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Pennsylvania Folklife Special 1960 Festival Issue

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Zeller farmhouse near Newmanstown. One of the finest examples of Colonial Pennsylvania Dutch architecture.
SPECIAL 1960 FESTIVAL ISSUE

Contents

2 Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch: Two Worlds in the Dutch Country
   Don Yoder

6 Pennsylvania Dutch
   J. William Frey

8 Displaced Dutchmen Crave Shoo-Flies
   Edna Eby Heller

10 Hex Signs: A Myth
   Alfred L. Shoemaker

12 Lebanon Valley Date Stones
   Martha Ross Swope

15 Antiques in Dutchland
   Earl and Ada Robacker

18 Antique or Folk Art: Which?
   Earl and Ada Robacker

22 Folk Festival PROGRAM

26 Religious Patterns of the Dutch Country
   Don Yoder

29 The Costumes of the Plain Dutch
   Don Yoder

32 “Love Feasts”
   Don Yoder

36 “Horse-and-Buggy” Mennonites
   Alfred L. Shoemaker

40 The Courtship and Wedding Practices of the Old Order Amish
   Vincent R. Tortora
The "Plain Dutchman" has reservations about the WORLD.
and Gay Dutch:

Two Worlds in the Dutch Country

By DON YODER

Two worlds there are in the Dutch Country, two completely different ways of life. One might say that the Dutch Country has a double soul, a split soul, had it ever been united. But it has not. Pennsylvania has been characterized from the very beginning of its history from what Professor Crane Brinton in The Shaping of the Modern Mind calls the "multanimity" of Western Civilization.

The main cleavage has been along religious lines. The division has been between "Gay Dutch" and "Plain Dutch."

The "Gay Dutch" (Lutherans, Reformed, and others like them) were those who lived in what we call, religiously speaking, the "world," and made no attempt to reject its total cultural pattern. The "Plain Dutch" (Mennonites, Amish, Brethren, and related sectarian groups) were those who preferred to live apart, in the world and yet not of it.

*The term "gay" in reference to the world's people in the Pennsylvania Dutch culture comes from the Plain People themselves, among whom "going gay" means becoming worldly, i.e., leaving the plain group. By the same token, "turning plain" means joining the church, adopting the full adult requirements for plain dress. This use of the term "gay" and "plain" originated among the Quakers, although in the Eighteenth Century the curious term "Wet Quaker" was synonymous with the term "Gay Quaker."
The "Gay Dutch" have always been the majority, the "Plain Dutch" the minority. The Gay Dutch set the patterns of what we know generally as "Pennsylvania Dutch culture." The Plain Dutch created a Plain world of their own, which through the disappearance of the general Dutch culture has become the symbol of everything Dutch. We used to be the Quaker State. We are still, to the outside world, the "Plain State," and the Amishman has become our symbol.

**WHAT IS "PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH"**

The basic question to the outsider is, "Who are the Pennsylvania Dutch?"

First of all, they are not Holland-Dutch and they have no connection with Holland or Holland-Dutch culture. They are the descendants of the 18th Century German and Swiss wave of migration across the Atlantic, with a few German dialect-speaking Alsatians and Lorrainers in the bargain. In most cases the ancestors of the present Dutch were prerevolutionary Americans, colonial German dialect-speaking emigrants.

After 200 hundred years in America there can be no question of "pure" Dutch strains. Intermarriage with the Quaker, the Scotch-Irish, and other strains began in the colonial period, and in areas where the German dialect known as "Pennsylvania Dutch" predominated—as for instance the Eisenhower Country of Lykens Valley in Dauphin County—the Scotch-Irish and English minority was absorbed into the Dutch majority and adopted the Dutch tongue. Hence in that valley, northward of Harrisburg, we have in 1900 Dutch-speaking families of Dunleavy (Scotch-Irish name), Davis (Welsh name), and Buffington (English Quaker name)—all as "Dutch as sauerkraut"—an expression which in the Dutch Country is an affectionate rather than a derogatory one—but with family names and family heritages that go back to the British Isles.

