



Summer 1963

Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 13, No. 3

Earl F. Robacker

Don Yoder


Leo H. Bixler

Edna Eby Heller

Amos Long Jr.

See next page for additional authors

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/pafolklifemag>

 Part of the [American Art and Architecture Commons](#), [American Material Culture Commons](#), [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [Ethnic Studies Commons](#), [Fiber, Textile, and Weaving Arts Commons](#), [Folklore Commons](#), [Genealogy Commons](#), [German Language and Literature Commons](#), [Historic Preservation and Conservation Commons](#), [History of Religion Commons](#), [Linguistics Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Click here to let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Robacker, Earl F.; Yoder, Don; Bixler, Leo H.; Heller, Edna Eby; Long, Amos Jr.; and Shaner, Richard, "Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 13, No. 3" (1963). *Pennsylvania Folklife Magazine*. 16.

<https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/pafolklifemag/16>

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society Collection at Digital Commons @ Ursinus College. It has been accepted for inclusion in Pennsylvania Folklife Magazine by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Ursinus College. For more information, please contact aprock@ursinus.edu.

Authors

Earl F. Robacker, Don Yoder, Leo H. Bixler, Edna Eby Heller, Amos Long Jr., and Richard Shaner

Folk Festival Issue · 75¢

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

JULY · 1963



Pennsylvania Dutch Quilts



Anson Stump, Berks County Wheelwright

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE



EDITORS:

Dr. Don Yoder, *Managing*
Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Associate*

DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS:

Dr. Earl F. Robacker, *Antiques*
Edna Eby Heller, *Cookery*
Olive G. Zehner, *Crafts*
Marjorie N. White, *Design*
Dr. J. William Frey, *Music*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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

MSS AND PHOTOGRAPHS:

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

PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE, July 1963, Vol. 13, No. 3, published quarterly by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Inc., 8 West King St., Lancaster, Pa. Executive and editorial office, Box 1586, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Contents copyrighted.

Entered as second class matter
at Lancaster, Pa.

JULY 1963, Vol. 13, No. 3

Contents

- 2 Piece-Patch Artistry**
EARL F. ROBACKER
- 11 The Horse and Buggy Dutch**
DON YODER
- 18 Pine Tar and Its Uses**
LEO H. BIXLER
- 24 Much Ado about Cookies**
EDNA EBY HELLER
- 28 FOLK FESTIVAL PROGRAM**
- 33 Outdoor Privies in the Dutch Country**
AMOS LONG, JR.
- 39 Distillation and Distilleries
Among the Dutch**
RICHARD H. SHANER
- 43 The Folklife Studies Movement**
DON YODER

piece-patch artistry

By EARL F. ROBACKER

How much of the charm of an old hand-made quilt is residual with the piece and how much is compounded of various kinds of nostalgia would be hard to say—but nostalgia might well come out ahead. "How this takes me back!" begins the person who, after a lapse of many years, unfolds an old quilt, sensing the faint aroma of time, mothballs, lavender . . .

Whoever originally conceived the idea of salvaging tiny scraps of dress material for quilt-making purposes performed an economic service, certainly, but she—it must have been "she"—performed a far greater service for generations of women doomed to lonesome existences on the farms of rural America; the sociability of the quilting party offered blessed release from the monotony of seeing the same faces and performing the same chores day after day.

Quilt-making was practiced wherever women used scissors, needle, and thimble. Favorite patterns evolved in New England, in Tennessee, in Virginia, in Pennsylvania;

many of them seem to have had names, but there is not necessarily a clear connection between name and pattern. What seems to have been common to all was the utilization of tiny patches in the creation of a block-contained or an over-all design, usually repetitive or rhythmic, plus a quantity of needlework which seems almost fantastic today. It is doubtful that, of the hundreds of quilt patterns known to exist, more than a very few could be called peculiar to Pennsylvania or the Pennsylvania Dutch, since quilts traveled far and wide, as gifts or necessary household objects or parts of a dowry—and most sharp-eyed needleworkers on the alert for a new pattern could mentally photograph the component parts of a quilt block while she appeared merely to be admiring it. It might be observed, however, that some new patterns came into existence when memory later played tricks with this photographic cataloguing!

Quilt-making is still practiced. There are individuals and small groups—often Ladies Aid societies of churches—who carry on the practice as a revenue-producing activity.



Important appliquéd quilt in faded red and green on white background. The design of the folded section shown here is repeated throughout.

All articles shown are from the Robacker Collection

Photos by Karas of Yonkers

Pieced quilt in Pinwheel design favored in Monroe County, Pennsylvania.



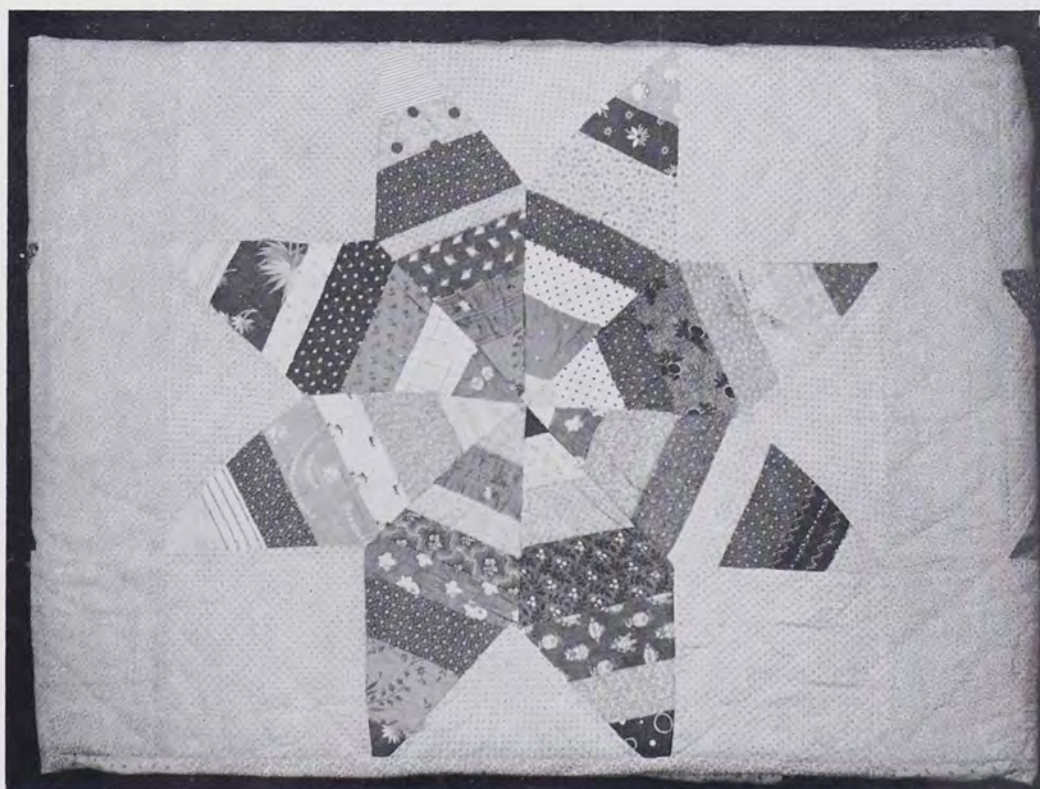
For all that, however, it is on its way to becoming a lost art, as surely as the building of stake-and-rider fences is a lost art—or the practice of coloring homemade butter with saffron or the application of blacking to a kitchen stove. It is not that the present generation lacks the skill; it is simply that the need no longer exists, and once sentiment and nostalgia have disappeared the activity will also disappear.

The making of quilts was essentially a 19th Century art, depending as it did on colored, patterned, or plain fabrics ranging from gingham to chintz or chambray or calico, or less frequently silk or wool. Homespun is rare in quilts, though now and then one finds it—oftenest as a background for appliquéd work. Whatever the material used in the creation of the quilt block design, it was considered best not to mix cotton with wool, or either of these with silk, not only because of a possible incongruous effect but because one would be likely to wear out before the other. There

can be little question that some of the yard goods chosen for dresses was selected with an eye also toward the scraps which would brighten up a quilt block!

There were several stages or progressions in the making of a patchwork quilt, the first of which was merely the accumulation of all the scraps of all the materials used in clothing made at home—men's work shirts, jackets, and pants usually excepted. If the housewife knew in advance that her next effort would be a Double Wedding Ring, she might cup the scraps into the required shapes and sizes as she went along, keeping a cardboard pattern of each needed shape at hand—at first in her sewing bag or basket, later in the most convenient drawer of the sewing machine. If she merely saved up her "piece-patches" until she had an opportunity to think about quilt-making, there would come a time when she sorted out and pressed what she had, taking an inventory.

Probably oldest and undoubtedly one of the most effective of the quilts in the collection is this thick, rather sparsely quilted Star pattern. Note that even very tiny scraps have been utilized.



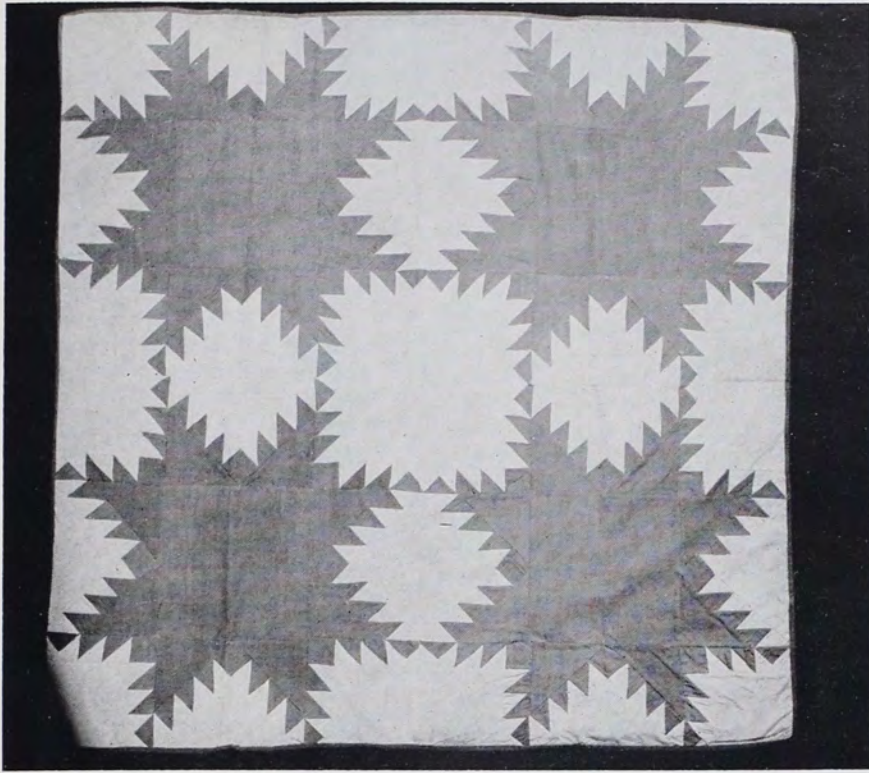
Rose and bud garland in red and green appliqué on white ground.



This inventory gave rise to a number of interesting ramifications. She might discover that, while she had an over-abundance of blues, there was a paucity of pinks and reds. She could, according to fancy or finances, engage in trading among relatives and friends, or supplement what she had by purchasing from the bolts always on hand at the general store. Certain small-figured patterns on backgrounds of yellow, of red, or of green appear to have been used for little but sunbonnets and quilts. (Lest this combination seem far-fetched, we might remember, for what it is worth, that the visors of sunbonnets were *quilted*, usually over cardboard!) If her assortment of fragments was unusually diverse, the chances were that some yard goods would be bought, usually for the centers of blocks, in order to bring about a degree of homogeneity.

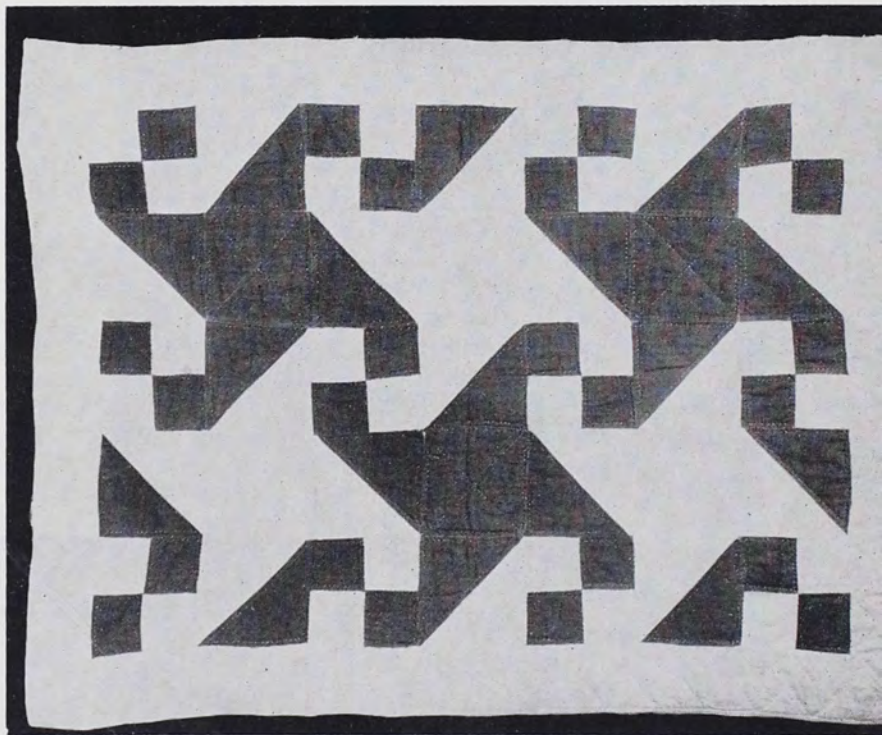
If the patch bag revealed a considerable quantity of one pattern, there arose the question as to whether or not an appliquéd quilt should be considered. Tiny scraps were fine for patchwork—and some appliquéd quilts display patches equally tiny—but ordinarily appliquéd quilts utilize fewer patterns and larger pieces. If no special artistry was to be attempted—that is, if one needed an extra quilt in a hurry—then sizes were ignored and the pieces put together at random in what has since come to be called the Crazy Quilt pattern. It should be noted that even here an attempt at congruity was made: reds were kept away from other reds, darks alternated with lights, and so on. The outlines of the pieces were usually gone over afterwards with colored silkateen or crochet cotton, in a fancy stitch—sometimes in an amazing repertory of fancy stitches. There were probably more Crazy Quilts in wool than in cotton; cotton was cheap—wool was not, and every fragment was put to use.

Pink, yellow, and green appliquéd garland on white. The flowers still retain some of the sought-after "puffy" or three-dimensional effect.



Pieced crib cover in red and white. While the impression is one of simplicity, this is one of the more difficult patterns because a single skewed angle or dull point spoils the effect.

Cover for doll's bed. Pieced blue appliquéd on white in the Hand-of-Friendship design.



Something of an anomaly: Colorful calico "flowers" appliquéd to an initialed homespun sheet, the whole being used as a coverlet or spread, since it is unfilled.



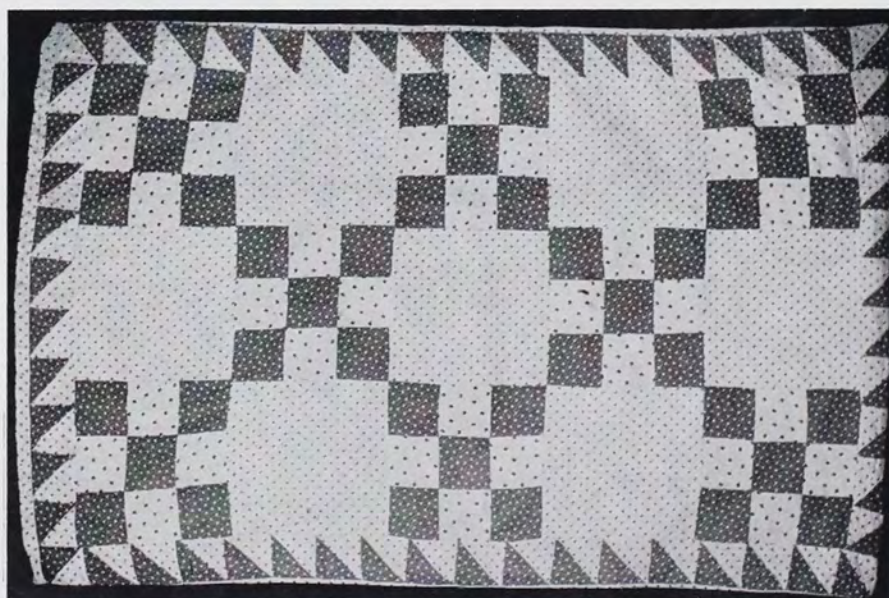
All-white quilt of major importance. Note these details: point of large star forming central design in the all-over pattern, with its own central rising sun; the six-pointed "hex" sign, so-called, use at intervals; the group of three Prince's Feathers raying away from each point of the star; the regularity of the stitching.

An early consideration in the process was the question of whether the quilt would display an over-all design on completion, or whether the individual blocks, each with the same design but with varying fabrics, would bear the burden of the decorative emphasis. Appliquéd quilts were frequently all-over in pattern; some blocks lent themselves to an all-over effect even when none had been intended. If, as sometimes happened in later years, white and a single solid color were used, the pattern was usually an all-over one.

The housewife ordinarily followed through the process of putting little pieces into blocks and then assembling the blocks—with the assistance of all the female members of the family who could wield a needle. From that point on, she might choose to proceed on her own, or she might hurry up the process by inviting in friends or relatives or a

church group for one or more sessions. Or, for that matter, she might take the quilt to the church basement for completion. Quilting was almost always a dead-of-the-winter job, and a fire was built in the stove in the unused "front" room where the quilting-frame was set up and allowed to remain for weeks on end. Sometimes most furniture except chairs had to be moved out to accommodate the frame—an oblong rigging set on four posts, all of it collapsible and portable and usually home-made. Quilting proceeded from the outside toward the center, naturally, and the edges of the quilt were rolled under as they were completed. As many as six women could work on each side of a quilt. A contrivance known as a sewing bird was often clamped to the frame, sometimes to aid in keeping a taut surface or sometimes, since it was likely to be fitted out with a little emery cushion, to help keep the needles bright and sharp.

Pieced cover of pillow-case size, perhaps done by a child learning the basic techniques of quilting.



By any standard, the most sophisticated piece in the collection. This is a single block in brilliant red appliquéd on white. Note how the rows of stitching follow the curves of the lunettes.

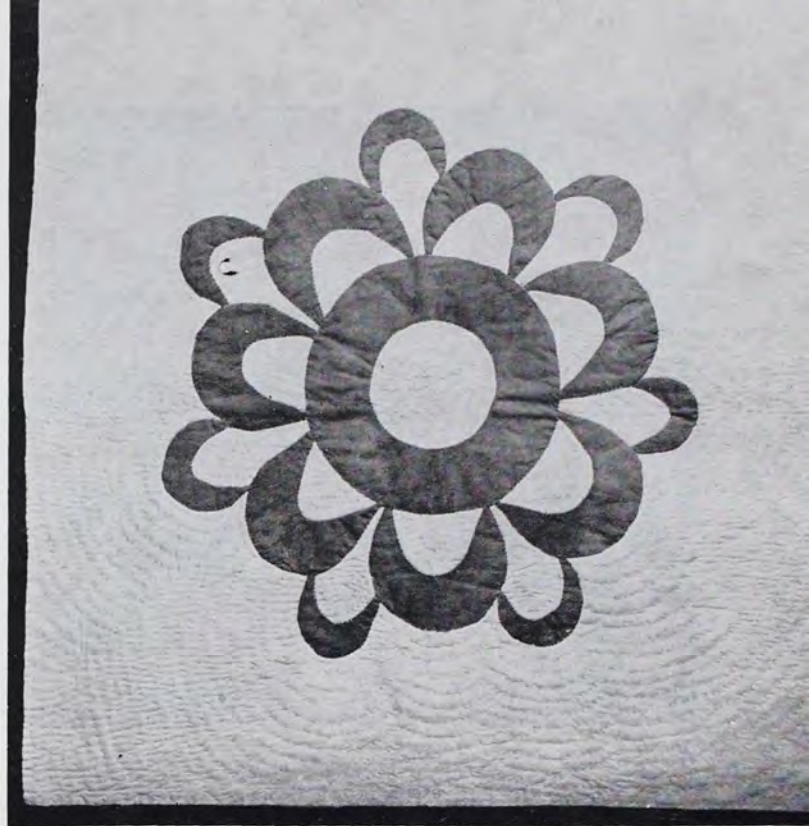
The quilting process, seemingly unimportant to today's non-initiate who is interested only in the pattern or design of the quilt itself, meant the difference between a mediocre product or one of quality. It was highly unlikely that any half dozen or more women would take stitches of the same size, and yet only regularly set little stitches could contribute to a superior job. Tinness was as important as was the closeness of the rows or blocks of stitching. The process was complicated further by the fact that at this point there were three planes or surfaces to convert into one: the piece-patch affair on top, a plain muslin or other fabric on the bottom (the "lining"), and a filler of cotton or wool batting in the middle. If the woollen batting had been well milled, there was no particular problem for the experienced sewer. If, however, it was uneven or lumpy, an inordinate amount of time had to be spent in trying to remedy the situation—and tempers were likely to grow short in the process. Toward the end of the century, rather than put up with the annoyance of badly carded wool, more than one housewife used a woollen blanket as a filler instead—at home; a church-made article intended for sale would hardly have received such cavalier treatment.

The final step was usually the matter of binding—something the owner usually did by herself, no matter how much help she might have had earlier. An even, regular binding was as necessary for a finished appearance as were even, regular stitches—and not every woman could achieve it. Nowadays, when old-time quilts are brought out for display at county fairs or church bazaars, there is likely to be a chorus of Ohs! and Ahs! for the design—but there may also be a deprecatory clucking of the tongue by a couple of initiates, over the stitching, the meagreness of the quilting, or the unevenness of the binding.

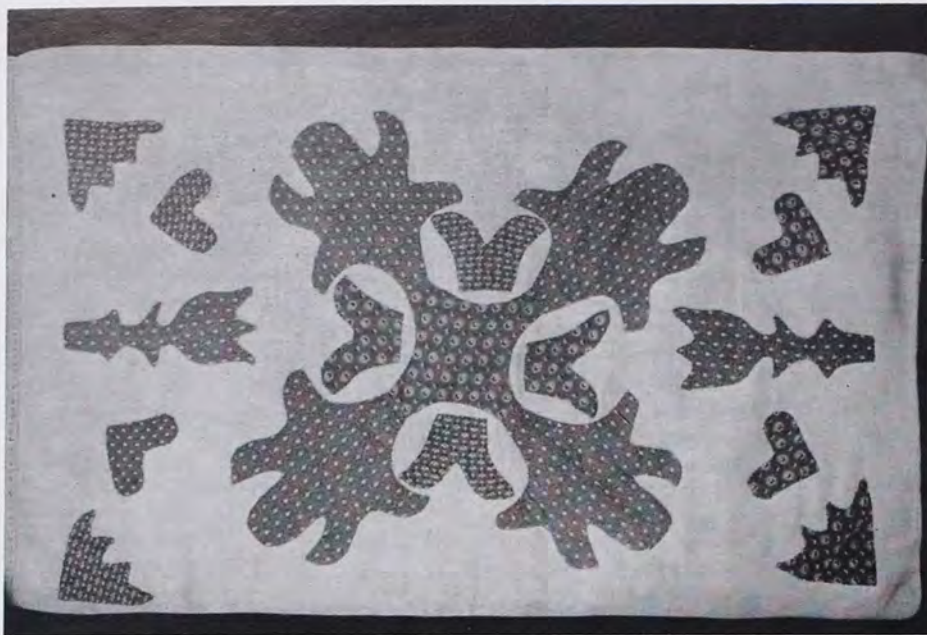
Quilting patterns were laid out by cardboard stencils or by metallic markers, the edges of which had been chalked. These implements look much like over-size cooky cutters and have fooled more than one novice at collecting. Rectangularity of the quilt as a whole was usually achieved by snapped chalk lines.

Many variations exist among old quilts—some because their owners planned them that way and others because it was expedient to do something apart from the usual. An all-white quilt depended for its charm almost entirely on the variety and quality of the stitching used. Some quilts were made especially for children's cribs or for small-size beds, but other under-size objects have simply been cut down from full-scale models. One way of continuing the usefulness of a shabby quilt was to utilize it as the filling between a new top and bottom, particularly if it contained good wool batting.

