauer." On Jewish and Italian and other peddlers, their wares, their sales techniques, their relations with clientele, with some folktale material.



*Vol. XIV No. 2*, December 1964. Don Yoder, "Christmas Fraktur, Christmas Broad-sides," pp. 2-9. Discussion of Christmas themes in Pennsylvania folk art, the Christmas broadsides of watchmen and newsboys; Christmas book-plates; the Moravian cult of the *Jesulein*; and the Ephrata Christmas greetings. Illustrated with cuts of broadsides and fraktur.

Earl F. Robacker, "The Shape of Food That Was," pp. 10-15. Illustrated article on waffle irons, pudding molds, butter molds, cooky cutters, etc., with bibliography.

Amos Long, Jr., "Bakeovens in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," pp. 16-29. Illustrated article on history of the bakeoven in Pennsylvania, with photographs of types. Includes proverbs and other lore on baking, bread, and the bakeoven.

Donald Roan, "Deivels-Dreck (Asafoetida) Yesterday and Today," pp. 30-33. On medicinal and occult (protective) uses of asafoetida, with evidence of current use.

Lewis Edgar Riegel, "Reminiscences of Centerport, 1876-1885," pp. 34-47. Memories of village life in the area of Berks County between Reading and Hamburg after the Civil War, with information on family life, dress, cookery, holiday celebration, town characters, church customs and picnics, and school days.

Jerrie Gressle, "Ohio School Children Study the Pennsylvania Dutch," p. 48. A report, by the teacher, of how the second graders in Gates Mills School in Ohio learned to know their Amish neighbors.

*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. LXXXVIII No. 1, January 1964. "The Diary of Sidney George Fisher 1861," pp. 70-93. With continuation in Nos. 2 (pp. 199-226), 3 (pp. 328-367), and 4 (pp. 456-484), this diary covers Fisher's life from 1861-1863. This document, continued over many issues of the Magazine, deals of course with the life of the Philadelphia aristocracy in the 19th Century, but occasionally it reflects the popular culture, as for example, the description of "Christkingle's visit" in December, 1863; the description of house and barn architecture in 1862; and the description, in December, 1863, of how his house was heated—a furnace, coal stoves in the library, nursery, and west piazza room, with wood fires made in the dining room and parlor about 4 o'clock, etc.

*Vol. LXXXVIII No. 4*, October 1964. Charles Coleman Sellers, "Joseph Sansom, Philadelphia Silhouettist," pp. 395-438. With copious examples, valuable as evidences on 18th Century Quaker costume, headgear, etc.

*Rheinisch-westphälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*. Bonn and Münster. 11. Jahrgang 1964, Heft 1-4. Justus Kutschmann, "Volkstümliche Fingerringe," pp. 1-30, with illustrations, pp. 141-162.

Karl-S. Kramer, "Das Haus als geistiges Kraftfeld im Gefüge der alten Volkskultur," pp. 30-43.

Bruno Schier, "Der Arbeitskreis für deutsche Hausforschung im dritten Jahrfünft seines Bestehens 1959-1964," pp. 43-64.

Heinrich Schauerte, "Sankt Cyriacus im westphälischen Raum," pp. 64-73.

Lothar Pretzell, "75 Jahre Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde," pp. 74-78.

Emil Hundhausen, "Die Heilkunst unserer Altvordern bei Mensch und Vieh," pp. 79-88.

Kleine Beiträge aus Berichten des Archives für westphälische Volkskunde, Münster (Westf.). Karl Schmidthaus, "Essen und Trinken. Der Tageslauf im Haushalt," pp. 89-102. Martha Bringemeier, "Kostümmuseen in den Niederlanden," pp. 103-105. Paul Michels, "Zur Geschichte des Weihnachtsbaumes in Westphalen," pp. 105-106.

Heinrich Schauerte, "Okkulte Phänomene im Leben eines Sauerländer Pfarrers," p. 106.

Berichte und Mitteilungen. Bruno Schier, Obituary of Prof. Dr. Gustav Wolf (1887-1963) of the Arbeitskreis für Hausforschung. Hinrich Siuts, "50 Jahre Deutsches Volksliedarchiv," pp. 108-111.

Book reviews, pp. 111-138.

*Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin*, Vol. XXVIII No. 1, March 1962. Kelsie Harder, "A Vocabulary of Wagon Parts," pp. 12-30.

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*The Swiss Quarterly for Folk-Cultural Studies, published in Basel, is now in its sixtieth year. Its articles provide much background resource material for Pennsylvania folklife scholars.*

*Vol. XXIX No. 1*, 1963. James W. Marchand, "A Note on the Sunday Letter," pp. 4-9. American variations on the *Himmelsbrief* or Letter from Heaven.

*Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*. Stuttgart. 60. Jahrgang 1964, Erster Halbjahresband. Hermann Hinz, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Niederdeutschen Halle," pp. 1-22. Information on construction and geographical spread of the iron-age "halls" used as combined dwellings and stables, in Northwest Europe: Germany, the Lowlands, and Scandinavia.

Elfriede Grabner, "Verlorenes Mass und heilkräftiges Messen: Krankheitsforschung und Heilhandlung in der Volksmedizin," pp. 23-34. On the practice of "measuring" for certain folk ailments. Historical materials from widespread areas in the German-speaking lands, with some information from Karl Knortz's investigations into American folk-healing practices.

60. Jahrgang, 1964, Zweiter Halbjahresband.

Maurits de Meyer, "Verjüngung im Glutofen-Altweiber- und Altmännermühle," pp. 161-167.

Bernward Deneke, "Die Entdeckung der Volkskunst für das Kunstgewerbe," pp. 168-201.

Herbert Schwedt, "Moderne Kunst, Kunstgewerbe und Volkskunst."

"Aus den Anfängen der Volkskunde als Wissenschaft," a. Helmut Möller: *Volkskunde, Statistik, Völkerkunde 1787*; b. Dieter Narr, Hermann Bausinger, "Volkskunde" 1788.

Forschungsbericht: "Das Deutsche Volksliedarchiv 1914-1964."



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AMISH & DUTCH BUGGIES

QUILTING CONTEST EXHIBIT

MEN'S TOILETS

COLLEGE GATE

HORSES

PARKING ON FESTIVAL TRACK

CONESTOGA RIDES

BUGGY RIDES

WITCH-CRAFT TRIAL  
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FOWL AND FEATHER LORE  
BEE LORE  
ICE HOUSE  
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**CHILDREN'S GAMES**  
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FLAILING DEMONSTRATION

HARVEST HOME  
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CHRISTMAS LORE

ANTIQUE FARM EQUIPMENT

EATING STANDS

BAKE OVEN

EATING TENTS

CRAFT

HALLS

BUTCHERING

GALLOWES  
BASKET MAKER  
HARNESS MAKER  
BROOM MAKER  
ALMANAC LORE  
FUNERAL LORE  
TOBACCO LORE  
MUSH LORE  
SAURKRAUT LORE  
POTATO LORE  
HOSPITALITY TENT  
GREEN CHAIR  
AMISH WEDDING



PRESS OFFICE

NURSE

FESTIVAL OFFICE

EXHIBIT HALL

WOMEN'S TOILETS

MEN'S TOILETS

ANTIQUES FOR SALE

CRAFT HALLS  
FARMERS MARKET

WOMEN'S TOILET  
MEN'S TOILET