Radically more important than "blood" in a definition of Dutchness is culture. "Pennsylvania Dutch" is not a blood-based, D.A.R. type, restricted-membership organization. "Pennsylvania Dutch" is (or better, was) a culture, a curious mixture of Continental and British Isles folkways that was created here in the Dutch Country and is to some extent still preserved in the cultural aspie of the dialect.

Actually the elements of the culture which we today call "Pennsylvania Dutch" are very much of a mixture. Pennsylvania was never a "Little Germany" where pipe-smoking and beer-drinking peasants transplanted their entire homeland way of life. There was always, from the very beginning, the interplay of culture with the Scotch-Irish and Quaker neighbors, an interplay which spread both ways. The typical "Pennsylvania barn"—the Swiss or bank barn—that two-story affair with stables on the ground floor and the threshing floors and mows approached from a drive-in entrance from a higher level—is a Continental adaptation. The Quakers and Scotch-Irish borrowed this barn-pattern, and Pennsylvanians spread it as far west as Iowa. On the other hand, the typical Pennsylvania farmhouse was English Georgian in pattern—and the Dutchman borrowed it from his English-speaking neighbors. It was an even trade.

So general was this cultural adaptation between Continental and British-Isles groups here in Pennsylvania that we can say that the American pattern of cultural interchange, of mutual adaptation, began in the Middle Colonies and principally in Pennsylvania. Not in homogeneous New England or homogeneous Virginia, but in the Dutch Country, where the colonial emigrant peoples—brought hither by William Penn's patent of freedom—mingled as nowhere else. And while this mingling of cultures has not been without its problems, as we point out as we outline the concept of two opposing worlds in the Dutch Country, we can be proud to say that "America began here."

Through migration from Pennsylvania, these mixed patterns, American rather than European, were transplanted elsewhere. There was from Pennsylvania, beginning before the Revolution and continuing throughout the 19th Century, a three-fold migration. Southward the Conestoga Wagons rolled into Maryland and Virginia—the Western parts, which therefore became different in culture from the slave-bound Tidewater areas—and Dutch-speaking Pennsylvanians got as far south as the Carolinas by Revolutionary times. Westward they went into Ohio—whose rural culture
is half Pennsylvanian—straight through the Middle West, reaching Kansas by Civil War times. Northward they went too—into the Genesee Country of Western New York, and across the King's border into Ontario. While the Dutch dialect was spoken for years in these secondary settlements, it is (except for the Amish settlements of the West) defunct in West and South, but in Ontario, through cultural lag fostered by religious difference (again among "plain" Menno-nites) it is still very much alive.

Hence the term "Dutch Country," as we use it, means basically the dialect-speaking areas of Pennsylvania. Within Pennsylvania, the Dutch Country is roughly South-Eastern Pennsylvania—the triangle you can draw yourself by connecting Stroudsburg with Somerset. It overlaps however into parts of Central Pennsylvania (Centre and Clinton and Union and Snyder Counties), and spliced over originally into the counties of Western Maryland and the upper Shenandoah Valley of Virginia which were until 1850 culturally part of the Dutch Country, the Mason and Dixon line notwithstanding. It was this area where the "Pennsylvania Dutch" dialect was spoken and where the Dutch culture developed—all by 1800.

THE TERM "DUTCH"

A word on the term "Dutch." While we Pennsylvanians (most of us) know that there is no connection with Holland, the term is always confusing to outsiders, who picture us in wooden shoes among tulip gardens. They do not realize—and this includes many Pennsylvanians—that the terms "Pennsylvania Dutch" and "Pennsylvania Dutchman," with the abbreviated forms "Dutch" and "Dutchman"—have been in use for two centuries and are well established in American historiography. We needed a name for the culture and the people and this is it. There are a minority of scholars who prefer the term "Pennsylvania German"—"an unctous name . . . one unsanctioned by time or use on man's tongue," Fredric Klees says of it.*

* Fredric Klees' volume, The Pennsylvania Dutch (New York: Macmillan, 1950) is the best one-volume study of every aspect of the Dutch culture; we recommend it to the beginner.