The Friendship quilt, so called, would probably be rated as a variation, also. This was often an appliquéd quilt, with the name of a different individual—a donor or a friend—in each block. As late as 1958 a Friendship quilt bearing as many names as there were persons in the community who were willing to make a small donation to the church, was auctioned off in the village of Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pennsylvania, as a fund-raising device. Friendship quilts



Separate blocks intended for a Friendship quilt never completed. The hemstitched border in M. C. Yatman's block is probably, but not necessarily, a later edition.



Appliquéd pillow case in red and green on white. The hearts and tulips are clearly defined. Are the four larger flowers intended to represent the bearded iris?

were sometimes memorials, we are told. Not infrequently all the names on a quilt are stitched by the same person, to assure even quality in the "handwriting."

Many old-time quilts do not fit today's beds, since they were proportioned for the shorter, almost square rope beds of the last century. Probably few persons today actually use them for their original purpose, but prefer instead to fold them across the foot of a bed in a way best calculated to show off the design. It is undoubtedly just as well to do it so; gone are the days of the unheated bedroom, the bed lined with a pair of woollen blankets and surmounted by a minimum of five wool-filled quilts. At that, with the temperature at ten below zero and small snowdrifts forming

on the window sill because of an ill-fitting sash, five were none too many, as the writer knows from experience.

Storing quilts was less of a problem in earlier days than it is now, since homes which needed many quilts were big enough to accommodate the old-fashioned chests in which they were packed away with mothballs. The packing usually took place on a sunny day, after the quilts had been well aired. A quilt with any trace of dampness about it was prone to acquire an odor of mustiness which not even the mothballs could take away.

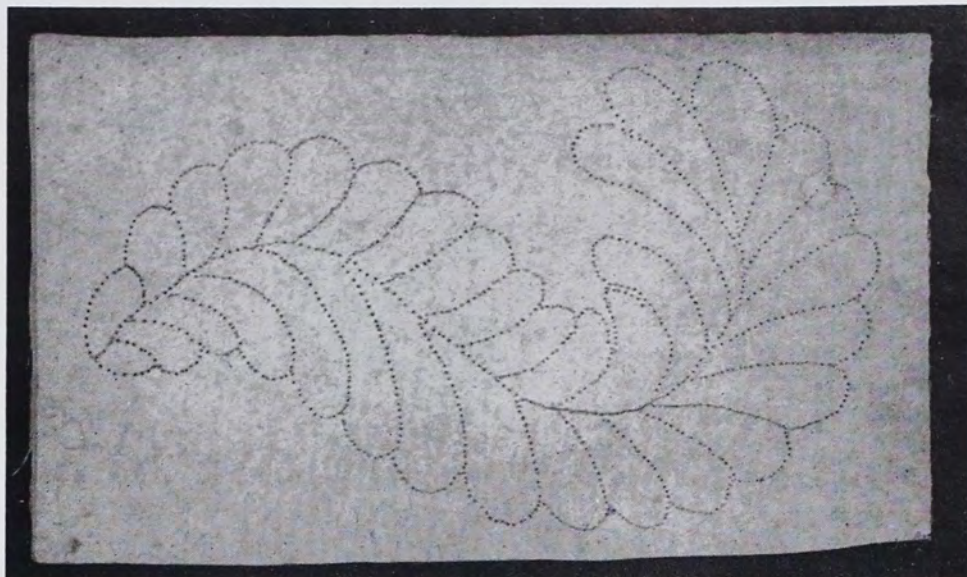
While it is true that a good many quilts were needed by the large families of our grandparents' times, it seems equally true that the practice of quilt-making must have been habit-forming. It has been said of many women that they made more than a hundred quilts in their lifetimes. Marie Knorr Graeff, in her little booklet *Pennsylvania German Quilts*, notes that one Mrs. Caroline Stoudt of Newmangtown, Pennsylvania, made 150. It was almost a commonplace that Grandmother would make a quilt for each grandchild in the family. Perhaps the self-imposed task was an onerous one, perhaps not. Certainly, though, each succeeding quilt must have given its creator satisfaction—and a quilt was one of the few ways in which many women could satisfy their urge toward beauty. It is within the power of many persons today to conjure up memories of Sunday visits in which the female contingent of the assembly went from room to room and chest to chest to see, handle, and admire these specimens of needlework.

There is little point in insisting that any given design, no matter where one finds it, is Pennsylvania Dutch; designs are more or less universal. If one wishes to have a quilt that is authentically Pennsylvania Dutch, however, there is no particular problem: One goes to a reputable Dutch Country antiques dealer and states his needs. There are good quilts still to be had, and at fair prices. Not infrequently the history of any given quilt may be had also. Many of these quilts—perhaps most of them—have never been used. They are subject to a little discoloration from folding and long storage in some cases, and it is not always possible to get rid of rust marks without losing more than one gains. The purchaser often has to decide just how much less than perfection in a quilt she is willing to settle for.



Square cushion cover of old materials but contemporary construction.

Heavy paper stencil of Prince's Feather pattern. The stencil was laid on the surface to be quilted and colored powder (sometimes pulverized surveyor's chalk) patted through the pierced openings to mark the path for the needle. Fifteen inches long.



The Prince's Feather in tin. The edges were dusted with colored chalk and the color transferred to the area to be quilted. The piece has two heavy handles of tin on the back and strongly resembles an out-size (thirteen-inch) cooky cutter.

Susanna's fraktur of 1854—well past the time of the actual fraktur tradition—seems to have been influenced by patchwork. The resemblance is even stronger in the red, green, and blue of the original.



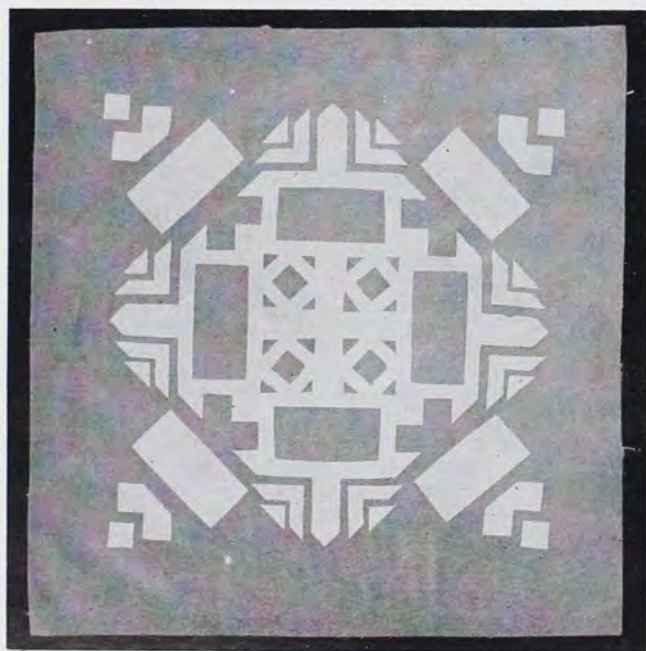
An interesting offshoot of the old-fashioned quilt is the quilted pillow case, almost always appliquéd—and, sadly, almost always too small for today's pillows. It would be a hardy soul who could turn one down, however, on the rare occasions when they are offered for sale. A strictly contemporary but very convincing and very attractive object from the Dutch Country is an appliquéd cushion cover, made of old materials in a traditional design, so constructed that one can slip a square pillow into it on a second's notice and have the verisimilitude of something Pennsylvania Dutch.

For those who feel they must be familiar with at least a few names of designs which have been found in the Dutch Country, whether or not they are indigenous to it, one might mention the following: Tulip Basket, Star, Star of Bethlehem (one enormous, multi-pointed star made of

hundreds of diamond-shaped patches, usually with delicate tints and shadings of color), Heart, Heart and Tulip, Tulip and Star, Log Cabin, Pinwheel, Jacob's Ladder, Hand of Friendship, Drunkard's Progress, Fan, Wedding Ring. Some of these seem to be reasonably descriptive—the myriad variations of the Star, for instance; others appear to be somewhat esoteric. Lacking conviction, the writer is willing to take it on faith that there may be something which justifies the nomenclature of Wedding Ring (and Double Wedding Ring and Single Wedding Ring) and Log Cabin!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- DeLeeuw, Adèle. *Patchwork Quilt*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1943. Illustrated juvenile.
- Dunton, William Rush, Jr., *Old Quilts*. Catonsville, Md.: Published by author, 1946. Nostalgic presentation by author, a physician.
- Finley, Ruth E., *Old Patchwork Quilts and the Women Who Made Them*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1929.
- Graeff, Marie Knorr. *Pennsylvania German Quilts*. Plymouth Meeting, Pa.: Home Craft Course series by Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, 1946. Pamphlet No. IV in the series—and one of the best.
- Hall, Carrie, and Kretsinger, Rose G., *The Romance of the Patchwork Quilt in America*. New York: Caxton Printers, 1935.
- Lichten, Frances, *Decorative Art of Victoria's Era, The*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950. Incidental references in a volume too little known.
- Lichten, Frances, *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania, The*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. Perhaps the best single source in a full-size publication.
- Peto, Florence, *American Quilts and Coverlets*. New York: Chanticleer Press, 1949. The "standard" book on the subject.
- Peto, Florence, *Historic Quilts*. New York: American Historical Co., 1939.
- Robacker, Earl F., *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961 (5th ed.).
- Robertson, Elizabeth Wells, *American Quilts*. New York: Studio Publications, Inc., 1948.
- Smith, Edward C., and Thompson, Virginia van H., *Traditionally Pennsylvania Dutch*. New York: Hastings House, 1947. Briefest of treatments; one fine illustration.
- Webster, Marie D., *Quilts—Their Story and How to Make Them*. New York: Doubleday Page, 1915.



All-over quilt pattern of white paper cut out and pasted on a blue backing. Dated 1839 on the reverse, it was found near Richland in Bucks County.



AMISH SCHOOLBOYS. Barefooted and carrying carefully packed lunches in workmen's lunch boxes or more economical tin pails, they are heading for a day's session with the 3 R's in a one-room schoolhouse in Lancaster County.

The Horse and Buggy Dutch

By the Editor

The American past is a living past in Pennsylvania Dutchdom. Pennsylvania's "plain" sects—Protestant sectarians who believe in separation from the "world" and none conformity with the world's fashions—attract the tourist as well as the scholar because they show us, in part, the way of life that was once shared by our rural ancestors. Horse-drawn transportation, for example, was in 1900 the standard American mode of transportation. Today, in 1963, it is limited to several religious groups in Pennsylvania and the Midwest and Canada—the Old Order Amish, the Conservative Mennonites, and a few Conservative Dunkard sects.

The Old Order Amish live in close-knit rural communities, with a group of a dozen or more families under the iron-clad rule of a bishop. Amish clergy are chosen by lot in

New Testament fashion and are unpaid, supporting themselves six days out of every week on their own farms. Neither do the Old Order Amish have churches or meeting-houses, but meet every two weeks in their farmhouses for worship services in the German language. At home the Amish speak "Pennsylvania Dutch," at market and to outsiders they speak very good English, which they learn at school.

Because of their slow rate of change, the Amish preserve many aspects of the early American farm life that have disappeared elsewhere, as for instance the once general early American recreation of barn-dancing. However, the total Amish way of life today is not a living replica of 17th and 18th Century farm life. Amish men are, it is true, forbidden automobiles and tractors, but they can use



AMISH BARN-DANCE. *The early American barn-dance is still alive in the Amish rural community. Amish young people, denied participation in social and mixed dancing with "worldly" people, make their own amusements. At least two sets are seen here dancing, with separate callers.*

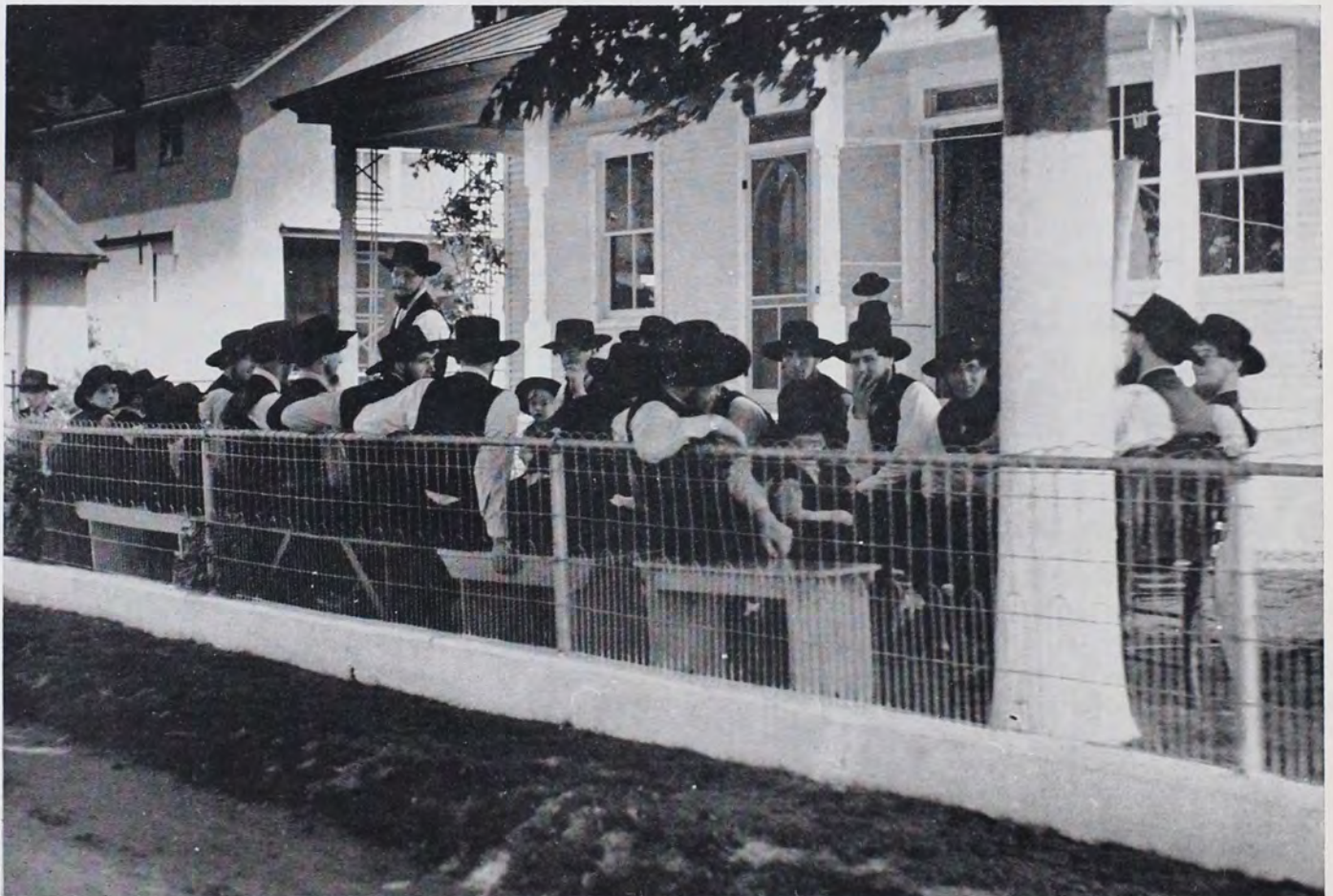
Charles S. Rice photo.

stationary engines for farm work. The Amish housewife—contrary to the widespread tourist notion—has a very modern kitchen. While electricity is forbidden, bottled gas is not, and appliances are modern.

The rule seems to be the sociological one that whatever weakens the community is bad, and therefore is forbidden. The automobile takes the young people out of community

control, hence is forbidden; the stationary engine serves a useful purpose on the farm.

Approximately 20,000 Old Order Amish are found in rural settlements across the nation. The principal ones are those in Lancaster, Mifflin, and Somerset Counties, Pennsylvania; Holmes County and elsewhere in Ohio; and various parts of Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.



Vincent R. Tortora photo.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON ON AN AMISH FARM. *Church services have been held in this farmhouse, and after a copious dinner, the men are chatting under the trees in the front yard. Note the two front doors (typical of Pennsylvania Dutch farmhouses), the whitewashed tree, and the cigars. The Amish have not yet been invaded by the Puritan-Revivalist morality of 19th Century America, as have their relatives the Mennonites, and hence the Amish have no objection to smoking tobacco.*

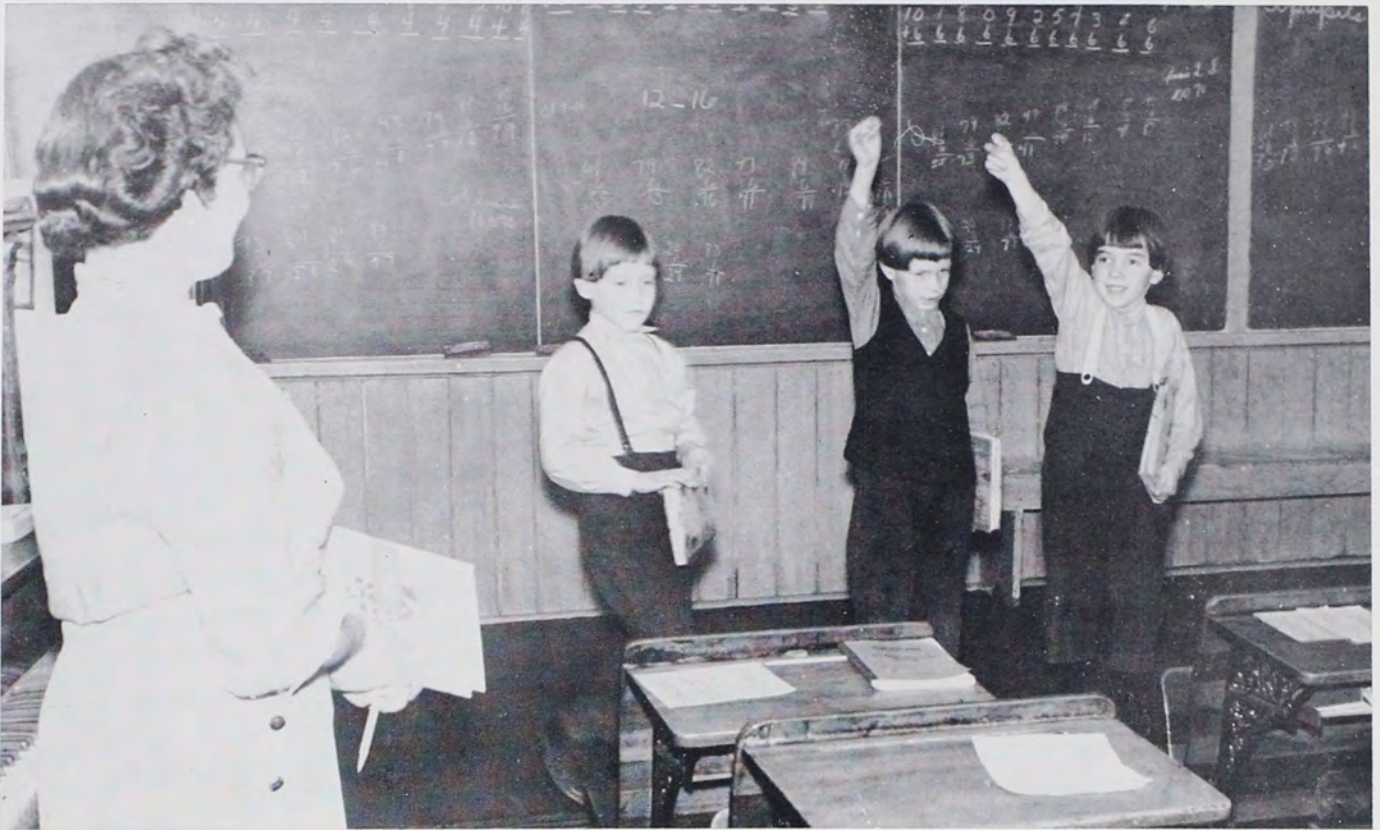
AMISH BEARDS AND BROADBRIMS.

The beards are a sign that these young men are married. The photograph was made at a Lancaster County threshermen's festival which features old-time steam-engines. The Amish are excellent mechanics and interested in most types of farm machinery. Even though they are denied the use of the automobile and the tractor, they are permitted to use stationary engines around the farm.



Charles S. Rice photo.

AT REST. Amish man and boy photographed at threshermen's festival. Amish men still wear lotz-hussa (sailor's or "barndoor" trousers without flies) and suspenders. Two of the men are wearing dress (winter) hats, two have work (or summer) hats of straw. The Amish often make the straw hats themselves, but buy the black felts from hat manufacturers like Frank McLoud in Reading.



Vincent R. Tortora photo.

SECOND GRADERS KNOW THE ANSWER. As each student "recites" his lesson correctly, he goes to his desk and sits down. Note that the teacher of the Amish school is "non-plain." Since the Amish do not believe in higher education, there are no Amish teachers with normal school education and state certificates.



SUMMER DRESS OF LANCASTER COUNTY OLD-ORDER AMISH. To keep themselves separate from the "world," the Amish wear a "plain" costume, made up of vestiges of earlier rural costumes in America and Europe. Note woman's pleated dress, black apron and cape, black bonnet, man's beard and broad-brimmed straw hat.

CONSERVATIVE MENNONITES IN CANADA. Three styles of Old Order Mennonite bonnets on women attending the Elmira Pig Fair at Elmira, Ontario, a monthly auction sale.

Hunsberger photo.



The Conservative or Old Order Mennonites also use horse-drawn transportation and preserve in partially modified form the 19th Century Mennonite way of life. For instance, they differ from other Mennonites in not accepting (1) revivalism, (2) the Sunday School, and (3) the English language in worship.

Mennonites who in these three areas wanted to accommodate themselves to general American religious patterns withdrew, leaving the Old Order groups behind. One of the last splits came in the 1920's, when the automobile caused the schism which separated the "Team Mennonites"

(*Foor-Mennishta*) from the "Black-Bumper Mennonites" (they permit black autos but paint out the "worldly" chrome). In one case in Lancaster County these two groups still share the same meetinghouse, so that one Sunday the meetinghouse grove is filled with automobiles, the next Sunday with plain carriages.

Old Order Mennonites are found in Pennsylvania in the hill country around Ephrata, in the Kutztown area, in Snyder County, in Franklin County, and in the Kitchener area of Ontario.



AMISH BONNET FROM CANADA. This is an Old Order (House) Amish bonnet worn by an Amish farmwife from Perth County, Ontario.

Hunsberger photo.



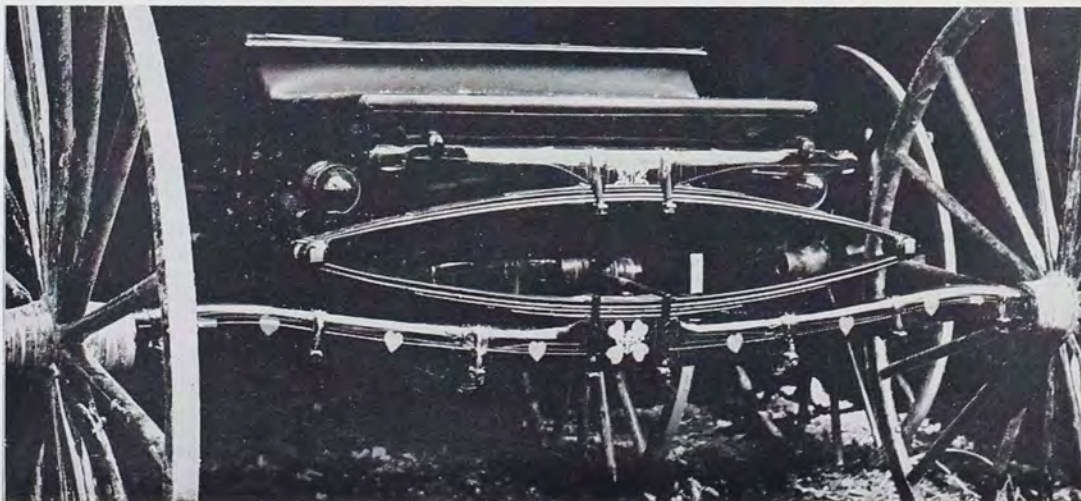
CONSERVATIVE MENNONITE CARRIAGES. The spring wagon on the left is the family carriage, the open buggy on the right is the courting buggy of the young people.



