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The Pennsylvania Dutchman Vol. 8, No. 2

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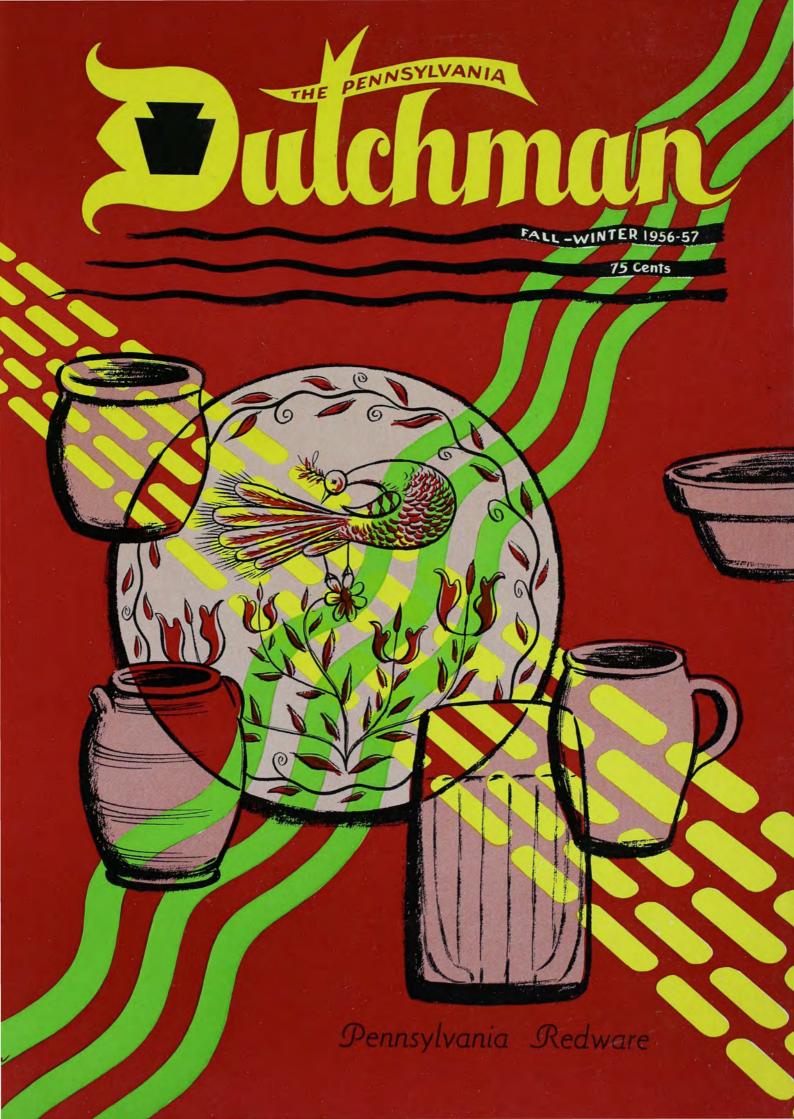
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Subscribers will please note that this issue of the PENNSYLVANIA DUTCHMAN (volume VIII, number 2) telescopes the fall and winter months. As a consequence, the expiration date of all subscriptions will be extended three months or one issue. The next number of the DUTCHMAN, the spring issue, will appear at its regular time — on or about April 1, 1957.





FALL-WINTER 1956-57

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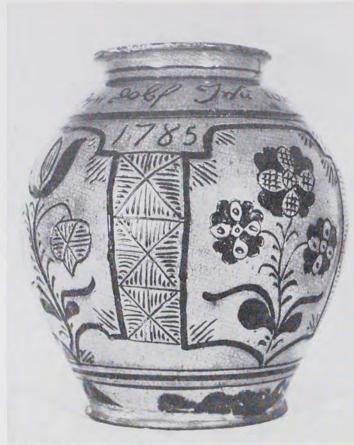
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COVER: Gensler

Press of CRAFTSMEN, INC. Kutztown, Pa.

A "best" in redware. The light and dark brown mottling under the glaze, the expertly applied handles, and the regularly incised lines are noteworthy; the gold-flecked glaze is exceptional.





Photo, courtesy of Paul Wieand

An 8-inch sgraffito jar attributed to Georg Hübner. Made originally for Elizabetha Sisholz, it was long in the possession of Mrs. David Mosser. Mr. Mosser conducted the Buck Horn Hotel in the northern part of Lehigh County. One of the most important pieces of American sgraffito, it is now at the H. F. Dupont Winterthur Museum.

Pennsylvania Redware

Pottery made of local clay was in common use all along the Eastern seaboard in Colonial days. There were probably few flourishing settlements in which at least one kiln was not in operation at some time or other, but a person who looks back from the present concludes that Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina were among the lead both in the total quantity produced and in the quality of the product.

In Dutch Pennsylvania, a high proportion of the output was in what is now included in the general term of redware—individually made pieces of local clay which burned to a brick red in the kiln and slowly darkened to various tones of deeper red with use and the passing of time. The collector who wishes to maintain the essential purity of a Pennsylvania Dutch collection faces a problem he does not encounter in many subdivisions of Pennsylvaniana that of knowing the equivalent products of Connecticut, Virginia, the Carolinas, and occasionally New York, Ohio, and still other states, for, wherever it was made, redware

By EARL F. ROBACKER

has many common characteristics.

Only a generation ago, this problem was comparatively simple; a piece of redware found at a local shop or offered locally at auction was likely to prove indigenous. Now, however, with ever-increasing exchange among dealers, with frequent changing of hands among collectors, and with remembered origins growing fewer and fewer, a piece of redware offered for sale might have come from almost anywhere.

Common sense dictates several procedures for the person who has succumbed to the homespun charm of redware—and, for whatever reason, wants it to be *Pennsylvania* redware:

1. He should study, in museums, specimens known beyond doubt to be Pennsylvanian—study their shape, their texture, their glazing, their color, and the decoration, if decoration is present.

2. He should follow the same procedure in a distantly removed locality, applying the same standards of judg-



The inkwell and the two-handled pitcher are expertly made and glazed, and show signs of use. Perhaps ironically, the unglazed penny bank shows little indication of wear! The redware cookie mold, deer pattern, is a rarity—perhaps unique.

Colanders were of variou sizes, with or without handles and feet. Flower pots, too, existed in great variety; pot and base here are one piece. Chamber pots have not often survived.



Except as noted, illustrations are from the Robacker collection; photography by CHARLES BAHR.

ment, noting points of similarity and dissimilarity.

3. He should then try his hand at a country auction deep in the Dutch Country, at a farmhouse which after long years is yielding up the miscellaneana stored away in cellar, summer kitchen, and outhouse, for redware is likely to be among the offerings.

4. Finally, he should start his visits to the dealers, beginning with those who operate on a small scale and who acquire much of their stock at local auctions.

Even then, he will probably make mistakes—but fewer and less costly ones than if he had begun his purchases by jumping to conclusions.

Redware falls into two broad categories: the once vast territory embracing roof tiles, chimney collars, "plain" jugs, jars, crocks, bowls, plates, and other utilitarian forms —glazed, unglazed, or partly glazed; and the smaller field of "fancy" glazed and decorated ware.

The details of pottery making have so often been described that it seems unnecessary to go into them here.

Generally speaking, however, flat pieces like plates and platters were shaped over molds or patterns and the edges trimmed much as a pastry cook might trim the edges of a pie crust. Tall, hollow pieces were usually built up on a potter's wheel. In both cases, the shaped "green" clay was set aside to dry, and later, often during the winter or a slack season, the kiln would be fired and the product of weeks' or months' work would be baked at one time.

Objects intended only for dry use would require no glazing at all, and would come out of the kiln in porous or "biscuit" form. Pieces which were to hold liquids, however, had to be glazed. The usual process was either to brush the thin glazing mixture on the interior surface or to place a quantity inside and swirl it about. Pieces which were to take on an ornamental quality were sometimes glazed inside and outside.

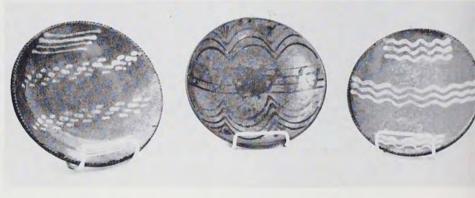
Slipware is the general term used for glazed pieces in which an element of design has been added. This design may range from simple waved or "squiggly" lines to drawA sgraffito pie plate in tones of green and brown, by Jacob Medinger, last of the old-time potters. He operated his establishment up to 1931, perishing in the flames of his own kiln.



Bowls are found in a great variety of sizes, but usually less elaborately decorated than the 9-inch specimen shown here. Milk bowls (for use in cooling milk in large quantities) were sometimes as much as 20 inches across.

Slipware pie plates range in size from 3-inch "tasters" to 12-inch sizes—and sometimes larger. Applied designs are usually in yellow, but occasionally in green or black.





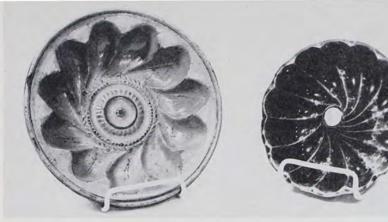
ings of birds or dates or names or initials. First names of women, incidentally, seem more often to be found on New England or Southern pottery than on Pennsylvania pieces. Designs were applied by means of a quill cup, a vessel with from one to as many as six or seven openings at the bottom. Hollow quills fitted to the openings led the thin "slip" to the surface to be decorated, and the operation called for considerable dexterity.

The slip mixture, made with a light-colored clay, was sometimes allowed to stand in relief against the surface adorned, but oftener was beaten flat before it had entirely dried. In pieces which had not been so beaten, the surface decoration often wore away in use.

To lend variety to severely plain objects, coloring agents were sometimes employed before the glazing operation. In general, no great care was taken, and the decorations appear as patches or splotches. Chemicals commonly used for this purpose were copper oxide and verdigris. While the glaze itself was usually clear or a pale yellow, the red lead which was its basic ingredient was sometimes darkened with manganese. Too great a quantity of manganese would turn the glaze black.

Most elaborate, most beautiful, hardest to find—and by far the most expensive—of all Pennsylvania pottery is the type known as sgraffito. The word "sgraffito," a term of Italian origin, means "scratched," and pottery to which the name is correctly applied has a neatly scratched or incised decoration. Probably most sgraffito pieces—like much of the best slip-decorated ware—were intended less to be used than to show the skill of the potter. Certainly, some of them were used as presentation pieces; others were put on display at country stores or in the home of the potter. That some were actually used, and used hard, is evident from the marks of wear they display.

Identifying bona fide pieces of American sgraffito is a job for the expert rather than for the amateur. Sgraffito and slip decoration were common to most Old World countries, and motifs and decorations showed a consider-



The whorled baking dish at the left, thin and fragile, is something of an anomaly in Pennsylvania redware. More common is its much-later successor, the Turk's-head dish, prototype of like vessels in tin and copper.



Apple butter crocks may hold anywhere from a quart to more than two gallons, and have been in almost continuous production from early times. Following a slump in the first quarter of the century, they are again in popular demand.

> Sgraffito plate dated 1769, with no added color in or under the clear glaze. Potter unknown.

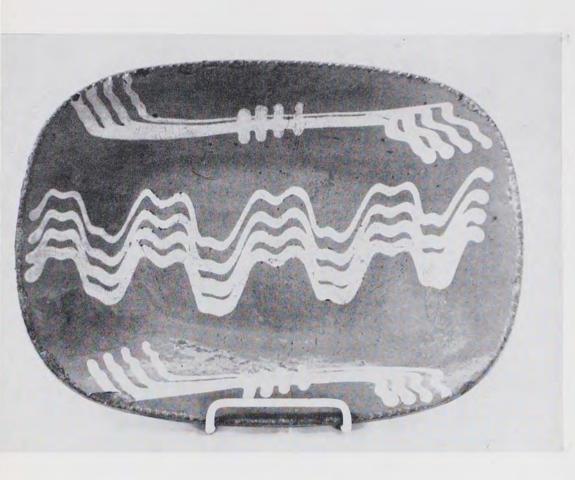


able degree of overlapping there, so that positive differentiation is frequently difficult. Many such pieces came to America in family emigrations, and many more have come over by recent importation—with some of the same elements of design used on articles of known American provenance. It is to be feared that some pieces in wellknown museum collections, while purporting to be American, are actually of foreign birth. To confuse the picture even further, some American potters consciously or unconsciously imitated known or remembered European prototypes, and did not bother to affix their names to their products.

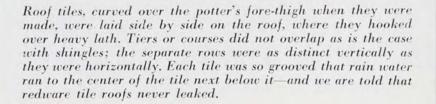
The total result is an interesting collection of American and foreign, good and less-good, genuine and spurious pottery, with the expert sometimes at a loss and the amateur completely bewildered. Is a newly discovered article a "find" and worth considerably more than the modest asking price? Is it actually South German—or English or Austrian or Flemish—and therefore not worth the asking price to the collector of things Pennsylvania Dutch? Any investment in good sgraffito is likely to run into three figures and perhaps into four; so it behooves the would-be collector to utilize all the scraps of information available.

Much sgraffito ware is dated. The earliest date known personally to the writer is 1769, through prior recordings have not infrequently been noted. The period from 1810 to 1840 is probably most frequently represented. Sgraffito seems to have passed out of favor shortly thereafter, although dated pieces of slipware are found up to the 1870's. However, the date, while desirable, is not a vitally necessary attribute of good sgraffito.

Sometimes the shape of the article provides a clue to provenance. The most commonly found piece is the concave pie plate, frequently about 12 inches in diameter, decorated and glazed only on the inside. The edge may be coggled or plain—but is seldom turned or rolled under. Further, American plates seldom had sides and a bottom;



A deep platter in slipware in the most familiar of designs.





oftener, they were "all of a piece"—a sliced-off section of a hollow globe, so to speak.

Aside from plates, articles in sgraffito include mugs, tall vases or jugs, flower pots, and a very few miscellaneous pieces, mostly one of a kind, such as sugar bowls, fanshaped flower holders, and covered jars. A moot object is the puzzle jug, an elaborate contrivance which empties its contents through an opening other than the one apparently intended. Puzzle jugs, old and new, are not uncommonly found abroad, but one of documented Pennsylvania origin is a rarity among rarities.

Very highly desired are pieces of sgraffito which are also slip decorated, usually in light colors. Sometimes this color was applied over-all in the liquid glaze, the design being scratched through to the red clay before it dried completely. In other cases, more than one color was used.

The elements of design are often helpful in identifying

sgraffito, but are not infallible. Pieces of attested American origin display tulips; more or less conventionalized flowers and leaves; tapering trees often called the "tree of life"; birds, including the pelican; deer; fish; mounted horsemen or horsewomen; and unmounted figures. Many of these pieces are so well known historically that when one changes hands, the transaction becomes news. It is with lesser-known specimens, however, that the average collector will have to deal.

Inscriptions used as borders, usually in faulty German but rarely also in English, sometimes furnish part of the decoration in large plates or platters, or in flower pots. The sentiments expressed range from the humorously earthy to the moral or philosophical.

Extremely desirable, of course, is a piece which bears the potter's name. Sometimes the potter alone was the artisan; sometimes several members of the family were



Two superior sgraffito pie plates. The one at the left is marked "Andrew U."; the one at the right is attributed to Samuel Troxel.



Left, a Pennsylvania pitcher of characteristic shape in chocolate-brown and black. Right, a pitcher signed "S. Bell," sometimes assumed to be Pennsylvanian but almost certainly made in Virginia. Bell pieces are noted for the bold use of green in the glaze.

involved. Pieces were signed by or known to have been made by persons with such surnames as Bergey, Haring, Headman, Hildebrand, Hubner, Medinger, Nase (or Neesz), Roudebuth, Scholl, Spinner, Stahl, Stofflet, Troxel, and Weaver—but only a few pieces of signed work by any of them have survived. Occasionally it is possible to make a reasonably safe attribution by comparing unsigned pieces with strikingly similar signed ones.

American sgraffito seems to have been little made outside Pennsylvania—or, if it was made, not enough specimens have come to light to make accurate identification possible. Any person in possession of facts having to do with non-Pennsylvanian sgraffito would be performing an inestimable service to the cause of folk art and of history by making his information known.

It is comparatively easy to arrive at a "reasonable" price valuation for most redware, and for slipware. But what about the infrequent appearance on the market of a hitherto unknown piece of fine sgraffito? How does one put a monetary evaluation on *anything* unique? Is a hundred dollars too much, or a thousand dollars too little? One seller may parry the problem by a simple mark-up policy —a fair profit over cost; another may charge what the traffic will bear—and neither can be blamed. The customer, too, sometimes finds himself confronted with a problem: How much shall he *offer* the feeble old lady who has suddenly decided to part with an unpublicized and long-hidden family relic?

There is no general answer; there are only individual answers—but for would-be owners of sgraffito there is also a stark fact: You may search an entire lifetime and find no single piece worth acquiring. On the other hand, you may secure a fine piece at a whopping price one day, and an equally desirable one at half the figure, the next!



Spring-house on the Conrad Weiser homestead in Berks County, Pennsylvania. The unequal sides of the roof, the steps to the second floor, and the outside water trough are typical of the finest spring-houses in this area. Most of them had tile roofs like the one on this one. This building was built sometime between 1725 and 1760 and is in an excellent state of preservation. The fireplace and chimney are not usually associated with later spring-houses.

This charming spring-house is located between York and Shiloh, Pennsylvania. The roof was obviously raised a number of feet to make it a two-floor building. The sizes and step-down arrangement of the openings form an interesting pattern in the long wall. The building has a walled water area outside the house which made more space available if the inside were crowded.

The insulating qualities of the large tree are obvious as it casts a protecting shade on the roof. This arrangement probably reduced the inside temperature as much as five degrees.



Philadelphia Butter

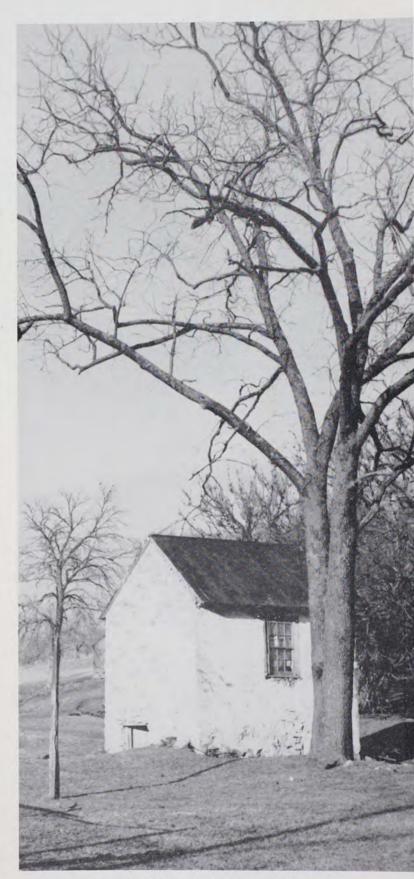
By HENRY J. KAUFFMAN

An investigation of the subject of Philadelphia butter makes one cognizant of the fact that butter-making like many other agricultural pursuits has had a long and varied evolution. For centuries the making of butter has been the problem of the general farmer and recently the specialists have wrestled with the commercial aspects of butter-making. Through such a long evolution it is natural that a number of theories and practices have existed for the changing of cream to butter is a phenomenon that has been performed by many people and completely understood by only a few. The mechanisms used in producing butter have varied a great deal so that many personal preferences have been formed, but it is doubtful if any particular one was markedly better than another.