"Pennsylvania German" leaves the impression, a radically wrong one, of hyphenated Americans, of "Germans" in Pennsylvania, which is exactly what we are not. While the majority of the ancestors were German or Swiss, the culture developed on American soil out of the interchange with English neighbors, as we have pointed out. "Pennsylvania Dutch" is as American as Pennsylvania itself.

It all becomes clear when we look at the history of the word "Dutch." While in general use it is limited today to Holland, in the 18th Century, in the colonies and in England, the word "Dutch" was synonymous with German. It was not an American corruption of the German word "Deutsch"—the usage is much older. While the terms "Dutchman," "Dutchified," "Dutchness," etc., came in the 19th Century to be used in a derogatory sense, the terms "Pennsylvania Dutch" and the abbreviation "Dutch" for the dialect-speaking Pennsylvanians, are well-established Americanisms, established in historiography as well as popular usage. It merits our use as much as the partially misunderstood and equally well established term "Scotch-Irish."

NO "DUTCH CONSCIOUSNESS"

There is among the Pennsylvania Dutch themselves, no "Dutch consciousness," no sense of being different from other Americans, except in speech. As one of their historians has said, they may speak "Dutch," but they "think American." This has been true of every generation since the forefathers stepped off the emigrant boats and walked the red-brick streets of Philadelphia on their way to the upcountry farms that were their "promised land."

There is no movement—fortunately—to keep the "Dutch" language alive, and it is dying at the precipitated rate. There is no Dutch "nationalism," as in Canada, where French cultural nationalism, backed up by Roman Catholicism, fosters in the French-speaking Canadian a sense of eternal difference from his English-speaking Canadian neighbor. His world is hedged by language and religion and he prefers the outsider to keep on the other side. Fortunately, because of our basic religious diversity—our division into two religious worlds, gay and plain, Pennsylvania has been spared that sort of headache.

* Photos: Clifford Yeich

Stars within six-pointed hex signs on a barn between Quaker-town and Pensburg. The end walls and stabling are of brick.
Pennsylvania Dutch

By J. WILLIAM FREY

We bisht? We gait's? (How are you? How goes it?) That's the familiar greeting throughout the length and breadth of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. This is symbolic of the relative sameness of the Pennsylvania Dutch tongue no matter where you go in southeastern Pennsylvania or, in fact, anywhere else a Dutchman has happened to wander. This is linguistically and culturally a unique phenomenon. Travel in any European country—staying away from the large cities—and you will find almost mutually unintelligible dialects spoken from one community to the next, a mere dozen or so miles away. These wide language divergencies reflect vast cultural-historical differences, deep-rooted in tradition and folkways. But in Pennsylvania Dutchland—whether you visit the Amish on their unparalleled farms of Lancaster County and "Big Valley" in Central Pennsylvania, or whether you call on the Church groups (Lutheran and Reformed) located almost directly north of Philadelphia—you will find Pennsylvania Dutch spoken and understood with only enough differences to make it interesting. In fact, there is not nearly so much difference in the pronunciation and vocabulary and idioms of one brand of Pennsylvania Dutch from another as there is, say, between the native speech of a Bostonian and that of a Charlestonian!

The uniqueness of the situation is perhaps amazing to a European, but hardly to an American. Here in the greatest melting pot culture in the world it is no new thing to find widely diversified groups leveling off their ways and their speech to form a common American denominator. In the Pennsylvania Dutch country we have by far the most widely diversified folk culture in America and at the same time a unity of language which astounds the scholars of linguistic science. There has never really been any such thing as a

'United front' among the Pennsylvania Dutch people—no nationalistic-political ties, no yearning for some once-deserted-now-idealized 'fatherland,' no dominant (nor domineering) religious body. Hence, our language has never taken on any 'standardizing' regulations, has never been given a hard and fast orthography, has never been elevated to the position of a subject in the public school curriculum, has never enjoyed the so-called dignity of great oratory, classic literature or even journalism.