"PLAIN" CARRIAGES AT LANCASTER COUNTY MEETINGHOUSE. These plain carriages are locally manufactured, but follow the traditional lines of the rural American buggies and spring wagons of the pre-world War I era. They are well built, and must be uniform in style. The electric light, powered by batteries, is a state requirement. So hazardous is carriage travel on today's highways that certain counties in Ohio where there are large settle-

ments of Amish have required carriage roads on the edges of the concrete highways. Pennsylvania has not yet come to that.

MEETING IS GOING ON IN THE MEETINGHOUSE. Lineup of carriages at a Lancaster County horse-shed accentuates the uniformity demanded of their members by the Team Mennonites.



REFLECTOR TAPE ON COURTING BUGGY. A "plain" swain has decorated his buggy with hearts of reflector tape. It's one world after all.

BRETHREN (DUNKARD) WOMEN WEIGH THE LOVE-FEAST BREAD. Plain Dutchdom includes, besides Amish and Mennonites, a large group of Dunkards (Church of the Brethren), some of whom are still opposed to the automobile. The Dunkard women shown here are weighing the dough for the unleavened Love-Feast bread (Liebesmahlbrot), used at Dunkard communion services.



Charles S. Rice photo.

AMISH AND CONSERVATIVE MENNONITES MINGLE WITH THE "WORLD'S PEOPLE" AT FARM SALE. The Spring sales in the Dutch Country are, in a sense, a phase of "plain" social life, and one of several public gatherings where "plain" Pennsylvanians are permitted to mingle with their "non-plain" neighbors. The white-haired farmer whose patriarchal back is turned toward us is Amish, the young unbearded farmer with the large hat in the extreme left corner of the photo is Conservative Mennonite, the old farmer between them with the uncreased, derby-like felt hat is probably "Old Mennonite."

Veteran Tar Burner Geirmon Straub stands beside his weathered tar pit on his farm in the hills near Hebe, Pennsylvania. Down the hill is his springhouse.



PINE TAR

By LEO H. BIXLER

This year's Festival recreates the ancient art of pine-tar burning superintended by one of the last of the pine-tar burners from the Dutch Country, Geirmon Straub. We dedicate this article to him, one of the many Pennsylvania farmers who bring their skills and crafts to Kutztown to display and demonstrate them to visitors from all over the United States. The article begins with a biography of Geirmon Straub by Leo H. Bixler; next comes Geirmon's reminiscences of tar-burning in the past, transcribed from tape-recordings; and thirdly, a descriptive list of the many uses of pine-tar in Pennsylvania, compiled by Leo Bixler.—EDITOR.

Biography of a Tar-Burner

Along the Mahantongo Mountain in Lykens Valley, about one mile west of the Klingerstown Gap, near the village of Erdman, Geirmon Straub was born on June 21, 1886. He was the son of Tobias and Mary (Lower) Straub, and grandson of Samuel and Hannah Straub.

When he was a young boy he loved to go fishing in the Mahantongo Creek. He said at that time there were a lot of fish in the creek. He went to school in Lykens Township in the little red schoolhouse at Erdman. As a boy he worked on his father's farm and later worked at the Bear Valley Colliery.

Home of Mr. and Mrs. Geirmon Straub and the hollow (deich) down which the smoke drew to the village of Hebe.



and ITS USES

On March 22, 1913, at Dornsife, he married Alice Goodman. The Rev. Mr. Shofer, Lutheran minister, performed the ceremony. Mr. and Mrs. Straub will celebrate their golden wedding anniversary this year, 1963.

To this couple were born four sons—Charlie, Nelson, Stanley, and Lee Straub; and four daughters—Mary, Meda, Marion, and Iva. Mr. Straub had four brothers—Harry, Eston, Walter, and Harvey Straub. Eston and Walter are deceased. He has three sisters—Katie Miller, Carrie Lupold, and Emma Schwalm.

He lived with his parents for some time, then he and his wife moved to the foot of the Fischer Ridge where the road crosses the ridge from Pillow to Urban. Then again he moved to the John Romberger farm between Hebe and Klingerstown, down by the Mahantongo Creek, where he lived for awhile before again moving back to his father's farm, the old homestead west of Erdman. After living at the old homestead for some time he moved to the farm where he lives now and has continued to live there for 47 years, at the foot of Fischer Ridge, one mile north of the village of Hebe.

He loves to hunt and fish in the Mahantongo Valley, and for a man of 77 years he is very spry and can get around very well.

When he was a young fellow he had an accident at the mines in Bear Valley. They were running an accommodation from the bottom of the mine to the surface when he

fell between the cars, and they went over his legs. Luckily the bones were all right but the flesh was all torn off and mangled. Four men carried him across a high mountain on a stretcher to the doctor (William Lebo) at Valley View. He never went to a hospital. The doctor just sewed up his legs—not in his office but on the sidewalk.

Years ago he was a teamster hauling logs to the collieries at Goodspring, Bear Valley, and Lincoln, with four and six head of horses. He was a carpenter for many years in and around the Mahantongo and Lykens Valleys. He helped to build many of the homes and barns in this area.

He knows many of the old landmarks along the Tulpehocken Trail, which he showed the author on a ride from his home to the 1962 Pennsylvania Dutch Harvest Frolic at Lancaster. He showed me where the Spread Eagle Hotel, the Hoffa Hotel, Schwenk's Hall, and the hotel known as Esther Schadle's were, the latter located on the mountain near Goodspring. Teamsters used to put up for the night at these hotels, and Mr. Straub remembers some of them.

Mr. Straub is a jolly fellow, although a little shy, but he seems to be always in a good mood. And when he gets started to tell of the old times and days gone by he can talk your ears off. To the folks at the Folk Festival and at the Harvest Frolic Mr. Straub is known as "Pappy Straub."

His son Lee and his wife live on the farm adjoining his father's home and they keep looking after the older folks.

The lost art of pine-tar burning being recreated at the Pennsylvania Folklife Museum (1962). The process begins with the careful firing of pine kindling stacked in pyramid on top of a concrete basin here hidden by cone of earth. As the smoldering progresses, the tar drains into the concrete basin and out the pipe into tar bucket at left of picture. The tar pit must be watched for three days to promote even smoldering, otherwise the tar burns as well as the wood.



Conestoga Wagoners carried buckets of tar to grease the axles of their huge pioneer wagons which carried freight to market and across the Allegheny Mountains.



Mr. Straub's hobbies are making brooms, baskets, and pine tar. During the depression in the 1930's, he had six children at that time and was in dire need of groceries, things that you couldn't get on a small farm, like coffee, sugar, and salt. He couldn't get on relief, so to make ends meet he made brooms, baskets, and pine tar, which he peddled to his neighbors. A gallon of sticky black pine-tar he sold for two dollars.

Geirmon Straub Reminisces

When I asked him to explain tar burning he gave me the following account:

"Well, you must have a hill or an incline like the one to the west of my house. This is sort of a hollow gradually leading away from my house to a depth of about 50 feet, at the bottom of which my spring (*broona*) and spring-house (*broona-hous*) are located, also my butchering place (*kessel-blotz*). This hollow is running north and south for about a mile to the village of Hebe. It is down this ravine that the smoke from my tar-pit (*darr uff*) drew clear over to the village and the folks there liked to smell it.

"On this incline about thirty feet away from my spring-house I built my tar pit (*darr uff*). I constructed this vessel out of concrete six feet in diameter, a little cone shaped, to a depth of 18 to 24 inches. At the base of the cone a pipe 1½ inches was installed to carry off the tar to a container such as a barrel sawed in half, or an old crock.

"Well, I have a stump-puller (*shtoompa-rupper*) mounted on two wheels, with gears and ratchets and steel cables (*eisa shtrick*) that I pulled around the mountain from stump to stump by hand. With these levers I had 75 horsepower, and I pulled the stumps out of the ground. Some of the stumps had roots up to six and seven feet in the ground. After pulling the stumps I would pile them at the mountain. I would then take the horse and wagon, load up the stumps and haul them to my tar-pit where I would chop up these stumps into fine pieces or kindling (*briggel-huls*). I would work for days, spare time, till I had enough for one burning. A wagon-box full was about what I needed. These stumps

were yellow pine (*'s gail-beind*). This split wood I would pile on end in the pit till I had it quite full and had a pile of wood that looked like a tripod. This took a lot of time and many a time it fell over and had to be set up again. I would soak straw—rye straw (*karn shdro*) is best—in the brook or water-trough for a day or two, which I placed over the wood about three or four inches thick. This would keep the ground which is placed over the straw from falling into the pit and blocking the pipe. The ground is placed on the straw from four to six inches thick. Better than ground is a good sticky clay. In this ground or clay you have to make holes with a stick to give draft to the fire, and to keep the fire from burning too fast you have to close some of the holes.

"At the top of the cone-shaped pine wood I would leave an opening where I would place fine wood to start the fire. After lighting this wood I will let this burn awhile till I have a good bed of hot coals, after which I will cover this opening with straw and clay. The fire will burn without a flame and will burn down the pile of wood instead of up. The tar oozes out of the wood about six or seven inches ahead of the fire. As the fire burns evenly around the pile of wood, the tar runs to the center of the cone to the pipe and thence to the container (a barrel sawed in half). If the fire burns too fast and catches up with the tar, it will burn up the tar and very likely explode. It takes about a day after it is lit till the tar comes out of the pipe. It is not all tar that comes out. There is a lot of water (condensation) that helps the tar to run out. After letting it set awhile the water comes to the top of the tar, and this you pour off. The people used to sprinkle this water on the chop or feed of horses and cattle. I remember well the first time I tried, I had an explosion. The wood and fire was higher than the trees.

"When I did this the first time I didn't know how much tar it would give. I had a few tobacco kettles and these were soon filled up, and I had to run and get fruit jars and milk crocks. Till I got back, the tar was running almost down to the springhouse, but I got it stopped after I got the jars and crocks."



Building the pyramid of pine kindling out of which pine tar is extracted. Faggots are covered with wet straw and clay, then set on fire to burn slowly for several days.

Tar-pits were first known in pioneer days where the first settlers learned from the Indians the use of pine tar as a medicine, and by accident the pioneers then found more uses for this product.

The early settlers didn't have cement to build their pits. Instead they used a very smeary clay. This formed the vessel or cone. Instead of an iron pipe they placed a hollow reed (joe pye weed) into the cone of their vessel, through which the tar flowed into their container.

The axles of their first vehicles were made of wood, and by accident the early settlers found they could use pine tar to grease these axles. These wagons, called Conestoga Wagons, always had a bucket made out of wood (*darr-kivvel*) with a cover to match and fit tight hanging by a rope somewhere on these wagons. These tar-buckets also had a paddle inside the bucket to apply the tar to the wooden axles.

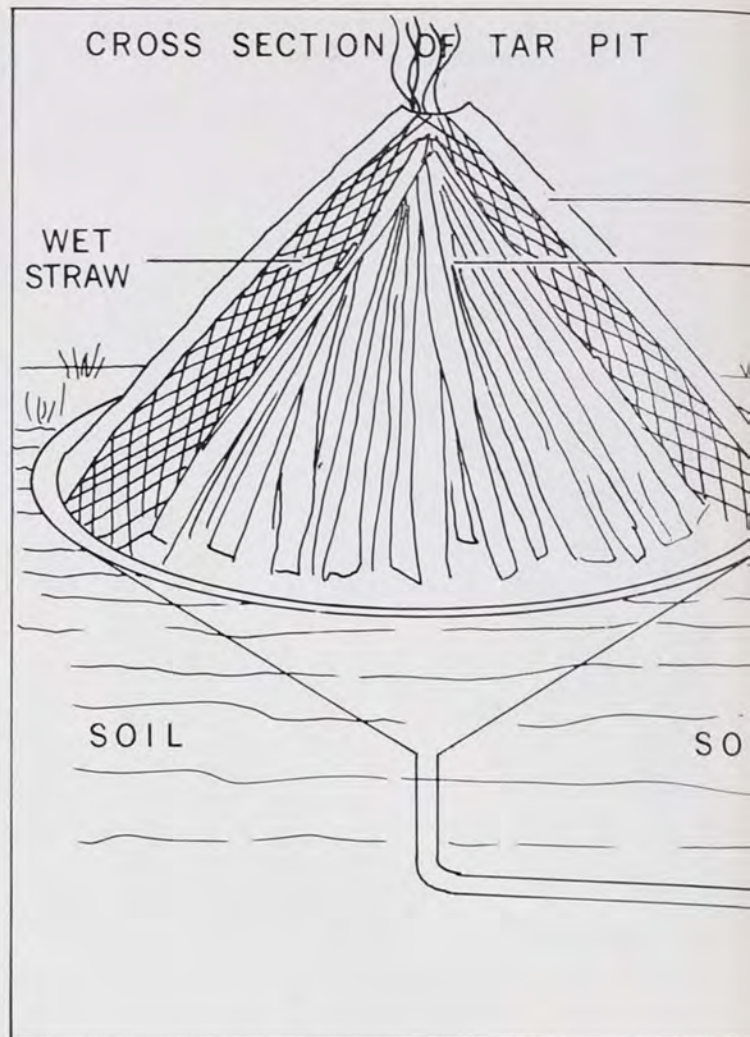
As time went on more uses were discovered for pine tar. I will describe some of these uses. First it is the base of mostly all domestic cough medicine (*hooshta druppa*). How many folks remember when your mother took a tooth pick or a piece from the kitchen broom and put a tiny bit of pine tar on it and placed it on your tongue? Also there was some put in boiling water, and used as an inhalant. This was used as relief for a cold. Sometimes the tar was put on the hot kitchen stove, the same as a vaporizer today.

At the Pennsylvania Dutch Harvest Frolic in 1962 a small girl and her parents happened to visit the tar-pit that was in operation there. This little girl was suffering from asthma. They had attended the barn-dance where the dust was stirred up, and she could hardly breathe until she came in contact with the tar smoke. She said, "Mother, that smoke makes me breathe easy." Curious, they asked if there was something in the smoke that would do that. We explained that there was. This was very interesting to many folks who came to the Harvest Frolic, as this was the first public demonstration of making pine tar ever known. It is a lost art and Mr. Straub is about the only person to show you how it is done. Many people heard old-timers talk about it but never saw it done. That is why it attracted such attention at the 1962 Harvest Frolic. But after we told or reminded our visitors about some of the remedies they would say, "Oh, yes! Now I remember. I was just a little kid. My mother would use pine tar and soon we were all right."

Pine tar was used in soap-making. How many of our readers remember the time mother made you wash your hands with "Grandpa's Tar Soap." Maybe your hands were dirty but Grandpa's Tar Soap got them clean, and there was a fragrance on your hands for quite a while.

"Smoking Horses"

A man from Lancaster told about "smoking horses" with pine tar. This really works, he says. He bought a horse for twenty-five dollars and it was in a bad way. He had trouble to get it home. It broke down three times and



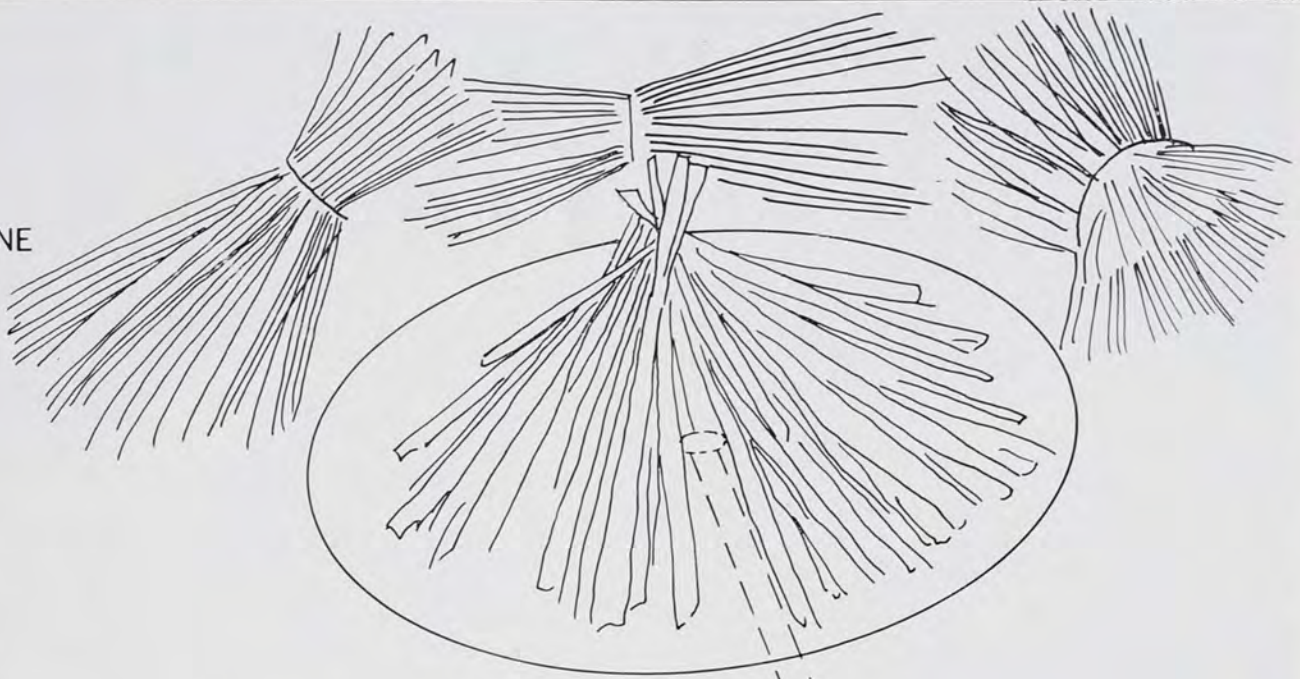
he thought he would not get it home. But he did, and he said that he got a bucket of boiling water, and he put in three tablespoons of pine tar, then he got a blanket and drooped it over the horse's head and let him inhale the fumes. After three or four treatments the horse became well again. He sold the horse for two hundred dollars. He said this horse only had pneumonia.

Someone at the Harvest Frolic told us that to reduce the swelling in a bloated cow, you take some long straw (rye straw, *karn shdro*), place some pine tar on it, and tie it in the cow's mouth. As she chews on this straw with the tar on it, this tar will make her burp and reduce the gas after which the cow will come along all right.

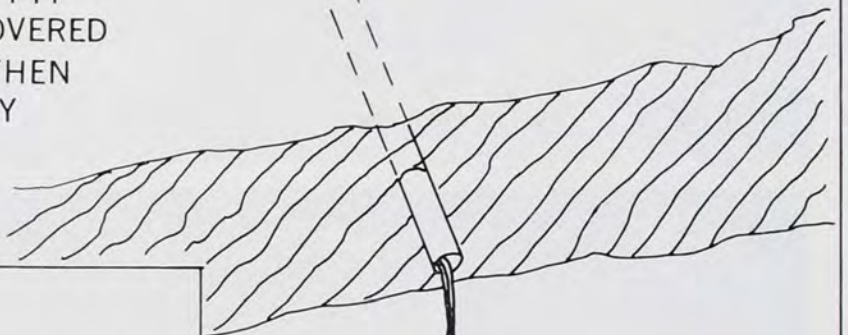
Pine tar was used to make rope or binder twine that farmers use to tie up wheat sheaves and corn fodder. Rope that was treated with tar discouraged the rats and mice from chewing the rope apart.

Boats were coated with tar to preserve the timbers. When the King of England wanted masts for his navy, they marked the trees (this happened in the vicinity of Pottsville) where the trees were straight and tall. Then they cut and moved them to the Schuylkill River, coated them with tar, tied them together and floated them snake-like to Philadelphia, loaded them on a boat and took them to England.

CLAY
YELLOW PINE
STUMPS
PUT INTO
HANDLING



WOOD PILED IN PIT
READY TO BE COVERED
WITH STRAW THEN
GROUND OR CLAY



Pine Tar at Butchering Time

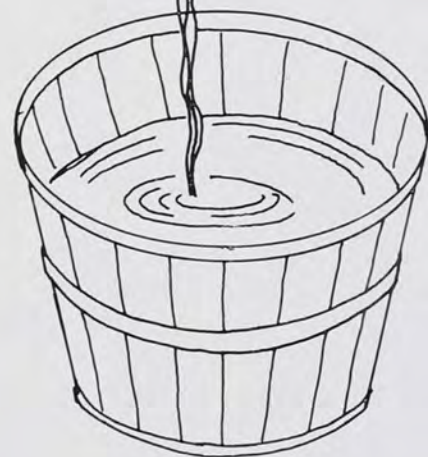
Farmers use pine tar in their hot water when they butcher. Pine tar and rosin and a little lime are used to help remove the bristles (*sei-barshda*) more easily.

In the horse's hoof on the "frog," pine tar is used to keep the frog soft. If this frog gets hard and brittle it will crack and the horse will go lame.

Oakum is treated with pine tar. When the plumber uses oakum in a pipe, and pours lead on top of it, the tar will prevent the oakum from rotting away on the inside.

Many types of belt dressing contain pine tar. Many people put the raw pine tar on a belt. This makes it very tacky and produces a great amount of friction. Many times the friction is so great that it tears and damages the belt.

In early days pine tar was kept in tar buckets, or whatever container people had. In later years it was kept in gallon tin cans, or pint-size glass jars. It was usually sold for two dollars a gallon, or thirty-five to forty cents a pint. Mr. Straub recalls years ago a man by the name of Schwenk used to come from Powell's Valley, peddling pine tar for two dollars a gallon. Powell's Valley is located about twenty miles north of Harrisburg. Some folks remarked how hard



the pioneers worked just to keep a wagon wheel from squeaking.

There are many uses for pine tar and perhaps many uses to be discovered in the future. We will welcome additional information on Pennsylvania pine tar and its uses from our readers.



Much Ado About COOKIES

By EDNA EBY HELLER

The proper definition for Cookie might be "a small, very thin and usually flat cake," but this will not mean the same to all people. In Eastern Pennsylvania cookies are larger and thicker than those found elsewhere.

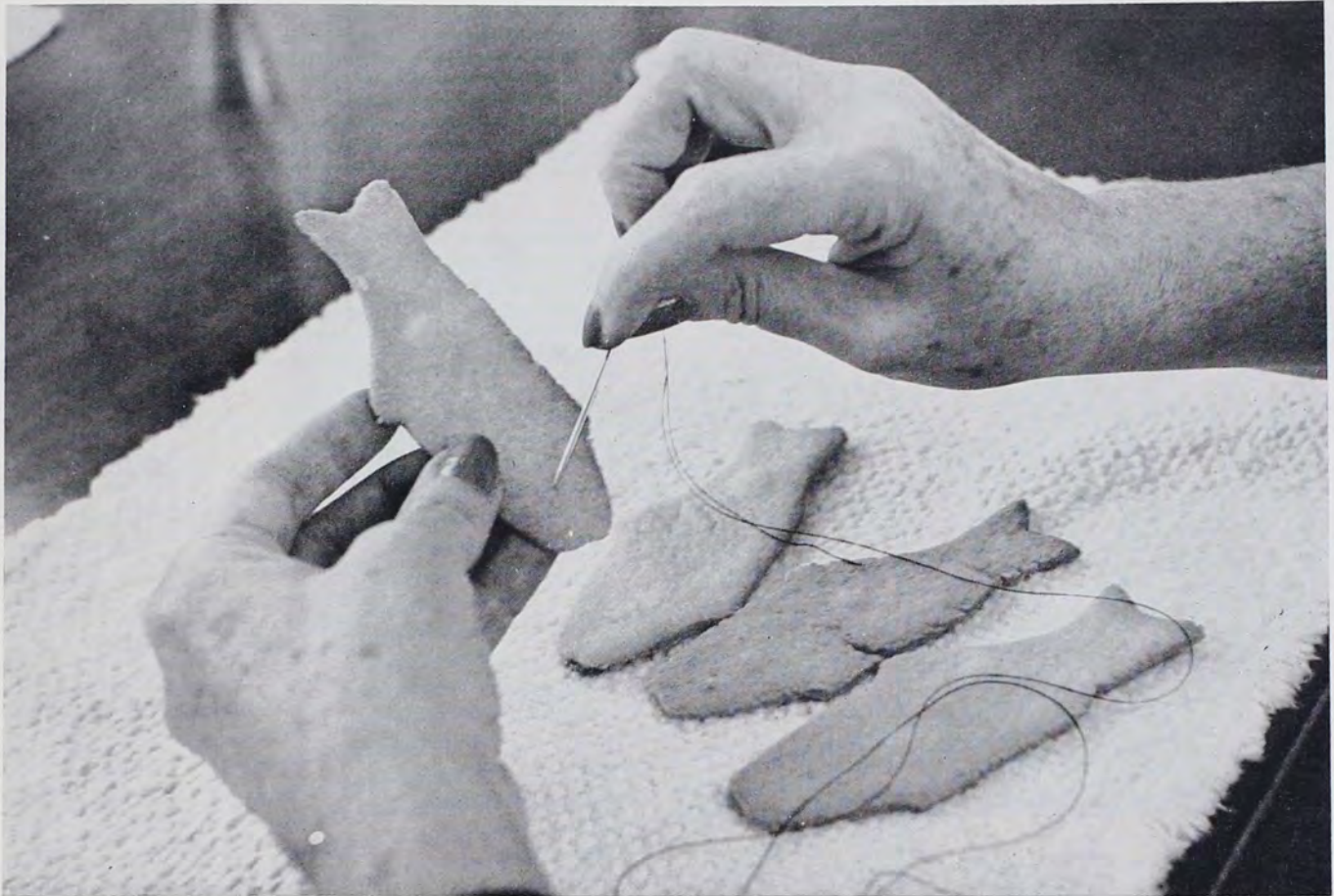
In a region where cooks make large pies, large dumplings and large loaves of bread, it seems altogether natural that the cookies are large. In fact, they are so large that they are commonly called cakes. More specifically, they are,

for the most part, at least three inches in diameter and as thick as a gingerbread man.