The casual observer in the market-place and the home would have little reason to think that butter-making posed important problems, but a perusal of such matters in the eighteenth century indicates that at that time the quality of butter was very low. Fletcher points out in his *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life* 1640-1840 that "The nondescript cattle of the colonists were valued chiefly for their meat, hides and a source of motive power—milk was a byproduct". He points out that cows were ill-fed and their production of milk, in quantity and quality, was very low when compared to today's standards. Churning was done infrequently and sanitation was lightly thought of in handling dairy products.

The fact that some butter, in earlier times, was recognizably better than another leads one to believe that some important variables could be found in butter production. The most important variable was probably the quality of the cow which produced the milk and cream; and it obviously follows the better the cow, the better the butter. There were other factors such as the type of food the cow ate, the cow's general health, and the shelter provided in unfavorable weather. One of the factors in the superiority of Philadelphia butter was the rich growth of grass on which the cows fed in the area. An observer traveling in New England reported in the Lancaster Farmer, December 1869, that "The only cow we saw in passing from Worcester to Boston. in the month of June, was a hungry looking piece of kine, tied to a stake, nipping at 'short grass' where we could hardly suppose that a Lancaster wether could find subsistence. Of course not much good butter could be expected under such circumstances.

Philadelphia butter reached the zenith of its prestige in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the *Dictionary of Americanisms* reports that as early as 1758 it was famous throughout the colonies and was sold by the firkin. It might be interesting to preface the production of Philadelphia



Many spring-houses had two levels for refrigerating different foods. The first floor of this one was entirely below the ground level and was doubtless used for cooling dairy products such as butter and cheese. The second floor was available for storing vegetables or other foods which needed less refrigeration.



Nest Boxes and Barrel Covers.

30,000 Cane, suitable for Reed Makers, 300 Nests Sugar Boxes, 200 Barrel Covers, 100 doz. Butter Prints,

200 groce of Lamp Wicks, assorted sizes, Spickets and Fausetts, suitable for hogshead, barreis, kegs and hydrants; sweeping, shoe, scrubbing, dusting, whitewash, weavers and other Brushes; scale, bed and sacking Cords; plough Lines; coarse and fine Twine; Weavers Slays or Reeds; woollen, cassinet, cotton and hand Shuttles; cotton and wool Cards; fancy and common Bellows; fishing Tackle; lamp and candte Wick; corn Brooms and Whisks; market and close Baskets; long and short Brush Handles; Lemon Squeezers; Rolling Pins, Potatoe Mashers; Mudlers; towel Rollers; wash and cake Boards; shovels, tubs, clothes pins; humming and common Tops; Sifters; box and cake Blacking: butter Bowls; Trays, Spoons and Paddles; Trenchers; crabing and cabbage Netts.

The above articles are offered for sale on reasonable terms, by

VALERIUS DUKEHART, No. 101¹/₂ Baltimore, between South and Calvert Streets.

Baltimore, 9th Mo. 26th, 1828.

Lancaster County Historical Society

An advertisement in the Anti-Masonic Herald, New Holland, Pennsylvania, 1828, indicates 100 dozen butter prints for sale as well as a number of other items connected with the production of butter. Mr. Dukehart was obviously an importer and advertised his wares in the Dutch Country where they were widely used.

This is one of the few, if not the only contemporary record of the sale of butter prints in America. Spring-houses sometimes resemble cavecellars in their exterior appearance. The interior of this one is a high stone arch, covered with earth for its insulating quality.

> The tulip motif was popular with many craftsmen, including the carver of butter prints. Stars were also widely used on butter prints as well as on barns, chests, and fractur.



butter with some comments about production in Europe at about the same time. The *Encyclopedia Perthensis*, Perth 1790, reports some practices that were followed in the making of the famous Epping butter in England.

It tells that in the summer months milking should be done before sunrise so that the cream can be skimmed before the dairy room becomes warm, nor should it be skimmed in the evening before sunset. In frosty weather milk should be immediately strained after milking and a small quantity of boiling water added to produce an abundance of cream. In winter the milk can remain unstrained for twenty-four to thirty-six hours. If butter is not churned daily it should not stand more than two days in the summer and it should be churned at least twice weekly in the winter. The churn should be placed in a cool body of water, if a pump churn is used. Only one person should churn, or at least the rythm should not be changed, otherwise the result will be unsatisfactory. After the butter is churned it should be washed with a number of clean waters until it is perfectly cleared of milk; this operation being performed by one who does not have a warm hand or the butter will become soft and greasy. After the butter is properly washed and salted it is placed in firkins and sent to the London market where it commands the highest price of any made in England.

There seems to be some wisdom and some mysticism in the early directions for making butter. This situation was doubtless a very normal one for many of the farmers' practices were dominated by ideas that were not based on fact or research as they are known today. Some attention was given to sanitation and refrigeration but they were obviously not as important then as they have been in recent years. One interesting point to note is the fact that the English did not make use of a spring-house in their embryonic dairy industry. Cooling cellars are mentioned but

> Four tulips form an interesting overall pattern for this print. This arrangement was very difficult to carve and is quite rare.





This mid-nineteenth century spring-house is located in southern Lancaster County. Its architectural features are similar to the farm house which stands nearby. The serrated brick cornice is typical of the time and area. There is little provision for light in any of these spring-houses.

The tulip motif is simply executed on one end of this print; on the other end a star motif is executed in a similar manner. Prints with two usable ends are not regarded as a common type.





In this print the star motif is dominant and is supported with tulips and a serrated edge. The combinations of geometric and natural designs seem to be endless.

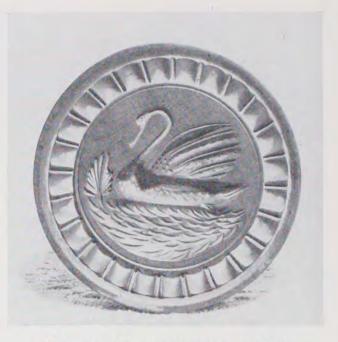
the use of flowing water for cooling was obviously not widely practiced for it is not mentioned in the report mentioned above.

In discussing "Philadelphia print" as it was called one should first be aware that it was actually produced in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Delaware, and marketed in Philadelphia. In the 1860's it was regarded as top quality in America and numerous stories were reported about the details of its manufacture. A committee of New York gentlemen visited the farm of Samuel J. Sharpless of Street Station, Chester County, and made a report of their findings.

The milking is done in a milk house which is unusually light and airy. A separate stall is provided for each cow with her name, pedigree, and a small serving of bran which the cow ate while being milked. (Doubtless the start of the contented cow theory.) The milking is done by experienced women, each one always milking the same cows, and there was no loud talking or skylarking.

The committee pointed out that one of the secrets in the production of this superior butter was the use of a spring-house. It was about eighteen feet wide and twentyfour feet long. It was usually built of stone, over a spring, and on the side of a hill so that a plentiful supply of water was available for cooling the milk. Water covered the gravel floor except for some raised platforms for walking. Just under the roof many small windows were located and inclosed with wire mesh so that a flow of fresh air circulated in the building. One spring-house had ten side walls, six feet being below the ground level. Such an arrangement obviously was helpful in maintaining the low temperature desired in such a building.

One of the butter producers in the Chester County area did not approve of a spring-house. He thought a dry cellar was equally as satisfactory, if not better, for the presence



The swan is an uncommon motif in Dutch folk art, but it is certainly attractive and functional. The crisp lines of this print are carved in the end grain of a hard wood.

of so much moisture seemed to be a disadvantage to him. The committee noticed that he was able to maintain a temperature of 60 degrees Farenheit in his cellar which was only two degrees above the average temperature of the spring-houses. This was regarded as adequate for cooling milk and he did not have the inconvenience of walking over or in water.

In most cases the milk was placed in shallow pans, after milking, the depth of the milk being about the same as the depth of the water outside of the pan. This varied from three to four inches. This procedure quickly brought the milk to about 58 degrees. After twenty-four hours of cooling the cream was skimmed and placed in a large vessel holding about twelve gallons where it was kept at the 58 degree temperature until it was churned. There were of course no mechanical separators in those days and the cream was skimmed with a tin dipper which had a number of small holes in it.

The churn was a barrel type with staves and hoops. It was mounted horizontally on a bearing in each end and motivated by horsepower. The smaller producers used churns that were motivated by dogs or sheep. Within the barrel a number of arms were permantly fastened and arranged to cause a great disturbance when the barrel was rotated. The churning lasted about an hour when a little cold milk was added to cause the butter to gather. After the butter-milk was drained, cold water was added and the churn given a few turns to free milk which did not drain the first time. A rocking motion caused the butter to gather at the bottom of the churn where it was removed.

Another secret in the production of Philadelphia butter was the use of a butter-worker which was located in the corner of the spring-house. It was a table about twelve feet in diameter, the top slanting toward the center. About twenty pounds of butter were placed on it at one time



The eagle motif was also popular in the Dutch Country where it appears on fractur, guns, coverlets, and butter prints. Pennsylvania was a patriotic state and the Dutch believed in displaying the fact.

which was kneaded by a tapering, corrugated roller, fastened in the center and moved around the outer circumference by an operator. As the butter milk was worked out of the butter it ran toward the center of the table and was drained into a receptacle.

Later came another secret called "wiping the butter." A clean damp cloth was placed between the butter and the roller which removed all the moisture that had not been previously squeezed out. This action produced a crisp, wax-like texture in the butter which it never seemed to lose. Finally the butter was salted by the operator, and the entire process of working, wiping, and salting one hundred pounds of butter required only about one hour. The butter was then placed in tin pans and cooled so that final preparations could be made to send it to market.

The marketing of the butter is described in the Lancaster Farmer, December 1869. "No pot or delft-ware, no tub or pail of oak or hemlock, no vulgar firkin is used to entomb those noble balls, goldenhued with the aroma of white clover and Poa Prattensis lingering in the firm grain. A large tin vessel, designed expressly for the business, has chambers at each end, into which ice is put. The wooden shelves about three inches apart, rest on little projections from the sides. A layer of balls is then placed on the bottom and covered with its shell, but not so as to touch or mar the handsome print of a sheaf of grain; which stands on the top of each ball; on the shelf another layer of prints. and so till the vessel is full, they contain forty or fifty pound prints. The tin with ice in each end is then set in a wooden tub which has been cooled with ice or spring water. Over this is drawn a cover of padded carpeting, with oil-cloth on top. Thus the hot air and dust are wholly excluded, and the butter rides to the city and opens in the market-house in as fine condition as when packed in the spring-house."



If there is any doubt about calling a cow "Nell" here is the proof. The cow print is a common pattern, but it rarely names the cow.



The sheaf of wheat motif was cleverly adapted to many areas. This rectangular form is a rare one, but the carving is not of the finest quality.



The sheaf of wheat is doubtless the most common motif and contemporary reports tell that it was used on Philadelphia butter. This small one, only two inches in diameter, was probably used in the preparation of individual servings.

Adam und Eva im Paradies

By WALTER E. BOYER

Among the hundreds of broadsides published prior to 1850 by our German printers, none seems to have caught the imagination nor to have won the esteem of the public quite as well as that of *Adam und Eva im Paradies*. (The shorter version was known as *Der Fall Adam*. Of the nine stanzas in the shorter version, eight are identical to stanzas in the longer poem. All references will be to the longer version.) The *Taufschein* was, of course, a must for every member of the family, but once procured, the *Taufschein* was folded and laid away. The ballad of Susanna Cox flooded the countryside. This, I fear, was due to its sensational nature rather than for any more literary reason. To me the popularity of the Adam and Eve broadside seems to have been different.

The first two Adam and Eve broadsides that I ever saw were hanging on the walls of country homes, one in the Mahantongo Valley, the other in Snyder county. One broadside had been printed in Allentown, the other in Harrisburg. In both instances, I learned from my hosts that the broadside had been in the house as long as they could remember. Since both places were homesteads, the broadside, along with the barns and the fields, the houses and the furniture, had been handed down from generation to generation to be honored, revered, and used.

How can we account for the popularity of the broadside? There seem to be at least three general reasons: the broadside was widely distributed; it was attractively printed; and, it had the literary merit of expressing the "symbolic" values of its time.

A wide distribution of this broadside was enjoyed since the principal printers in the principal cities of the Dutch country in the early ninetcenth century kept it in circulation. As early as 1811, it was printed in Ephrata by Samuel Bauman. John S. Wiestling in Harrisburg issued it from 1821 to 1827. It appeared from H. W. Villee's press in Lancaster by 1829. In Orwigsburg it was published by Grim and Thoma; in Philadelphia by M. Dahlem; and in Reading by a host of printers: C. A. Bruckman, C. F. Egelman, Samuel Myers, Meyers and Christian, Daniel Roths, Heinrich B. Sage, and Schneider and Myers. (See checklist in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, IV, 6.)

Of course this is known only because the name of the printer appears on the broadside, but many others were printed—some of these may be the earliest imprints that did not include this information. Certainly it seems reasonable to assume that people in many places were interested in the broadside and that printers tried to satisfy this demand.

However, these broadsides were not only published in many places by many printers, the printers themselves seemed to vie with one another to make the broadsides attractive imprints. Almost every issue included an illustration of Adam and Eve standing in the Garden by the Forbidden Tree on which the snake appears. *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (IV, 6) printed seven of these engravings in the October, 1952 issue. Each illustration merits a closer study than what can be given here. Yet they do indicate several cultural factors that are important and mention should be made of them at this point.

First, it should be recognized that these illustrations rank among the best of the print art in early nineteenth century America; and, second, that the majority of them perfectly perform their function of illustration.

The early engravings, such as the one by "R. & W. S." used by Samuel Bauman, are simple and direct. They are not subservient to the text but serve as a complement to it. On the other hand, in only one instance have I seen an illustration that called attention to itself as we would have it in portraiture or in easel painting.

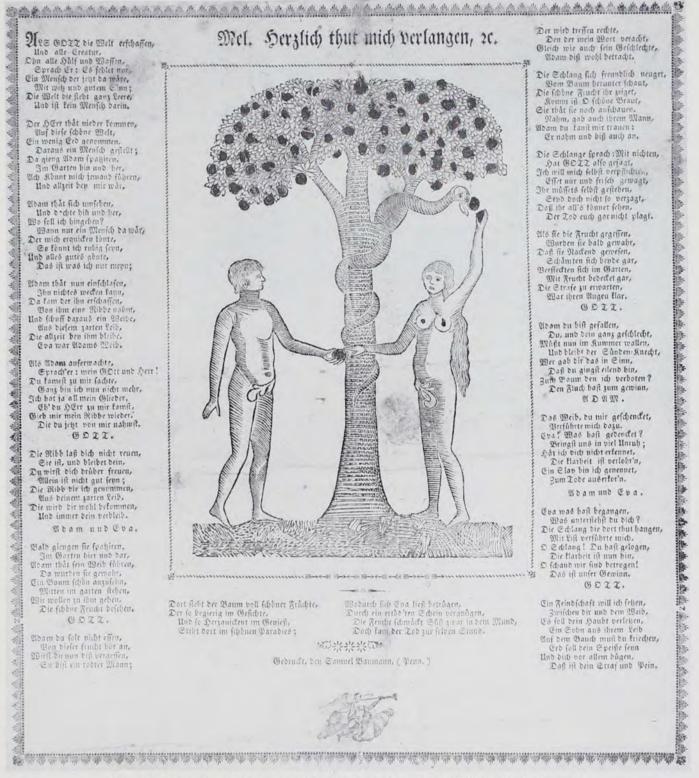
This difference may well be seen in two of the engravings referred to above. Both represent a more advanced artistic technique than may be seen in most of the illustrations. The one is by Gilbert and was published at Harrisburg by Johann S. Wiestling. In this illustration we have the work of a studio-trained artist, who had been the pupil of the English-trained engraver, William Mason. As might be expected of the early work of even an educated artist, in concept he is directly influenced by the traditional. His training is evident only in his greater mastery of technique. Foliage, fruit, and plants are drawn more meticulously; Adam is more manly, Eve more feminine; and the more rhythmic undulations of the snake around the tree are more pleasing aesthetically. In this illustration we have the traditional illustrative concept brought to the height of the contemporary art-ability.

In the A. and W. Blumer illustration (p. 18), the break with tradition may be seen. No longer is the illustration subservient to the text; it dominates the song. No longer is it a traditional concept, but an individualistic one. It is more rich in iconographical values than of iconological ones. This means that the traditional value concepts have been usurped by more contemporary and personal interest values. For the first time these things appear in an Adam and Eve illustration: a naturalistic, sylvan setting expressed three-dimensionally; additional animal life—chickens, dog, peacock (?); Adam and Eve are not standing but are reclining; and the come-hither look in the eyes of Eve is worthy of the twentieth century.

If it appears that I have wandered from my theme, let me hasten to recoup my position by generalizing that if the popularity of the broadside depended on the illustrations then indeed broadsides were available to satisfy every taste.

Although these broadsides were printed in black and white, the majority of them, as found in collections today, have had the borders and illustrations hand-colored. Since their popularity parallels the growth of the block-printed *Taufscheine*, it seems logical to assume that they were peddled by the itinerant folk fracturist along with the *Taufscheine*. This, too, would make for wide-spread distribution and, consequently, more popularity.

Of course no literary document can remain popular unless its appeal is universal and finds a response from all



Adam and Eve broadside printed by Samuel Baumann (1788-1820) in Ephrata. Note the initials R&WS at the base of the woodcut.

groups of people. I believe that this broadside ballad may be considered as a literary archetype of early nineteenth century Pennsylvania German culture. One of the dominant principles of culture at this time was still a religious one, Biblically inspired. Man's creation and subsequent fall was still a vital "symbolical" value, to use Ernst Cassirer's term. Scientific humanism had not as yet lured the mind of man from a *weltanschauung* of four-dimensional myth to the sterile satisfaction of a statistic. "In Adam's fall we sinned all" was part of the "Christian nurture" of children and accepted by adults as being a description of man's status. In his creation, in his damnation and redemption, and in the sense of the eternal, man could still evaluate his lot from day to day. Thus the song of Adam and Eve in Paradise provided him with a dramatic rehearsal of man's creation, temptation, and fall—all elements of the religious symbolical value of the time.

When discussing this song with a family in Snyder



Less stylized Adam and Eve printed in Reading by Henry B. Sage between 1821-1827.

county, I was told this story. When my informant was still a child, she and the other children would ask the grandfather to tell them the story of Adam and Eve. He always seemed ready to oblige. Slowly would he rise from his place, take the broadside from the wall, return to his rocker, and sing the ballad. The tune was *herzlich thut mich verlangen*, the tune that was indicated on all the broadsides. The eyes of the children seldom wandered from the illustration, unless a change in grandfather's voice would cause them to look up.

My informant remembered that whenever her grandfather came to the place where Adam had to answer God's question, "Why have you done this?", a twinkle came into his eyes and a smile played about his lips as he solemnly sang:

"Das Weib, du mir geschenket,/Verjuert mich dazu." (This wife you gave to me leads me to it.)