It has always been and always will be only FOLK SPEECH. As such it is the perfect oral expression of our Pennsylvania Dutch folk and their rich folk culture. But as such it has also suffered greatly—mocked and despised and branded as "only a dialect,' 'a corrupt form of German,' 'a kind of Pennsylvania hog Latin' by all those in the past who, not appreciating nor even knowing what folk culture really is and means, could see no good in a language which according to their puny and narrow educational background 'did not even have a grammar or a dictionary.' These semi-educated and semi-literate self-appointed authorities—preachers, school teachers, politicians—were the Jekyll-Hydes of our own area who grew up on a diet of Pennsylvania Dutch, attended some formal courses at an institution of higher learning, then proceeded to do an about-face by damning and denying everything their own cultural background be-spoke. The damage they did is still very apparent: there are still many Pennsylvania Dutchmen who are ashamed of their native tongue, still thousands of our people claiming 'it ain't no language, it ain't got no grammar,' still throngs wondering if Pennsylvania Dutch is 'low German.' Only very recently have those of us who are interested in the study of folk cultures and folklinguistics seen the real and underlying values in the language—now, at a time when it is very
rapidly dying out, when hardly any member of the new generation speaks anything but English (though that with often a heavy Pennsylvania Dutch savor), when the near future will witness the almost complete disappearance of this interesting, humorous, beloved folk speech except for its persistent employment by the Old Order Amish in their religious services and most of their everyday conversations.

No grammar? Every language has grammar—Pennsylvania Dutch has its share to be sure. There are ten parts of speech, three genders of nouns (and you can't hang a feminine article on a masculine noun!), conjugations of verbs, various sets of adjectival inflections for various situations, subjective and objective cases of pronouns, various ways of forming plurals, and all the other grammatical and syntactical paraphernalia necessary to a language to make it a practical medium of conversational exchange. No native speaker born into this language is conscious of a single one of these 'grammatical gymnastics'—he just speaks what comes naturally. On the other hand, everyone (be he ever so intellectual) who has tried to learn some Pennsylvania Dutch has bogged down miserably in the process and has found out to his disappointment that this language without any grammar, where anything goes' is just as tough to master as French or German or Spanish or any other modern tongue he has tackled in school.

The picturesque English speech of the Pennsylvania Dutch stems, of course, from usage or translations from the native tongue. Thus, to the amusement of the visitor, when the Dutchman waters his lawn he 'spritzes' the grass; when he gets up in the morning and looks at his hair in the mirror he says it looks 'about plain stdroevly'; if his child simply will not sit still on mother's lap or in a church pew he admonishes it by saying 'stop rootching!'; when the potato bin is empty the Dutch housewife announces that 'the potatoes are all'—in fact, anything that is depleted is simply 'all'; to clean off the table is to 'redd' it off—'redd out' a closet is not necessarily to clean it but simply to rearrange the dust! ('Redd,' oddly enough, is not an original Dutch word but a Scotch dialect word picked up by our Pennsylvania Dutch forefathers here in America in the early days—you'll find it in any Webster.)
Displaced Dutchmen Crave

SHOO-FLIES

By EDNA EBY HELLER

In dollars and cents the wealth of America seems to belong to someone else; but in the form of heritage, there is plenty of wealth for every Pennsylvania Dutchman. Although most of these people have never given this a second thought, it is true nevertheless. Like the lost sheep displaced Dutchmen who would almost give their right arm and the lost coin, it sometime needs to be lost before it

Dutch country eat their hoo-flies day after day, there are

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editor interviewed theme of the

in new paper column. However, most of this publicity was confined to the Middle Atlantic section. But, in September, 1956, Clementine Paddleford’s report came out in This Week, the weekly magazine that is read by eleven million newspaper subscribers. This was what the displaced Dutchmen were waiting for.

In this particular chapter of “How America Eats,” Miss Paddleford reported on an interview with the food editor of Pennsylvania Folk-life in which they discussed the similarities and differences of the dry and gooey shoo-fly pies.

Recipes for Chicken Corn Soup and Sugar Cakes were given in addition to the three recipes for this cake pie.