These are the typical drop cookies which are generally rolled to one-fourth inch thickness and then cut with round cutters, so that they might be uniform in appearance. This is the way they make the two most popular Pennsylvania Dutch cookies, Soft Sugar Cookies and the Molasses Cookies that are glazed with an egg yolk, brushed on before baking. Spice Cookies and Honey Cakes also belong in this category.

Honey Cakes, Soft Sugar Cakes, and Heifer Tongues are a few of the old-fashioned large cookies made by the Dutch housewife.





In Moravian Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the children who visit the Morris "Putz" receive a string of cookie fishes.

SOFT SUGAR CAKES

2 cups sugar	4 eggs
½ cup butter	1 teaspoon soda
½ cup lard	1 teaspoon cream of tartar
1 cup sour cream	5½ cups flour

Thoroughly cream the sugar and shortening. . . . Stir in the cream and eggs. . . . Add the dry ingredients which have been sifted together. . . . Mix well. . . . Chill overnight. . . . Roll on floured board to ¼ inch thickness. . . . Cut out with 3 inch round cutter and lift to baking pan. . . . Sprinkle with white or colored sugar. . . . Bake for 10 minutes at 400 degrees.

Note: This dough keeps well in the refrigerator so you can bake as many as you need as often as you want with little effort. When in a hurry, drop dough from a tablespoon on to baking pan without rolling.

HONEY CAKES

1 cup honey	1 teaspoon baking powder
2 tablespoons butter	½ teaspoon baking soda
½ cup light brown sugar	½ teaspoon salt
1 egg yolk	¼ cup buttermilk
2½ cups sifted flour	

Heat the honey to a boil. . . . Add the butter and light brown sugar. . . . Stir until sugar is dissolved and then cool for ten minutes. . . . Meanwhile, measure flour and sift with baking powder, soda and salt. . . . Add the honey mixture

to the beaten egg yolk and then to the sifted dry ingredients. . . . Add the buttermilk and mix well. . . . Chill overnight. . . . Roll on floured board to 1/3 inch thickness. . . . Cut with 3 inch round cutter. . . . Bake 8 minutes at 350 degrees.

HEIFER TONGUES

1 cup brown sugar	½ cup warm water
1 cup lard	2 cups Brer Rabbit molasses
1 tablespoon baking soda	5½ cups flour
1 teaspoon ginger	1 tablespoon cinnamon

Mix thoroughly the sugar, lard and molasses. . . . Measure the flour before sifting and then sift together with spices and soda. . . . Add alternately with water to the sugar mixture. . . . Chill overnight. . . . To shape, take balls of dough 1 inch in diameter and with the palms of your hands, flatten into the shape of a tongue. . . . Place on cookie sheet 2 inches apart. . . . Sprinkle with granulated sugar. . . . Bake for 12 minutes at 350 degrees.

Cookie baking in December produces the fancy ones in great variety and vast quantities. In the past generation, before calorie counting became a fad and then a habit, there were washbaskets and lard cans filled with them. All cooks of that generation baked Christmas cookies by the hundreds but today's cooks bake them by the dozen. They are prone however to make just as many varieties and just as fancy. Christmas is the time for paper-thin cookies with sisters and cousins vying for the honor of having the thin-



Sandtarts are the pride and joy of the Pennsylvania Dutch Christmas baking.

nest cookies. It sometimes seems to be more important than flavor, if you can imagine that!

Ruth Hutchinson says in *The Pennsylvania Dutch Cook Book*, "There used to be a saying in Bethlehem that you could estimate not only the family's culinary skill but its financial status from the quantity and variety of its Christmas cookies." Molasses is the most popular flavoring, but spices, coconut, honey, chocolate, fruit (raisins, dates, and currants) abound also. Lemon flavoring and almond flavoring are commonly used and in a few homes, sherry is added to the common sugar cookies. As for Grandmother's rose-water, the desire for that is as rare as the pearlsh and hartshorn that she used to use. Anise and caraway appear more often. Hickory nuts may be hard to find, but peanuts, almonds, black walnuts and English walnuts are popular for decoration as well as for flavor.

Mention must be made of the macaroons, coconut jumbles, chocolate jumbles and filled cookies. Most tedious of all, are the Slapjacks that are made with freshly grated coconut and molasses, also known by the names of Coconut Snaps, Lace Cookies and Scotch Cookies. The most time-consuming to bake are the Sandtarts, which are not only rolled very thin but then brushed with egg white, covered with finely chopped pecans or peanuts and then sprinkled with cinnamon. That is a four-step finishing process for decoration but they are well worth the effort.

SANDTARTS

1 lb. sugar	2 eggs
1 lb. flour	1 cup crushed peanuts
½ lb. butter	2 slightly beaten egg whites

Cream together the butter and sugar. . . . Add the beaten eggs. . . . Put in the flour and mix thoroughly. . . . Chill overnight. . . . Roll out on board to ¼ inch thickness. . . . Cut into squares or rectangles and lift onto cookie sheet.

. . . Before baking, brush with egg whites and then sprinkle with the chopped peanuts. . . . Sprinkle with cinnamon. . . . Bake at 350 degrees for 8 to 10 minutes.

CHOCOLATE JUMBLES

4 eggs	8 ounces baking chocolate
3 cups flour (do not sift)	3 teaspoons baking powder
1 cup butter	
2 cups sugar	½ teaspoon salt

Cream the butter and sugar thoroughly. . . . Add the well-beaten eggs. . . . Melt the chocolate over hot water and add to the creamed butter. . . . Sift the dry ingredients and combine with the above, mixing thoroughly. . . . Chill overnight. . . . Roll very thin on a floured board and cut with round cookie cutter. . . . Bake 7 minutes in a 350 degree oven. . . . When cool, spread with the following icing:

Combine 3 cups confectioner's sugar with 6 tablespoons cream and one teaspoon vanilla.

Much has been written about Christmas among the Moravians and all writers have acknowledged that the cookies have an important part in this celebration. In the Moravian home the putz is always of great significance, but cookies must be baked to treat those who come to view the putz. These are the people who make their cookies with cookie cutters that represent birds and animals of every description. Frequently, these honored cutters have been passed from mother to daughter for generations, and, as you can imagine, are greatly prized today.

In Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, originality in cookie baking and decorating seems to have no limits. Most unique is the string of fish, cookie fishes, given by one family to each child after he has heard the Christmas story beside the

putz. What a forceful reminder that the Christ of Christmas wants each of his children to be fishers of men! In this particular home, each December, hundreds of cookie fishes are baked and strung together right through the eyes—five fish on each string.

Among cut-out cookies, animal cookies predominate in number but there are also men, women, and children, Indians, Pilgrims, and other historical figures. With these the Moravians make cookies from either light or dark dough, known today as White Moravian Cookies and Brown Moravian Cookies. The recipe for the light ones is really a Sandtart recipe with a bit of cinnamon, nutmeg and sherry added to the batter. Here is the recipe for the brown ones.

BROWN MORAVIAN COOKIES

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 cup light brown sugar | 1 teaspoon ginger |
| ½ cup lard | 1 tablespoon cinnamon |
| ½ cup butter | ¼ teaspoon cloves |
| 1 cup New Orleans Gold Label molasses | ¼ teaspoon nutmeg |
| 4 cups sifted flour | 1 teaspoon baking soda |
| | ¼ cup warm water |

Cream together the shortening and sugar. . . . Stir in the molasses. . . . Add the flour which has been sifted with the spices. . . . Mix thoroughly. . . . Lastly, stir in the soda which has been dissolved in warm water. . . . When blended, cover and chill overnight. . . . On a floured board, roll out very thin, and cut out cookies with cutters of birds, animals, men and stars. . . . Decorate with raisins or nuts if desired. . . . Bake in a 325 degree oven for 10 to 12 minutes, depending on the thickness.

There is a sugar cookie that has caused much ado among historians. They cannot agree on the name or the origin. They have been called Apees, Apiece, Apace, Apise, A.P.'s, and Apeas. One story identifies it with the cookie that Ann Page sold from her basket on the streets of Philadelphia around 1830. Having quite an eye for business, she had imprinted her initials on the cookies. The controversy over A.P. cakes really becomes entangled when the coffee cake made today in the Oley Valley and called *Epee kuche* is suggested as the A.P. cake. The Apees-Apiece-Apeas fuss may be solved one of these years but the story of Pennsylvania Dutch cookies—white, brown, plain, or fancy—will live on and on.



Brown Moravian Christmas Cookies—cut with heirloom cookie cutters.

PROGRAM



14th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival

June 29-30, July 1-2-3-4-5-6, 1963, Kutztown, Pa.

SATURDAY, JUNE 29

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food Specialties at the Festival.	6:30- 6:55	Dutch farmlife show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handicrafts show.	6:55- 7:10	Dutch-English humor.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	7:10- 7:30	Folksongs of Dutch Pennsylvania.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jiggging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:30- 8:00	Plain garb show.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jiggging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:30- 2:45	"Broffessor" Schnitzel, humorist.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife.
2:45- 3:30	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.	10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.
3:30- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife.		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farmlife in Dutch Pennsylvania.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	3:00- 3:30	Music program.
12:00-12:30	Customs of the year show.	3:30- 4:00	Dutch funeral lore show.
12:30- 1:00	Dutch folklife show.	4:00- 4:30	Dutch farm lore program.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	4:30- 5:00	Snake lore show.
1:30- 2:00	Plain Dutch folkways: Amish, Team Mennonite and Conservative Dunkard.	5:00- 5:30	Dutch band.
		5:30- 6:00	Powwowing and hexerei show.
		6:00- 6:30	Water witching demonstration.

SUNDAY, JUNE 30

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food Specialties at the Festival.	6:00- 6:30	Dutch farmlife show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handicrafts show.	6:30- 7:15	Carbon County musiganders.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	7:15- 7:45	Plain garb show.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jiggging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:45- 8:20	Hoedown and jiggging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:00- 2:45	Carbon County musiganders.	8:20-10:15	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife.
2:45- 3:00	Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian.	10:15-10:45	Amish documentary film.
3:00- 3:40	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.		
3:40- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife.		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	3:00- 3:30	Dutch band.
12:00-12:30	Customs of the year show.	3:30- 4:00	Folk-Hymnody traditions among the Pennsylvania Dutch.
12:30- 1:00	Amish-Plain Dutch folklife.	4:00- 4:30	Dutch funeral lore show.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	4:30- 5:00	Snake lore show.
1:30- 2:00	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	5:00- 5:30	Dutch band.
		5:30- 6:00	Powwowing and hexerei show.
		6:00- 6:30	Water witching demonstration.

MONDAY, JULY 1

PROGRAM—STAGE A

<p>12:00-12:30 Food Specialties at the Festival. 12:30- 1:00 Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show. 1:00- 1:20 Dialect folksong program. 1:20- 2:00 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. 2:00- 2:30 The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb. 2:30- 2:45 Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian. 2:45- 3:25 Folk dances of the Dutch Country. 3:25- 5:30 Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.</p>	<p>6:30- 6:55 Dutch farmlife show. 6:55- 7:10 Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian. 7:10- 7:30 Program of dialect folksongs. 7:30- 8:00 Plain Dutch garb show. 8:00- 8:40 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. 8:40-10:30 Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. 10:30-11:00 Amish documentary film.</p>
--	---

PROGRAM—STAGE B

<p>11:00-11:30 Music program. 11:30-12:00 Pennsylvania Dutch folk-culture. 12:00-12:30 Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show. 12:30- 1:00 Amish-Plain Dutch folklife. 1:00- 1:30 Customs of the year show. 1:30- 2:00 Dutch funeral customs. 2:00- 3:00 Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania.</p>	<p>3:00- 3:30 Music program. 3:30- 4:00 Two levels in religion—formal and folk. 4:00- 4:30 Plain Dutch religious folk elements. 4:30- 5:00 Snake lore program. 5:00- 5:30 Dutch band. 5:30- 6:00 Dutch almanac lore show. 6:00- 6:30 Witchcraft lore show.</p>
--	--

TUESDAY, JULY 2

PROGRAM—STAGE A

<p>12:00-12:30 Food Specialties at the Festival. 12:30- 1:00 Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show. 1:00- 1:20 Dialect folksong program. 1:20- 2:00 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. 2:00- 2:30 The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb. 2:30- 2:45 Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian. 2:45- 3:25 Folk dances of the Dutch country. 3:25- 5:30 Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.</p>	<p>6:30- 6:55 Dutch farmlife show. 6:55- 7:10 Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian. 7:10- 7:30 Program of dialect folksongs. 7:30- 8:00 Plain Dutch garb show. 8:00- 8:40 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. 8:40-10:30 Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. 10:30-11:00 Amish documentary film.</p>
--	---

PROGRAM—STAGE B

<p>11:00-11:30 Music program. 11:30-12:00 The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country. 12:00-12:30 Customs of the year show. 12:30- 1:00 Amish-Plain Dutch folklife. 1:00- 1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show. 1:30- 2:00 Dutch funeral lore show. 2:00- 3:00 Panorama of horse-and-buggy farmlife in Dutch Pennsylvania.</p>	<p>3:00- 3:30 Dutch band. 3:30- 4:00 Folksongs, secular and religious, in Dutch Pennsylvania. 4:00- 4:30 Pennsylvania Dutch witch stories. 4:30- 5:00 Snake lore show. 5:00- 5:30 Dutch band. 5:30- 6:00 Hunting and fishing lore show. 6:00- 6:30 Bee and insect lore show.</p>
---	--

WEDNESDAY, JULY 3

PROGRAM—STAGE A

<p>12:00-12:30 Food Specialties at the Festival. 12:30- 1:00 Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show. 1:00- 1:20 Dialect folksong program. 1:20- 2:00 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. 2:00- 2:30 The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb. 2:30- 2:45 Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian. 2:45- 3:25 Folk dances of the Dutch Country. 3:25- 5:30 Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.</p>	<p>6:30- 6:55 Dutch farmlife show. 6:55- 7:10 Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian. 7:10- 7:30 Program of dialect folksongs. 7:30- 8:00 Plain Dutch garb show. 8:00- 8:40 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets. 8:40-10:30 Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife. 10:30-11:00 Amish documentary film.</p>
--	---

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	3:00- 3:30	Dutch band.
11:30-12:00	Pennsylvania Dutch folk-culture.	3:30- 4:00	Dutch culinary culture.
12:00-12:30	Customs of the year show.	4:00- 4:30	Folk art in Dutch kitchens.
12:30- 1:00	Amish-Plain Dutch folklife.	4:30- 5:00	Snake lore show.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show.	5:00- 5:30	Dutch band.
1:30- 2:00	Dutch funeral lore show.	5:30- 6:00	Fowl and feather lore show.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania.	6:00- 6:30	Cow lore in the Dutch Country.

THURSDAY, JULY 4

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food Specialties at the Festival.	6:00- 6:30	Snake lore show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:30- 6:55	Dutch farmlife show.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	6:55- 7:10	Dutch-English humor.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:10- 7:30	Folksongs of Dutch Pennsylvania.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	7:30- 8:00	Plain garb show.
2:30- 2:45	Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:45- 3:30	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.
3:30- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.	10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	3:00- 3:30	Dutch band.
12:00-12:30	Customs of the year show.	3:30- 4:00	Dutch funeral lore show.
12:30- 1:00	Amish-Plain Dutch folklife.	4:00- 4:30	Dutch farm lore show.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	4:30- 5:00	Snake lore show.
1:30- 2:00	Dutch superstitions.	5:00- 5:30	Dutch band.
		5:30- 6:00	Powwowing and hexerei show.
		6:00- 6:30	Water witching demonstration.

FRIDAY, JULY 5

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food Specialties at the Festival.	6:30- 6:55	Dutch farmlife show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:55- 7:10	Dutch-English humor.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	7:10- 7:30	Program of dialect folksongs.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:30- 8:00	Plain Dutch garb show.
2:00- 2:30	The "Horse-and-Buggy Dutch" and their garb.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:30- 2:45	Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.
2:45- 3:25	Folk dances of the Dutch Country.	10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.
3:25- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	3:30- 4:00	Pennsylvania Dutch superstitions.
11:30-12:00	Pennsylvania Dutch folk-culture.	4:00- 4:30	Powwowing and witchcraft in contemporary Dutchland.
12:00-12:30	Customs of the year show.	4:30- 5:00	Snake lore show.
12:30- 1:00	Amish-Plain Dutch folklife.	5:00- 5:30	Dutch band.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	5:30- 6:00	Horsedrawn transportation among Plain Dutch groups in the United States and Canada.
1:30- 2:00	Dutch funeral lore show.	6:00- 6:30	Horse lore in the Dutch Country.
2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.		
3:00- 3:30	Dutch band.		

SATURDAY, JULY 6

PROGRAM—STAGE A

12:00-12:30	Food Specialties at the Festival.	6:30- 6:55	Dutch farmlife show.
12:30- 1:00	Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.	6:55- 7:10	Dutch-English humor.
1:00- 1:20	Dialect folksong program.	7:10- 7:30	Folksongs of Dutch Pennsylvania.
1:20- 2:00	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.	7:30- 8:00	Plain garb show.
2:00- 2:30	Plain Dutch costume show.	8:00- 8:40	Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:30- 2:45	Professor Schnitzel, Dutch comedian.	8:40-10:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.
2:45- 3:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.	10:30-11:00	Amish documentary film.
3:30- 5:30	Major Folk Festival presentation: folkpageant of Gay Dutch folklife.		

PROGRAM—STAGE B

11:00-11:30	Music program.	2:00- 3:00	Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in Dutch Pennsylvania.
11:30-12:00	The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.	3:00- 3:30	Dutch band.
12:00-12:30	Customs of the year show.	3:30- 4:00	Dutch funeral lore show.
12:30- 1:00	Dutch farm crafts show.	4:00- 4:30	Dutch farm lore show.
1:00- 1:30	Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.	4:30- 5:00	Snake lore show.
1:30- 2:00	Plain Dutch folkways: Amish, Team Mennonite and Conservative Dunkard.	5:00- 5:30	Dutch band.
		5:30- 6:00	Powwowing and hexerei show.
		6:00- 6:30	Water witching demonstration.

FREE for ALL SQUARE DANCING

FOLK FESTIVAL COMMONS

Evenings

9:00 to 11:30 o'clock

Pageant of Pennsylvania Dutch Folklife

(As Found Among The Gay Dutch Sixty Years Ago)

Arranged and Directed by Paul R. Wieand

A. DER TSOOCK (Moving Day)

Moving day, an event that didn't happen too often, was a neighborhood affair. All helped willingly for the fun, the social get-together and the "eats" that accompanied it.

1. Moving Day Beliefs:
 - a. Good and bad moving days.
 - b. Carrying cradle.
 - c. Homesickness.
2. Customs:
 - a. Neighbors helping.
 - b. Food on first wagon:
 1. Boowa shenkel (Boy's legs).
 2. Millich shlabbys (Milk pies).
3. Setting Up:
 - a. Scrubbing rooms.
 - b. Tricks played.
 - c. Cutting shelf paper.
4. Social Gathering:
 - a. Singing
 1. Oh mei liewy Lisbet (Oh my lovely Elizabeth).
 2. Der bella bawm (The poplar tree).
 - b. Ring game:
 1. Bingo.

B. 'N GEBURTS-DAWG PARTY (A Birthday Party)

Eventful days were looked forward to in the Pennsylvania Dutch country. Young folks and even older ones got together at such occasions and provided their own entertainment.

1. Birth Folklore:
 - a. Children born on certain days.
2. Customs:
 - a. Young and old gathered.
 - b. Tricks played in packages.
 - c. Birthday lifting.
3. Songs:
 - a. Nein-un-neintsich (Ninety and nine).
 - b. Shpinn, shpinn, mei liewy duchter (Spin, spin, my darling daughter).
 - c. Yuckly will net beera shittla (Jakey will not shake the pear tree).
4. Games:
 - a. Beebs (Who is IT?).
 - b. Deller rulla (Spin the plate).
5. Singing Games:
 - a. Rода rosa (Red roses).
 - b. Happy miller.

C. EN LEICHT ESSA (A Funeral Feast)

Meals were always served at funerals years ago. The entire neighborhood either helped to prepare the food or consumed it.

1. Funeral Lore:
 - a. Coffin and mirror.
 - b. Rain and open grave.
 - c. Cemetery and weather.
2. Funeral Customs:
 - a. Help:
 1. Leicht aw-sawga (Announcer).
 2. Kicha dribbel (Handy men).
 3. Waig maeshter (Road supervisor).
 4. Lawdamacher (Funeral director).
 - b. Clothing.
 - c. Taufscheins:
 1. Hand executed.
 2. Appliqués.
 3. Printed and illuminated.
3. Food Served:
 - a. Veal, chicken, etc.
 - b. Dried fruits and vegetables.
 - c. Pies and cakes:
 1. Fancy cakes.
 2. Raisin pies.
 3. Lemon tarts.
4. The Meal:
 - a. Family seated first.
 - b. Undertaker reads the will.

D. DIE FENDU (The Auction)

After the father or mother passed away, the remaining belongings that were not divided among the children were sold at public auction.

1. Fendu Lore.
2. Customs:
 - a. Dividing among the children.
 - b. Getting ready for the sale.
3. Children's Games:
 - a. Ring-a-rung-a-rosa (Ring around the roses).
 - b. Grutta hoopsa (Leap frog).
4. Older Girls Sing.
5. Der Groyer (The auctioneer).
6. Die Fendu (The sale).
7. Songs:
 - a. Hei-lee, Hei-loo.
 - b. Laeba Wohl (Farewell).

Outdoor Privies in the Dutch Country

By AMOS LONG, JR.

The outdoor privy (*Brivy*) was the forerunner of our present indoor bathroom and was at one time standard equipment on all of the rural homesteads, farms, and village homes which lacked running water. Odoriferous as they many times were, particularly during the summer months, they were probably the most important building on the place.

These structures were also referred to by many other names. They were known as the outhouse, the little house, the backhouse, the white house, the one-holer, the two-holer, the toilet, and in the dialect 's *Abdritt*, and 's *Scheiss-haus*.

These privies were built in many sizes and dimensions. Some were much larger than others, some were high, others rather low. Many times these structures were confused with the smokehouse because of their close resemblance. A number of persons interviewed told of being aroused or informed because of what was thought to be their privy on fire, when it was only the smoke issuing from the roof or sides of their smokehouse which was in use.

These buildings were usually built square or slightly rectangular, the sides measuring from five to seven feet and from seven to ten feet high. Most of them had a shed, gable, or hip-type roof.

Generally for family use, these privies were built singly. Others were joined side by side with doors to the front. In some instances, they were constructed back to back and the doors were located opposite each other on either end. Many times, especially in public places, there were two privies located within close range; one for the men and boys and another for the women and girls. Occasionally during earlier years at fairs or festivals and other public places where there was a tendency to have large crowds of people, they were found grouped together in rows.

Some of these privies were built very simply with rough or used lumber just as long as the structure served the purpose. These same buildings many times appeared very



WELL-KEPT CONTEMPORARY LEBANON COUNTY PRIVY. Note curtains on window, lowered ventilator-turret, scalloped roof edges. Located on property of Mrs. Eva Wolfe, Route 1, Lebanon. Outside dimensions: 4'8" square, 7 feet to roof, 10 feet to turret. Double wall construction. Color: bright lemon yellow. Photographed 1962 by Amos Long, Jr.

dilapidated and ramshackle; they were so poorly constructed or had deteriorated to such an extent that they were very uncomfortable and a great amount of courage was required for one to use them on cold, windy days.