Then with all the power in his voice that he could muster, he would turn to grandma, who usually sat close by mending, and demanded;

"Eva! Was hast gedenket,/Bringst mich in viel Unruh;" (Eve! What had you in mind, you bring me much unrest.)

Whereupon she would punctuate the lines with a curt but loud "huh", and, somehow, the children thought that they were the cause of it all!

In addition to being an expression of a contemporary, religious value, the Adam and Eve broadside continued a literary tradition that may be traced in German hymnody and liturgical drama. The dramatic nature of the broadside ballad is evident already in the lectionary of the Roman church of the Middle Ages. A poetic rendering of the Genesis story was part of the liturgics of the pre-Lent season. Dr. Paul Piper writes of them as being the earliest of spiritual poems. (See his *Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters.*)

From these beginnings developed the more complete dramatic renderings of the story as may be seen in the various examples of the *Paradiesspiel*. It is well to note here that in the tradition of the *Paradiesspiel* of South Germany, the tradition that would be more apt to influence our broadside ballad, the dramatic presentation included both sung and spoken portions. (See Dr. Karl Weinhold, *Weihnacht Spiele und Lieder aus Sueddeutschland und Schlesien.*)

From my inspection of early German hymns, a limited inspection to be sure, I am convinced that the immediate prototype of our ballad is among the hundreds of hymns that were written in the midst of the Reformation fervor and immediately thereafter, when the Biblical narratives could make there fullest impact on the minds of the people. Obviously the liturgical plays provided the hymnodists with a genre that could be readily adapted to their immediate intent. An interesting example is the hymn by Erasmus Alberus (d. 1553), "Von Adams Fall und Erlösung durch Christum." In this hymn the dramatic construction is akin to our ballad, there is direct dialogue, and the humanity of the characters is striking. In all these aspects there is kinship with our ballad. Of course the Second Adam does not appear in our ballad as he does both in this hymn and in the South German Paradiesspiel referred to above.

Another early hymnist using this theme was Lazarus Spengler (1479-1534). His hymn, Durch Adams fal ist gantz verderbt/menschlich natur und wesen, appeared in the Wittenberg Sangbuechlein, 1524. It is worthwhile to mention this hymn if only to point out that it is completely didactic and Reformation-centered. In no respect has it kinship with the broadside ballad. Even though Spengler's hymn is what we today would term "churchly", it was never printed in the hymnals of the Pennsylvania German churches. It seems that didacticism dies quickly if its printed tradition is interrupted. It is this type of tradition that, I believe, had no influence on our ballad.

If our broadside was popular because it retained the dramatic character of traditional presentations of the Genesis story, there is another characteristic feature of the text, which was also a part of the traditional songs of Adam and Eve, that is important. It is the essentional humanity both of the tradition and the present text. If commoners could sit for a painting of the Holy Family, so could the common man and the common woman be the models of Adam and Eve in the hymns, and the players in the plays. Nor would it be uncommon, in the desire to achieve verisimilitude, to present God in the traditional anthropomorphic role of potter and fatherly punisher.

The song closest to our broadside that I have found was recorded from oral tradition and appears in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* as "*Construction der Welt.*" In meter and rhyme scheme it is identical with the broadside. In fact lines 1 and 2 in the first stanzas are almost identical:

"Als Gott die Welt erschaffen/Und allerhand Gethier," (Wunderhorn)

"Als Gott die Welt erschaff'n,/Und alle Creatur," (Broadside)

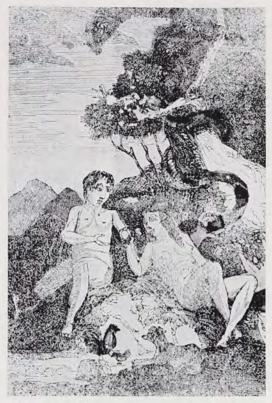
But it is beside the point to give a detailed comparison of texts. Our point is that Arnim and Brentano, sometime prior to 1806, were able to record from oral tradition a song similar to ours in form and spirit. Note in passing that both songs were printed at almost the same time, although on different continents. I like to speculate that our broadside poem came into print in a similar manner and for similar reasons.

Finally, let us take a closer look at our text to see its essential humanity, its dramatic nature, its desire to explain, to note the absence of exhortation and didacticism. Since this text is a dramatic expression and a traditional interpretation of the essential nature of humanity, and seeks not to be pursuasive by preaching but by performing, it is "biblical" in the value scheme of its time. It may not be strictly canonical but it is of the common experience of the culture, thus symbolical, a key for the soul-man and soil-man alike.

The essential story of the broadside begins with God's observation from on high that creation seems empty without a human being in it who possesses knowledge and understanding. He returns to earth and, taking a little ground, "arranged" a man from it.

Next we see Adam walking to and fro in the garden, lamenting the fact that he has to walk alone and wishing that someone could be with him at all times. He wonders where he should go. He believes that if someone were with him, he could keep still and begrudge nothing.

Evidently with this in mind, he falls asleep, soundly and deeply, so that he could not be awakened. God comes, takes a rib from him, and from it forms a woman, who shall always remain with Adam as his wife. This done, Adam awakes. He complains apologetically that God had come so softly, but more forcefully laments that he no longer has all his *Glieder* (members). *Gib mir mein Rippe wieder* (Give back my rib!), he demands!



Realistic Adam and Eve printed by A. & W. Blumer in Allentown between 1835 and 1840.

The broadside then indicates that God sings the entire sixth stanza. (These directions are given from time to time throughout the text, which leads me to believe that they are survivals of earlier and more complete stage directions, evidence of a link with the *Paradiesspiel*, however tenuous. God sings:

> Let not this rib upset you, It shall remain your own And give you pleasure too, For 'tis not good to be alone. This rib that I have taken Out of your tender side Shall joy in you awaken And ere with you abide.

As Adam leads Eve back and forth through the garden, they become aware of a tree standing in the middle of Paradise. Eve suggests that they should go over to it and see the fruit. When they come to the tree and behold the beauty of the fruit, God appears in order to warn them. Adam, you must not eat

The fruit that's on this tree, For should you take of it, A dead man you shall be. If you heed not my discipline, This curse shall justice tell To you and all your kin, So Adam heed this well.

God then departs and the snake appears, looking down from the tree in a most friendly manner, and shows the fruit to Eve. With a minimum of lines the die is cast. Gazing steadily upon Eve, the snake invites her to eat: "Come eat, O lovely bride." Then urges, "Take, give also to your man." Eve turns to Adam, evidently after she had taken the fatal bite, and says, "Adam, you can trust me." He takes and bites.

This marks the end of the ninth stanza. The denouement follows rapidly in the next five stanzas. The snake assures Adam and Eve that everything will be well with them. Alas, it was not to be so. They suddenly discover their nakedness and cover themselves with *Frucht*, hide in the garden and await the punishment of God.

The punshment is not slow in coming. God appears, informs Adam of his fall and fate, a punishment that would be his and all his kin. Sorrow would be known to them and sin would make them slaves. Seemingly with anguish, God asks Adam who gave him the idea to go to the Forbidden Tree and to taste its fruit.

Adam blames his wife directly and implies that God Himself must assume a portion of the responsibility. To God he says:

This wife I got from you Led me unto the tree. And turning to Eve, he continues: O Eve. what was your view To bring this grief to me? Had I not known your kind My pureness were not gone; Now death elects me, too, And I'll, as slave, be known. Eve why did you dare? What did you wish to do? Eve, then, in turn passes the buck: The snake that's hanging there On the tree, had asked me to. O snake, you've lied to me. How well I see it now; O shame, we've been deceived Before God's will we bow. The concluding stanza reveals God's punishment in detail. First God directs his words to Adam: Between your wife and you An enmity will I set To challenge your will to do-A son, your wife will get. And then, to the snake:

On your belly must you crawl,

The earth shall be your fare; To bow before things all

SL-11 L

Shall be your pain and care.

The strains of the old tune cease, the curtain falls, the drama is ended. The Genesis story, cherished in the minds of the Hebrews in their wanderings to the promised land, had been created anew in a promised land to which Germanic immigrants had come.

So I conclude that Adam und Eva im Paradies is a popular ballad. I believe that it enjoyed such popularity because it was part of a traditional literary pattern that had been well established in Europe and must have been part of the cultural heritage that the German settlers brought to American shores; that it had symbolical value in the cultural ethos of the Pennsylvania German community in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century; that since all these things were true, the printers had a ready market; that, for whatever reason, the printers composed these imprints in all ways with great care so that they would be a thing of beauty and a joy—if not forever, than at least for a long, long time. Lewis Miller drawing of a pretzel and notation in Henry Fisher's "Marik-Haus."

-Courtesy, York County Historical Society

The PRETZEL before the Civil War

By ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

On a recent visit to the Pennsylvania Dutch sections of North Carolina, the editor had an opportunity to interview an old woman who is renowned far and wide as a person who can "use" for the wasting away, wild fire, and other ailments. Incidentally, the term "to powwow" is entirely unknown there. My informant, whose family came to the Carolinas from Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century, can still recite a little Dutch. But, though Pennsylvania Dutch in background, she didn't know what pretzels were. A young woman who was visiting when I called volunteered the information that she had seen them advertised on television but that she had never tasted them either.

It is doubtful whether my informant's forebears who left Pennsylvania some two hundred years ago knew what pretzels were either. The earliest reference to pretzels (early called bretzels) in this country comes my way from Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, who is writing a history of the First Reformed Church of Lancaster. In the Consistory Minutes of April 5, 1773, the church fathers instructed a Mr. Diefendoerfer, landlord of the Leopard and a trustee of the church that "er soll Bretzeln backen lassen, um die Schueler zu ermuntern" (that he was to have some pretzels baked to encourage the pupils in the parochial school).

In point of time, the next reference to the pretzel is for 1810. The Ellis and Evans *History of Lancaster County*, p. 1074, states: "About 1810, William H. Rauch began the manufacture of the 'Lititz brezel,' or pretzel, as it is more generally called. He was succeeded in business by his son H. A. Rauch, who continued its manufacture until 1865, when he failed. Julius F. Sturgis, the present proprietor [1883] made some improvements in the article and now conducts the business."

Lewis Miller, whose drawings of early York are our chief source of information on details of every-day life in Dutchland in the early 1800's, has a sketch of a pretzel vendor with the following caption: "For one Bretzel a cent.

Jons in his ofd lays made Des ding war gut, un doch war's schlecht. Was war nau do zu mache? Feier un Schmier un Law war nix. Un so wär's ah mit Hund un Bix-Sie dhet sie juscht auslache; Maine Stricet. Eweck mit Feier un Law un Schmier Un henk's Hufeise owich die Dhier.

639

for one Bretzel a cent. I bought often

'S ALT MARIK-HAUS MITTES IN D'R SCHTADT



I bought often when a young boy. Yous in his old days made Bretzels for sale in 1812."

Newspapers in Lancaster County in the years 1879 and 1880 carried a goodly number of articles on the history of the pretzel in the area. In each and every instance the assertion is made that a man named Scherle "baked the first pretzel ever made in the United States in Lancaster" in 1827 or 1828. We are grateful to one K. B., who sent a correction to one of the Lancaster papers, dated March 19, 1880. He wrote: "From 1815 to 1818, I distinctly remember seeing during that time a blind man, by the name of Adam Gnaltzer, selling pretzels through the town [York] strung on a long pole, I think."

In his weekly column in the Reading *Banner von Berks* of Nov. 18, 1873, Ludwig A. Wollenweber, the most prolific German-born writer about the Pennsylvania Dutch, remarked that Jacob Haehnlen (died in Philadelphia in May, 1874) was Reading's first pretzel baker and that it was he who introduced them to the Reading market for the first time in the year 1832.

The Reading Weekly Eagle of Feb. 25, 1893, carries an article about one John Sauermilch, "An Old Pretzel Baker," who, according to this source, learned pretzel making from his father in Germany. Born in 1808, Sauermilch came to America when twenty years old; after working as a lime burner for eighteen years, he established a bakery in Boyertown and started baking pretzels in that place about 1846.

The first Reading Directory of 1856 mentions one Daddy Heist "whose celebrity was never dimmed by doubt but that he made the best sugar pretzels."

Over in the Cumberland Valley the pretzel was still quite a stranger even after the Civil War, judging from a correspondent of the Chambersburg *Valley Spirit*, who wrote in the issue of Jan. 15, 1868: "With our next drink we ordered a thing called a pretzel, which looks like a snake twisted up with the cramp colic." In his spare time and vacations from his teaching job, Henry Ewertz finds time to pursue his sculpturing career. Here he touches up two large Amish figures. They are modeled in plastic clay and after molds have been made of them, ceramic clay is pressed into the molds. Then after firing they become terra cotta figures.



Amish Sculpture

By OLIVE G. ZEHNER

In the past year the gift and decorating trade in the Dutch Country has been given an appreciatively fine lift in the presentation of a group of sculptured Amish figurines by the Ewertzs—Henry and Maxine of Hatfield, Pennsylvania. This talented and professionally trained couple feel that the Plain People, whom they portray, are exceptionally sculpturesque—their own term. They admire the oneness of purpose and serenity of the Amish. They strive to show that serenity in the faces of their figures.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Ewertz are of German background, but not native Pennsylvanians. Henry was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, of immigrant parents. His Mother was from Heidelberg and spoke the ancestral dialect as the Pennsylvania Dutch. Maxine was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, but was taken back to Germany at an early age and lived there until she was eighteen years old.

Henry Ewertz is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. He received a Bachelor of Philosophy degree and had taken only a few electives in art. He found himself in Art there, however, and went on to the Chicago Art Institute and then to the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, where he met Mrs. Ewertz. While in art school, he twice won a Cresson Scholarship for travel in Europe. Mr. Ewertz is at present head of the Art Department of the Widner School for the Orthopedically Handicapped in Philadelphia, where he has taught for 15 years. This busy couple taught night classes for 13 years at the famous Philadelphia Junto. They taught as high as 500 people a week during the war in their sculpture and ceramic classes.

They were part of the original organization of the Pennsylvania Guild of Craftsmen and Mr. Ewertz was the first president of the Philadelphia Chapter. They were cochairmen with Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, for the first Statewide Guild Show at the Art Alliance in Philadelphia.

The Ewertzs had at first concentrated commercially upon decorative pottery and art-ware, but they felt the competition from Japan and Italy after the war was too great, so they turned to sculpture where they found no commercial competition. Their finished figurines are cast, fired, and left in the bisque red-ware. They are painted but not glaze-fired. This gives them a delightfully soft finish that blends well with modern or traditional decor.

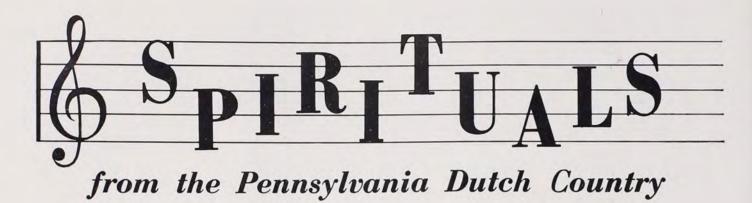
One cannot help feeling that the team of Henry and Maxine Ewertz has only begun to produce items for the great number of seekers of Pennsylvania Dutchiana, and those of us in the field are greatly heartened by the elevation of standards produced by these tasteful items.



Quilting Party and other figures, modeled directly in terra cotta, which makes them one-of-a-kind pieces, done by Maxine several years ago.



Although she majored in painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, Maxine turned to sculpture after her marriage and partnership with Henry Ewertz. She mostly does the small things. Their grand-children often pose for busts, and the proud grand-parents delight in doing them. Here Maxine works on a set of plaques that will appear in their commercial line in the near future.



By DON YODER

Something new under the American sun was born shortly after the Revolution when Methodism invaded the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. In its wake this intensely evangelistic British-American movement left among the German-speaking population living between the Delaware and the Juniata a whole host of new German Methodistic denominations—the Evangelical Association, the United Brethren, the Church of God, the United Zion's Children, the United Christians, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, and several smaller groups.*

What evolved through this impact of Methodist evangelism on the Pennsylvania Dutch Country was a new type of religious institution—a group of churches modeled on Methodistic lines, sharing the Methodists' concern for morality and discipline and organized along the circuitriding pattern—but speaking the German tongue. As I like to put it, "The hands were Esau's, but the voice was Jacob's." For these churches were a hybrid product, something new and peculiarly American.

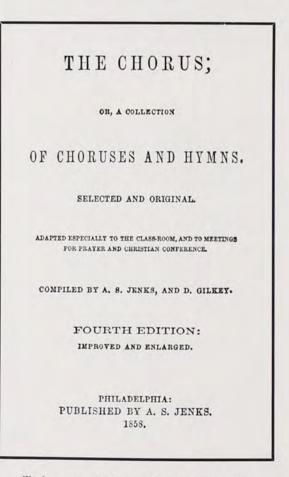
It was at the "Bush Meetings" of the Evangelicals and United Brethren folk that the "Pennsylvania Dutch Spiritual," a new type of religious song in America, was born. Now the "bush meeting"** was the Pennsylvania Dutch counterpart of the Methodist and Baptist "camp meeting," which originated in Kentucky in 1799-1800, and spread

*While revivalism made its first impact on the Dutch Country in the period known in American Church History as the "Second Awakening" and led to the formation at that time of the three principal bush-meeting groups: the United Brethren, the Evangelicals, and the Church of God—forming a kind of Pennsylvania Dutch phase of the nationwide revival—this pattern of applying revivalism to Dutch needs continued throughout the 19th century, resulting in the other groups mentioned.

**The term "bush meeting," traced by the Dictionary of American English back only as far as the 1860's, actually has a much longer history in Pennsylvania and the areas settled by German-speaking peoples. The earliest reference I have found to it comes from the Journal of Henry Smith (1769-1842), Methodist circuit-rider from Western Maryland, whose family had been connected with the Otterbein (United Brethren) movement. In his journal for 1803 he refers to "our bush meeting, called a camp meeting"; see Henry Smith, Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant (New York, 1848), p. 108. This and its synonyms "grove meeting" and "woods meeting" appear also in scattered references from within Methodism in the decade 1800-1810. "Camp meeting" of course won out generally as the preferred term, but "bush meeting" continued in use down to the present century, especially in Central Pennsylvania.

like a meteor down into the Deep South, crackled its fiery way across the Ohio into the Old Northwest, and flamed back across the Alleghenies into the older settlements of the Atlantic seaboard. And sometime in the decade 1800-1810, the camp meeting reached Eastern Pennsylvania.

Besides the "bush meetings," which were held in the summer period when there was a lull in the harvest work, there were also the winter "protracted meeting" [verlaengerte Versammlung or Langi Meetin] and the "social meetings"—prayer or class meetings [Betschtunde and Bekenntnisschtunde] at which the spirituals were featured. The "church year" of these informal frontier groups was thus centered about the two "revival seasons" of winter



Title-page of Pennsylvania's most influential English chorus-book.



Shouting Evangelicals taking a pause between services.

and summer, and wherever possible, the fires kindled then were kept fanned by constant direct evangelistic preaching, and round after round of spiritual singing, at the weekly "social meetings" and worship services in the little white churches that sprang up in village and valley of Eastern Pennsylvania. The historic Catholic "church year" meant nothing to the revivalist Christian.