More than seventy-one hundred letters were written in quest of more information about our people. They were warm friendly letters from men and women who were homesick for Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery. Among them were doctors, lawyers, soldiers, chefs, and housewives, all of them keenly interested in finding recipes for the dishes they once knew. Many felt very remorseful for having let such family favorites slip out of their hands. In fact, in most cases they just never bothered to learn how mother made such favorites. Suddenly, they had moved away and left behind the cooking that had not been written in books. Very little was written in books and those that were are most difficult to follow today when one is used to today’s standardized recipes. Most of the traditional cook-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHOO-FLY PIE (wet)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastry for one 9-inch pie shell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crumb mixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4 cup flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 tsp. salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 tsp. cinnamon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 tsp. ginger</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2 cup molasses</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2 cup boiling water</td>
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Line a 9-inch pie pan with pastry. Combine ingredients of crumb mixture, using hands to blend. Top with crumbs. Bake at 400 degrees until it starts to brown, about ten minutes. Reduce heat to 325 degrees F.; bake until firm, about 30 minutes.

By EDNA EBY HELLER

In dollars and cents the wealth of America seems to belong to someone else; but in the form of heritage, there is plenty of wealth for every Pennsylvania Dutchman. Although most of these people have never given this a second thought, it is true nevertheless. Like the lost sheep and the lost coin, it sometimes needs to be lost before it is fully appreciated. While the folks in the Pennsylvania Dutch country eat their shoo-fly pies day after day, there are displaced Dutchmen who would almost give their right arm to find out how to make this Dutch specialty.

Apparently many people are overthrown with nostalgia when reminded about food they enjoyed in childhood. Such is the feeling of many natives of Pennsylvania who have moved away, but long for her beauty, kinfolk, and cookery. Recipes of favorite dishes can be like old friends who bring a warmth of friendliness with every association. This is especially true when one has been constantly looking for recipes of the dishes grandmas used to make.

To more than six thousand of these displaced persons, the search was ended recently by a sheer streak of luck, when they chanced upon an article entitled “The Pennsylvania Dutch Love Shoo-fly Pie.” For this story, however, we must go back to 1955, when the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center invited a group of food editors to the Folk Festival at Kutztown, Pennsylvania. Cookery was the theme of the festival that year and many Grange women brought food galore. With pad and pencil in hand the food editors interviewed one after another with endless questions about this regional cookery. A few of them completed their interviews in the farm kitchen at eleven o’clock at night where they could photograph the cook at work. During the next few months hundreds of people in Washington, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New York had traditional Pennsylvania Dutch recipes because of these reports given in newspaper columns. However, most of this publicity was confined to the Middle Atlantic section. But, in September, 1956, Clementine Paddleford’s report came out in This Week, the weekly magazine that is read by eleven million newspaper subscribers. This was what the displaced Dutchmen were waiting for.

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<tr>
<td>Crumb mixture</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 cups flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4 cup lard</td>
</tr>
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<td>1 cup brown sugar</td>
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<td>1 cup molasses</td>
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<td>1 tsp. soda</td>
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<td>1 cup boiling water</td>
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ing seems to have been lost to those who left Pennsylvania. Some of these excerpts from letters will show how glad the writers were to find Dutch recipes.

"O for Hog Maw—haven't had any since I left Pennsylvania in 1920."

"The article in 'THIS WEEK' recently gave me a tremendous case of homesickness."

"Was born in Middletown, Pa. Left 40 years ago and haven't had any good food since."

"Among my happiest memories was delicious chicken corn soup we once had in a Pennsylvania Dutch hotel."

"The article on Pennsylvania Dutch cooking was an answer to my prayers."

"I have lived in many places but I think Pennsylvania Dutch cooking tops all others."

"No one has any of grandma's recipes, so maybe you could help a friend in need."

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**SHOO-FLY PIE (cake type)**

Pastry for one 8- or 9-inch pastry shell

**Crumb mixture**

- 1½ cups flour
- ½ cup sugar (brown and white mixed)
- 1 tsp. baking powder
- 2 tbsp. shortening

**Liquid**

- ½ cup dark molasses
- 3 tsp. soda
- ½ cup boiling water

Line an 8- or 9-inch pan with pastry. Combine ingredients for liquid, pour ½ into pan. Add ¼ of crumbs; continue alternating, ending with crumbs. Bake at 350 degrees F. 30 minutes.

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"My grandmother who slept and snored in Pennsylvania Dutch made dough squares and dropped them in chicken broth. We called it pot pie. Do you suppose that you could find that recipe for me?"