Many of the earliest of these structures were built by using wide hardwood boards with battens covering the openings between. On numerous occasions these openings or cracks were left uncovered. During a blizzard, it was not uncommon for the interior of these privies to become completely blanketed with snow because of the openings in the sides. Others were constructed so tight that during the heat of the summer one nearly expired from the lack of ventilation and air.

To some property owners, the privy held the same importance as the main dwelling and for it was chosen the finest of stone or brick. Some held a place important enough to contain stained glass windows, such as the one pictured, or the windows were draped with curtains.

The privy was usually located near but not too close to the dwelling house so that it could be reached easily and quickly in emergency or in bad weather. There are many of us who can probably remember that the first thing which had to be done after a heavy snowfall had ended was to quickly shovel a path to the privy.

On numerous occasions, the privy was built as an adjunct to another building close by the house, such as the woodshed or washhouse. Sometimes it was also built at one end of the pigsty. The privy was built here primarily for the convenience of the farmer when he was out in the barnyard area. A number of farms had two outdoor privies, one in the area behind the house and the other closer to the barn.

When the privy was built as an adjunct to the pigsty, it was usually constructed so that it could be opened in the rear and cleaned out as frequently as necessary. It was a common practice with many to build them in this



DOUBLE PRIVY. Notice construction of hardwood boards with battens, double doors and ventilating lower. Located on Paul H. Martin Farm, Route 5, Lebanon. Dimensions: 6 ft. square, 8 ft. high, to lower. Photographed 1962.

manner in earlier years. Sometimes the excavation over which the privy was sitting was rather shallow and extended out from the rear of the structure. This extended excavation was covered with a wooden or metal lid which made the area more accessible for cleaning out. In others, it was possible to remove some or all of the floor boards inside and in front of the seat in order to allow for cleanout.

"Moonlight Mechanics"

It was interesting to learn that those who did the cleaning out during these earlier days were referred to as "moonlight mechanics" because this task of cleaning out the privies, particularly in communities, was usually done after darkness had arrived. This debris was then usually hauled on some neighboring farmer's fields.

With others, a hole was dug, at a convenient spot, slightly smaller than the dimensions of the privy to a depth of three to six feet. In some instances this excavation was lined with rough boards or stone or the structure was merely built or placed over the excavation. Others had a foundation constructed of wooden planks or concrete on which the structure was placed. This practice required that the privy be moved or cleaned out every several years, depending on the depth of the excavation, the size of the family and the frequency of use.

Sometimes a hole was dug deep enough so as to locate a natural opening or spring in the ground. Some of these had a depth of ten or more feet and never required cleaning. When running water was made available in the house, this opening was also used to take care of the waste water. This type of privy proved to be more dangerous when children were expected to use them.

BRICK PRIVY WITH SLATE ROOF. This well-constructed privy, located in Cleona on the northeast corner property, Lincoln and Maple Streets, is now used primarily for storage. Dimensions: 6 ft. square, 10 ft. high. Photographed 1962.

The writer recalls an incident that occurred during his youth in which a family's much cherished pet tom-cat was found dead in a deep excavation such as this. Because of a neighborly feud, a member of the one family gained revenge on the other by committing this cruel and unnecessary act. Whether the cat was killed or made unconscious and thrown down into the opening or whether it was thrown in alive and left to struggle and drown was never learned but the act did cause considerable criticism within that area of the neighborhood.

Sometimes children as well as careless adults would throw unwarranted garbage and debris into these deep openings which later became a source of trouble by closing off the natural opening in the ground.

Other privies in earlier years were built immediately over a stream of water so that all the refuse would find its way into the flowing water beneath. Although these never had to be moved or cleaned out, they were very unsanitary. With the beginning of the 20th Century and more rigid milk inspection rules, privies of this kind on farms were no longer allowed to exist.

The writer in collecting some of this material was informed that on the older public privies, instead of having name plates as we find today, designating for whose use they were, there were various symbols cut into the upper part of the door or in the area just above the door. A crescent, he was told, indicated the women's privy and a star designated the men's. How much truth or fiction there is to this statement has yet to be proven or disproven!

Hearts, Triangles, and Diamonds

There were also many other symbols used, such as the heart, triangle, and diamond. In most instances, these symbols were cut into the front or side of the privy to allow light and air to enter because there were many of these structures which had no windows or ventilating ducts. The light and air which entered through these openings were a most welcome feature of this type of privy.

Occasionally one would come upon a privy in which the seat was either too high or too low; or it may not have been wide enough or smooth enough—causing it to be very uncomfortable. A number of the very earliest privies had only a rail or rather heavy timber fastened inside from one side to another which served as a support or seat. These were not only uncomfortable but proved to be very dangerous.



Nor were the holes always conveniently placed on the seat, particularly for the children. The seat may have been too high and the hole too far back or the seat may have been too low and the hole too far front so that one's legs were either too short or too long for the space. Sometimes the holes were also too large so that there was danger of children becoming wedged and nearly falling through if they did not continually hold themselves up. In some instances the holes may have proven to be too small, which also proved very inconvenient and sometimes uncomfortable. Comfort and convenience for the user of these structures usually depended on the concern and skill of the carpenter or the one who constructed the privy.

The holes in the seats were generally oval or round, and where more than one hole existed, generally a smaller one was made specifically for the children. In front of the smaller hole, many times a step was built so a child could quickly and easily get on the seat. In others, half the seat was built lower to allow easier access for the child. The better built privies also had hinged covers which could be lowered to cover the holes before the user left the building.

Many of the privies had no windows but there were those which had. This was particularly true of those which had no symbol cut into the front or side. The window was usually located on the side or in the door and was placed there to provide light and ventilation. Some of these windows were stationary to provide light only.

Some of the better constructed privies which contained double walls for added warmth also contained a ventilating duct. The foul air then found its way from beneath the seat through a duct or ducts in the rear between the walls to the area above the ceiling in the building. If the privy had no double walls, the ducts may have been built across the rear corners which were made also to extend into the upper area above the ceiling where the air escaped through a louver. Some of the privies also had an adjustable device in the ceiling to allow for ventilation within the building.

It proved very interesting to note the various designs and shapes of these ventilating louvers which were extended above the roof of the privy to allow for the passing out of foul air from the inside. Some of these extensions did not provide for ventilation but served only to add to the design



MENNONITE MEETINGHOUSE PRIVY. Located on Mennonite meetinghouse property in South Lebanon Township on road leading from Cornwall to Schaeffers-town. Dimensions: 4 ft. square, front 10 ft., rear 7 ft. Note vent above door. Photographed 1962.

of the structure. Others in addition to being very elaborate in design and shape were found to contain a colony of bird nests.

Usually in order to assure privacy, there was a hook and eye or other type locking device on the inside which was used to lock the door while the privy was in use.

It also proved very interesting to note and inquire concerning the many types of pictures, old calendars and mirrors found hanging on the inside walls of these outdoor privies. The writer has not been able to draw any definite conclusions as to the type of pictures or chromos most frequently found, although pastoral and religious scenes in addition to those depicting children or famous individuals were the most predominant.

On the walls within some of the public privies, one could also find various poetic efforts, smutty jingles and verses as well as many drawings and sketches of all kinds.

Corncobs and Catalogues

Within the earlier privies, before the days of toilet paper, on the seat inside or beside the door, one could find a box or basket containing the corncobs. In others, there was a portion of a burlap bag fastened to the wall or a box which held a supply of newspapers and in a slightly later era, one could find the expired, out of season, mail order catalog. In a privy the author visited, he recalls seeing the wrappings of citrus fruits in a basket which were used for personal sanitation because the individual on whose property the structure was located was a huckster and these wrappings were used to replace other types. These materials of course took the place of our present-day toilet tissue which was nearly unheard of then.

Also within its walls were kept such articles as the broom and brushes used for cleaning and the carpet-beater which was used for beating the house carpets after they were



PORTABLE PRIVY WITH PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH HEART MOTIF. Located on property of Ivan Fasnacht on Route 897 between Schaefferstown and Kleinfeltersville. Now used for gas and oil storage. Dimensions: approximately 4 ft. square, 8 ft. high. Photographed 1962.



BROWN SANDSTONE PRIVY WITH STAINED GLASS WINDOW. This well-built structure is located on the property of Erma J. Walton, Route 3, Hummelstown. Dimensions: 7 ft. square, 7 ft. high. Photographed 1962.

hung on the washline. Many contained a shelf which was built against the wall near the top on which were stored such seasonal things as seeds and sprays for use during the spring and summer in the garden. On this shelf were also found small tools, nails, etc., for making minor repairs about the place. Many had fastened on the inside a burlap bag into which all the family's old rags and cloths, that could no longer be used, were placed until it was filled and then given to the rag peddler. Many also contained nails and hooks driven or fastened into the walls which were used for hanging old clothes which were worn when working in the garden or at the barn.

Most of these outdoor privies on the early homestead and farms were kept spotlessly clean. Usually they were cleaned each week along with the other weekly house-cleaning chores. At that time the seat and floor would be washed with the water that was used to clean the kitchen floor, the walls were swept off with a broom and if there was a window, it was also cleaned at this time. During the warm summer months, lime was applied frequently within the area to help control the odor.

Although the family privies were kept very clean, one could never feel completely safe when sitting on the seat of a public privy regardless of how clean and sanitary it may have appeared, particularly because of a type of minute parasite which was many times present.

Rats seemed always to harbor in these areas and many incidents could be related where rats actually attacked those who made use of the facilities when these vermin were present. Many informants also told of the fun and pastime they had shooting the rats as they entered or left the privy area. Also inside, on the walls, ceiling, and seat area, particularly in those which were not used so frequently, were to be found the nests of the mud-dauber wasps. Nor was it uncommon to find numerous bumble-bees present. Many experiences could be related concerning their presence!

On the farm, if the privy area was not properly protected, it was sure to be invaded by the chickens and hogs which may have proven to be very detrimental. Very few privies, even in later years, were protected with screening or otherwise enclosed to keep out the flies which also promoted unsanitary conditions and likelihood of disease.

Many times the refuse from these areas made contact with the farm spring or well; or the excavation, on which the privy was sitting, if not properly managed, would fill up and overflow, thus adding to the problem of sanitation. In more recent years this condition has been regulated somewhat by inspectors from the Board of Health or Milk Control Board who required necessary improvements or complete removal of the structure if it affected the water supply, particularly if the milk produced on the farm was sold to the creamery for distribution in urban areas.

The Privy as Sanctuary

Although these buildings served primarily as a refuge for one who had to perform a natural act, there were many additional uses to which they were put. Within their four walls life was begun and life was ended. For some, the privy was used as a sanctuary in which to while away the time and console oneself as a child—especially after being scolded or punished or if confronted with an enormous problem. Many told of using it in which to hide especially when playing hide-and-seek. Others related how as children they frequently found it necessary to use the privy after eating, looking at the old mail order catalog and timing it so that the dishes would have been washed by the time they returned to the house. Many men who were not supposed to smoke and older boys who were not allowed to smoke, particularly not in the house, made use of the privy in which to secretly or otherwise satisfy their desire.

It was also used during the summer months by the men in which to change from their dirty garden or odorous barn clothes into more presentable dress before entering into the house. Usually the shoes and boots used in the garden and at the barn were also kept here. It was also used to store the old newspapers until the pile was large enough to make a sizeable bundle, when they were tied together and moved to another shed until they were sold to the rag peddler.

Privy Lore

There are many interesting stories and anecdotes relating to the privy. One of my informants stated that when their hired man on the farm could not be found, they always checked in the privy first and usually found him there sound asleep. Another related how the hired man on their farm always left the door open when he found it necessary to use the privy. Others told of the anxiety of having spent what seemed like several hours in the privy when their calls could not be heard, because of being locked in by someone or because the turn knob, which held the door closed when the building was not in use, had automatically closed itself, locking in the occupant.

As stated previously, some of these privies were not always kept in repair to the extent that they should have been, particularly on rented properties. The writer learned of a number of instances where heavy adults, more frequently women, fell through the floor and were seriously injured.

The story was told by one of the informants concerning a landlord who was frequently requested to have the privy on his premises repaired and cleaned out; however, he refused to do anything about it. On one occasion upon

stopping by to collect the rent and having found need to use the privy, he fell through the floor boards as he stepped into the building. Since the excavation had been extremely full for a long period of time, you can imagine his experience and even with the assistance he received, he struggled to get out. Whether it was planned this way or not will never be known but the privy was soon repaired and properly cleaned!

Another person recalled that early in her life, her brother, unaware that she was occupying the privy and using the opening in the door as a target, threw a stone in the hope of hitting the open space. However, just as the stone approached the door, the user opened it to leave the building and the stone hit her just above the eye instead, leaving a scar which she still carries.

This story was told by another of her experience as a child. She told of venturing toward the privy one evening shortly after dark and as she was about to push open the door realized that someone must be inside pushing against the door. Aware that all the other members of her family were in the house, she rushed back breathlessly to inform them that someone was in the privy. Her father immediately responded by checking into the situation and found that the rag-bag which was kept there had become loose from the nails on which it was hanging and had fallen against the door causing it to spring back each time she attempted to open it.

The Widow's Privy

Another story was told in which a widow each night, shortly after going to bed, heard someone enter the privy in her back yard. She was aware of this because of the screeching hinge which could easily be heard each time the door was opened or closed. This caused great anxiety and fright on her part, particularly because she never heard the door screech again for the user to depart. After this had gone on until she could no longer endure it, she arranged with a courageous neighbor to wait in the privy some night and be prepared to meet the intruder. Nothing happened the first night, the neighbor having spent the best part of the night in the privy. Thinking she was imagining these sounds, he refused to comply with her wish that he repeat his watch the next night. However, after insisting that she heard it again for several nights thereafter, she persuaded him to stand watch inside the privy again. The second night, without having had to wait too long, the intruder arrived. It happened to be a neighborhood dog that seemingly enjoyed making his abode at night in this privy. The situation was remedied thereafter by fastening a hasp on the door with a bolt inserted to prevent the dog from gaining further entrance.

The area beside the privy was many times used as a flower garden. Sometimes a flowering vine or grape arbor was planted close by to provide shade and help hide the building. Sometimes the structure was made less noticeable by using one or more trellises nearby along which climbing roses were planted.

Some families also seemingly liked to make their privies more noticeable because of the bright colored paint used

to decorate and protect them. The earliest structures, if protected at all, were usually whitewashed. In later years, they were painted white or the same color as the house. Many of those remaining have been painted with very vivid colors ranging from bright canary yellow to deep red.

Since many of the early settlers who inhabited this vast expanse of forested lands had no privies for many years, it was not at all uncommon for one to relieve himself at the most appropriate spot—perhaps behind a building, a large tree, a stone wall or beside the stake and rider fence. A number of the older informants told how as children they would select a dark and secluded area in one of the stables which was used to relieve themselves before manuring out, particularly during cold and stormy weather. This, they stated, all found its way to the manure pile in front of the barn and nobody ever found out about it.

The story is told of one who had visited at such a farm that was without a privy and after awhile realized that nature was calling. The visitor therefore chose the most opportune spot. One during those days had also to make use of the best sanitary measures available; so he reached over to the nearest plant and grasped a handful of leaves which happened to be *brenn aisel*, smart weed, the user not being familiar with the plant or aware of its effects. Only those who have had contact with this fiery, burning plant can sympathize with the experience and plight of this young man.

Another story related by Victor C. Dieffenbach, a farmer native to the Bethel area tells "that there was no outdoor privy on the place and the help would just squat down some place. The *hausfrau*, a heavy woman, had her own private establishment alongside the incline in back of the barn along the wall. She had a rail from a post-fence, and she pushed one pointed end into a crack in the barn wall and the other end into the wall at the ramp, *on der shire brick*, and then she'd just sit on this rail . . . Now a neighbor's son was employed as the second hired boy, *dar glay knecht*; this enterprising youth took his granddad's saw and made a cut in the underside of the aforementioned rail; this he did secretly when the old man wasn't around.



OUTDOOR PRIVY ATTACHED TO PIGSTY. Note hinged door for cleanout. Located on Henry Zug property east of Lebanon on Route 422. Dimensions: 6 ft. long, 5 ft. wide, 9½ ft. high (11½ ft. including roof). Pit: 3½ ft. long, 1½ ft. wide. Concrete foundation 2½ ft. high. Photographed 1962.

Came the old lady and hurriedly flopping on her accustomed roost, you can imagine the rest . . . !"¹

Hallowe'en Pranks

On numerous occasions, particularly about the time of Hallowe'en, it was a common prank among young boys to upset the privy or to place it just in back of the hole or opening over which it was sitting. Many of the readers could possibly relate similar experiences of a like nature!

A group of children in school were asked what they thought was the greatest invention or advance that was ever made by mankind. Of course, some volunteered to say fire, the wheel, electricity, etc. But one younger boy raised his hand to say that the fellow who thought of moving that little building from the outside upstairs should be given a great deal of credit as well!

How many of you remember the expression, *Ya well, ich moos moal hinna-nous ins brivy?* Or do you remember being told as children, never to eat in the privy, or your teeth would decay? A similar belief collected by Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker and found in the files of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society is that children were discouraged from taking any item of food to eat when they went to the privy, by telling them that if they ever ate in the privy they would marry a Negro.

Edwin M. Fogel in his book, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* informs us, "*Wann di ki ken milich gebe, schtet mer maergets uf, schwetzt nix, get naus in der kischtall, melkt di ki un schitt di milich no ins bribi, ins feier. No gebe di ki wider milich.* (If the flow of milk in cows is scant, get up early and before having spoken a word to anyone milk the cows and pour the milk into the privy or fire.)"² If the readers are aware of any early beliefs which relate to the privy, the author will welcome them.

Although the number of outdoor privies is steadily decreasing, these structures are still to be found in use at some of the small rural churches, one-room schools and other rural public gathering places. There are still those which are being used on rural Pennsylvania homesteads and farms today. This is particularly true during the summer months, to avoid having to go into the house each time even though these same properties are equipped with inside toilets. The writer found, however, that many of our Pennsylvania Dutch people still feel that to use these facilities inside, especially when fair weather prevails, is a waste of water and shows evidence of laziness and softness on the part of the user. Their numbers have continued to decrease however as running water and electricity were installed in the rural homes and on the farm. One can also readily understand why; the thought of and effort necessary to rise up out of bed during a cold, windy, winter night most certainly was unpleasant. These privies were usually always freezing cold during the winter months and extremely hot during the summer.

It is because of factors such as these and the introduction of our modern indoor bathrooms with their better protection from heat and cold, their greater convenience and sanitation, plus the greater privacy and the more wholesome atmosphere they provide which have helped contribute to the decline of the outdoor privy.

¹Dieffenbach, Victor C., Manuscript File 577-214-52, Pennsylvania Folklife Society Files.

²Fogel, Edwin M., *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1915), p. 170, No. 813.

INTERIOR VIEW. Lids up, ready for use.



INTERIOR VIEW OF OUTDOOR PRIVY. Note calendar art on wall, mail order catalogue on seat, and lids for covering holes. Photographed 1962.



ALL THE COMFORTS OF HOME. Interior of Lebanon County privy shows two levels of seats, one at 18 inches for adult, the other at 12 inches for small child. Note oval or egg-shaped holes and lids, hand-braided rug on floor, broom in corner. Interior dimensions: 4 ft. square. Located in rear of 417 E. Main St., Annville, Pennsylvania. Photographed 1963.



An early 19th Century Pennsylvania Dutch still made entirely of copper—found in the hills near Kutztown. Notice the tank spigot to clean the 50-gallon boiler. From the author's collection.

Distillation and Distilleries Among the Dutch

By RICHARD H. SHANER

The art of distilling spirits has been an integral part of the rural Dutch culture ever since the early 18th Century. Whiskey burning in earlier days was very popular among the farmers and throughout the countryside on almost every fair-sized farm was a still. Most of the spirits were consumed by the local Dutch and not too much whiskey was exported outside of Pennsylvania. There were no large commercial stills in the 1700's, and spirits which were sold to the local taverns and inns were made by independent farmers.

On many occasions farmers of the Dutch area would distill a large batch of whiskey and take it to the Philadelphia market. The oldtimers of Lehigh County tell that when John Jacob Mickley went down to Philadelphia in September of 1777, he transported a cargo of several barrels of whiskey. On the return trip he brought back with him the now famous Liberty Bell, which was safely kept in Allentown for part of the American Revolution.

In the colonial Dutch Country were to be found among the best foods and liquors in America. The fame of the rural taverns and inns of this locality was spread throughout the colonies. Of note, even Kutztown (a very small

village at that time) was complimented for its fine foods and good hospitality by a few members of the Continental Congress. On the various travel routes tavern proprietors would attempt to lure wagoners to eat regularly at their establishments by giving them one or two free drinks of whiskey with their meal.¹ However, these robust men usually became involved in vigorous fights, especially the Conestoga wagoners.

For the most part distillation always remained a home industry with the exception of a few commercial distilleries which appeared in the early 19th Century. After the Civil War private distilleries went out of existence and only a few commercial enterprises tried to stay in business.

Of all the commercial whiskey distilleries, probably Stein's Distillery was the best known and the most popularly patronized. Located in rural Kutztown, the Stein Distillery operated for almost a full century (1830-1920). The still was founded and operated by Jacob Stein on his farm near the three-mile house on the Kutztown-Krumsville road.²

¹ D. K. Noel, "Seventy Years Ago," *York Gazette*, March 10, 1895.

² Currently known as the Fisher farm, Kutztown R. D. 3, Pa



The Rittenhouse Birch Distillery at Seisholtzville, Berks County—once one of the largest producing sweet-birch oil distilleries in the Dutch Country. It went out of operation in the 1950's but is completely intact, and may start up again.

Only pure rye whiskey was made by Stein, and later his son and descendants. At Main and White Oak streets in Kutztown the Steins maintained a whiskey store where they sold their own whiskey.

Near the distillery on the Stein farm was the bonded warehouse.³ Here the barrels of whiskey were stacked on racks and occasionally inspected until they matured. Usually the whiskey was aged from three to eight years. At the distillery the whiskey was sold by the barrel and shipped to all parts of the Dutch Country, going especially to local taverns. Whiskey was not only sold by the barrel later on, but in stone-ware jugs, and if you wished you could buy a case of 12 quart bottles.

The Uses of Whiskey

In a pamphlet printed for the Stein Distillery it was stated that whiskey had two purposes: 1. pleasure and 2. medicinal. This brochure printed at the turn of the century lists the following remedies:

³Collected from William Stein, age 84, Kutztown, March 16, 1963.

1. *Bites of Poisonous Snakes and Insects:*

Full drafts of Stein's Whiskey will help to ward off the danger.

2. *Colds:*

Take two ounces of Stein's Whiskey mixed with four grains of quinine, preferably before retiring in the evening.

3. *Sore Throat:*

Thousands of cases have been cured with Stein's Whiskey and glycerine.⁴

Besides the previous sampling the book also lists several popular drinks in which Stein's whiskey was used—whiskey toddy, stone-wall, whiskey cocktail, etc.

During the days of the private and commercial distilleries, up to about 1850, whiskey was a major drink in many Dutch homes. Farmers in the 18th and early 19th Centuries took bottles of whiskey into the harvest fields with

⁴*Stein's Pure Rye Whiskey*, printed for I. B. Stein and Son, Distillers of Pure Rye Whiskey, Kutztown, Pennsylvania (undated).

Jacob Stein's Whiskey Distillery built about 1830 near Kutztown, Berks County. In the basement of the building is a fast running spring and the original trough used to cool the condensing coil. The door in the front at the top level was used to bring the rye into the building to be burned.



The Kermit Kemmerer Birch Distillery at Barto, Berks County.



them as they did their work. It was not uncommon to find ground-cellar and spring-cellar stored with fermented wines and distilled liquors.

The Dutchman took great pride in this art and produced many types of beverages. It is unlikely that anyone can tell which of the spirits was most popular among the Dutch—rye whiskey, corn whiskey, applejack, etc.

It would also be hard to list all the remedies for sickness which used whiskey among the Dutch. The most popular is probably the remedy for an upset stomach which I collected from Yuni Day of New Jerusalem, Berks County. Take several roots of the plant called snake root, wash the ground from them and put them in a bottle of whiskey. After a few days, whenever you have an upset stomach, take a swig of the whiskey with the snake root in and you will become better very quickly. It is also good to take a swig of it every night or so, before going to bed—for good health.