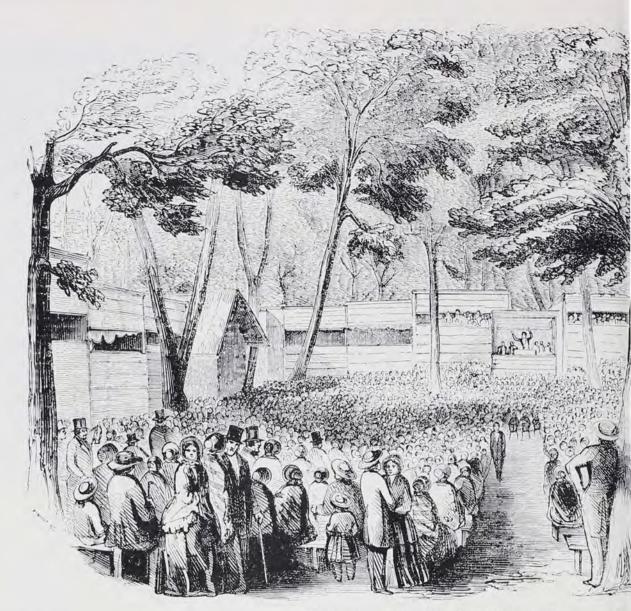
THE RISE OF THE SPIRITUAL

Now the "camp meeting people" of the West and South, the Methodists and Baptists and other frontier groups with an informal approach to worship were in the process of developing a new American revivalist hymnody of their own, spontaneous, original in both words and music. The "white spiritual," whose history has been so carefully traced by George Pullen Jackson, was being born.* As the camp meeting was developed on American soil to meet the new frontier conditions by recruiting church members en masse, so the old and staid hymnody of the British Isles was scrapped or retreaded into something that fitted more harmoniously into the American picture.

The English-speaking whites of the South and West developed the spiritual, and two other groups of the American population borrowed them and reworked them, shaping them to fit their own needs. The American Negro slave took over the spiritual from his white master and made it something expressive of his own deep spiritual longings. No one would deny, of course, that even though he borrowed the spiritual, the Negro made it peculiarly his own. The other group which appropriated this body of revival song was the bush-meeting people of the Pennsylvania Dutch country.* They borrowed the revival songs sung by their English-speaking Methodist neighbors and friends, translated them into German or Pennsylvania Dutch, reworked them, and composed others that were original. Thus both of these groups borrowed the tunes and texts of many of their songs from the English whites, but remodeled them into something distinctive and original.

*I use the term "Bush Meeting People" to designate that family of religious movements which came out of the impact of American revivalism (principally Methodism) on the Pennsylvania Dutch areas. As such they form a separate classification over against Pennsylvania's "Plain Dutch" (Mennonites, Brethren and others) and "Gay Dutch" (Lutherans, Reformed, and others) as distinct religious patterns. See my article, "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch—Two Worlds in the Dutch Country," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Summer 1956.

^{*}For the background materials on the white spiritual in English, see George Pullen Jackson's various books— Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), White and Negro Spirituals (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), Down-East Spirituals and Others (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), and especially his last general volume, Another Sheaj of White Spirituals (Gainesville, Florida: The University of Florida Press, 1952), which contains two Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals from my own collection. For Jackson's comments on the Dutch spiritual, see his article on "Pennsylvania Dutch Spirituals" in The Musical Quarterly for January, 1952. For examples of Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals, with music, see Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder, Songs along the Mahantongo (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, 1951); and Ruth Hausman, Sing and Dance with the Pennsylvania Dutch.



WE CALL THEM "CHORUSES"

Now when you ride out into the hills and valleys of the Dutch Country to gather spirituals, you do not ask for "spirituals." For like most Americans, our Dutch folk have been taught (wrongly, however, as I have pointed out) that the "spiritual" is the exclusive possession of the Negro of Harlem and the Deep South. But when you ask that stout Dutch housewife who goes to the E. U. B. Church in the next block if she can sing any of the old "Dutch choruses," her eyes will brighten and you'll be lucky if you get away that afternoon at all."

*The term "chorus" is the historic term, antedating "spiritual" by over half a century. Spirituals were originally called "spiritual songs", but the little camp-meeting hymnals that began to appear in the 1800's came to be known as "chorus books". As "choruses" or "Dutch choruses" the Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals were known in the Midwest and, in fact, everywhere the Dutch revivalist or "bush meeting" pattern of religion spread. For a tribute from Illinois, cf. John G. Schwab and H. H. Thoren, History of the Illinois Conference of the Evangelical Church 1837-1937 (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, n.d.), p. 279: "Everyone was familiar with the jubilant and rousing revival choruses. The tempo and rhythm in which they were sung often resulted in spiritual exaltation and ecstasy. No chronicler will ever be able to portray how much the singing of these choruses contributed toward the spiritual values and sweeping victories of the camp meetings."

The camp-meeting brought religion to the masses in pre-Civil War America.

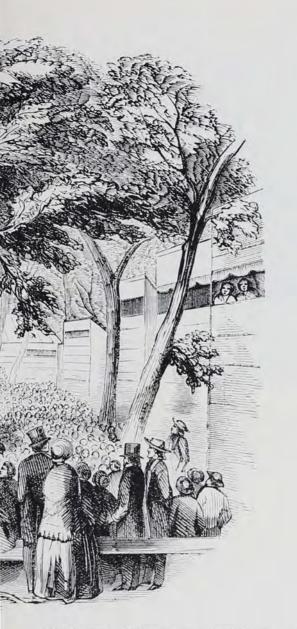
For the principle involved in the "white spiritual" was the development of a "chorus,"—three or four lines, usually repetitious, and expressive of a particular religious emotion—conversion, pilgrimage, "happiness" in the Lord. "They took a word and made a song out of it," one of my informants told me. As an example, take the familiar song about "free grace and endless love":

Freie Gnad un endliche Lieb! Free grace and endless love! Freie Gnad un endliche Lieb! Free grace and endless love! Freie Gnad un endliche Lieb! Free grace and endless love! Drowwe in der Nei Yerusalem!

Yonder in the New Jerusalem!

which expresses in Dutch the Methodist gospel of "free grace" and "God's endless love" for suffering mankind.*

*This spiritual is related to the Negro song-"Mary and Martha's just gone 'long, To ring them charming [chiming] bells," the message of the bells being "free grace and a-dying love."



To the revival chorus was set a heterogeneous series of "rhyme pairs" or quatrains, which could be drawn from two sources. They could be taken from favorite hymns in the standard hymnals; or else they could be made up on the spot by some bush-meeting poet, and, catching on in the minds and hearts of the auditors, become incorporated into the new body of revival song.

The Methodist and Baptist revivalists of the South and West created their spirituals by a combination of original chorus and adaptable verses, which when combined form a "spiritual" of recognizable outlines. Our Pennsylvania Dutch revivalists did exactly the same thing, except that for verses they drew upon the German Pietistic hymns in the Lutheran and Reformed hymnals or German translations of the Watts-Wesley and American Revival cycle of hymns in the songbooks of their English-speaking Methodist brethren.*

Undoubtedly the revival chorus is America's most original and most influential contribution to Christian

Examples of favorite hymns used with revival choruses were Laurentii's "Ermuntert euch, ihr Frommen", the hymn about the wise and foolish virgins which was brought to Pennsylvania with the colonial emigration; and Isaac Watts' "There is a land of pure delight," translated by Johannes Dreisbach (1789-1871), Evangelical folk-poet, as "Ich weiss ein Land voll reiner Freud." hymnody, for until the chorus developed as the product of the American evangelical awakenings, American hymns were devoid of choruses, consisting only of a succession, a lengthy and often dull one at that, of hymn verses. The revival chorus was partly a natural expression of revival exuberance which led the convert to express his emotion by seizing on the most important thought of his conversion experience and making a chorus out of it. And partly, perhaps basically, the revival hymns began to take on choruses, because they grew up in the realm of the folksong and the tunes used were modeled on the folk tunes of early America, which alternated verse and chorus, or refrain, in the same manner as do our spirituals.

THE FOUR SPIRITUAL PATTERNS

Among the Pennsylvania Dutch people, as among the "camp meeting" folk of South and West, there are only a limited number of spiritual patterns. The first and simplest type of Pennsylvania Dutch spiritual was what I call the "chorus-verse" type. It consists of a chorus, alternating with verses drawn from an established literary hymn. Take this chorus, for instance:

Singet Hallelujah!	Sing ye Hallelujah!
Singet Hallelujah!	Sing ye Hallelujah!
Singet Glorie, singet I	Ialle—,
	Sing ye Glory, sing ye Halle-,
Singet Hallelujah!	Sing ye Hallelujah!
41: 11	r

To this was put the old favorite hymn:

lein Seel ist so herrlich,	N
Mein Herz so voll Lieb,	
Nun winsch ich zu singen,	C
Den Engel ein Lied.	

My soul is full of glory, Inspire my tongue; Could I meet with angels, I would sing them a song:**

More complicated is the second type of spiritual pattern, the "interpolated rhyme-pair" type. In this the verses consist of a single couplet or rhyme-pair," into which have been interpolated the refrain lines of the chorus. "Jesus says he will be with us to the end," that universal favorite among all camp-meeting attendants, became in the Pennsylvania Dutch country:

Yesus wor schun mit uns	Jesus has been with us
Un er iss noch bei uns	And he still is with us
Un er sagt er will sei bei uns	And he says he will be with us
Bis ans End!	To the end!

*The practise of lining out the hymns (or metrical versions of the psalms), common to the psalmody of New England as well as the German churches of Pennsylvania, has given rise to the stories about the precentor (*Vorsinger*) with the clouded spectacles, who made the mistake of commenting on the fact to the congregation, and they sang his comment as a hymn verse. For these earlier phases of American church music, see Gilbert Chase, *America's Music From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955).

**In "My soul is full of glory" we have the best possible example of the influence of frontier revivalism upon the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. The hymn—very probably written by the frontier Methodist poet, John Adam Granade, a Virginian who was a member of the Western Conference in the years shortly after 1800—was translated into German by the Evangelical hymnist Johannes Dreisbach and became a favorite source of verses for many spirituals. The English version given here is that from Elisha C. Wright's *The Union Songster* (Circleville, Ohio, 1835), a pioneer English hymnal of the United Brethren. Daguerrotype of United Brethren circuit-rider in the Allegheny country.



This chorus is accompanied by verses, which, with the punch line of chorus interpolated into them, go something like this:

Yetz hawwich widder neie Mut Yesus sagt er will sei bei uns bis ans End!
Ya, Gott sei Dank, es geht yo gut Yesus sagt er will sei bei uns bis ans End!
Of strengthened faith I'm glad to tell Jesus says he will be with us to the end!
Yes, thanks to God, I'm doing well

Jesus says he will be with us to the end!

A more complex interpolation is involved in the spiritual "Living Water," which is sung in both English and German versions in Eastern Pennsylvania:

> Glory zu Gott! Wir drinken Lebens Wasser! Glory zu Gott! Wir sind auf der Reise heim! Glory to God! We're at the Fountain drinking! Glory to God! We're on our Journey home!

The German version forms its verses in this manner: Hett ich Fliggel wie Engelein Wir drinken Lebens Wasser! So bald werd ich im Himmel sein Wir sind auf der Reise heim! If only I could fly away We're at the Fountain drinking! I'd fly to Heaven right away We're on our Journey home!

A third spiritual pattern involves what I call the "Freindschaft song." In Pennsylvania the German word Freundschaft (dialect: Freindschaft) means not the cognate word "friendship" but rather "family" in the larger sense of relationship. Hence there are spirituals like "The Old-Time Religion," which introduce to us in successive verses, often without chorus alternation, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and everyone else that "religion is good for." And as George Pullen Jackson put it in one of his many books on the white spiritual, the old-time religion was good for "practically everybody"—Paul and Silas, Mary and Martha, Brother Daniel, yes, even "Father Wesley" and "Brother Cookman," the last-named a famed Methodist pulpiteer of Eastern Pennsylvania—as well as a host of lesser worthies. Pennsylvania Dutch people of course sing this song in translation, "Siss des gudi aldi Warrick," which has a peculiar "swing" all its own.

"WAY YONDER TO THE PROMISED LAND"

One of the favorite "Freindschaft songs" among the United Brethren folk of the Lykens Valley of Dauphin and Schuylkill Counties is "Weit niwwer ins Gelobte Land," which goes as follows:

Chorus:

Weit niwwer ins Gelobte Land Weit niwwer ins Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

1. Vaeter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Vaeter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

Chorus:

2. Mitter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mitter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

Chorus:

3. Brieder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Brieder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

Chorus:

4. Schweschdren hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Schweschdren hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land! Chorus: 5. Kinder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Kinder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

Chorus:

6. Yesus hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Yesus hawwen mir im Gelobte Land Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

Chorus:

Way yonder to the Promised Land Way yonder to the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

 We have fathers in the Promised Land We have fathers in the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

Chorus:

2. We have mothers in the Promised Land We have mothers in the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

Chorus:

3. We have brothers in the Promised Land We have brothers in the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

Chorus:

4. We have sisters in the Promised Land We have sisters in the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

Chorus:

5. We have children in the Promised Land We have children in the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

Chorus:

6. We have Jesus in the Promised Land We have Jesus in the Promised Land My Savior calls and I must go Yonder to the Promised Land!

Chorus:

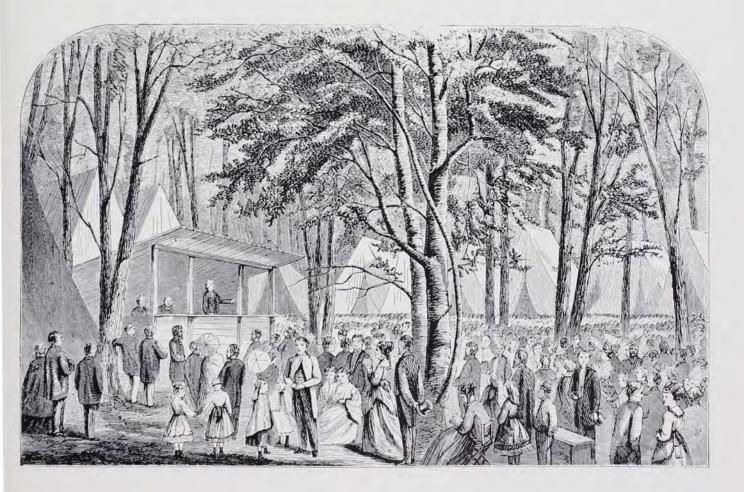
And by the time the brethren and sisters have sung that, and clapped their way through its engaging rhythm, it's time for a prayer, a testimony of God's grace, or another round of song.

"MY JOURNEY SOON IS DONE"

A fourth type of spiritual is the "spiritual without chorus." The best known example of this in the English camp-meeting books is the universally known

> Come to Jesus, come to Jesus, Come to Jesus just now! Just now come to Jesus, Come to Jesus just now!

The following verses, sung without an interpolated chorus, urge the sinner—"only trust him—just now," "call upon





Getting to camp-meetings had its difficulties.

him-just now," and so on up to a total of seventeen verses. The delight with which this and its German translation, "Kumm zu Yesu graad nau" has been sung over the years doubtless lies in the ingenious reversal of the words in line three, and the catchy tune, as well as the solemn words of invitation with which the hymn begins.

Another example of a "spiritual without chorus" is the solemn and thrilling "Die Zeit kartzt immer ab" (My time is getting short), in which similar declarative statements are repeated in a succession of verses, without benefit of chorus. As sung in the Lykens Valley, the home area of my family, the song goes like this:

- 1. Die Reis kartzt immer ab 1. My journey soon is done Die Reis kartzt immer ab Die Reis, die Reis Kartzt immer ab!
- 2. Noch Nei Yerusalem Noch Nei Yerusalem Noch Nei, Noch Nei Yerusalem!
- 3. Datt weinen wir nicht mehr Datt weinen wir nicht mehr Datt wein-, datt weinen
- Wir nicht mehr! 4. Gott wischt die Traene ab 4. God takes our tears away Gott wischt die Traene ab Gott wischt, Gott wischt Die Traene ab!

- My journey soon is done My journey, my journey Soon is done!
- 2. To New Jerusalem To New Jerusalem To New. to New Jerusalem!

3. There we will weep no more

> There we will weep no more

There we, there we Will weep no more! God takes our tears away God takes, God takes Our tears away!

THE THEMES OF OUR SPIRITUALS

Only when one looks at the Pennsylvania Dutch Spiritual en masse and sets it in its background as the hymnodic expression of their revivalistic approach to religion does one realize the greatness of what they created. For while the spirituals would not be looked upon with favor in a

CHORUSES -ADAPTED TO-Standard Hymns A COLLECTION

-FOR-

Revival Services

Prayer Meetings, etc.

O come, let us sing unto the Lord. Ps. 95: 1

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Lebanon Courier Print

The Behney chorus-book (circa 1900) preserves Dutch songs of the United Brethren in Lebanon Valley.

"choral eucharistic" setting in one of the liturgical churches, they were a well-rounded body of hymnody for a revivalistic type of denomination. Practical as was the Pennsylvania Dutch farmer himself, they deal with every phase of the all-important conversion experience. Like the moralistic "circuit-rider" biographies of the Victorian era, the spirituals had an evangelistic purpose. For in pioneer America both biography and hymnody were handmaidens of evangelism. In both of them the spiritual arrows of God's grace were poised on the bow, ready to fly at the hearts of the sinner.

When arranged, as I have arranged them, on the basis of their purpose as well as their content, the Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals fall into the same categories as the hymns in the songbooks of the Salvation Army.* The logical place to begin is with the hymns of "Invitation and Warning." In them the sinner is either "invited" to "come to Jesus -just now," or a dead earnest attempt is made to scare him from the perilous pastime of sporting on the brink of everlasting woe. He is frankly told that "time is getting short" (Die Zeit kartzt immer ab.) If he tries to slip into Heaven without the conversion experience and strict morality of the bush-meeting groups, he is reminded that

*There is, of course, no order in singing spirituals at a prayer or revival meeting of the bush-meeting groups. In this section I have arranged them according to mood, suggesting the connection between them and the conversion process. The titles quoted in Pennsylvania Dutch or German in parentheses are titles of choruses from my collection.

"I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." I Cor. 14-15.

REVIVAL HYMNS

AND

CHORUSES,

COMPILED BY REV. ISAAC H. ALBRIGHT

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Chorus-book published in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country.

"none but the righteous shall see God" (Keine als Gerechte schauen Gott). Or with tears in their eyes the converts will tell their erring brother (or sister) to "look away to Calvary" (Schauet hien auf Golyatha), and meditate on the suffering love of the Savior. As the signs of conviction begin to dawn, they plead with him, "O come ye to your Jesus—he alone can save you" (O kummt zu eirem Yesus).

"Now is the acceptable time" might be the text of the songs in the second category which deal with the actual process of conversion. "The waters of grace are flowing," and the prospective convert is urged, in lines reminiscent of the Pool of Bethesda, to "get in the stream" (Schteig in den Schtrom)-at once! By this time the air is ringing with the insistent rhythm of

O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade O schenk uns die Gnade Vom Himmel her!