"For more than 45 years I've looked for the recipe for a perfectly delectable dish grandma called 'bot bie!'"

"We are building a restaurant and would like to specialize in Pennsylvania Dutch cooking."

"I was raised in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and have several recipes. In those days it was a pinch of this and that, but I guess I never pinched right."

"Our article from 'THIS WEEK' by Clementine Paddelford is worn out from copying."

"Please send me your cookbook. My husband (a little fat Dutchman) will love you for this."

All of these prove the value of our heritage. Food remembered for forty years must be good. By way of comparison with other regional cookery, ours can stand the test. In fact, it surpasses many, in quality and quantity. The rural folk of this area consume so much food that in this respect they live like kings and queens, a far cry from peasant fare in other countries.

Within the last five years, the name Shoo-fly has been tagged on to the Pennsylvania Dutch in mental association throughout the United States. It is recognized to be as significant of the Pennsylvania Dutch as spaghetti is of the Italian. Incidentally, even though we have adopted their spaghetti, they are unimpressed with our shoo-fly, but they are indeed very fond of our pot pie. But to the displaced Dutchmen, shoo-fly has been received with open arms. According to the letters received, shoo-fly baking is booming. Everywhere, cooks are making these cake-pies with great enthusiasm, calling in their friends and neighbors to show them the actual subject of their past ravings. As always, some like them dry and some like them wet. A few like them either way. So that you too may have your choice, here are the same recipes that answered many a man and maiden's prayer!
The most elaborately decorated of all the Pennsylvania Dutch barns, located at New Smithville.

Six-pointed hex signs were widely used in decorations: on the keystone arch of churches; on tombstones, dower chests, Bibles; and even on riding saddles.

To see the decorated barns to best advantage start your tour from Kutztown, which is located in the very heart of the hex sign country. Drive first about a half mile west, towards Reading, on Route 222. Turn off, on the right, on to the first macadamized road and follow it a half mile or so. Here you will begin to get the feel of the hex sign country. Backtrack to Kutztown, head east towards Allentown, about two miles, and turn left on to the first hard-surfaced road. This is the New Smithville road and takes you through one of the most beautiful valleys of the Dutch Country, past old mills and lovely hill farms. As you approach New Smithville, you will come, on the right, upon the most gayly decorated barn in all of the Dutch Country.
HEX SIGNS
A Myth

By ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

Farrell map showing areas where the hex signs are to be found. The larger circle is the outer periphery. The dotted circle locates the principal area of decoration.

The barns in the Pennsylvania Dutch country are decorated with curious geometrical designs. They are always the same—a star within a circle. These are the farmers’ Hex Signs. They are supposed to prevent the devil from entering the barns to give the cows milk fever.” So says a writer in a recent issue of the New York Times.

Statements of like character are frequently come upon, especially in popular articles on the folk-culture of southeastern Pennsylvania. One even encounters the statement in print that the arches painted on the front of Dutch barns are put there to make the witches bump their heads when they attempt to fly into the barn!

All this is sheer nonsense!

When and with whom did the hex sign myth originate? It was not until as recently as 1924 that barn signs were publicized for the first time. In that year etchings of them appeared in the Journal of the American Institute of Architects with the following comment: “They [the barns] are ornamented with sunbursts in yellow or with other curious designs, said to be symbolic and also said not to be. Some day I may be persuaded to find out just what these curious decorations mean.”

It was Wallace Nutting who started the myth on its way in his Pennsylvania Beautiful (1924). He wrote: “The ornaments on barns found in Pennsylvania go by the local name of hexafoos or witch foot. They are supposed to be a continuance of very ancient tradition, according to which these decorative marks were potent to protect the barn, or more particularly the cattle, from the influence of witches. The hexafoos was added to its decoration as a kind of spiritual or demonic lightning-rod!”

How could the hex sign myth become so easily entrenched? The answer is simple. In the 1920s, when it originated, it wasn’t common knowledge that the same design appeared commonly at an earlier period on practically every object that was ever decorated in the Pennsylvania Dutch country—on dower chests, sgraffito plates, birth and baptismal certificates, hand-illuminated bookplates, yes even on tombstones.