The second most popular remedy in the Dutch Country is the use of a local type of white lily petal for the healing of cuts and burns. This among other people was recorded from my neighbor, Marie Moyer, New Jerusalem. When the lily flower blooms collect the white petals from it and immerse them in a bottle filled with whiskey. If someone should cut himself, put several petals on the cut (or burn) and bandage it up. Within a very short time the sore will be healed. A neighbor of Mrs. Moyer one time cut the tip of his finger off, and when it was attended to in the previous manner the finger healed in record time without any ill effects to the victim. Most of my neighbors in Rockland Township all have large bottles filled with whiskey and lily petals from their herb gardens.

Applejack for Sore Throat

Viola Miller of Kutztown tells of a typical cure for a cold or sore throat. Take some butter melted in a pie-pan and fill a soup spoon half way, then add applejack for the second half and swallow. More curious are two remedies from Edwin M. Fogel's *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1915). 1. Grow a wild balsam apple in a bottle, when ripe, fill the bottle with whiskey. This will heal any wound on which it is poured or rubbed (page 274). 2. To cure a heavy cold drink burned whiskey before going to bed. During the process of burning the whiskey the flame should be extinguished and relit three times, after which it should be permitted to burn until all the alcohol is burned out (page 286).

One of the most curious bits of lore concerning the distilling of whiskey was recorded in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* for February 1, 1952, in an article called *Witches and Witchcraft*. In this entry a Mr. Muhlenberg told of a man who paid 10 shillings for having the witches driven out of his distilling kettle. The person performing the exorcism was reportedly quite gifted in such feats.⁵

The Whiskey Rebellion

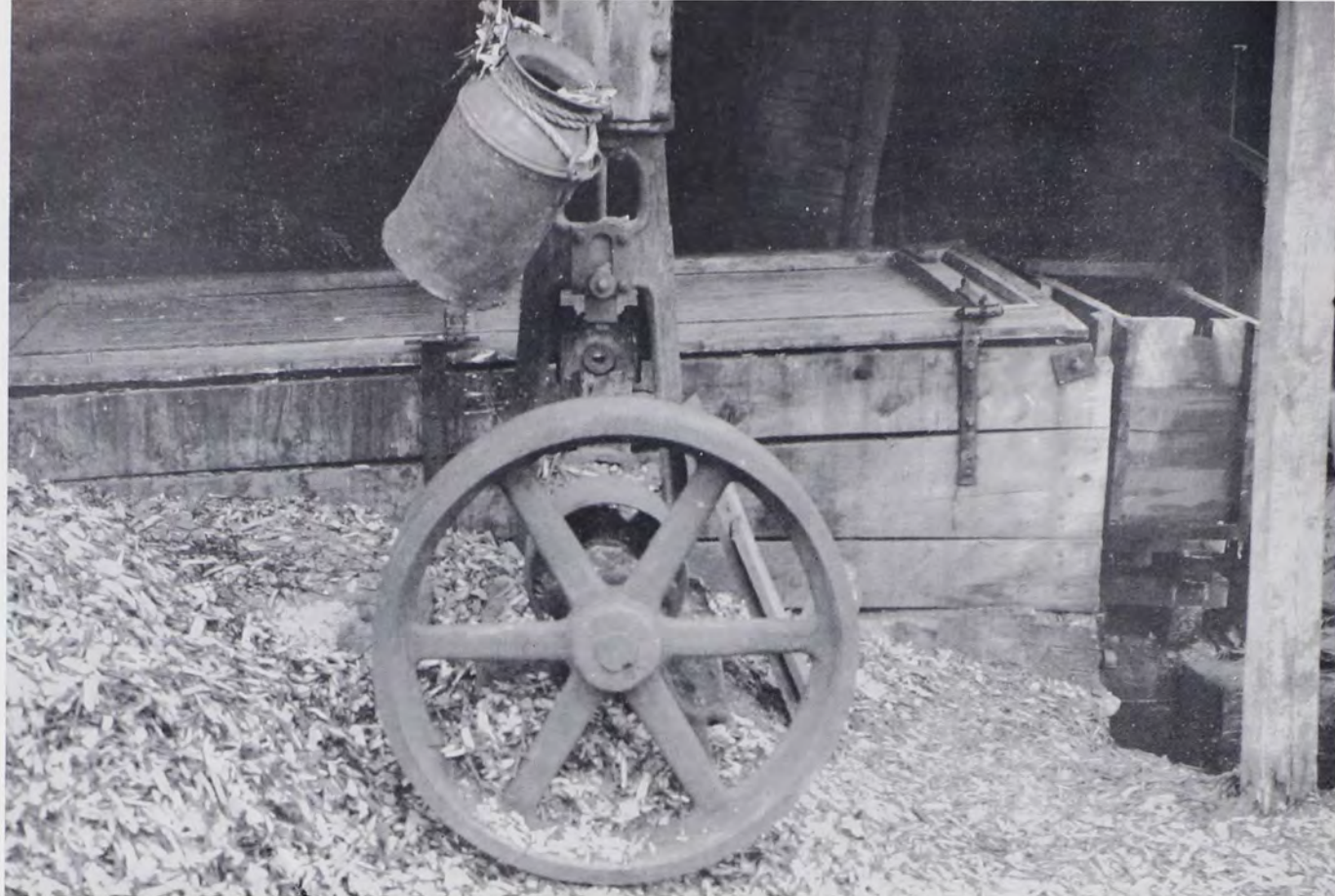
Undoubtedly the early distilling industry of the Dutch was no match for the Scotch-Irish whiskey producers of Western Pennsylvania. With the exception of relatively few cases not any farmer in the Dutchland was dependent on his whiskey still for a livelihood. When later in the 18th Century the Federal government placed an excise tax on whiskey, it was not the Dutchman who revolted. The Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 in Western Pennsylvania was largely a Scotch-Irish protest against a tax which was endangering their main source of income. From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia (almost 300 miles) came Scotch-Irish whiskey in Conestoga wagons. Being so distant from the Philadelphia market it was not profitable for these farmers to export their bulk crops. Thus the Pennsylvania Dutch fed Philadelphia and occasionally allowed it some of their fine whiskey, but the Scotch-Irish had to be satisfied to sell the city only whiskey.

Birch, Sassafras, and Wintergreen

Existing side by side in the Dutch Country were various birch, sassafras, and wintergreen distilleries. The oils which these stills produced were used basically for (1) medicinal purposes, and (2) non-intoxicating drinks. In about every wooded area of the territory was located an oil distillery. Often large saw mills combined both processes. Since birch trees were in a greater abundance than the other two, most stills in the late 19th and early 20th Century specialized in sweet-birch oil.

In the making of oil the twigs and bark of the tree trunk are used. After both of these have been chopped up fairly fine, they are put into a large copper-lined box. The boxes which ranged in all sizes were usually about five feet wide, six feet long and four feet deep. A copper lid was fastened on top of the box and sealed with a flour paste. Most of

⁵ It is quite common to hear of a bewitched butter churn in the Dutch Country but it is rare to hear of an incident where a witch has "possessed" a distilling kettle.



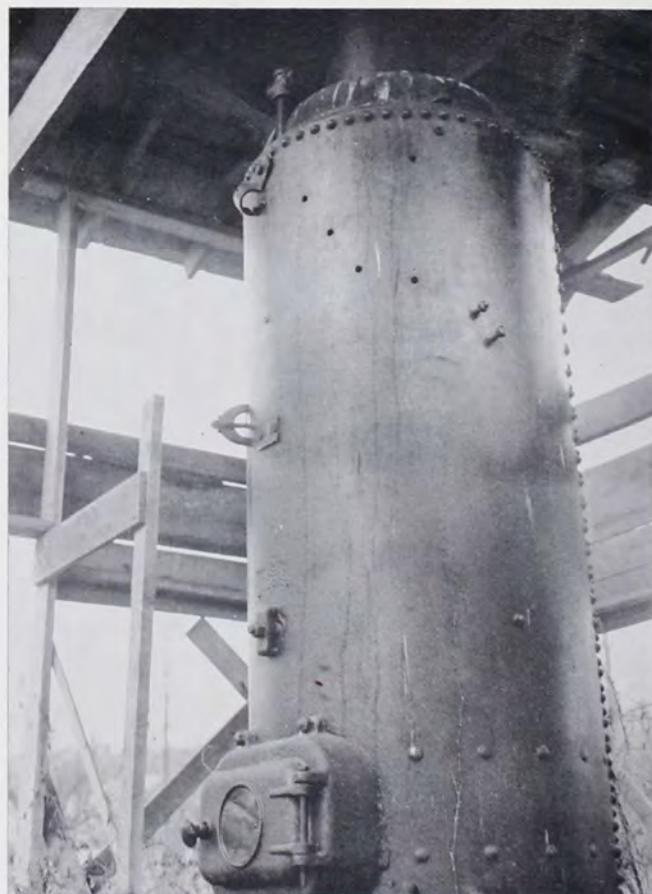
One of the two copper-lined steam boxes used at Kemmerer's distillery. To the right of the large box can be seen part of the eight-foot cooling trough which is continually kept filled with running spring water.

the oil distillers used steam heat to extract the oil, and once the used wet chips of twigs were dried they used them to fire the steam boiler. Thus the distiller had no waste to get rid of as in the making of cider. Like the whiskey stills the vapor from the tank was condensed in a copper coil which was cooled by running water. Often the stills were set up near cold mountain springs which offered the best results in the condensing of the vapor.

The birch and sassafras trees which were used to make oil came from the wooded areas of farms near to the stills. The wood was bought by the distiller by the wagon or truck load and the usual price in recent years was two to three dollars a load. The sweet-birch oil industry of the Dutch Country is still a major rural business. Most of the distillers, however, now use much more modern lumbering equipment and produce greater quantities than their forefathers ever dreamed. Since most beverage companies now use artificial flavoring, the Dutch birch oil is being purchased for medicinal use mainly.

Among many of the farm families the making of home-made birch and root beer was a periodical chore in the summer time. When the mix was made it was poured into large five gallon crocks and allowed to sit in a warm place. After it had "worked" a few days it was cooled and served. On some occasions the beverage was bottled and kept for later use. The making of these beverages was only slightly less popular than making home-made ice cream.

In years gone by sassafras was also used by the Dutch but in a lesser quantity. A tea made from the roots of the sassafras tree was known to thin and purify the blood. During the spring of the year several families still prepare sassafras tea for cleaning the blood. Its use is similar to the eating of wild dandelion in the springtime. Sassafras was mainly used by beverage companies and is no longer produced because of the use of artificial flavoring.



This is the first steam boiler used by Kermit Kemmerer's father when he had located the distillery in the Blue Mountains. It is the typical vertical type which is used in most of the distilleries. The boiler dates from 1909.

Folklife Studies is a new discipline engaged in analyzing the folk-culture of non-primitive areas. It studies every phase of the culture, material as well as oral. The picture shows one of Pennsylvania's traditional basket-makers, Ollie Strausser, preparing willow withes for basketry.



The FOLKLIFE STUDIES MOVEMENT

By DON YODER

The folklife studies movement is a 20th Century addition to scholarship. The term "folklife," an English adaptation of the Swedish term *folkliv*, is building about itself a new and exciting discipline, which has already influenced research in the British Isles, from whence it has begun to make itself felt in the United States.

"Folklife Studies" or "Folklife Research"—Swedish *folklivsforskning*, German *Volkslebensforschung* or *Volkskunde*—is a total scholarly concentration on the folk-levels of a national or regional culture. In brief, folklife studies involves the analysis of a folk-culture in its entirety.

By folk culture is meant in this case the lower (traditional or "folk" levels) of a literate Western (European or American) society. Folk culture is traditional culture, bound by tradition and transmitted by tradition, and is basically (although not exclusively) rural and pre-industrial. Obviously it is the opposite of the mass-produced, mechanized, popular culture of the 20th Century.

"Folklife" is a term of Swedish origin, from *folkliv*, coined by scholars in the 19th Century, following the already established German term *Volksleben*. The term "folklife

research" (*folklivsforskning*) was coined in 1909 at the University of Lund when Sven Lampa began lectures in *Svensk Folklivsforskning* (Swedish Folklife Research). The term *Folkslivsforskning* is an exact equivalent of the German term *Volkskunde* and probably was coined with that intention.¹

To those who are beginning to use it in Britain and the United States, the term "folklife" is intended to include the total range of the folk-culture, material as well as oral or spiritual. It is consciously intended to be a term of broader

¹ Information from the Folklivsarkivet, University of Lund, Sweden, Letter from Dr. Brita Egardt, 26 March 1963, which suggests that the earliest documented use of "folkliv" in Sweden came with Lovén's book, *Folklivet i Skytts härad* (The Folklife of the Jurisdictional District of Skytt), published 1847. In 1878 it was used in the title of a new periodical, *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv* (Swedish Dialects and Swedish Folklife), which is still in publication. Of "folklife research" (*folklivsforskning*), Ake Hultkrantz's new dictionary, *General Ethnological Concepts* (Copenhagen, 1960), Volume I of the "International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore," says only that it was "coined in Sweden in 1909."



Pennsylvania Dutch Fraktur (Illuminated Manuscripts) have attracted nationwide attention. Pennsylvania produced the most elaborate folk art tradition in the United States.

range than the English word "folklore," which, as everybody knows, was coined in England in 1846 by W. J. Thoms, to express in "basic Anglo-Saxon" what the English at the time meant by "popular antiquities." Thoms' definition of his new word was "the study of traditions, customs and superstitions current among common people in civilised countries." Following the definition favored by the English Folklore Society, folklore has been, with a few exceptions which we will discuss later, limited in range to the *literary* aspects of folk-culture—the folktale, the folksong, the proverb and other oral literature—in other words, the "lore" in folklore.

In a sense "folklore" and the folklore movement represent a 19th Century discovery, in the English-speaking lands, of isolated bits of folk-cultural memoranda—in other words, a partially conceived folk-culture, basically oral tradition. In working on his specialties, whether they were folksongs, folktales, or "superstitions," the folklorist did discover the folk level of his culture, but in limiting himself to oral aspects of culture he very frequently missed the setting of the songs or tales themselves in the total culture of his area. He performed the valuable function of preserving the songs, or tales, of a culture, but was rarely concerned to relate them functionally, sociologically, and psychologically to the culture which produced them.

The Folklife Studies Movement is the 20th Century re-discovery of the total range of the folk-culture (folklife). Folklore is not so much its parent as is anthropology, especially what Americans call cultural anthropology and Europeans ethnology or ethnography. The cultural anthropologist studies *all* aspects of a culture—farming, cooking, dress, ornament, houses, settlements, handicraft, trade, transportation, amusements, art, marriage, family, religion—to list a few of the subjects included as chapter headings in any basic recent text.

The 20th Century rediscovery of folklife and the conse-

quent emergence of the academic discipline of Folklife Studies would seem to be a converging of several older academic disciplines. Basically, as we have said, it represents the application of the techniques of cultural anthropology—used so successfully with primitive cultures—to the folk levels of the literate cultures of Northern Europe, the British Isles, and now the United States. In addition to anthropology, geography, linguistics, religion, psychology, parapsychology, and sociology all have contributed to the creation of the new discipline of Folklife Studies. Scholars from all of these fields are involved.

Before looking at the emergence and progress of the Folklife Studies Movement, let us take a more detailed look at the vocabulary of the movement.

"Folklore" and "Folklife"

There are three terms which we must look at as background for the Folklife Studies Movement. These are "folklore," "folklife," and the German term *Volkskunde*, which antedates both.

The term "folklore" seems to have been coined independently of the already existing German word *Volkskunde* which had made its appearance in 1806.² In England the term "folklore"—originally hyphenated as "folk-lore"—was given widespread attention through the foundation of the

²For the history of the word *Volkskunde*, see Oswald A. Erich and Richard Beitzl, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde*, 2d ed. by Richard Beitzl (Stuttgart, 1955), pp. 799-809; Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. R. Meiszner, Bd. 12, II. Abt., 4.Lieferung (Leipzig, 1932), "Volkskunde," columns 486-487; Will-Erich Peuckert and Otto Lauffer, *Volkskunde: Quellen und Forschungen seit 1930* (Bern, 1951); Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 18th ed. by Walther Mitzka (Berlin, 1960), "Volkskunde"; Karl Meisen, "Europäische Volkskunde als Forschungsaufgabe," *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, III (1952), 7-40; and Wolfgang Steinitz, "Volkskunde und Völkerkunde," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, I (1955), 269-275.

Folk-Lore Society in London in 1877, and in America through the foundation of the American Folklore Society in 1888.

The creator of the term "folk-lore," W. J. Thoms, in 1846 described it as "that department of the study of antiquities and archaeology which embraces everything relating to ancient observances and customs, to the notions, beliefs, traditions, superstitions and prejudices of the common people."³ The definition adopted by the Folk-Lore Society of Britain is "the oral culture and traditions of the folk, that is folk-beliefs, customs, institutions, pastimes, sayings, songs, stories, and arts and crafts, both as regards their origin and their present social functions."⁴ The second of these definitions is broader than the first. It attempts to broaden "folklore" to include not only custom and oral tradition, but also something of material culture (arts and crafts).

There are of course as many definitions of "folklore" as there are scholars working in the field.⁵ But basically there are two main trends in definitions of the term. One trend attempts to limit folklore to the spiritual folk-culture, the other attempts to stretch folklore to include both spiritual and material folk-culture. An example of the first is the Arnhem Congress definition (1955) of folklore as "the spiritual tradition of the folk, particularly oral tradition, as well as the science which studies this tradition."⁶ An example of the second or stretched definition of folklore is Stith Thompson's, who would have folklore involve "the dances, songs, tales, legends, and traditions, the beliefs and superstitions, and the proverbial sayings of peoples everywhere," as well as customs, practices, *buildings*, *utensils*, etc., if these latter belong to the materials of culture in a literate society.⁷

The stretching of the term folklore to include the totality of folk culture would seem to be a recent trend, a belated admission of the insufficiency of the term folklore, as usually defined in the English-speaking countries, to deal with folk-culture as a whole.


³For the term "Folk-Lore," which first appeared in the *Athenaeum* for 22 August, 1846, in a letter by "Ambrose Merton" (W. J. Thoms), see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, IV, 390. For Thoms and his defense of the originality of his coinage against charges that it was borrowed from the German, see Duncan Emrich, "Folk-Lore": William John Thoms," *California Folklore Quarterly*, V (1946), 355-374.

⁴Lord Raglan, "The Scope of Folk-Lore," Presidential Address delivered before the Folk-Lore Society, 20 March 1946, in *Folk-Lore*, LVII (1946), 98.

⁵Compare the twenty or more definitions listed in Maria Leach (ed.), *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York, 1949), I; also Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-141.

⁶The Arnhem Congress, which met at the Dutch Open-Air Museum at Arnhem in Gelderland, 20-24 September 1955, was called by Director Winfred Roukens of the Open-Air Museum for the specific purpose of determining upon international terminology for the folklore-folklife field of research. Roukens proposed the problem in his article, "Folklore. Ein Name und eine Gefahr?", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen*, XX (1955), 2-9. At the Congress, certain delegates favored "Ethnology" or "European Ethnology" for the international name of the science they were creating. However, the West German, Austrian, and Swiss representatives, who came from the highly scientific development of *Volkskunde*, opposed the merging of the term *Volkskunde* into Ethnology, which would have meant a serious loss of prestige for the *Volkskunde* movement. The Congress emphasized the pressing need for an international term corresponding to the Scandinavian *Folklivsforskning*. For the Arnhem Congress, see the *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, II (1956), 264; also *Volkskunde*, 56 (1955), 139-143.

**Fourth
Annual Seminars**
on the
Folk-Culture
of the
**Pennsylvania Dutch
Country**

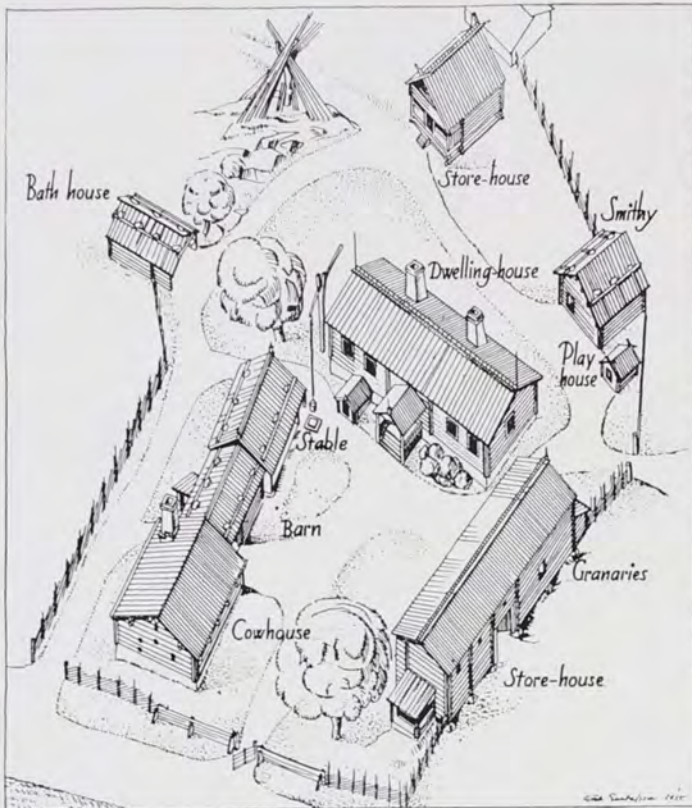


July 1 to July 4, 1955
in conjunction with the
**Sixth Annual
Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival**
at
Kutztown, Pennsylvania
(Route 222, between Allentown and Reading)

Sponsored by
**The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center
Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania**

Seminars on Folk-Culture have been a feature of the program of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society since 1951.

⁷Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, p. 136. See also Stith Thompson (ed.), *Four Symposia on Folklore* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1953), for debates on the scope of folklore at the Midcentury International Folklore Conference, held at Indiana University in the Summer of 1950. This was perhaps the first national forum at which the term "folklife" was given attention in the United States, principally through the participation of Sigurd Erixon. However, as late as 1953 Stith Thompson complained that "both folklorists and ethnologists in America have failed to make adequate systematic studies of the material culture and customs of the dominant white groups, mostly of European origin. Folk-life in the sense in which the Europeans use it has seldom seemed to be the business of either, but it must be hoped that some of the problems now so well worked on by Swedes, Finns, Irish, French, and others who will be assembling in the Ethnological Congress in Vienna this summer may appeal to our own investigators. It matters little whether they call themselves folklorists or ethnologists or anthropologists" (Stith Thompson, "Advances in Folklore Studies," in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 592-593).



Layout of Alvros Farmstead, Swedish Folk Museum, Skansen, Stockholm. The Swedes pioneered in the open-air museum, reconstructing typical rural and town buildings in natural settings for comparative study. Skansen, the first open-air museum, was opened in 1891.

For instance, Lord Raglan, in his presidential address before the British Folklore Society in 1946 suggested that it was high time that the Society live up to its broadened definition of folklore.⁹ While "arts and crafts" were included in the Society's definition of folklore they had at that time yet to make their appearance in the society's journal, "the contributions to which are almost entirely confined to superstition and what is known as oral literature." He goes on to suggest the need for study of the material culture—craft types and rural architecture, for two examples. "It should, in my opinion, be the task of this Society to collect, and publish in convenient form, information on all aspects of folk life, using that term in its widest sense, in the hope of enabling us to find out how and why changes in custom and fashion come about, and therefore developing a real science of folklore."

The American Folklore Society, like its British parent, has also wrestled with the definition of folklore and has tried to broaden its sights. The results have been disappointing. In a 1957 symposium, "A Theory for American Folklore," there is not a single reference to the "folklife" approach and its possible relation to the "folklore" approach. The key article by Richard Dorson pays lip-service to "folk-culture" and the contributions anthropologists can make to folklore studies, but the image of "folklore" that one retains after reading his suggestions is still limited to oral literature plus custom plus folk art (he does mention "Pennsylvania Dutch *fraktur*").¹⁰

In his "prepared comments" on Dorson's address, Melville J. Herskovits praises Dorson's "consideration of the

⁹ Lord Raglan, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 105. See also his "The Origin of Folk-Culture," *Folk-Lore*, LVIII (1947), 250-260, which regrets that the study of folklore has failed to attract the attention of leading British medievalists and social historians.

relevance of cultural anthropology for the study of American folklore" and then goes on to make two very interesting criticisms. The first is this one: "I have a friend who has a great interest in the barns found in different parts of the United States, particularly the migration to the Middle West of the type of barn where the upper level is reached by a built-up ramp that represents a survival of the New England structure which makes use of the hillside against which the barn is built for this purpose. In his studies of barns, is my friend doing folklore?" Obviously most literary or humanistic folklorists, as Dorson calls them, would say "no," most anthropological folklorists or folk anthropologists would say "yes." Seriously Herskovits comments that "what is sometimes alluded to as 'folk-culture' does enter into Dorson's paper, but it is given distinctly minor emphasis. If the amount of space devoted to this aspect of the subject is compared with the discussion of narrative and song and proverb and tall tale and legend, its relevance strikes one as no more than tangential."¹⁰

⁹ Richard M. Dorson, "A Theory for American Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore*, 72 (1959), 197-215. Dorson's valuable suggestions as to the use of folk materials in immigration, frontier, and regional history have been further elaborated in his now standard American volume on the folklore approach, *American Folklore* (Chicago, 1959).