O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade O Lord, send us thy blessing O Lord, send us thy blessing O Lord, send us thy blessing O send us thy blessing From heaven above!*

*The tune of "O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade" is the folktune, "O dear, what can the matter be, Johnny's so long at the Fair." Many of the spiritual tunes were drawn from the realm of the secular folksong, and their use called forth diatribes from the more churchly Lutheran and Reformed clergy of Pennsylvania.

or "O God, let down thy power" (O Gott, loss runner deini Graft). Finally the convert, moved to the depths of his being, "feels something new" in his soul, for the Master has taken possession of his will at last (Un ich fiehl ebbes neies).

"IT'S THAT OLD-TIME RELIGION!"

The new convert who has had his dark soul illumined by the light of the world, can truly sing "religion is the best of all" (Bekehrung iss des beschte Warrick). In joyous bursts of song that punctuate the meeting like flashes of spiritual lightning he praises the "full salvation" (Felliges Heil) that has come to his life, and he now tells others of the "happiness in his soul" (Siss seliches Leben in meiner Seel). Using prospecting terms from the Gold Rush days, he sings of the "stake" he has "claimed" (Ich hab en Recht datt droven) in that heavenly world, and feeling as he does, our convert might even lead the entire group in singing a song whose tune would be immediately familiar to all our readers whether or not they understood his words:

Siss des gudi aldi Warrick Siss des gudi aldi Warrick Siss des gudi aldi Warrick Un siss gut genunk far mich!

It's that Old-Time Religion It's that Old-Time Religion It's that Old-Time Religion And it's good enough for me!

Other spirituals laud Jesus the Saviour in the warmest of language. Similar in spirit if not in form to the medieval hymns in praise of Jesus are such Dutch spirituals as "O how lovely is Jesus" (O wie lieblich iss Yesus), "Praise the Lord, O My Soul" (Lob den Hann, O mei Seel), "Sing ye Hallelujah" (Singet Hallelujah), and "Sing ye, O sing ye, O sing ye in praise" (Singet, o singet, o singet zu Ehr). And you and I and all of us will "give Him the Glory" in Dutch as well as in English:

> Un ich will geben Gott die Ehri Un du muscht geben Gott die Ehri Un wir geben ihm all die Ehri In Nei Yerusalem! In Yerusalem, in Yerusalem! Un wir geben ihm all die Ehri In Nei Yerusalem! And I will give my God the Glory And you must give thy God the Glory And all of us give him the Glory In New Jerusalem! In Jerusalem, in Jerusalem! And all of us give him the Glory

In New Jerusalem!

Among the most popular of all the bush-meeting songs are the "Songs of the Christian Pilgrimage." For the bushmeeting Christian was always pressing on toward Heaven (Ich ring far der Himmel), "walking in the Light." (Lasst uns geh in dem Licht), "over the Narrow Way" (Schmal iss der Weg), heading up over the rocky heights to Zion (Mir gehn nach Zion). And he was "happy on the way" (Hallich uff der Reis), singing as he went along. "Ever nearer" (Wir kummen immer naecher) come the white-clad palmwaving Pilgrims (Pennsylvania Dutch farmers in disguise), and at last, on the banks of the rolling Jordan they "view the Promised Land" (Weit iwwer den Yadden). Across its waters twinkle the lights of the New Jerusalem, a city whose street plan was more familiar to the bushmeeting people than Reading, Allentown or York.

SONGS OF A TROUBLED SOUL

Occasionally along the way some troubled soul sings of discouragement and despair. Life's many tragedies remind the pilgrim that "we must suffer here on earth, suffer even unto death" (*Leiden missen mir auf Erden*), and he asks God, when He sits upon His Throne, to "remember" him (*Gedenk an mich*). When his step begins to falter as the strength of maturity disappears and white-thatched old age takes its place, our pilgrim can be heard to sing:

Ich waer so gern	Ι
Ich waer so gern	Ι
Ich waer so gern daheim!	Ι
Ich waer so gern	Ι
Wu Yesus iss	
* *	

long to be long to be at home! long to be Where Jesus is

Ich waer so gern daheim! I long to be at home!

And all the pilgrims echo back, as they hear the discouraged ones complaining—wait, friends, "There's a better day a-coming."

Chorus:

Siss en bessere Dag am kommen, Hallich watt's im Himmel sein! Siss en bessere Dag am kommen— Die ewiche Ruh!

1. Sie sawe mir sin so laudi Leit— Im Himmel watt's noch lauder sein!

Chorus:

Siss en bessere Dag am kommen-Hallich watt's im Himmel sein! Siss en bessere Dag am kommen-Die ewiche Ruh!

Chorus:

There's a better day a coming, Blessed Heaven will be ours! There's a better day a coming— Everlasting rest!

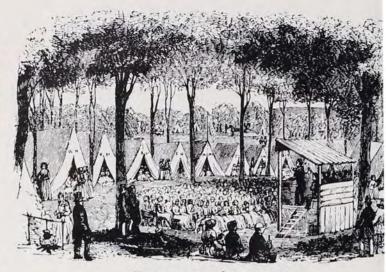
 Folks do complain how loud we get— In Heaven we'll be louder yet!*

Chorus:

There's a better day a coming, Blessed Heaven will be ours! There's a better day a coming— Everlasting rest!

Finally at the call of the Lord, the Pilgrims cross over into Eternity (*Weit niwwer in die Ewichkeit*). And Heaven rings with the shouts of the redeemed as God's angels stand on the heights of Zion and sing their "Welcome Home" (*Un sie singen ihre Welcome Heim zu mir*). Tired old Dutch farmers and their hardworking wives greet the loved ones who have gone on before (*Datt dreffen wir wieder uns aan*). And as they walk admiringly through the "Golden Gates" that gleamed from afar the pilgrims are at last with their Lord. The aged saints try on their crowns of gold won after incessant struggles against the

*Complaints about "Noisy Religion" appear in the Lutheran and Reformed periodicals of the 19th century, but even the bishops of the bush-meeting groups enjoyed a good shout. Bishop Seybert, even in his last illness, attended church despite great weakness, and when the shouting and praising of God began "he became as inspired as in the days of his youth, and sang with great joy his 'O seliges Leben' or 'O droben ist Freude'" (S. Neitz, Das Leben und Wirken des seligen Johannes Seybert, Ersten Bischojs der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft [Cleveland, Ohio, 1862].



Tents were characteristic of early camp-meetings.

Tempter here below (An End fun der Reis datt dragen wir die Gron) and sing their "Alleluia to the Lamb" (Hallelujah zu dem Lamme).

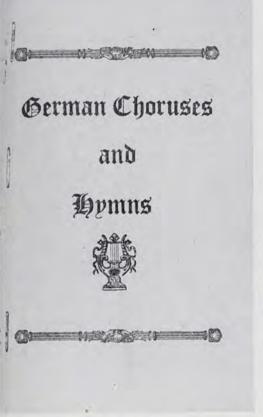
And you may be sure that our bush-meeting pilgrims refuse, with side glances of amused tolerance, all the offers of golden harps and official hymnbooks made by the Lord's Harp Commissaries to each new contingent of pilgrims. Other pilgrims with less lusty singing voices and poorer memories may find the heavenly harps and hymnals useful, but the bush-meeting folk are content to sing to their Lord the simple and moving songs of the tented grove. And who is there to say that the Carpenter of Nazareth would reject these sincere songs wrung from the life trials and triumphs of uneducated, care-laden carpenters—and farmers—and housewives—of the Dutch Country?

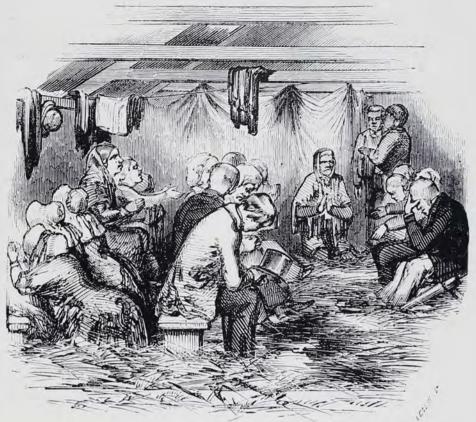
Yes, it's all there—the Christian life from the first conquering of temptation and the inflooding of the divine life into the vessel of clay, through the lifelong pilgrimage of humanity to the City of God. Theirs was a religion of confidence and victory, these were songs of the victors in the lifelong struggle against sin. They were those who could say, like Andrew to Simon, "Come and see."

THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE OF THE BUSH MEETING FOLK

When one looks at the total corpus of the spirituals one also sees certain areas of the religious life which are totally lacking in this body of hymnody. The modern twentiethcentury Christian, under the influence of the activistic and American "Social Gospel," throws up his hands in horror when he hears these songs. "Too otherworldly!" he cries. "Why this preoccupation with Heaven?" he asks. It is true of course that many of the "choruses" look with confidence to a blessed life beyond the grave, but by no means does it follow that the bush-meeting people had no concern for the salvation of the society in which they lived and moved and had if not their being, at least their livelihood.

Exactly the contrary is true. For although there is a rosy other-worldly coloring to these songs, which can be explained from the struggle of life and its hard work in





Last of the Dutch chorus-books —the Slatedale Collection of the 1920's.

Prayer in the tents led to rounds of spiritual singing, shouting, and exhortation.

pioneer America, which affected the Pennsylvania Dutchman as well as the western pioneer—these bush-meeting folk had their feet on the ground. In the period of decision that America faced in the nineteenth century, in contrast to the many Lutherans and Reformed who looked the other way and denied that they were their brother's keeper, Evangelical and United Brethren circuit-riders were preaching a gospel of freedom which included freedom for the oppressed Negro slave. The same division is apparent in the great temperance crusade of the nineteenth century, when whole Pennsylvania communities were reformed by the circuit-riders of the bush-meeting groups. So while the bush-meeting Christian sang of Heaven, his hands were busy reshaping whole communities by the refining fires of bush-meeting evangelism.

Although our songs are closely related to the Negro spiritual, for both of them were borrowed from the same source, it is undeniably true that ours lack some of the vivid and primitive biblical imagery of the latter. The American Negro, with an untutored historical sense, identified himself in a peculiar measure with the suffering Children of Israel in the Good Book. Hence he could sing, and feel himself a part of, songs like "Let my people go," "Ezekiel saw the wheels," "Joshua fit the battle of Jericho," and other historically based spirituals. If the Old Testament "belongs" to any people besides the Jews, whose history it chronicles, it belongs to the American Negro, for he has felt his way into it like no other Christian group. Hence among the Pennsylvania Dutch, at least until the Gospel Song reached Eastern Pennsylvania after the Civil War, we have nothing comparable to the ballad or storytype Negro spirituals which in a few repetitious lines capture the dramatic essence of an Old Testament scene. True, there is the hymn which tells us (among other things) how God gave "sweet rest" to Brother Daniel, after he shut the lions' mouths (*Mein Herze brennt von Liebe heut*) and the German Pietistic hymn about the Wise and Foolish Virgins (*Ermuntert euch, ihr Frommen*), but these do not rank in vivid visual imagery with the biblical spirituals of the American Negro.

"WORKING OUT OUR SALVATION"

Another difference is that where the Negro poured out his agonized soul in minor tunes, the tunes of the Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals struck a note of joy and confidence. There were sociological reasons for this. For the daily work of the Pennsylvania farmer, while not free of disappointment and trial, was not the blind alley that swallowed all the earthly hopes of the Negro slave. Hence our bushmeeting Christian sang not of chariots "swinging low" to remove him from an impossible situation, but rather applied the concepts of working to his spiritual life. Like everything else. Heaven was to be gained through hard work, so the Dutch farmer sang (drowning out the hearty cries of "Pelagianism" that came from his more theologically-learned neighbors), joyously and confidently, "Ich will schaffen, ich will schaffen, bis ich ewich selich wa"-"I will labor. I will labor, until I gain my salvation." For



Exhortation and preaching at the camp-meeting at Eastham.

he lived in the blessed assurance that somehow he was working out his salvation, in fear and trembling, and the work as well as the reward was part of the whole pattern of his life.

The last charge leveled at the spirituals by the enemies of the bush-meeting folk is that they are "too emotional." If religion is to reshape man's life, it must touch the heart as well as the mind. Looking at the Protestant Reformation objectively, it becomes apparent that the orthodox Protestant groups, in their rejection of the sacrifice of the mass, lost as well as gained. In their attempt to intellectualize worship, they too frequently squeezed out of the worship service too much of the emotion of adoration and wonder and the sense of Christ's presence that the devout Catholic worshiper feels in attending at mass. The Lutheran and Reformed services in the old "union churches" of Eastern Pennsylvania, at least in those dark days after the Revolution, were admittedly cold and formal.* Hence with the rise of the "bush meeting" and the evangelistic type of religion accompanying it, the emotional needs of the average Christian were perhaps better supplied in the tense, warm and spontaneous atmosphere of the bushmeeting, where the very air seemed to tingle with the presence of the Holy Spirit, as at Pentecost.

THAT PERSONAL TOUCH

The only answer to the charge that the bush-meeting songs are too emotional is to point to their results in winning souls, as over against the more staid and literary type of singing practiced by the Lutherans and Reformed. Frankly emotional because they were personal, full of "you's" and "me's," they were aimed at converting the souls of sinners. And they did redirect the lives of thousands of men and women not only in Eastern Pennsylvania, but wherever the bush-meeting people are found, in Canada, the South, and the Midwest.*

If in time the bush-meeting religious experience, which these songs themselves encouraged, itself became standardized and the familiar "conversion experience" was set up as an iron mold through which all souls had to be pressed as in a waffle iron—and even the "shouts" became standardized, the process simply underlines the fact that revivalism, like all other forms of religion, can descend to the level of formality. For today the historic period of the bush-meeting in Eastern Pennsylvania is long since past, and even though there are "camp meetings" and "revival meetings" here in the East, it is obvious that they have passed the peak of their usefulness, and today are being strengthened with artificial preservatives. But from

""They're prayers, these songs," says Pete Kershner of Reading, foremost singer of spirituals in the Dutch Country, who has sung them and led them for church and camp-meeting groups for over half a century. He has made the spiritual familiar to audiences of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festivals, Kutztown, 1950-1956.

^{*}We need a study on worship practises of the Lutheran and Reformed groups in colonial and early 19th century Pennsylvania. The extant studies of Lutheran and Reformed hymnody, the place of music in colonial worship, and the place of the schoolmaster-organist in the Dutch community, are inadequate.

the earlier days come echoes of the pristine power of American revivalism in the ancient Pennsylvania Dutch Spirituals which we present in this article.

PENNSYLVANIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN HYMNODY

Looking at the bush-meeting spirituals in relation to the other German hymnodic tradition of the other German churches, it becomes clear that these ingenuous and original products of the tented grove are Pennsylvania's most important contribution not only to the folksong but perhaps also to American hymnody. I know of no Lutheran or Reformed hymn of American provenance which ever spread very widely among the non-German groups in this country, except Henry Harbaugh's "Jesus, I Live to Thee."* The Lutherans and Reformed in this country were not hymn-producing churches. While they were in their "German" period, they used the German hymnodic tradition transplanted from their European homeland. Now that they have become English in language, they have borrowed the more literary hymns of British and American origin in the English language.

Our bush-meeting people in the native American churches,** were, on the other hand, not satisfied merely to borrow the staid hymns of the fathers, either German or English, without reworking them, injecting their own emotional content and spirit into them, and making them something peculiarly their own. Hence out of the whole bush-meeting tradition, formerly so despised by the Lutherans and Reformed and others of the "high church" tradition in Pennsylvania, there has come something native, something new, something distinctively American.

Now that the spirituals are "passing away, like a long summer's day," to use the words of one of them, the churches which grew out of the bush-meeting traditionthe Evangelical United Brethren, the Church of God and the smaller groups-are making more use of those more flowery and complicated offspring of the old bush-meeting choruses-the American "gospel songs." Despite the fact that to the popular churches (Methodist, Baptist, Disciple and other groups which catered to the frontiersman on his own level in the period of the westward expansion of Christianity in America, 1783-1850) the "gospel songs" are often more familiar to the members than most of the more literary hymns from Britain. New England and elsewhere in America, you will look in vain in the Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church for any "gospel songs." A few of them are tolerated in the Hymnal of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, but only in a section entitled "Miscellaneous Hymns."

*This hymn, which is practically the "natioual anthem" of the Reformed wing of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, also appears in Presbyterian and other hymnals. There is no hymn from Pennsylvania Lutheranism which has spread so widely as this. Harbaugh's "Jesus, I live to Thee" is important not only because it reflects the religious experience of one of the great teachers and pastors that came out of the Dutch Country, but also because it reflects the Christ-centeredness of the "Mercersburg Theology" of which Harbaugh was a leader—the most significant theological movement that came out of the German Churches of Pennsylvania in the 19th Century.

**It is a fact that the bush-meeting groups were among the first, if not the first native-born American churches, i.e., churches which sprang out of American conditions rather than being transplanted from Europe. But among the E. U. B.'s and the Church of God folk the Gospel Song still has an honored place in worship. And I have come to the conclusion that in these groups it was the earlier bush-meeting spirituals which led the way to the Gospel Song. For was it not such men as E. S. Lorenz. Isaiah Baltzell, Elisha Hoffman, and others like them from the bush-meeting groups, who gave more than Pennsylvania's share to the creation and spread of the Gospel Song in the post-Civil War period? The Lutheran and Reformed Churches had no native hymnwriters who from the standpoint of nation-wide influence (whatever we may think of the literary character of their songs) can rank with these men.

Hence let us at last pay tribute to the simple bushmeeting spirituals that grew up on the camp grounds of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country between the Delaware and the Juniata, and sang their way into the hearts of our own bush-meeting people. Too long have they been the neglected stepchild of our American hymnodic tradition. To use the delightful words of an English spiritual I recorded this year in Lancaster County:

> Let's have a shout before we go, Let's have a shout in Glory! Let's have a shout before we go, Let's have a shout in Glory!

And after we have had our last shout, let's sing the "farewell song" that used to resound through the tented grove the last night of the great Mahantongo Camp Meeting up in Schuylkill County. As the torches flickered and swayed in the summer breeze, the people formed a big ring around the tents, and pastors and people followed each other around, forming a second ring until all were greeted personally. And as the circle moved about, and the hands of the friends and neighbors who had shared the several days of spiritual refreshment were clasped in farewell "till next year," the voices rose in these lovely words:

Chorus: Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder! Bis wir nander wieder sehn! Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder! Bis wir nander wieder sehn! 1. Ach. des iss en Freide-Leben Eine grossi Selichkeit! Wenn man Gott iss gans ergeben Hier und dart in Ewichkeit. Chorus: Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder! Bis wir nander wieder sehn! Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder! Bis wir nander wieder sehn! Chorus: Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters! Till we see you all again! Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters! Till we see you all again! 1. Ah, this is a life of pleasure, Joy, and peace, serenity! When above all God we treasure Here and in eternity. Chorus:

- Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters! Till we see you all again!
- Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters! Till we see you all again!

Aunt Sybilla believed in hexes.