¹⁰ Melville J. Herskovits, "Prepared Comments," *Journal of American Folklore*, 72 (1959), 216-220. Herskovits was more specific in an earlier article, "Folklore after a Hundred Years: A Problem in Redefinition," *Journal of American Folklore*, 59 (1946), 89-100, which does contain a brief mention of the "folk-life" or "Nordic Ethnology" approach in Scandinavia, and points out the fact that from the very beginning *Volkskunde* has had a far wider scope than folklore. See also William R. Bascom, "Folklore and Anthropology," *Journal of American Folklore*, 66 (1953), 283-290: "Folklore, to the anthropologist, is a part of culture but not the whole of culture. It includes myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, the texts of ballads and other songs, and other forms of less importance, but not folk art, folk dance, folk music, folk costume, folk medicine, folk custom, or folk belief" (p. 285).



View of the Town Quarter, Skansen. The town section houses craft shops—glass factory, print shop and others—where tourists see authentic craft production.



The Carinthian Folk Museum at Klagenfurt in Austria is one of the more recent open-air museums in Europe. The drawing shows the "Flodermühle" from St. Oswald. The word "flutter mill" was used on the American frontier for similar mills.

In more recent years, the symposium "Folklore Research Around the World," which fills the entire October-December issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* for 1961, shows almost total unawareness of folklife research. The one article that does mention several Scandinavian folklife research institutions makes no attempt to differentiate them in method and range from the earlier folklore institutions.¹¹

May it be that, despite the American and British attempt—halfhearted at that—to stretch the term folklore to include material culture, scholarship in the English-speaking countries has been seriously hindered, is hindered, and will continue to be hindered by the psychological limitations of the word "folklore" itself, whereas European scholars schooled in the *Volkskunde* and *folkliv* concepts, have without embarrassment accepted material culture as well as oral culture as their natural field of study?

The German term *Volkskunde* is related to both "folklore" and "folklife." It is the oldest of the three. In fact "folklore" is an attempt—not a successful one, as time seems to be proving—to find an equivalent in English. "Folklife" (Swedish *folkliiv*) is a successful rendering which preserves the total range of interest expressed in the highly developed science of *Volkskunde*.

Perhaps the late Richard Weiss, the outstanding Swiss folklife scholar and one of the shapers of the contemporary folklife movement, can help to clarify American as well as British thought on the subject of the relation of folklore and folklife. According to Richard Weiss, "*Volkskunde ist die Wissenschaft vom Volksleben. Das Volksleben besteht aus den zwischen Volk und Volkskultur wirkenden Wechselbeziehungen soweit sie durch Gemeinschaft und Tradition bestimmt sind.*"¹² " 'Volkskunde' (which I would translate 'Folklife Studies') is the science of folklife. Folklife consists of the mutual relations operative between folk and folk-culture, so far as they are determined by society and tradition."

¹¹ "Folklore Research Around the World: A North American Point of View," ed. Richard M. Dorson, *Journal of American Folklore*, 74 (1961), 287-460. The one article which makes specific reference to folklife research is Warren E. Roberts, "Folklore in Norway: Addendum," pp. 321-324.

¹² Richard Weiss, *Volkskunde der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1946).
11. Richard Weiss (1907-1962) has had deep influence upon folklife (*Volkskunde*) scholarship in the German-speaking lands, through his writings on *Volkskunde*-theory, principally the work cited, and his teaching at the University of Zurich. His untimely death last summer has deprived the folklife studies movement of one of its principal leaders. For a summary of his importance in the movement, see *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Vol. 58 (1962), No. 4, 185-199.

Sigurd Erixon, a founder of "folklife research" as an academic discipline, defines it as "the science of man as a cultural being . . . Folklife research is essentially to be regarded as a branch of general anthropology or ethnology and may therefore be called ethnology . . . The subject of the folklife research we are concerned with is, in my opinion, a comparative culture research on a regional basis, with a sociological and historical orientation and with certain psychological aspects."¹³ The regional delimitation has led Erixon and others to suggest the alternate name "Regional Ethnology" or "European Ethnology."

In the recent ethnological dictionary issued by Unesco, Prof. Hultkrantz of the University of Stockholm comments on Erixon's definition as follows. Folklife research focuses upon the whole range of culture—material, social, and spiritual. Hence it is not an equivalent to "folklore." It is best to say that folklife research *includes* folklore. In comparing it, however, with general ethnology, folklife research has a regional basis—its aim is to study folk culture in civilized countries. Hultkrantz suggests modestly that for the United States it may prove a better term than "folklore"—"it could (better than the vague or more limited term folklore) serve as a name for that discipline which studies the indigenous culture of the white settlers in its totality."¹⁴

The term "European Ethnology" has been proposed, and used by some scholars, for the discipline of folklife studies.¹⁵ The advantage of the terminology is that it does set the discipline against its background in anthropology. A disadvantage is that while the term is useful in Europe, to "translate" it into "American Ethnology" brings confusion since ethnology in America has normally been associated with the study of primitive (Indian) cultures of North America, as for instance in the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, founded 1879 specifically to study the American Indian and his culture.

Folklife Studies in Europe

Among the institutions for research in folklife which have arisen in Europe are (1) the International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore, (2) regional folklife societies such as the Ulster Folklife Society (1956) and the Society for Folk Life Studies (1961), (3) the Folklife Archive, a research institute usually in connection with a university, and (4) the Open-Air Museum. Let us look at each of these phases.

¹³ Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁴ Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁵ On the varying uses of "ethnology" and "ethnography" see T. K. Penniman, *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* (New York, 1936).



Demonstration of Grain Cradling at one of the early Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festivals, Kutztown.

Out of the working together of Scandinavian, Continental, and British Isles scholars has come the International Ethnological (*Volkskunde* or *Folklivsforskning*) Association for Central, Northern and Western Europe—usually referred to as “The International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore”—which resulted from a conference at Lund in November, 1935. Its purpose is “to facilitate researches in cultural and folkloristic subjects over an extensive field, ultimately projected to embrace all Europe, by the exchange of information among constituent countries and by the co-ordination of research methods and results wherever possible.”³⁶

At the Association's first international congress, at Edinburgh in 1937, Prof. H. Geijer of Uppsala, in the presidential address, suggested that the work with which the congress scholars were occupied “is devoted to sciences that are still young. These sciences are not yet in a satisfactory and definite state, in relation to the older sciences. Our studies are concentrated round human nature and the development of mankind, but from other points of view than those with which the older sciences mostly deal. The most usual and accessible men—that is, the men of our own countries—are the latest to be made objects of scientific interest and research. The exotic and the prehistoric races have occupied the minds of the scientists more than those nearer home.” Not only must science turn to the human cultures closer to home, i.e., the folklife approach—but the materials of folklore and folklife must be studied in relation to the culture as a whole. The Association adopted as its official organ the periodical *Folkliv*.³⁷

³⁶ *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, Vol. II, No. 3 (October, 1937), p. 1. This society and its proceedings, Vols. I–V (1935–1956), were until 1956 one of the most active evidences in Britain of the folklife movement. Since 1956, however, the Society has been replaced by the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh and the proceedings are succeeded by *Scottish Studies*.

³⁷ Jan de Vries, in his Introduction to *Folk-Liv*, I (1938), 8–9, speaks of the amalgamation in the new journal of “the two sides of our activity, ethnology and folklore proper, together covering the whole domain of the material, social and mental life,” so that both are “assured of a platform.” Other European folklife journals are *Laos* (Stockholm, 1951 ff.), *Folk* (Copenhagen, 1959 ff.), *Folkkultur* (Lund, 1941–1946), and *Folklivsstudier* (Helsinki, 1945 ff.). Unfortunately the holdings of these important journals in American libraries are extremely scanty.

The regional folklife societies have arisen in Britain in particular as a conscious effort to interest scholars as well as lay collectors in the concept of folklife. In 1960 there was organized the Ulster Folklife Society, whose aim is “to encourage the study of local history and the collecting and recording of material relating to the folklife and traditions of Northern Ireland.” It grew out of the Committee on Ulster Folklife and Traditions which had been organized in 1952. The Society has taken over the publication of the Committee's annual volume, *Ulster Folklife*, founded 1955 and now in its ninth year. The first annual meeting of the Ulster Folklife Society was held in the Spring of 1961.

In the Fall of 1961 the first meeting of the (British) Society for Folk Life Studies was held at University College, London, with the second meeting at the University of Reading in September, 1962. Its purpose is “to further the study of traditional ways of life in Great Britain and Ireland and to provide a common meeting point for the many people and institutions engaged with the varied aspects of the subject.”³⁸ The first number of the annual journal of the Society, *Folk Life*, will appear in the Summer of 1963.

The basic unit in European folklife research, however, is not the international association or the national folklife society, but the Folklife Archive. These are national or regional institutions. There are many names for this type of institution: for examples, there are the *Folklivarkivet* (Lund), *Instituttet for Folkelivsgrensning* (Oslo), *Volkskundliche Kommission* (Münster/Westfalen), *Institut voor Volkskunde* (Amsterdam), and the *Schweizerisches Institut für Volkskunde* (Basel). Some of these “institutes” and “archives” are connected with universities, others with national societies or academies of science, some are state supported and others are privately supported. But basically all these institutions have a common approach and a common set of research techniques. They house, first of all, research libraries which, with few exceptions, put American university “folklore” collections quite in the shade. Furthermore, sizable permanent staffs are engaged in collecting materials in the field and archiving these materials in the central archive. Most of these institutes are also involved in museum work, especially open-air museum work.

The common approach of these institutions is the folklife approach—whether it is called folklife, *Volkskunde*, or Regional Ethnology. The common techniques are the questionnaire, the local collector and informant, the *Kartei* indexing of the materials brought in from the field, and the cartographical method (Folk Atlas) with its distribu-

³⁸ At the organization meeting in 1961, Dr. Iorwerth C. Peate, Curator of the Welsh Folk Museum, and Mr. J. Geraint Jenkins of the same institution were elected President and Honorary Secretary. The papers read were all on the theme “Folk Life and Its Related Disciplines.” The papers were entitled: “The Study of Folk Life,” by Prof. Sigurd Erixon of Stockholm; “Language and Folk Life,” by Mr. David Murison, Editor, *Scottish National Dictionary*; “Archaeology and Folk Life,” by Mr. Basil R. S. Megaw, Director, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh; “Architecture and Folk Life,” by Dr. R. B. Wood-Jones, University of Manchester; and “Geography and Folk Life,” by Dr. R. H. Buchanan, Queen's University, Belfast.

tion maps of terms, customs, and types of material objects (house-types, barn-types, cart-types, etc.).¹⁹

The exciting thing about these institutions, apart from their revolutionary concept of the holistic approach to regional folk-culture, is that they are oriented in two directions. A great many of them are connected with universities—the *Folklivsarkivet* at Lund and the *Volkskundliche Kommission* at Münster for two examples. The staffs are on the university staff and supervise research in this growing field.²⁰ In the past year, 1961–1962, for instance, five doctoral dissertations in folklife studies resulted from the work of the *Volkskundliche Kommission* in Münster. The second orientation of these institutions is that they are rooted in the population through the local informants who either contribute oral recorded or written answers to the printed questionnaires which are sent out on every possible subject in folk-cultural studies. Holland's *Institut voor Volkskunde* has, under the direction of Dr. P. J. Meertens, over 2000 local collaborators—school teachers and others—in every area of Holland, who are constantly sending in materials which they have collected in their home areas.²¹ In some cases also the institutes are related to the public schools. An example: the Irish Folklife Commission has used reports on folktales written down on their request by school children in the Gaeltacht.

While the original folklife institutions are Scandinavian and Continental, the movement and its methods spread to the British Isles beginning with the creation of the Irish Folklore Commission in 1935 by Prof. James H. Delargy. Admittedly influenced by and based on Scandinavian, particularly Swedish, techniques for folklife study, the Commission has in turn influenced research in "these islands"—as the Scots and Irish are now somewhat over-tactfully calling what used to be known as the "British Isles." There are also the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan's, Cardiff, and the Ulster Folklife Society and Ulster Folk Museum, connected through its leadership with Queen's University, Belfast, and now the latest offspring of the Swedish-Irish-Scottish chain of influence—the Folk Life Survey at the University of Leeds in Yorkshire, initiated in 1960 and headed by Professor Stewart F. Sanderson, who was trained in the School of Scottish Studies.²²

¹⁹ For the questionnaire, developed in the 19th Century by Mannhardt, and the *Volkskundeatlas*, see Beitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 804, 34–38; for the atlas method, see Walther Mitzka, "Die Methodik des Deutschen Sprachatlas und des Deutschen Volkskundeatlas," *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, XLI (1950), 134–149. The linguistic atlas technique has been applied to America by Hans Kurath, although so far the *Volkskundeatlas*, while it has spread to Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia, has no progeny in the United States.

²⁰ Brita Egaradt, *Folklivsarkivet i Lund: Historik och Vägledning* (Lund, 1957), 16 pp., gives the history of the archive, accenting von Sydow's work as head of the archive and Professor of Scandinavian and Comparative Folklife Research (*nordisk och jämförande folklivs forskning*) at the University. At his death in 1946 he was succeeded by Professor Sigfrid Svensson.

²¹ The Institute is a division of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences and was initiated in 1934 by Prof. Dr. Joseph Schrijnen and other scholars. For the work of the Institute, see P. J. Meertens, "De Nederlandsche Volkskunde-Commissie," *Volkskunde*, N.S. I (1940), 60–63; also K. C. Peeters, "De Nederlandse Volkskunde-Atlas," *Volkskunde*, N.S. XIX (1960), 108–118.

²² For the program of the Folk Life Survey, see Stewart F. Sanderson, "Yorkshire in a New Folk-Life Survey," *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, Part LX, Volume X (1960), 21–34.

And so the influence continues. The research impulse and techniques generated in the *Volkskunde* movement in Germany and the *Folklivs forskning* movement in Sweden, are applied to the British Isles and eventually to the United States.

The Open-Air Museum

So far we have spoken only of research institutions of the library-archive-institute type. Most of these, however, have an adjunct institution, an annex called the "folk museum" or "open-air museum."²³

To illustrate the material aspects of the folk-culture, a new type of museum was developed in Scandinavia beginning in the 1890's—the "open-air museum" or sometimes, simply, "folk museum."

American tourists are familiar with the oldest of these institutions, the Skansen Open-Air Museum located magnificently on a hilltop on one of Stockholm's wooded islands. Here, beginning in 1891 under the inspiration of the founder, Dr. Artur Hazelius, were rebuilt typical farmhouses, manor-houses, barns and other outbuildings and a magnificent folk-church brought from all parts of Sweden and representative of regional variant types. Hazelius had earlier founded the Nordic Museum (*Nordisk Museet*) to study Swedish peasant culture, of which Skansen is a public annex whose purpose is to display to the public, in their natural settings, rural and town buildings from all parts of Sweden.²⁴

²³ On the history and spread of the open-air museum, see Sigurd Erixon, "Nordic Open-Air Museums and Skansen," The Im Thurn Memorial Lecture (1937), *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, Volume II, No. 3 (October, 1937), 31–45. See also Douglas A. Allen, "Folk Museums at Home and Abroad," *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 3 (1956), 91–120, plus plates. For "Regional and Local Museums" in Europe, see *Museum*, X (1957), No. 3; for "Regional Museums in the United States of America," *Museum*, XI (1958), 147–163.

²⁴ For the Swedish museum movement, see *Museum*, II (1949), No. 1, entire issue.



Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties are served each year at the Folk Festival by local church and grange groups.

With Skansen as model, the open-air museum has spread throughout Sweden and the rest of Scandinavia. In Sweden over 400 communities maintain open-air museums or smaller folk museums to display aspects of the regional culture. For instance, at Harnösand, an 80-building open-air museum deals with the Lapp culture. The Culture-Historical Museum (*Kulturhistoriska Museet*) at Lund is a town museum, with town houses and conventional museum buildings of exhibits.²⁵ Some small towns have parish museums, some estate owners have private open-air museums. And then there are the craft museums, as that for the glass-making craft at Växjö. This frenzy of museum activity—much, though not all of it, directed toward the study and display of the folk level of culture—has led in Sweden to mass collecting of objects of the material culture (how we need this drive in Pennsylvania!) and to the creation of an able corps of officially commissioned and university trained museum men.

From Sweden the open-air museum has spread to Denmark, Norway, Finland, and the continent, where it combines with the German museum movement in which *Volkskunde* scholars have long since united with regional historians in the highly developed German study of *Heimatkunde*.²⁶ Many small German, Swiss and Austrian communities have a *Heimatmuseum* which displays materials from the folk or peasant level of the regional culture along with emphasis on regional history, architecture, fine arts, costume. Most of these, however, are not open-air museums but folk museums of the more usual museum-building sort. The largest and best open-air museum on the continent of Europe south of Scandinavia is the 220-acre *Nederlands Openlucht Museum* (Dutch Open-Air Museum) at Arnhem in Gelderland, Netherlands, founded in 1912 and formally opened in 1918.²⁷

²⁵ *Den Gamle By* (The Old Town) at Aarhus in Jutland, begun in 1909, is also an open-air museum of the town variety, balancing the rural folk museum at Lingby near Copenhagen, the *Dansk Frilandsmuseet*.

²⁶ For *Heimatkunde* and *Heimatmuseum* concepts, see Beitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-317; also Wilhelm Pessler, "Heimatmuseen of Germany," *Museum*, IV (1951), 95-103.

In the British Isles the first folk museum of the open-air variety was the museum of Highland culture begun by Miss Isabel F. Grant on Iona in 1936—since 1944 "Am Fasgadh" (The Shelter) at Kingussie, Invernessshire, Scotland.²⁸ In 1955 the management was taken over by the four universities of Scotland, in collaboration with the Royal Scottish Museum. Other folk museums in the British Isles are the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan's Castle, Cardiff, opened 1946; Blaise Castle House, Bristol, opened 1949; the Museum of English Rural Life at the University of Reading, opened 1950; the Manx Museum at Cregneash on the Isle of Man; the West Yorkshire Folk Museum at Halifax, opened 1953; and the Ulster Folk Museum near Belfast in Northern Ireland, opened 1955.

In the United States the trend has been toward the "pioneer village" or "restoration village" type of open-air museum. The pioneer here was that for Norwegian-American life at Decorah, Iowa, founded in 1925—an example of Scandinavian influence. The most spectacular of the restoration projects is Colonial Williamsburg, begun in 1926. The Farmer's Museum operated by the New York Historical Society at Cooperstown, New York, deals with a wide range of folk-cultural subjects in its displays and annual seminars for research students. Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts and the Shelburne Museum in Vermont are open-air museums dealing with New England culture. The Dearborn Village at Greenfield, Michigan, is an open-air museum but on the historical-museum plan, with "association items" moved to the site.

It is through the direct inspiration of the open-air museums of Scandinavia and the British Isles—with emphasis on the folk culture and upon the museum as a research institution—that the Pennsylvania Folklife Museum at Lancaster is being developed.

²⁷ Belgium has recently opened its first open-air museum, at Bokrijk in Limburg. See Josef Weyns, "Bokrijk: The First Open-Air Museum in Belgium," *Museum*, XII (1959), 18-22.

²⁸ See I. F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways* (London, 1961).



Emphasis at the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival is on live demonstration. Baking of bread in an outdoor bake-oven is here shown by Viola and Herbert Miller of the Pennsylvania Folklife Museum staff.

Applebutter-boiling demonstrated to Festival visitors. Applebutter (Pennsylvania Dutch "Lotwarrick") developed in rural Pennsylvania and spread to other areas in the United States.



Regional Folk-Cultures in America

In suggesting the possibilities for folklife studies in the United States, we must first point out that folklife studies is a very young discipline, and, like all new approaches to scholarship, it has to make its way amid the earlier and already established approaches to the study of American life. These already established approaches study American life on the national, regional, and local levels, and include (1) the old-line historical approach with historical societies and historical journals interested in basically military and political history, with some emphasis upon "social history" which begins to approach folklife studies. There is (2) the sociological approach which studies American civilization as a whole. There is (3) the folklore approach which has been crystallized into several academic schools and departments of folklore—those at the Universities of California, Indiana, and Pennsylvania being the principal examples. There is (4) the young and growing discipline of American Civilization, which has however basically concentrated on urban rather than on rural America, and on creative rather than folk-culture, leaving the rural field of traditional regional culture free for the development of folklife studies.²⁹

Folklife Studies is a new approach. We in America who are concerned with the new discipline feel very much as Dr. Iorwerth Peate did when he stated, in 1958, in an address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, that ". . . the study of folk life is a new discipline and one so far unrecognized by all universities in

²⁹ There is a fifth approach, regional rather than national and often amateur rather than academic—the filiopietistic ethnic-genealogical approach represented by the ethnic societies—which have stressed "Scotch-Irishness," "Huguenotness," or "Pennsylvania Germanness" rather than folk-culture as such. This approach is related to the D.A.R. approach to American history, which is highly selective in what it considers of value in the American heritage. The Pennsylvania Folklife Society is concerned not with genealogical heritage but with culture, principally folk-culture. For some of the problems raised by the ethnic approach to history, see John J. Appel, "Immigrant Historical Societies in the United States, 1880-1950," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, 1960. For the D.A.R. approach, see Wallace E. Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955), Ch. III. "Blue Blood Turns Red, White, and Blue."

Britain."³⁰ So far this is true also of America. There are plenty of scholars working in the field, who look for inspiration to the organized movements in Scandinavia and the British Isles, but thus far there are no departments or schools of folklife studies connected with any American university. However, since Dr. Peate made his statement, a chair of Folk Life Studies has been founded at the University of Leeds in 1960. Possibly during the 1960's progress can be made also in the United States in the recognition of folklife studies as an academic discipline.

One of the difficulties is that one *can* study "American folklore"—basically folksongs sung or folktales told in America—but to study "American folklife" one has to divide the folk level of American culture into its regional components. There just is no "American folk-culture" as a whole, in the same sense that one can speak of a Swedish folk-culture, or a Welsh folk-culture, or a Highlands folk-culture.

New England with its Puritan-Yankee culture—its native types of farmhouse, barns, and meetinghouses, its baked beans and boiled dinners, its accent and folkspeech—is one of these. This regional culture has influenced Long Island, Central and Western New York, Northern Pennsylvania, and the Midwest, as well as the Maritimes in Canada. The area of Holland Dutch settlement (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware) can offer certain visible signs of a Netherlands-American folk-culture—the hay barrack being the best specific example.³¹ The Upland South and the Deep South had and have differing folk-cultures.³² The study of these American regions, and the others, can be aided greatly by concentration on folk-cultural concepts.

The Pennsylvania folk-culture is important to the nation for two basic reasons. Here the American process of ac-

³⁰ Iorwerth C. Peate, "The Study of Folk Life: And Its Part in the Defense of Civilization," *The Advancement of Science*, XV, No. 58 (September, 1958), 86-94, quotation from page 87.

³¹ Cf. Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Barracks," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Spring, 1958), 2-11. This was the first article in the United States on this important regional hay-barn type.

³² The best introduction to the cultural diversity of the Colonial South is Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker's *The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization* (New York, 1942).

culturation—the trading and adjusting of emigrant cultural gifts—was vastly more important than in New England or the South, with their more homogeneous populations. For instance, the Swiss and German settlers built two-story barns (Swiss, bank, or Pennsylvania barns) which were copied as early as the 18th Century by the Quakers, who called them “cellar barns.” House patterns went in the other direction—from the British Isles settlers to the settlers of Continental origin, so that by 1800 the Pennsylvania Dutch groups were building English-style Georgian houses. The influence of food specialties is an example of the same transfer. The Quakers, even in Philadelphia, made crocks of “pickled cabbage” and came to call it “sourerout” like their Dutch neighbors; they made “scrapple” at butchering time and came to call it, some of them, “ponhors” or “ponhaws” like the upcountry Dutch. Pennsylvania is important folk-culturally because of this early acculturation process which can be so thoroughly documented in the 18th and 19th Century sources.