She was, I thought, strategically located for hexing; way back in the hills and the big woods.

When Daniel Gehris and Elizabeth Moll were married they followed the Pennsylvania Dutch custom of living at home until after the first child was born, in this case, with the groom's parents instead of the bride's as was usual.

Never was *bubbel* (baby) more welcome than their first for it was a girl. Grandpa was the youngest of eight children, all boys, so when he and his little bride prepared to move out and start their own home his mother refused to let the baby go.

"You two," she told them, "will have more, and I need me a girl onet."

Nobody argued. A woman who had had two husbands and eight sons, presumably a father too, adding up to eleven men in her life, could be forgiven for wanting "a girl onct." And more they did have, eleven of them. Altogether they had twelve, six boys and six girls, all of whom lived to respectable old age except Mary, the second girl, who fell in the mill-race when she was two.

Grandfather was an enterprising young man, knew English and taught school, and each move he made led away from the hinterland, the woody, hilly country accessible only by foot or cart, until presently he and Lizzie and their growing family found themselves tenants on his half-brother Dr. Levi Thompson's farm on the Southern rim of the beautiful East Penn Valley.

This was the front parlour of civilization; cleared land, carriage roads and just a field-width from the Kutztown trolley and the Reading Railroad, over whose gleaming tracks skimmed twice a day the Flyer.

The Flyer went all the way from Reading, via Allentown to Nei Yarrick (New York) without even stopping in Lyons. Of course, should a body be so bold as to undertake a trip to Nei Yarrick, the Flyer could be flagged in Lyons. But what person would want to make himself so "noticed." Far better would it be to take the trolley, which stopped right at Gehris Crossing, to Reading, and there walk quietly on the passenger train along with all the other people. Vy, if you vould get on at such a little vay station, vere the train vould have to be flakked yet for you special, people vould no doubt look at you queer all the vay to Nei Yarrick vet.

Little Sybilla had stayed behind in the hills, near Eschbach and Bechtelsville, marrying very young, a man named Henry Miller, who was mildly disliked by the whole *freindschaft*. He was considered backward, stingy, inhospitable, and was referred to only as "Hen", even by the kids, who ordinarily conferred the title of Uncle or Aunt on the in-laws.

Hen was so stingy he wouldn't even let Sybilla keep the egg money for clothes, spices or household necessities. He wouldn't let her get decent dishes, he wouldn't let her buy clothes, even for the children, and she had to cut up one of her confirmation petticoats to make a long christening dress for the first baby and then use the same dress on the six following little Millers.

I never quite understood the clothes situation, for whenever we visited there, their spare room was hung full of fine Sunday clothes same as anybody's and we always had to rush upstairs first thing to see the new dresses the girls had gotten since we were last there.

Hen wouldn't go to church nor let his children go be-



By ELSIE GEHRIS CRESSWELL

cause it was a waste of time and too much wear on horse and buggy or shoe leather, and as soon as the two oldest girls were big enough to work on the fields he hired his sons out to work for pay, which he collected and put in the bank in his own name. He didn't like company because they ate too much. This too, puzzled me because he was always inviting us to "come down onct." He did preside over his table with a frugal eye, which tolerated no waste. Even a visiting young one had to finish every crumb before asking for anything else or leaving the table.

One Sunday when we were there, Roy had the temerity to ask for a piece of pie while there was plainly a little piece of red-beet left on the edge of his plate. Such a lecture we got, on being spoilt and wasteful and ending up in the poorhouse. It worked on me. My appetite folded up and slunk away, but Roy fooled him. In demure contemplation of his plate, he waited until Hen had finished his tirade, then he popped the offending bit of beet into his mouth, gave the plate a swipe with the sleeve of his Sunday shirt, then solemnly shoved it toward Aunt Sybilla and nodded at the raisin pie. Hen gave up, pushed back his chair and went out to the barn, whereupon Aunt Sybilla and the girls saw to it that Roy sampled all the pies and cakes on the table.

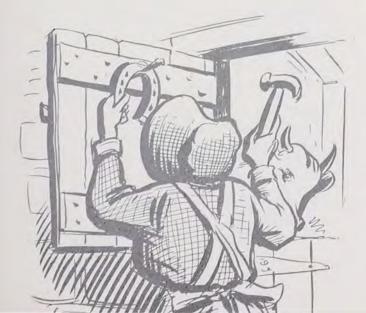
Despite Hen's reputed meanness it was great fun to visit there; even more fun when they came *spatziering* (visiting) to The Farm. Howard, the eldest boy, was so entranced by the railroad that he would spend the entire day standing in the front yard and watch the trains go rolling through the valley. Every time he heard one approach he would yell to his brother, "Dopper, Vallace, die boopoop coomt!" (Hurry, Wallace, the choo-choo comes!) until this became a family byword. Aunt Sybilla spent the day regaling us with her latest hex experiences. She was a tiny woman, spoke very loud and fast, so fast that she had periodically to stop and gasp for breath. Even so, she never quite finished the current report, and when Hen would announce that it was time to get home now and tend the stock, Aunt Sybilla would get her bonnet, tie it under the chin, talking all the while, climb into the buggy, still talking, and as the vehicle got under way she would take a big breath, wave good-bye and over her shoulder shout that she would tell us the rest the next time.

She was a bit of a trial to her sister Eliza. Aunt Liza was somewhat tony. She lived in Reading, on Oley Street, in the middle of a row of houses where only the end-of-theblock ones had outer walls. They were all joined together and were all alike, so that it was almost impossible to tell one from the other. Aunt Liza, though, had attained distinction by having her front porch built out in a graceful bow, over which hung a splendid awning. To reach the back door you had to go through a dark, covered alleyway between the houses.

Aunt Liza's kitchen and that of Mrs. Ermentrout, next door, were separated only by a narrow brick walk, and the two ladies were not speaking. They had had "words" when they were young women and twenty years later were still not talking. Mr. Ermentrout and Uncle Jim Heist both worked for Mr. Luden, the candy man, and were good friends at work, but knew better than to acknowledge each other at home.

The Heists had become a quiet, low-speaking family when at home, in order to keep the neighbors from overhearing them. Aunt Sybilla's visits caused a certain amount of consternation. Being city dwellers, the Heists considered it proper to speak only English in their home. Aunt Sybilla spoke only Pennsylvania Dutch, in a voice that carried, and paid no attention to shushing. Poor Aunt Liza squirmed with the knowledge that her "Dutchy" relatives and their hex stories would be supper-table talk in the whole block that evening. It was rather hard on a stylish lady who maintained the finest house in the row.

Aunt Sybilla had constant trouble with her live-stock, especially the cows, and was forever setting traps to catch the hex. Every stable door had a horseshoe nailed above it to keep the hexes out. It didn't, apparently, do much good. Maybe they were enlightened hexes and didn't believe in hex signs. At any rate, they were excessively busy on the Miller farm.



Aunt Sybilla's meat spoiled, setting hens would leave their nests and ruin whole settings of valuable duck or turkey eggs, the hex would get in the springhouse and curdle the crocks of cream so that an entire churning would be soured. One summer so many of the cows gave either stringy or bloody milk that Aunt Sybilla had to seek help from a hex doctor. According to her description of this being I'd have been more scared of the "doctor" than of the hex. But maybe it took a hex to catch a hex.

The "doctor" advised her to single out a young cow which gave real bad milk. In the morning she was to get up very early, go quietly to the barn and collect fresh dung from the sick cow, put it in a stone crock and set the crock in a cold oven. Then she was to build a fire in the range and later that day she would hear that a certain old woman had burned to death.

This was all rather repulsive to gentle Sybilla, but she decided that situation was desperate enough to require desperate measures. So she obeyed the hex doctor.

For once she was out of bed before Hen woke and yelled at her to get downstairs, get the fire started, the milking done and breakfast on the table so a man could get in the fields before the day was half over.

She got the dung, warm from the cow, put it in a stone crock, set it in the oven of the range and then started the fire, which she fed with fresh-split hickory wood.

At first nothing happened, and she was just about to open the oven door to take a look when "dunnervetter" broke loose. There was a loud report and stove lids sailed in all directions. The stove-pipe flew apart, belching foul smoke, and at yet another loud crack the oven door was blown open and wrenched from its hinges.

The whole family came tumbling down the stairs and Hen swore that from now on there would be no more hex laying in his house.

Aunt Sybilla was strangely silent about this experiment, and it was Cousin Birdie who told us about it.

"It don't matter too much," she said, "vile Mam needed a new vood range real bad anyvay, and before ve could bake bread or anysing, Pap chust hat to buy one onct."

"Yes, but was the hex burned?" we wanted to know.

"Oh! Vell now," said Birdie, blushing a bit, "that vas right queer. That old vooman that lives in that shack kinda, behind the farm, was burnt real bad about the hands and face that day, like as if something bust up in her face."

This old woman who lived in that "shack kinda" turned out to be the hex doctor whom Aunt Sybilla had consulted.

"But then," said Birdie, "about this voman von can't rightly tell." It seems she was forever puttering about with charms and mixtures and such like, which she cooked up, in a big kettle over an open fire in back of her shanty, and half the time she went about with the eyebrows and her front hair all frizzled from the fire.

When Hen died Aunt Sybilla sold the farm and bought herself a little house in Eschbach near her children, where she lived alone until she died at the age of 90 years and 5 days. The year she was eighty I visited her and she showed me the little spring-house in the back yard where she kept her butter and milk.

"My girls," she told me, "vant me to get such a ice box, so I vould not have to go out in the yard every time I vant something. But I don't think I vill. I don't like to spend my money foolish yet. I may get old some day and then I might need it."



What a dinner! No wonder that the Bloomfield Association of American University Women had a full house that night, with eighty-eight tickets sold and others refused because of lack of space. In all respects this Pennsylvania Dutch dinner which was given as an educational project was an apparent success. There was an abundance of food but all leftovers were quickly sold. In the words of one of the committee, "The butter semmel buns were a great delight; the beef was delicious and the only item to go begging was the Pot Cheese." It is easy to understand that Pot Cheese was not a popular choice because even in its native land there are comparatively few Dutchmen who enjoy it.

The first inspiration for this dinner seems to date back several years to that spectacular Dutch dinner served to the American Spice Trade Association in New York. A spark of enthusiasm was well lighted that day for Mrs. Margaret Shepard, home economist and Home Agent for the Extension Service in Essex County, New Jersey. With keen interest, Mrs. Shepard visited the 1955 Folklore Festival at Kutztown and took back to 25 Thirteenth Avenue, Newark 3, many recipes which she received from the Pennsylvania Dutch Women who were displaying their traditional dishes. With accelerated speed and great enthusiasm she shared her knowledge of this regional cookery with her television audience of WATV (Channel 13), wrote a pamphlet on Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery and held a workshop demonstration of Pennsylvania Dutch Foods for all church and club women who were interested in large scale cookery. What a wonderful publicity agent for Dutch foods is Mrs. Margaret Shepard!

As always, no man, or woman either, is an island and success is dependent upon many cooperating hands. One of these was Mrs. George Lockwood of Bloomfield, New Jersey, who kindly supplied me a detailed report of this dinner. She said that since the program was planned to be educational in purpose they tried to get as many people to participate as possible. As it worked out, more than fifty ladies contributed in one way or another. They made all the foods except gherkins, bread and butter pickles.

The size of the menu certainly does not correspond with the price of the dinner. Imagine, getting all that food for \$1.50 per person! How was that possible? Only the jams and jellies were donated. The rest of the food was paid (Served by the A.A.U.W., Bloomfield, N. J.) Moravian Beef and Gravy Potato Stuffing Green Beans and Tomatoes Lettuce with Hot Bacon Dressing Pepper Cabbage Red Beet Eggs Pickled Beets Pot Cheese Butter Semmel Buns Potato Sponge Bread and Butter Bread and Butter Pickles Bean Relish Corn Relish Pickled Pears Gherkins Spiced Peaches Chow Chow Watermelon Rind Pickles Chili Sauce Spiced Apricots Quince Jelly Brandied Cherries Crabapple Jelly Lemon Butter Peach Conserve Blackberry Jelly Raspberry Jam Peach Jam Strawberry Preserves Dutch Pumpkin Pie Quakertown Pie Coffee

in a unique manner. Each lady kept a record of the cost of the food she prepared and was reimbursed for it after the dinner. Knowing how easily a pleasant evening could be spoiled by hours of dishwashing, the committee decided to hire dishwashers at a cost of \$12.00. After this and all food bills were paid there was a profit of \$25.00! Considering the variety and abundance of food, this is amazing. But then, haven't we always known that Pennsylvania Dutch cookery was economical?

Everyone who has ever had his fingers in large scale cookery knows that careful planning and efficient management are important. If you need help for any such project, contact your county's Home Economist of the Extension Service. A committee should plan the menu and then prepare the list of foods with the number of ladies needed to prepare each dish. From such a list then the women can sign for their own preference and use the recipes supplied by the committee. Ladies should also be assigned to be in charge of foods as they arrive one half hour before serving time. One person can receive the meat and gravy, another the vegetables, and several more for the categories of bread and butter, sweets and sours, desserts and beverage. As foods should be brought in hot, Mrs. Lockwood suggested the use of electric ovens if kitchen facilities are not sufficient to keep them hot.

The Bloomfield A.A.U.W. served their dinner buffet style with lines formed on each side of the table. The provision of appointed hostesses to each dinner table sounds like an excellent idea for both service and sociability. Individual tables seating eight included a hostess who cleared the table and served dessert and coffee. Each serving of dessert included two small pieces of pie as the Dutch so often serve pies, so that the guests might have a taste of each.

With table settings and room decorations in accord with the theme of the day, the dining room must have been very attractive. The purpose of the evening was complete when Dr. Leon Hood, a graduate of Franklin and Marshall



Dutch or potato cake, one of the chief standbys of Dutch cookery.

A serving of schnitz and gnepp.



College and now Guidance Director at Clifford Scott High School in East Orange, New Jersey, enlightened the group on Pennsylvania Dutch Customs and History.

Surely many more educational and social groups will want to serve Pennsylvania Dutch Dinners. Thanks to the Bloomfield A.A.U.W. for showing us how to do it!

Here are several of the recipes that were used in serving this dinner. Of course, the amounts were proportionately increased. Should you desire any other recipes for this dinner, send your request on to me.

Moravian Beef and Gravy

- 1 tsp. ground sage
- $\frac{1}{2}$ tsp. ground thyme
- 1 tsp. salt
- 1/2 tsp. ground black pepper
- 2 tsp. whole cloves
- 2 tsp. whole allspice crushed
- 2 bay leaves crumbled *2 cans beef bouillon
- 1 medium carrot, quartered 1 med. onion, sliced

2 tabsp. grated lemon rind

3 tabsp. lemon juice

1 4-pound pot roast

2 tabsp. fat

1/3 cup sour cream, if desired

(chuck or round)

* (For Sauerbraten such as this, most Dutch cooks, use water instead of the bouillon . . . E. E. H.)

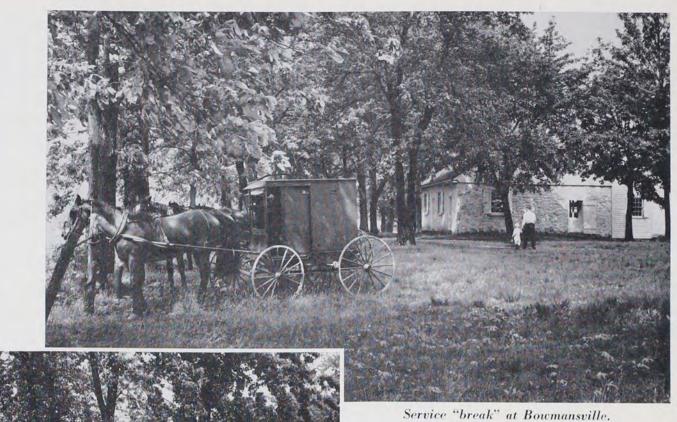
Combine seasonings, lemon rind and juice. Heat but do not boil. Pour over meat. When cold, place in refrigerator and marinate 24 hours, turning several times. Remove meat from marinade. Melt fat in Dutch oven or other heavy pan. Add meat and vegetables. Brown meat, on all sides. Add marinade, cover and simmer until meat is done (two to three hours). Meat may be baked, covered, in moderate oven 350 degrees F. if desired. Remove meat and strai gravy. Thicken with flour. Gradually stir in sour cream and stir immediately. Do not boil after sour cream is added. Serves 8 to 10. To serve a large group: Allow 15 to 20 pounds of boneless meat to serve 50 three ounce portions.

Potato Sponge Bread

4 medium sized potatoes1 cake yeast, dissolved in2 tabsp. sugar½ cup lukewarm water1 tabsp. salt4 cups all purpose flour

Pare and boil the potatoes and while hot, mash finely and rub through a sieve or colander. Add the sugar, salt, and dissolved yeast. Stir flour into the mixture, beating well. Add more flour to form soft dough. Turn onto a floured board and knead. Return to bowl, cover and let rise overnight. In the morning, form into loaves, let rise until light, and bake in a moderate oven, 350 degrees F. 40 to 50 minutes.

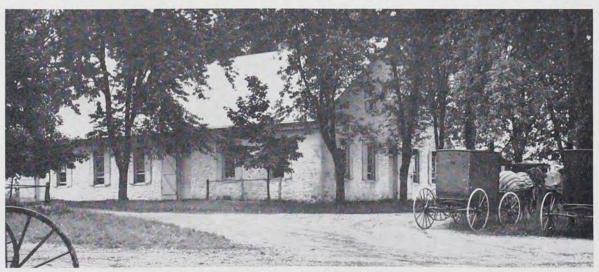
These recipes with others appear in a pamphlet entitled: *Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery*, compiled for the Essex County Home Economics Extension Service of New Jersey by their Home Agent, Mrs. Margaret C. Shepard.



Two-door Weaverland meetinghouse.

"TEAM" Mennonites

By ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER



Side view of Weaverland meetinghouse.



Two types of horse-drawn transportation used by "Team" Mennonites.

Most of us associate horse-drawn transportation in the Dutch Country with the House Amish, the most conservative of all Pennsylvania's plain folk.

Little known, even to most Lancaster countians, are the very conservative Mennonites, called Wengerites, who, like the House Amish, proscribe automobiles. These very plain folk inhabit the unproductive hill land of eastern Lancaster County, the area around Bowmansville. Their farms show none of the prosperity which we so generally meet up with in plain communities. By contrast, they look run down indeed. (There is a similar contrast between the prosperous Lancaster County Amish and the Nebraska Amish of the Big Valley in Mifflin County in central Pennsylvania.)

The Wengerites employ two types of wagons: the socalled Germantown wagon of the House Amish and buggies, never the topless variety though of Amish youth.

The local terminology in English for a Mennonite who drives a horse and buggy is "team guy." These fringe Mennonites maintain the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect in their home and "sermon German" or High Pennsylvania Dutch in their meetinghouses.

Carriage sheds play active role here.

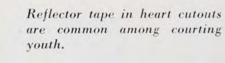


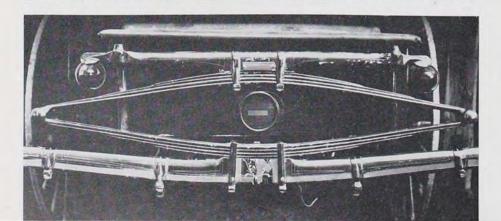


View from the cemetery at Weaverland.



The young fry sport buggies with all sorts of decoration.



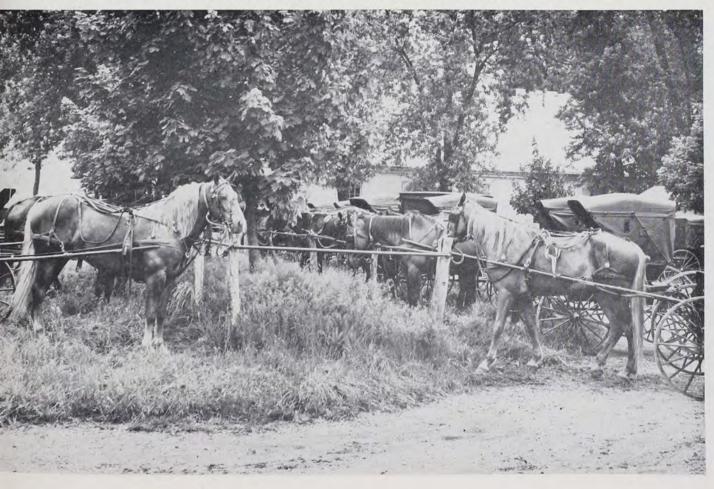


The owner's initials in reflector tape.



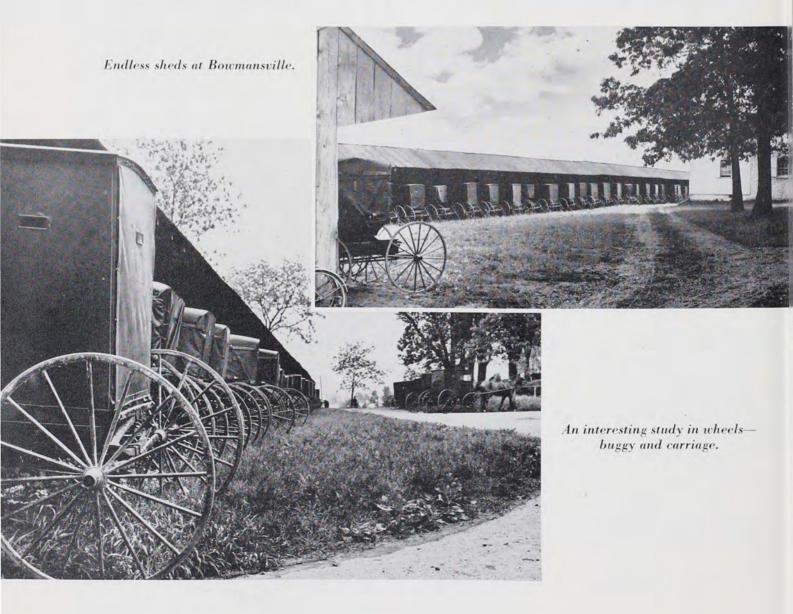
Horses and buggies lined up on a Sunday morning.

Weaverland does not have enough sheds to house the teams during services.





Carriage caught passing during services.



PIONEERS FROM STAUDERNHEIM

By HUGO FROEHLICH Translated by DON YODER

The Lutheran Church Register of the village of Staudernheim, in the Nahe Valley near Bad Kreuznach in the Northern Palatinate, belongs in the rare category of Palatine church books which contain a notable number of references to 18th century emigrants.

In the case of emigration, the minister—in the classical Latin of the clergy and the university—added a note to the record of his lost parishioner's baptism—"Americanus Jactus"—"became an American."

Emigration from 18th century Staudernheim involved three destinations—America, Prussia, and Poland. Some ninety persons left the village for America in the years 1738-1750, with the high point coming in the years 1739 and 1741, when entire families left together for Pennsylvania.

But there was also emigration into Prussia, sponsored by the Hohenzollerns in their attempt to build up Brandenburg and Pomerania. This movement (30 persons) took place in 1747 and 1748 and other unlisted years, and the pastor designated his loss with the Latin phrase "Borussus factus"—"became a Prussian": for this emigration see Otto Gebhard, Friederizianische Pfalzerkolonien in Brandenburg und Pommern (Stettin, 1939).

Emigration to Poland (Galicia), involving fifteen persons from Staudernheim, took place around 1783 and 1784. It is significant that there are in this list some cases of one member of a family heading westward across the Atlantic to Pennsylvania, another turning up later in the German-speaking settlements of Eastern Europe.

The Latin and German phrases given in parentheses are quotations from the original church register; the materials in brackets giving arrivals in Philadelphia are, as usual in our emigrant lists, from the colonial ship-lists as published in Strassburger and Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1934)*

The materials have been translated from Hugo Fröhlich, "Auswanderer im lutherischen Kirchenbuch von Staudernheim an der Nahe," which appeared in Mitteilungen zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfalzer, edited by Dr. Fritz Braun of the Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, and published as a supplement to Pfalzische Familien- und Wappenkunde, 1954, to whose editorial board we are grateful for the privilege of reprinting these unusual materials.

BARTH, JOHANN NIKOLAUS — tailor, buried at Staudernheim, March 17, 1729, married at Staudernheim, January 23, 1714, Anna Maria Seiss, daughter of Michael Seiss and widow of Friedrich Lautenbach. The following children, born at Staudernheim, emigrated:

 Anna Christina Barth, baptized March 19, 1718; emigrated to Prussia with her illegitimate son, born at Staudernheim, Johann Nikolaus, baptized January 6, 1746 (Borussiana cum filio jacta).

- 2. Johann Nikolaus Barth, baptized August 11, 1720 (Americanus factus).
- 3. Johannes Barth, baptized October 22, 1724 (Americanus factus). [Perhaps Johannes Barth, who arrived Philadelphia on the ship Lydia, October 19, 1749.]

BEIER, JOHANN FRIEDRICH—son of Johann Wilhelm Beier, married Anna Elisabeth Ebert, daughter of Johann George Ebert. The following children, born at Staudernheim, emigrated to America:

- Johann Kasimir Beier, baptized August 4, 1726 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- Johann Nikolaus Beier, baptized January 4, 1730 (anno 1741 Americana (!) facta).
- 3. Johann Friedrich Beier, baptized December 15, 1732 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- Anna Maria Beier, baptized January 27, 1737 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 5. Johann Andreas Beier, baptized February 6, 1739 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).

CHRISTIAN, JOHANN PETER—son of Johann Valentin Christian, linen-weaver, noted as dead at the confirmation of his son Philipp Jakob at Easter 1732, married at Staudernheim April 20, 1706, Maria Elisabeth Dorth, daughter of Johann Jakob Dorth at Pfalzisch-Weierbach. Children, born at Staudernheim, emigrated:

- Johann Georg Christian, baptized April 11, 1707, linen-weaver, emigrated to Pomerania (Borussus jactus) with wife, Anna Barbara Kaul, daughter of Johannes Kaul at Hochstadten an der Alsenz (married at Staudernheim, November 13, 1736) and two children, (1) Johann Peter, haptized September 11, 1739 (cum parentibus Borussus jactus); and (2) Daughter baptized June 19, 1746 (Pommerana cum parentibus facta.)
- 2. Philipp Jakob Christian, baptized May 13, 1717 (Americanus factus).

CONRADT, JOHANN NIKOLAUS—buried at Staudernheim June 1, 1736, married Anna Maria Wagner, daughter of Johann Sebastian Wagner at Gebroth; the widow married II. Simon Jakob Fey (q.v.). Child, born at Stauedrnheim:

1. Johann Konrad Conradt, baptized October 21, 1728 (Americanus factus). [Perhaps Connrad Conrath, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Neptune, October 25, 1746.]

CRON, SIMON JAKOB—baptized October 18, 1692, son of David Cron, married I. at Staudernheim, August 30, 1718, Anna Magdalena Rollauer, daughter of Ludwig Rollauer and widow of Johannes Schmidt, buried at Staudernheim September 11, 1734; married II. at Staudernheim, January 17, 1736, Susanna Martha Sponheimer, daughter of Johann Wilhelm Sponheimer at Waldböckelheim. Children born at Staudernheim—Nos. 1-4 of the first marriage, 5-6 of the second marriage:

^{*}Readers should note also that the emigrants are arranged by family, and that in not every case did the head of a family emigrate.

- 1. Johann Konrad Cron, baptized February 5, 1722 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- 2. Johann Philipp Cron, baptized November 19, 1723 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- 3. Anna Christina Cron, baptized December 12, 1725 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 4. Anna Maria Cron, baptized September 14, 1730 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 5. Johann David Cron, baptized December 6, 1736 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- 6. Anna Margarethe Cron, baptized August 16, 1739 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
 [Simon Jacob Cron (Croon), 48 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Friendship, October 12, 1741.]

DIETZ, JOHANN MICHEL—son of Nikolaus Dietz, cartwright. buried February 9, 1727, married at Staudernheim, October 16, 1725, Maria Dorothea, daughter of Philipp Heinrich Cless, who possibly became the second wife of Johann Philipp Tesch (q.v.). Child, born at Staudernheim:

1. Johann Jakob Dietz, baptized October 19, 1726 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).

[Possibly Johann Jacob Dietz (Ditts), 19 years old, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Marlborough, September 23, 1741.]

EHRHARD, JOHANN PETER—son of Johannes Ehrhard, married at Staudernheim, February 3, 1708, Anna Margarethe Becker, daughter of Nikolaus Becker. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- Johann Heinrich Ehrhard, baptized November 19, 1713; according to the records arrived in America in 1739.
- 2. Maria Elisabeth Ehrhard, baptized November 30, 1716 (Americana facta).
- Maria Christina Ehrhard, baptized August 17, 1721 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
 [Johann Henrich Ehrhard (Erhart, Gerhard), 23 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Samuel, August 27, 1739.]

EHRHARD, JOHANN PHILIPP—son of Johannes Ehrhard. married at Staudernheim November 30, 1717, Elisabeth Dorothea Jung, daughter of Johannes Jung at Huffelsheim. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- Anna Margarethe Ehrhard, baptized October 16, 1718 (anno 1742 Americana facta), married Johann Karl Schneider (q.v.).
- 2. Johannes Ehrhard, baptized August 11, 1720 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- Anna Barbara Ehrhard, baptized April 29, 1723 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- Anna Maria Ehrhard, baptized May 9, 1726 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
 [Johannes Ehrhard (Erhardt, Erhart), 21 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Friendship, October 12, 1741: with him in the same ship list is Wilhelm Erhard, 20 years old.]

FEY, JOHANN LUDWIG—son of Johannes Fey, buried at Staudernheim September 9, 1759, married I. Anna Barbara, buried at Staudernheim January 26, 1735; married II. at Staudernheim, January 8, 1737, Anna Katharina Graff, daughter of Kaspar Graff at Huffelsheim, buried at Staudernheim November 25, 1787. Children of the first marriage, born at Staudernheim:

- Simon Jakob Fey, baptized January 22, 1708, buried at Staudernheim, March 22, 1787; married I. Staudernheim, November 13, 1736, Anna Maria, widow of Johann Nikolaus Conradt (q.v.); married II. Staudernheim, December 27, 1743, Maria Christina Kratzmann, daughter of Johann Nikolaus Kratzmann. His son Johann Peter Fey, of the second marriage, born 1755, married 1784 to Maria Magdalena Spiess, settled in Dornfeld, Galica, Poland; The emigrant's son Peter Fey was a schoolmaster at Reichenbach in Dornfeld.
- Johann Tobias Fey, baptized July 6, 1724 (Americanus factus 1750.) [Tobias Fey arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Dragon, September 26, 1749.]

FEY, JOHANN WILHELM—son of Johann Nikolaus Fay, cooper, baptized January 9, 1687 (*Americanu factus*), married at Staurdenheim, November 26, 1715, Maria Barbara Dietz, daughter of Nikolaus Dietz. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Anna Katharina Fey, baptized December 12, 1718 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 2. Anna Margarethe Fey, baptized January 15, 1723 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 3. Johann Michael Fey, baptized January 31, 1725 (anno 1741 (?) Americanus factus).
- Johann Simon Fey, baptized January 6, 1727 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- 5. Susanna Barbara Fey, baptized September 28, 1730 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 6. Johann Nikolaus Fey, baptized September 23, 1734 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
 [Johann Wilhelm Fey, 53 years old, and Johann Michel Fey, 17 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Snow Molly, October 26, 1741.]

FINCK, HANS GEORG—son of Heinrich Finck, buried at Staudernheim, October 15, 1742, married I. Anna Maria, died at Staudernheim September 17, 1700; married II, at Staudernheim, April 5, 1701, Anna Maria Hoffmann, daughter of Konrad Hoffman at Abtweiler. Child of the second marriage, born at Staudernheim:

 Johann Nikolaus Finck, baptized February 13, 1707 (anno 1738 Americanus factus).
 [Possibly Johann Nickel Finck, 33 years old, who ar-

rived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Samuel*, August 30, 1737.]

FUCHS, JOHANN PETER—hired man on the Klosterhof, married Anna Margarethe; children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Elisabeth Katharina Fuchs, baptized March 31, 1730 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- Maria Magdalena Fuchs, baptized March 16, 1732 (anno 1741 Americana facta.)
- 3. Maria Margarethe, Fuchs, baptized February 28, 1734 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- Johann Nikolaus Fuchs, baptized May 16, 1736 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- Anna Katharina Fuchs, baptized September 28, 1738 (anno 1741 Americana facta).

6. Johann Jacob Fuchs, baptized July 22, 1740 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).

GRIMM, JOHANN PHILIPP—son of Johann Peter Grimm, married at Staudernheim, May 7, 1720, Anna Margarethe Weber, daughter of Sebastian Jakob Weber. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Maria Elisabeth Grimm, baptized March 11, 1721 (anno 1739 Americana facta).
- 2. Johann Peter Grimm, baptized May 14, 1723 (anno 1739 cum patre America perfectus).
- 3. Johann Jakob Grimm, baptized August 23, 1726 (anno 1739 Americanus factus).
- 4. Anna Margarethe Grimm, baptized October 9, 1729 (anno 1739 Americana facta).
- Johann David Grimm, haptized August 28, 1737 (anno 1739 Americanus factus).

HASPELHORN, JOHANN PETER—son of Hans Michael Haspelhorn, buried at Staudernheim February 10, 1762, married I. Sabina Katherina, buried at Staudernheim, September 25, 1748, Anna Barbara Janson, daughter of Johann Michael Janson at Neubamberg, Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Johann Ludwig Haspelhorn, baptized February 4, 1726 (Americanus factus).
- Anna Sara Haspelhorn, baptized September 1, 1738; went to Poland in March of 1784. [Ludwig Haspelhorn arrived in Philadelphia on the Ship Dragon, September 26, 1749.]

HEBLICH, CHRISTMANN—from Ebernburg, buried at Staudernheim, July 19,1750, married at Staudernheim, November, 1708, Anna Christina, buried at Staudernheim, January 9, 1743. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- Anna Margarethe Heblich, baptized September 24, 1713 (Americana jacta.)
- Anna Elisabeth Heblich, baptized February 16, 1716 (Americana facta); married Johann Peter Kistner (q.v.).

KISTNER, JOHANN PETER—son of Johann Simon Kistner at Überhochstetten, buried at Staudernheim, January 25, 1740, Anna Elisabeth Heblich (see above), who went to America with her son, born at Staudernheim: Simon Jakob Kistner, baptized January 27, 1743 (cum matre Americanus factus).

KLEIN, JOHANN GEORG - cabinet-maker, from Borrstadt on the other side of the Rhine in the territory of Idstein, buried at Staudernheim, July 20, 1770, married I. at Staudernheim, February 15, 1715, Maria Margarethe Schappert, daughter of Johannes Schappert, buried October 15, 1726; married II. at Staudernheim. after proclamation on the 20th, 21st. and 22nd Sundays after Trinity 1727, N.N.; married III, at Staudernheim around 1730 Anna Magdalena, buried at Staudernheim January 20, 1739; married IV, at Staudernheim, June 2, 1739, Anna Maria Kaul, daughter of Johann Peter Kaul at Waldböckelheim, buried September 25, 1781. (The marriage of 1739 is expressly designated as the fourth marriage. It is possible that the second and third marriages above are identical; in that case the first marriage would have taken place before 1715.) Children, born at Staudernheim:

- Johann Jakob Klein, baptized May 4, 1721 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
 - Americanus factus).

 Johann Peter Klein, baptized July 25, 1745 emigrated to Poland (den 25. August 1784 Polonius factus); cabinet-maker, married at Staudernheim, February 8, 1774, Anna Margarethe, widow of Philipp Freund at Kreuznach. Only one child appears to have been born at Saudernheim. Johann David Klein, born November 1, 1774, died September 11, 1781.

[Peter Klein of Staudernheim, farmer, two persons, appeared before the Hofkammer in Vienna, September 21, 1784, for settlement in Hungary: see Wilhelm and Kallbrunner, Quelen zur deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte in Sudosteuropa, p. 244.]

[Jacob Klein (Kleyn), 20 years old, arrived at Philadelphia, on the Ship St. Andrew, October 2, 1741.]

LAUTENBACH, JOHANNES—buried at Staudernheim May 16, 1736, married at Staudernheim, January 12, 1706, Anna Margarethe Gratzmann, daughter of Peter Gratzmann, buried at Staudernheim, February 27, 1746. Children born in Staudernheim:

- Maria Katharina Lautenbach, baptized December 4, 1712, emigrated to Pomerania with her husband. (Ist in Preussisch Bommern mit ihrem Mann Holtzapfel gezogen); married at Staudernheim, November 19, 1737, Johann Nikolaus Holzapiel, son of Johann Martin Halzapfel at Kirn, shoemaker.
- 2. Johann David Lautenbach, baptized January 25, 1717 (anno 1739 Americanus factus).
- Johannes Lautenbach, baptized February 17, 1724 (Americanus factus.)
 [Johann David Lautenbagh (Laudenback, Loudinback), 23 years old, arrived at Philadelphia, on the Ship Samuel, August 27, 1739.]

LITZENBURGER, THEOBALD—son of Philipp Litzenburger, married at Staudernheim, May 10, 1718, Maria Barbara Seiberlein, daughter of Hans Konrad Seiberlein, School porter (*Schuldiener*) at Hennweiler. Child, born at Staudernheim: *Maria Christina*, baptized July 28, 1720 (*Americana facta*).

MAURER, JOHANN JAKOB—son of Paul Maurer at Sobernheim, married Anna Elisabeth. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Katharina Barbara Maurer, baptized December 6, 1730 (Americana cum patre).
- 2. Anna Eva Maurer, baptized October 29, 1736 (Americana cum patre).

[Jacob Maurer (Mower), 32 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Samuel, December 3, 1740.]