Pennsylvania is important folk-culturally to the nation for a second reason. Pennsylvania was the source of a great migration in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The main thrusts of this migration went (1) Southward as far as the Carolinas beginning in the 1740's and 1750's; (2) Northward through the Genesee Country, the Niagara Peninsula and Central Ontario after the Revolution; and (3) Westward through Ohio as far west as Iowa and Kansas, from the Revolution to the Civil War. This Pennsylvania migration has influenced all of these areas folk-culturally—Dutch dialect and Dutch-English expressions, barn and farmhouse and springhouse patterns, cookery habits (sauerkraut, smearcase, scrapple, etc.), all made their way South, North, and West with the migrating Pennsylvanians. With the exception of the three basic Pennsylvania contributions to the American frontier—log architecture, the Conestoga wagon, and the Kentucky rifle—these folk-cultural influences of Pennsylvania upon the nation have never been studied.

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society was the first organization to use the term “folklife” in the American research world.

Something of the history of our society, which sponsors the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festivals, is therefore of importance here. In 1949 three young scholars from Pennsylvania, Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker and Dr. J. William Frey, both of Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, and Dr. Don Yoder, then at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, organized the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Inc., with headquarters at Franklin and Marshall College. The Center was a research institute, with library and folklife archive—patterned on a modest scale after the European models of the Irish Folklore Commission in Dublin and the Folklife Archives at the Universities of Uppsala and Lund in Sweden, based on Professor Shoemaker's postwar studies and contacts there.

Immediately after World War II, Professor Shoemaker spent several summers studying the techniques of the European folk archives. In the summer of 1947 he spent three months working in the archive of the Irish Folklore Commission, with Professors Delargy and O'Suilleabhain, with several weeks observation of field methods with Joe Daly in the Gaelic County Kerry. The summer of 1948 was spent in Sweden studying methods of the Folklore Archive at Uppsala, under Åke Campbell, and in Stockholm working with Sigurd Erixon.

The “founding fathers” brought varied talents to the institute. Professors Shoemaker and Frey had Ph.D.'s in Germanics from the University of Illinois and were both intensely interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and dialect literature.³³ Professor Shoemaker had made studies of Amish life, German imprints and bibliography of Pennsylvania; Professor Frey had worked on Amish music and Amish folkspeech and Pennsylvania folksongs. The third member of the triumvirate brought a background of study in the history of religion, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and two and a half years of study and teaching at Union Theological Seminary (1946–1948, 1950). Professor Shoemaker had taught at Lafayette College (1941–1942, 1945–1946), and Muhlenberg College (1946–1947), had served as Curator of the Berks County Historical Society (1947), and in 1948 was called by President Theodore Distler of Franklin and Marshall College to join the faculty to found and head the new Department of American Folklore—the first such department actually established in the nation. Prof. Frey had taught at Southern Presbyterian College in South Carolina and Lehigh University, and had joined the Franklin and Marshall faculty in 1946. I joined the faculty in 1949. All of us had “published” in the Pennsylvania Dutch field—Professor Shoemaker as editor of newspaper columns in the Reading and Lancaster papers,³⁴ Prof. Frey had issued the first popular Pennsylvania Dutch grammar of the 20th Century,³⁵ and I had published articles on folklore, folksong traditions, folk speech, and historical source materials on the 18th Century emigration from the Continent of Europe to America. The three of us also represented somewhat different regional backgrounds—Prof. Shoemaker from a completely dialect-speaking area of Lehigh County, Prof. Frey from the Susquehanna River area of York and Dauphin Counties, and I was rooted in the Allegheny Mountains of Central Pennsylvania. It was a good combination!

Our first step was to found the journal (now *Pennsylvania Folklife*) which we baptized *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. The first issue appeared on May 5, 1949, as a weekly, in 8-page tabloid-format. We sprinkled it full of dialect as we hoped it would become widely read in the areas of Eastern and Central Pennsylvania where the dialect was still alive. We found, however, that the largest number of our subscribers were “ex-Dutchmen,” or nostalgic Dutchmen, who no longer lived in the dialect areas but were urbanites, or even ex-Pennsylvanians. We built up a large subscriber list (3500). The journal was folksy (in the better sense of this overused term) and it had definite appeal to those interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch and their folkways.

³³ Professor Shoemaker's Ph.D. dissertation was done in 1940, on the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect of the Arthur, Illinois, Amish community. Professor Frey's dissertation was done in 1941 on the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect of Eastern York County, Pennsylvania.

³⁴ This was Professor Shoemaker's first application of the European questionnaire techniques to folk-cultural problems. This was later continued in the opening numbers of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. These columns in the Reading and Lancaster papers elicited wide response from local residents in Berks and Lancaster Counties who contributed many items to the files of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society. Professor Shoemaker's dialect radio and TV programs in the 1950's also made use of direct questioning, asking for material on various subjects, to elicit answers from listeners.

³⁵ *A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania Dutch* (Clinton, South Carolina, 1942). From 1943 to 1946 Professors Frey, Shoemaker, and Ralph Wood published an all-dialect periodical entitled *Der Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch Eileschpiggel*, which readers referred to as *Eili*, which in a sense was the forerunner of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*.



Pennsylvania Fraktur made in Virginia. This baptismal certificate records the baptism of Philip Henry Axline in Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1789. Pennsylvania folk art traditions spread South, North, and West with migrating Pennsylvanians.

In 1950 we held our first Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival in the small and typically Pennsylvania Dutch town of Kutztown in Berks County, halfway between Reading and Allentown. Kutztown is the heart of the dialect-speaking area and of the so-called "Gay Dutch" culture as distinct from the "Plain Dutch" culture of Lancaster and other counties. The festival, held the first year for 5 days, attracted nationwide attention, and has since grown steadily, attracting from 100,000 to 175,000 visitors in an eight-day period over the 4th of July national holiday. With the terrific interest the American tourist has in the Dutch culture—we were able to have on display or demonstration everything in the folk culture from cookery to witchcraft (*Heerei*). The emphasis has been away from dead or static exhibits and is on live demonstrations, with stage programs on every subject, from water witching to funeral lore, with participation by all our demonstrators.³⁶

Of folk festivals in America there are basically three types: (1) the National Folk Festival of Sarah Gertrude

Knott, which is principally a showcase for ethnic folksong and folkdance groups; (2) the craft fairs in the Carolinas and elsewhere, stressing local handicrafts; and (3) our own Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival which attempts to display and demonstrate all aspects of the regional folk-culture.

While the folk festival idea was borrowed from European originals,³⁷ Americans have made significant contributions toward widening its scope so that it can serve the folklife movement. America is folk festival conscious at the present time, and our Society is happy that it could influence other regional festivals, like the Pennsylvania Dutch Festival of Somerset County, at Springs in the Allegheny Mountains, and the Mennonite Folk Festival held among the "Low Dutch" Mennonites of North Newton, Kansas.

The folk festival has been the Society's chief means of financial support. Since it is not a state-supported institution, its funds for research purposes must be privately raised, and the folk festivals have provided the major part of them.

In 1951, after working with "Pennsylvania Dutch" folk-culture, we had come to the conclusion that we needed to broaden our sights to include Pennsylvania folk-culture in its totality—Scotch-Irish, Quaker, Welsh, 19th Century Coal Region and other sub-cultures—and Western Pennsylvania

³⁶ For the earlier history of our festival, see Maynard Owen Williams, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival," *The National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1952, pp. 503-516; Helen R. Coates, *The American Festival Guide* (New York, 1956), 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. The last of these articles, by Prof. Dr. E. Estyn Evans of Queen's University, Belfast, who attended the 1959 Festival as the international guest of the Folklife Society, is most important, because it sets our work in the international setting of the folklife studies movement.

³⁷ The very name "folk festival" suggests its dependence upon the earlier German word *Volksfest*. The regional folk festival (*Volksfest*), stressing dialect, regional cuisine and wines, folk costume, folk-dancing and folk-song, was flourishing in the early part of the 20th Century in Germany.



An Old Order Mennonite barn-raising at Elmira, Ontario. Pennsylvania's "plain" traditions have influenced many other areas in the United States and Canada. This particular building is a horse-barn built to house the farmers' horses when country folk come to town to shop.

as well as Eastern and Central Pennsylvania. In accordance with this broader purpose, we finally changed the name of our journal, now a quarterly, into *Pennsylvania Folklife*, with the Winter 1957 issue—Vol. IX, No. 1. This was the first official use of the term "folklife" in the United States. At the same time we changed the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center into the present Pennsylvania Folklife Society.

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society, like its parent institutions in Europe, has a three-fold task—(1) the study of the folk-culture in its entirety, using the techniques of the folklife studies movement; (2) the study and archiving of the material collected, whether from field work or historical source-materials; and (3) making available the published results of the research, in book, pamphlet, and periodical form, to the nation and the world.

A few of the results:

1. 13 volumes of our periodical, now *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

2. 14 years of the most successful folk festival in the nation—the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival at Kutztown, 1950–1963—which has become the largest event of its kind in the nation and in the world.

3. A series of pamphlets—*The Dutch Country*, *Dutch Folk-Stories*, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (reprints of 1873 editions), *Hex No*, *Pennsylvania Dutch Cook Books*, *Three Myths of the Dutch Country*, *Pennsylvania Dutch Grammar*, and the *Pennsylvania Dutch Tourist Guide*.

4. A series of scholarly books: *Christmas in Pennsylvania—A Folk Cultural Approach*; *The Pennsylvania Barn*; *Eastertide in Pennsylvania*; *Songs Along the Mahantongo*; and *Pennsylvania Spirituals*.

It has been gratifying to see the wider influence of the Society's work on research and public education. H. L. Mencken picked up our theory on why Pennsylvania Dutch family names are spelled as they are and used it in *The American Language*;²⁸ our folksong collecting has resulted in several discs of Pennsylvania Dutch folksongs and the inclusion (for the first time) of examples of Pennsylvania Dutch songs in American school texts on music. Several children's books have been written from material we published. The

zoo-barn at the Philadelphia Zoo was designed from an illustration of the "hex sign" barn in our periodical and our barn-book. Paul Hindemith used a Pennsylvania Dutch folk tune which we had recorded in the Mahantongo Valley as a theme in his latest symphony, the one commissioned by the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra for the Pittsburgh Bicentennial in 1955. The list could go on and on. The influence continues to spread.

The two largest research projects of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society are:

1. *The Personal Name Index of Pennsylvania Sources*—a card catalogue of over 200,000 cards, indexing all names in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, the 50-plus volumes of the Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings*, the 20-plus volumes of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. This unique research tool is now housed at the Fackenthal Library, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

2. *The Pennsylvania Folk-Cultural Index*—this is a *Kartei* of some 300,000 cards on the European folklife-archive plan, constantly growing, indexing materials from every source, field collection as well as historical source materials, on every subject included under folk-culture.

The culmination of the program is the *Pennsylvania Folklife Museum*, founded in 1961 on the Society's 45-acre museum farm on Route 30 five miles east of Lancaster. This is and will be the headquarters for our continually broadening research program as well as the site of our permanent open-air museum, on the Scandinavian model, to illustrate the main aspects of Pennsylvania folk-culture—architecture, cookery, religion, costume, transportation, etc.

Research Plans of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society proposes to study in the next ten years, as funds or endowments become available, the entire folk-culture of Pennsylvania, its Continental and British Isles roots, and its spread into and influence upon other areas of the United States. The following subjects will be surveyed from every possible source:

1. *Folk Agriculture*—agriculture as a way of life, farmhouse, farmstead, farm buildings, kitchen gardens, fence patterns, crops, animals. The seasonal rhythm of farm life. Marketing, droving. Farming tools: flail, cradle, windmill, etc.

2. *Folk Architecture*—domestic, meetinghouse and church architecture, the materials of architecture, Continental and British Isles patterns of house construction, types of roofing: thatch, tile, shingle.

3. *Folk Cookery*—seasonal, weekday, and Sunday cookery; what was traditionally eaten for breakfast, dinner, supper; meals carried to the men in the fields—the nine o'clock piece, etc. Folk-cultural history of individual dishes: scrapple, roldige, sausage, mush, hominy, sauerkraut, schnitz un gnepp, etc. The Pennsylvania pie-culture; Pennsylvania candy-culture; Pennsylvania cookie-culture. Bread and bake-oven.

²⁸H. L. Mencken, *Supplement II: The American Language* (New York, 1956), pp. 410–411, picked up our article, "Dutchified Surnames," which proposed the theory that the changed spellings of many Pennsylvania Dutch family names (for example, *Hirschberger* into *Harshbarger*, *Huber* into *Hoover*, *Meyer* into *Moyer*) represent not an Americanizing or anglicizing of the names but rather a dialectizing of them—as High German education dwindled in Pennsylvania throughout the 19th Century, Pennsylvanians came to spell their names as they pronounced them in the dialect.

4. *Folk Costume*—"plain" and "gay" costume. Week-day and churchgoing dress. Men's, women's, and children's dress. Wedding and funeral dress.

5. *Folk Crafts*—all the traditional crafts of the rural community—weaving, spinning, basketry, quilting, blacksmithing, coopering, etc.—and the relation of the craftsman to the community.

6. *Folk Literature*—the oral literature (folktale, folksong, folk-rhyme); the broadside and the broadside ballad; the *Volksbücher* of Pennsylvania; the will; the spiritual testament; the baptismal letter (*Geddelbrief*); the love-knot or valentine.

7. *Folk Medicine*—natural (herbal) folk medicine and occult folk-medicine (powwowing).

8. *Folk Music*—the folksong: children's songs, courting songs, canaller's songs, lumbermen's songs, camp-meeting spirituals, Amish folk-hymnody. The folk dance, fiddling styles, calling styles, sung play-party games. Instruments: fiddle, zither, fife, etc.

9. *Folk Recreation*—battalion, snitzing party, kicking match, log rolling, spinning party, singing school, quilting party, frolic. The place of the dance in rural society. The folk tale, jest, and folk humor in the folk-culture. The attitude of organized religion to these aspects of the folk-culture.

10. *Folk Religion*³⁰—survivals of witchcraft (*Hexerei*) and occult folk-healing (*Braucherei*). Relation of the Church to the folk-culture in baptism, confirmation, marriage, communion, the funeral. Church and church customs. The relation of religion and folk art: religious folk art, *fraktur*, the tombstone.

11. *Folk Speech*—the languages and dialects of Pennsylvania and their relation to each other, especially English, High German, and Pennsylvania Dutch. Word studies—Pennsylvanianisms, Philadelphianisms, etc., in American speech. Pennsylvania Dutch, Scotch-Irish, Quaker and other name-systems, nicknames, etc. Pennsylvania place-names. Pennsylvania expressions, sayings, proverbs. Patterns of rural profanity.

12. *Folk Transportation*—the farm wagon, the market wagon, the ox cart, the Conestoga wagon, the sleigh, the sled, the stone boat, the bob sled. "Plain" transportation in the 20th Century.

13. *The Folk Year*—the calendar and the folk-culture. Almanac and church year: the relation of official church holidays (active or obsolete) to the folk practices and beliefs associated with them, especially Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, New Year's Day, and Halloween.

In addition we hope to enlarge our basic research tool, the Pennsylvania Folk-Cultural Index, by indexing every travel book about Pennsylvania, every county history, every significant 19th Century newspaper. We hope to add to this a companion research tool—a Pictorial Index of Pennsylvania Folklife, from every available drawing or printed illustration on every folk-cultural subject.

We hope to produce many significant pamphlets, at least

³⁰ "Folk religion," like the term "folklife" itself, is so recent a term that it did not get into *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1961). Since 1957 I have been engaged in teaching, at the University of Pennsylvania, a pioneer course in "American Folk Religion," in which I apply the anthropological concept of "folk religion" to the folk-level of religion in America, dealing with such subjects as survivals of witchcraft and folk-healing, folk theology, the folk year, religious folk art and religious folk music.

one major book a year, and to continue and enlarge our periodical, *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

We hope to be in position in the future to aid graduate study in Pennsylvania folklife by grants to university students.

We have a small but devoted staff of workers. We need more full-time or part-time recorders and interviewers in the field. All this depends upon the funds that our Society will need to expand its pioneering work in the field of American folklife studies.

Thus far we have paid our own way, supporting our program mainly through the folk festivals. But for the continuation and enlargement of our research program, which is the heart of our work, the Society will need endowment.

The Application of the Folklife Concept

The application of the folklife concept in the United States could, first of all, provide the necessary corrective to the undisciplined or commercially-slanted "collecting" of "folk-art" and "antiques." In Pennsylvania and elsewhere the "collector" has set his sights on commercially valuable pieces—i.e., items which could be displayed decoratively in the urban home—and left the remaining aspects of the folk-culture behind to disintegrate. The "antique" collectors of the 19th and 20th Centuries ripped individual pieces out of their settings, the "folk art" collectors did the same. The collecting was valuable, as far as it went, and many collections are now in public institutions where, at last, proper attention can be given to their functional relation to the entire culture. Our hope is that in Pennsylvania, through the foundation of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society and its Folklife Museum, much more attention can be given to collecting realia for study and display, of every phase of the folk-culture.



Pennsylvania Christmas traditions have influenced the nation, from the Christmas tree to "Kriss Kringle."

The folklife studies movement can also eventually correct the definitely pseudo use of regional "folk" themes in connection with Pennsylvania's rapidly growing tourist industry.⁴⁰ The tourist identification of "Amish" with "Pennsylvania Dutch," the perpetuation of false fictional Dutch-English expressions on menus as typical of Dutchdom, the too facile popularization of regional cookery—all these need correction. Actually, as we have pointed out, the real work on folk-cookery, historically based, still remains to be done. "Shoofly Pie"—is it Pennsylvanian? The relation of Philadelphia scrapple to upcountry "ponhaws" still needs to be worked out. We need cookery atlases as well as linguistic atlases of the Eastern Seaboard and unfortunately the work on these has only now been begun.

Thirdly, folklife research can eventually enrich the teaching of Pennsylvania History, and early American history, in the public schools. American history as taught in the public schools has too often been linear—1775 to 1865 to 1941—with heavy emphasis on military and political phases. History, like our study of literature, has concentrated on the "great men" approach to the past. It has concentrated on the few creative individuals—the Lincolns in history and the Emersons in literature. Their lives have of course influenced others, and have symbolic value as representatives of past ages and areas. But the horizontal or cultural approach to history, to the history of the folk-culture, has only in part, through the 20th Century emphasis on "social history," been seen as worthy of attention. We have studied Greek temples and Gothic cathedrals in Europe and for the most part neglected to look at the Pennsylvania Barn and the Quaker Meetinghouse—which European travelers of the 19th Century noted with amazement as distinctive of our regional culture.

Fourthly, folklife research, if introduced into the university level of study, could tie together here, as it has done in Europe, the related work of folklorists and cultural anthropologists, of regional historians and human geographers.

Fifthly, the application of the folklife concept, the folk-cultural approach to history, could revitalize, even revolutionize, our local historical societies and local museums. Our county historical societies contain a corps of the most likely persons to be interested in folk-culture, but until very recently, most individual interests were motivated by genealogical, straight-historical interests, or for the rest, membership in the county historical society is simply one of several "status symbols" in our county towns. Possibly a basic reason why urban historical society members have not been attracted to the folklife approach is that they prefer to forget the rural roots which their families earlier had. Also the D.A.R. emphasis, which views the past genealogically, concentrates on the Revolutionary Era—they have a filtered view of American history which over-

⁴⁰ The use of the term "folklore" in European tourism also gives it a slightly tarnished name everywhere. And the present "folksinging" revival—presenting a mishmash of international songs as "American folklore"—is under serious question, academically speaking.

⁴¹ This is perhaps the same reason why such groups as the Presbyterians and the Quakers have little interest in their own folk-cultural background—although their Scotch-Irish and Quaker forbears created two of the most important sub-cultures in early America—with influences upon American architecture, folkspeech, cookery—the whole range of folk-cultural influence. What happened in the case of Quakerism is that the Philadelphia variety has been accepted as standard, and the related but different pattern of life created by rural Quakers goes completely unrecognized.

emphasizes 1775–1783 and deemphasizes the long building of American life with the plow and the flail, the husking peg and the hominy block, the schoolhouse and the meeting-house.⁴²

The county historical societies have done a good job of connecting local history with the general framework of American history—the county's participation in the Revolution, the county's response to the Civil War—all this in the wake of the nationalist historiography that followed the Centennial of 1876. In the Central Pennsylvania societies, transportation history and the iron industry are well covered—the history of agriculture and rural life almost completely neglected.

In museum work also the folklife approach could revolutionize the local historical societies. Some of the rooms now lined with Civil War swords might well be used to illustrate the settlement history of the county, accenting its rural culture from pioneer days through the 19th Century. A beginning has been made in such excellent research institutions as the historical societies of Bucks County, with the Mercer Museum in Doylestown with its magnificent displays of material culture;⁴³ the Chester County society, with its splendid museum of period rooms, its seasonal displays of Christmas, Easter, and Valentine materials, and its restoration of a typical West Chester town house, the Townsend House, and the oldest rural house in Chester County—the Brinton House of 1704; the Berks County society with its excellent museum facilities; and the York County society, with its recent new museum building with period rooms, shops, and some exhibits on settlement history.

Sixthly, concern with folklife—with the folk levels of American culture—could teach us to look with new eyes at what we still have with us of the folk-cultural past. The stump fences and log barns of the Allegheny Mountain counties of Central Pennsylvania, the snake fences, the remaining bake-ovens, springhouses, the barn patterns, log and stone and brick farmhouses, the cookery, the folkspeech—all the things, in fact, that *Pennsylvania Folklife* has been interested in—deserve full study as phases of American folk-culture.

Lastly, the chief value of folklife studies is that its data show us the range of human thought, more basically perhaps than history, literature, and other already accepted studies. In showing us what life was like before urbanization and industrialization, we are shown the long roots of the life that we share. E. Estyn Evans, folklife scholar at Queen's University in Belfast, has made the statement: "Nothing less than the whole of the past is needed to explain the present."⁴⁴ And Ruth Benedict, speaking of folk belief and folk custom, makes clear the value of our investigation of it in these words—"More than any other body of material it makes vivid the recency and the precariousness of those rationalistic attitudes of the modern urban educated groups which are often identified with human nature."⁴⁴

Perhaps a flail can teach us more about man than a Civil War sword.

⁴² See Gary S. Dunbar, "Henry Chapman Mercer, Pennsylvania Folklife Pioneer," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Summer, 1961), 48–52.

⁴³ E. Estyn Evans, *Irish Folk Ways* (London, 1957), p. xiv.

⁴⁴ Ruth Benedict, "Folklore," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VI, 288.



BARN AT PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE MUSEUM

This reconstructed brick barn represents the brick-end decorated barn found principally in Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Adams, and Franklin Counties

Men's Toilets

ANTIQUES EXHIBIT

ENTRANCE

Horse Tent

FESTIVAL TRACK
Conestoga Wagon Rides

PARKING
Buggy Rides

ANTI-MAL LORRETTHER LORE	FOWL and FEATHERS	HEX TENT (Witchcraft)	HERB TENT	Household Crafts	FOLK COOK-ERY Mash Scrapple	BLACK-SMITH	Candle Dipping	Apple-butter Boiling
--------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------	-----------	------------------	-----------------------------	-------------	----------------	----------------------

PROGRAM STAGE B

Eating Stands

EXHIBIT HALL

PROGRAM STAGE A

Farm Engines

RAIL SPLITTING

FENCE BUILDING

SOAP BOILING

WHITE-WASHING

CIDER PRESS

HORSE and BUGGY DUTCH (Amish, Mennonite, Dunkard)

Pie House

Cookie House

Gallows

FOLKSONG TENT

SPIRITUALS, BALLADS

POWWOWER

HEX SIGNS

FOLK ARCHITECTURE

Roof Tiling

Roof Thatching

Bush Meeting

Threshing Demonstration

Corn Crib

Farm Machines in Operation

PINE TAR PIT

FOLK DANCING

EATING STANDS

BAKE OVEN

EATING TENTS

CRAFT HALLS

ENTRANCE

Antique Farm Gear

Snake Lore

Water-witching Bee Lore

Almanac Lore

Funeral Lore

Courtship and Wedding Lore

FOLK ARTIST (Fraktur)

Hospitality Tent

EXHIBIT HALL

Folk Festival Map

Press Office

Nurse

FESTIVAL OFFICE

Women's Toilets

Men's Toilets

ANTIQUES FOR SALE

CRAFT HALLS

MAIN ENTRANCE