OTTO. JOHANN FRIEDRICH—son of the village mayor (*Schultheiss*), dead before 1742, married at Staudernheim, February 23, 1706, Anna Katharina Schmidt, daughter of Johann Thielmann Schmidt, buried at Staudernheim, November 18, 1759. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Maria Katharina Otto, baptized March 7, 1709; lived at Sobernheim, married Johannes Melchior and both came to America (Americani facti).
- Johann Tobias Otto, baptized June 8, 1726 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
 [Jehannes Melchior (Melchier), 28 years old, ar-

[Jchannes Melchior (Melchier), 28 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Friendship, October 12, 1741.] RITTER, JOHANN PETER—Village Mayor (Schultheiss), son of Matthias Ritter, married Maria Elisabeth. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Johann Heinrich Ritter, baptized July 27, 1732 (Americanus cum patre factus).
- Johann Michael Ritter, baptized September 8, 1734 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- 3. Johannes Ritter, baptized March 7, 1737 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).

ROLLARD, JOHANN PETER—son of Ludwig Rollard, buried at Staudernheim, March 4, 1733, married at Staudernheim, April 26, 1718, Anna Christina Muhlberger, daughter of George Muhlberger at Oberhausen, Oberamt Meisenheim; the widow married II, at Staudernheim, December 8, 1733, Matthias Wirth, son of Johann Philipp Wirth of Weiden. Child, born at Staudernheim Johann Peter Rollard, baptized May 29, 1730 (Americanus factus).

[Johann Peter Roller (Rollar), arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Richard and Mary, September 26, 1752.]

SCHAPPERT, JOHANN MICHAEL—son of Johannes Schappert, buried at Staudernheim, January 28, 1753, married I. at Kirschroth (Church Register Staudernheim), January 25, 1707, Anna Katharina Gutheil, daughter of Konrad Gutheil at Kirchroth, buried at Staudernheim, March 22, 1721; married II, at Staudernheim, February 3, 1722, Anna Katharina Grimm, daughter of Johann Simon Grimm, buried at Staudernheim, December 22, 1725; married III, at Staudernheim, January 8, 1732, Anna Barbara Seiss, daughter of Johannes Seiss. Children, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Anna Barbara Schappert, baptized November 28. 1725, emigrated to Prussia (Borussiana facta).
- 2. Johann Nikolaus Schappert, baptized September 21, 1746, was married in Switzerland, at Bern, and went from Switzerland to America (Ist in der Schweiz zu Bern verheiratet, aus der Schweiz in Amerika).

[Nicolaus Schapperdt arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Chance, November 1, 1763. Before his name in the ship's list there appears the name of "Filb Schabbert". Possibly this was the brother of Johann Nikolaus Schappert, Johann Philipp Schappert, baptized at Staudernheim, February 25, 1739.]

SCHNEIDER, JOHANN KARL—stone-mason, son of Heinrich Schneider at "Fremersheim," married at Staudernheim, May 31, 1740, Anna Margarethe Ehrhard (qv.). Twins, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Johannes Schneider
- Anna Barbara Schneider, baptized March 3, 1741 (cum parentibus Americani facti).
 [Carl Schneyder (Snyder), 23 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Friendship, October 12, 1741.]

SEISS, JOHANN JAKOB—son of Matthias Seiss, musician, buried at Staudernheim, November 3, 1744, married I. Johannetta; married II. Maria Barbara, buried at Staudernheim, October 20, 1785. Child of the first marriage, born at Staudernheim:

1. Johann Andreas Seiss, baptized December 15, 1720 (Americanus factus).

[Joh. Andreas Seysen arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Edinburgh, August 13, 1750.]

SEISS, JOHANNES—son of Antonius Seiss, buried at Staudernheim, May 8, 1728, married I. Anna Elisabeth, died at Staudernheim, August 19, 1700; married II. at Staudernheim, June 7, 1701, Sabine Cron, daughter of Hans Simon Cron and widow of Johann Nikolaus Fey, buried at Staudernheim, June 4, 1751. Child of the second marriage, born at Staudernheim:

 Johann Adam Seiss, baptized August 18, 1710 (anno 1740 Americanus factus.) [Possibly Johann Adam Syce (Seysen), 25 years old, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Friendship, October 12, 1741.]

SPONHEIMER, JOHANN PETER—son of Johann Wilhelm Sponheimer, buried at Staudernheim, January 11, 1759, married I. at Staudernheim, May 14, 1706, Anna Christina Damgen, daughter of Christian Damgen at Sobernheim, buried at Staudernheim November 26, 1710; married II. at Staudernheim, November 17, 1711, Anna Maria Fey, daughter of Johannes Fey. Children, of the first and second marriages, born at Staudernheim:

- 1. Anna Margarethe Sponheimer, baptized October 23, 1707 (anno 1741 Americana facta).
- 2. Johann Nikolaus Sponheimer, baptized September 4, 1712: served in Potsdam among King Frederick William's Giant Guards and was married there (dieser ist in Potsdam unter den grossen Granadieren und auch verheiratet).

TESCH, JOHANN PHILIPP—son of Paul Tesch, married I. at Staudernheim, April 30, 1726, Anna Christina Schappert, daughter of Johannes Schappert, buried at Staudernheim, January 4, 1733; married II. at Staudernheim, April 15, 1733, Maria Dorothea, widow. Children of the first and second marriage, born at Staudernheim:

- Johann Michel Tesch, baptized May 31, 1731 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- 2. Johann Peter Tesch, baptized December 20, 1733 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
- Simon Philipp Tesch, baptized July 25, 1737 (anno 1741 Americanus factus).
 [Johann Philipp Desch (Tash), 40 years old, arrived at Philadelphia on the Snow Molly, October 26, 1741.]

TEXTOR, HIERONYMUS—gunsmith, married Anna Margarethe. Child, born at Staudernheim:

 Christina Elisabeth Textor—baptized August 8, 1748 (anno 1751 Americana cum parentibus facta).
 [Hieronimus Textur arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship Edinburgh, September 16, 1751.]

WANDER, SIMON JAKOB—son of Johann Philipp Wander, died at Staudernheim, October 25, 1742 (reference in Baptismal Register), married Anna Maria. Child, born at Staudernheim:

 Anna Christina Wander, baptized October 29, 1717 (anno 1742 Americana facta).

WANDER, JOHANN TOBIAS — son of Heinrich Wander, buried at Staudernheim, September 22, 1735, married at Staudernheim, September 17, 1720, Anna Eva Seiss, daughter of Michel Seiss; the widow married II. at Staudernheim, April 3,1736, Johann Nikolaus Lang. Child, born at Staudernheim:

 Johann Heinrich Wander, baptized October 28, 1723 (Americanus factus).

Dialect Folksay (only for those who speak Dutch)

From Folklore Center File

Awkwardness is expressed in a number of forceful ways in the dialect. Not uncommon is: er gebt sich en gschick ass wie en ux fer uff en schleif-schtay schpautza. Speaking about the clumsy efforts of a town girl learning to skate on his farm pond, a Berks farmer was heard to say: sie gebt sich en gschick ass wie en kuu am seida haikla.

Of someone who is on his last leg we say: *er hot sei letschdi load hoi gedraida*. When something seems to take an inordinate amount of time one may say: *des halt drei dawg lenger ass aivich*.

An old butcher up Hamburg way when commenting on an obstinate or headstrong person would say: *ya*, *petz du moll ma ux ins harn*. This same countryman passed judgment on the miserliness of one of his neighbors by saying: *er petzt die dawler ass die awdler greischa*.

A chap in the Reinholds area, not much of a churchman, would say whenever he heard the church-bell ring of a Sunday morning: *dart gait widder der sinda-gnippel*. In Elstonville in the upper regions of Lancaster County the dinner bell, a characteristic feature of the rural Dutch farming country, is sometimes referred to in jest as: *der bauch-gnippel*.

Recently an issue of *American Speech* contained a brief article on the English expression the blue hen's chickens, meaning to be of the old stamp. No evidence of its use has been found in Pennsylvania, according to the author. The files of the Folklore Center reveal its use in dialect. Peter Kershner, the well-known singer of Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals at the Kutztown Folk Festival, on one occasion remarked: *er is noch ains fun da alda bloa-a gluck*. The same meaning is rendered by: *er iss noch ains fun da gaila*. Just why the use of the color yellow to express steadfastness is not clear.

When a storm blew up one frequently heard it said: nau hot der (name of a local farmer) die scheier-dawra widder uff-schtay. Around Indiantown Gap it was John Trout who was said to have his barndoors standing open; around Bechtelsville it was John Gehman. Each section had its own symbol.

About someone in whom one places but little trust, one may say: ich duu iem net weider draua ass ich en offa schmeissa kann.

In a somewhat earlier period there was considerable feeling on the part of dialect speakers towards someone of similar origin, who in a Dutch conversation in a group would habitually make answer in English. Irked, the dialect speaker would ask the person answering in English: *bischt du in en Englischer kie-dreck gadraida?*

As an answer to the greeting *Wie gait's?* one often hears: to heck with the gate. I'll jump the fence, or words to this effect. In dialect the retort is frequently: *uff tsway bay wie en gans, yuscht net so wacklich*. When company stays late and the family wants to go to bed, someone will remark: *die leit wolla haim, siss tseit fer ins bett*; or *wann der haim gaint, schliesst die dier tsuu*.

In former times one of the main staples in the winter months, at breakfast and at supper, was mush. Common was the couplet:

Mit mush

Ferbrennt mer sich die gosch.

Then there is the jest of a son saying to his father at table, "Pop, du hoscht en hawr an de gosch." A brother answers, "Du sottscht dich avver schemma gosch tsu sawga; du hettscht sawga solla der pop hot en hawr am riesel."

If when drinking someone toasts with gsundheit one frequently hears: gsundheit imma hund sei leib; soll wool duu, wann's drunna bleibt. From the Bally area comes this variant: gsundheit, wann's ken kalt badeit.

When someone commits suicide one quite often hears it put this way: er hot der schdivvel-dans geduu. When in Lebanon County a storm comes up they say: nau hot so sure sich widder ainer kengt.

Instead of saying we are going to bed one may put it this way: nau gai-mer der hilsa barrick nuff.

Interesting are the expressions that are used in answer to such questions are *wann* and *was*. When someone says *wann*, the answer he often gets is: *wann iss ken kann un en kuu iss ken dray-arrigel. Was is ken fass un dei naws is ken schtopper.*

At the Folklore Center a special effort has been put forth over a number of years to get as many variants as possible to the expression YOUR SLIP IS SHOWING in dialect. We have collected the following: du hoscht Pingschda fer Oschdera; du hoscht Muundawg eb Sunndawg; du hoscht Dunnerschdawg fer Mittwoch; du hoscht der mann ferlawra; der waitza iss lenger ass's karn; du denkscht mai fun deim dawdi ass wie fun deinra mammi; dei mann iss am wattshaus dahaim; du bischt tswayschteckich; bischt du am weisla?

When mist arises from field or wood after a rain, particularly a thunderstorm, the saying is: die fix kocha es marriya essa; die fix sin am rieva kocha; die fix sin widder am kaffi kocha; die hawsa sin am damf-gnepp kocha; Frequently instead of fix it's die hawsa. From the Albany Eck, in northern Berks County, comes: nau gait der Sierach aus em boddem.

If the coffee one is drinking is very strong one says: mer kann en aw schier beissa; der kaffi iss so schtarrick wie lawk; er iss so schtarrick er fresst die hawr fumma hund. On the other hand, if the coffee is weak, the saying is: des iss bettelmanns kaffi; des iss lebberwasser; des iss blimleins kaffi; ich gleich net die blumma tsu saina wann ich in der kaffi guck; dess iss yuscht schpielwasser; mer kann yoo Deitschland saina; doo kammer die tseiding laisa darrich.

At a quilting the thread sometimes becomes all tangled up. At such a time one can hear: well, gebt des en hochtsich debbich? or des gebt moll blendi bose unnich da deck.

When an old, threadbare garment one happens to be wearing tears a rend the saying is: *nau gebt's noch n locust-yawr*. About a person with large patches on an outer piece of clothing one sometimes hears the expressions: *er hot avver jenduu-tseddel awgschlagga*.

The George Moore collections of folk materials at the Folklore Center contains many interesting bits of folksay, among them: mer maint mer misst en hasch-book warra un in der barrick schpringa; er iss ains fun denna so kumm ich heit net so kumm ich marriya; er sett sich schemma so weit ass er hoal iss; er iss so en retsch-hawna; so bais ass er sich schier beisst.

Classified Advertisements

The charge for classified advertising is 20 cents a word, payable in advance. Deadlines are March 1, June 1, September 1, and December 1. When figuring number of words be sure to include name and address. For example: J. H. Snyder is three words. Minimum ad 15 words. Direct genealogical queries to: *Genealogy Editor*, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, *Bethel*, *Pennsylvania*.

Camp-Meeting Photographs

Wanted: camp-meeting photographs and drawings, contemporary or historic, illustrating Pennsylvania and Western Maryland camp-meetings.—Don Yoder, Pennsylvania Dutchman, Bathel, Pennsylvania.

Color Slides

Amish and Mennonites, Beautiful Colorslides. Twenty titles available. 3 for \$1.00, complete set \$6.00 postpaid. Free catalog. STETL-MAR, Box 23D, Mount Joy, Pennsylvania.

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Dr. Fritz Braun, Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Germany, has gathered thousands of names of 18th century emigrants from the Palatinate and adjoining areas of the Rhineland. Perhaps your family is among them.

Folk Art Patterns

Twenty Pennsylvania Dutch Patterns. Distelfinks, panel motifs, and plate designs with color guide, selected from my private collection. \$1.10. Wesley Northheimer, Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Artist, Coatesville, Pennsylvania.

Genealogical Magazine

EISENHOWER—2,228 connected families; hundreds of references; monthly; first 6 issues \$3.00. Fannie Richardson, 681 East Main, Greenwood, Indiana.

Genealogical Queries

CARSON—Wanted: information on Patrick Carson, Quaker pioneer of York County, Pennsylvania, member of Warrington Meeting in 1740's. Was he the Patrick Carson who lived in Kennett, Chester County, as early as 1729? Where was his birthplace in Ireland? What was his wife's maiden name? —Donald F. Garretson, Aspers, Pennsylvania.

DITZLER—Melchior and Anthony, brothers, settled Greb'e-Rehrersburg area prior to 1750. Known sons Peter, Simon, Michael-Daughters married Fieser, Dollinger, Schaeffer, Gerhart, Houtz, Noll. Desire information about descendants. Ralph P. Tittsler, 503 New York Avenue, Takoma Park 12, Maryland. FARBOW—FARVER—FARBER—Wanted: information on parentage of Henry Farbow (1788-1863), who served in the 16th U. S. Regiment in Canada during the War of 1812, settled after the war in Millerstown and Liverpool, Perry County, Pa., moving in 1828 to Half Moon Valley, Centre County. Returned to Perry County in 1850's and married Elizabeth Silks. Name also spelled Farver and Farber. Wou'd like to get in touch with persons working on history of Pennsylvania Farver-Farber-Ferber families.— Genealogical Editor, Pennsylvania Dutchman, Bethel, Pennsylvania.

JONES—Wanted: parentage of Edward Jones (1740-1823), Quaker preacher of York County, Pennsylvania; born Chester County, son of John Jones, first appears in Pikeland-Uwchlan section, member of Goshen and Uwchlan meetings, removing to York County in 1771; had brother Levi Jones. Was he son of John and Jane Jones of Pikeland Township, John dying in 1748, will on record in Philadelphia, sons Edward, Evan, and Levi? Would like to contact Jones historians interested in Northern Chester County Jones families in Colonial period.—Donald F. Garretson, Aspers, Pennsylvania.

MAURER—Wanted: information on ancestry of Daniel Maurer (1749-1832), pioneer settler of Mahantongo Valley, Schuylkill County: Revolutionary soldier; married Gertrude Wagner. Would like to contact historians of Maurer families of Pennsylvania.— Genealogical Editor, Pennsylvania Dutchman, Bethel, Pennsylvania.

WHIPPO—Wanted: information on Whippo families of Pennsylvania, Chester and Centre Counties, Quakers, What is ancestral home of family in British Isles?—Mrs. Marion Mattern Cronister, Port Matilda, Pennsylvania.

Genealogical Research

I will do research in Adams County families on an hourly basis or in exchange for research I desire to have done in other areas. Contact Frederick S. Weiser, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.

Illustrated Lectures

Illustrated Lectures "Pennsylvania Dutch Customs" by Mr. and Mrs. Russell Baver, 234 W. Lincoln St., Easton, Pennsylvania. (Library of 2000 colored slides.) Also PRE-RECORD-ED TAPES—Pennsylvania Dutch songs, rent or buy.

Books Wanted

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Bothel, Pennsylvania, seeks the following nove's to supplement its library of literature pertaining to the Pennsylvania Dutch: Farmer Hildebrand, Eine Pennsylvanische Erzaehlung by Otto Koischwitz, Frundsbarg-Verlag, Berlin, 1942; The Hawks of Hawk Hollow by Robert Montgomery Bird, Philadelphia, 1835; Light of Parnell by John W. Appel, Philadelphia, 1916; Charles Moser, A Pennsylvania German Boy by J. Fred Bachman; Moses Nathan Israel by G. N. Lutyens, Easton, 1815; Hearts Contending and The House of Yost by George Schock (Katharine Riegel Loose); Joe's Signal Coda by W. Reiff Hesser; and The Hex Murder by Forrester Hazard. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1936.

Map of Dutch Country

"Pleasure Map of the Dutch Country". based on 79 pieces of literature from 13 Chambers of Commerce, 7 historical societies, 4 State departments and commissions and 41 other authors. Drawn by Timothy Olsen, a native of New York who has often visited the Dutch Country; 23 'eading attractions illustrated; 78 spots for fun_and recreation located and classified; 17" x 22" open, 8" x 11" fold, gives ease of reading; printed in traditional Dutch colors; for further particulars write: Anderson Fress, 527 Penn St., Reading, Pa.

Pamphlets for Sale

In addition to the literature advertised on the front inside cover, the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Inc., Bethel, Pennsylvania, has the following publications for sale:

Songs Along the Mahantongo by Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder. 231-page anthology of Pennsylvania Dutch folksongs. \$3.75.

Conestoga Wagon Lore by H. C. Frey. \$.50.

Traditional Rhymes and Jingles by Alfred L. Shoemaker. \$.50.

Facsimi'e reprint of Edward H. Rauch's 1883 Rip Van Winkle. \$1.00 (This is in dialect)

3 Myths about the Pennsylvania Dutch Country by Alfred L. Shoemaker. \$.25.

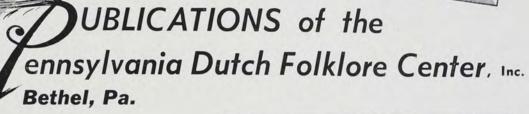
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Facsimile reprint of Edward H. Rauch's 1873 The Pennsylvania Dutchman, Vol. !, Nos. I, 2, and 3, \$3.00. Complete set.

Facsimile reprint of Edward H. Rauch's 1868 **De Campain Breafa**, \$1.00. (This is in dialect)

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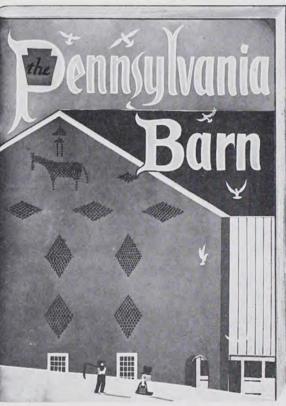
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