How come, you ask, didn’t people know these things around 1920? For the reason that people didn’t become interested in Pennsylvania Dutch folk art until the 1930s.

Only a small section of the Pennsylvania Dutch country has the decorated barn—principally in Lehigh, Berks, Bucks and Montgomery Counties. There are no hex signs in most of Lancaster and Lebanon Counties and none in the rest of the Dutch country.

If there were any basis to the witch angle, wouldn’t it be awfully peculiar that half of the Pennsylvania Dutch country only believes in warding off hexes and the other half doesn’t? Moreover, isn’t it plain, common sense that magic, wherever it is practiced (and no one would deny its existence in the Dutch country), isn’t it plain, common sense, I say, that a farmer would not parade his mysterious doings before all the world to see? No, my dear reader, witchcraft and all that hangs together with it, is a very, very secret matter, all of it surviving underground, well hidden from view to all but the initiated. Any one with the slightest insight into human nature must sense how utterly preposterous is the whole hex sign story.

There is not a single shred of evidence to substantiate any other conclusion about hex signs but this: “Hex signs are used but for one purpose and, to put it in the Pennsylvania Dutchman’s own words, ‘chust for nice.’”
Old American House, South Ninth Street, between Cumberland and Chestnut, in Lebanon. The stone mason entered his name on this date stone in his own honor.

Drawings by FLORENCE STARR TAYLOR

Interesting head on Meyer house (Wenger farm) on road leading from Schaefferstown to Millbach.

Zeller's Fort, near Newmanstown, located by historical markers in the vicinity.
Lebanon Valley
Date Stones

By MARTHA ROSS SWOPE

Early in life it became a game with me to look for the brown date stones on the gracious limestone farmhouses of my native Lebanon County. I sought them out as eagerly as a child that watches for the "red box" on the end of a train. Later on, at College, it was, therefore, but a short step for me to select date stones as a subject for special study in a research course in local history.

The word date stone is used advisedly, in lieu of a better word. A date stone is a stone bearing the date of erection of a building. Many are placed at a corner of two walls, a few feet above the ground; within a hollow place in the stone are generally deposited the names of interested or responsible parties and some objects characteristic of the time or occasion. This is the "corner stone" type of a date stone. Another type, sometimes designated as "head stone," is placed well up in the front of a building or over an arched door and has the name of the building, the date and sometimes other information. But the date stones that particularly interest me—and the type that will be given consideration in this article—are the ones I have designated as "prayer stones" or "house blessings."

The buildings on which these "prayer stones" are found are, for the greater part, large commodious limestone farmhouses, barns and even mills, almost invariably located along a stream. I studied between thirty and forty of these buildings in the Lebanon Valley and my findings are restricted to this area.

The earliest date stones appear to be almost all of brown sandstone, plainly set out against the gray of the limestone. The stones vary in shape, regularity, size and quality of workmanship. Some are hand carved and beautifully ornate. They generally appear in the second story of the front of the house, between the windows; sometimes they are found in the gable end, near the roof. There may be one rectangular one or two upright ones as a pair, or even three. The inscriptions are predominantly German.

Some of the stones bear only the name of the owner and the date, others bear the name of both the owner "and seine Frau" with the feminine suffix "in" on the wife's name. Some of the stones are well shaped and beautifully inscribed, while others are very crude, with peculiar misspellings and odd spacing. If the date stone cutter had not spaced care­fully and ran short, he simply crowded or abbreviated or used single letters for whole words with periods in between. In addition to the names and dates there was frequently a border: a six pointed star, a heart, a wheel or even a sculptured head.

The earliest date found is on a large anvil shaped stone, carved with the letters M. T. and dated 1714. It is on a well-preserved story and a half limestone half house half fort, built by Michael Tiee. A later building on this same property is also of limestone and has three date stones across the front of the house, with the names of Phillip and Eve Tiee, descendants of the original owner.

The most interesting date stones are the ones carrying inscriptions in addition to the name of the owner and the date of erection. Many of these inscriptions have a blessing for the members of the household and for all who pass in and out; some carry a prayer, still others, a warning; others run to the ridiculous.

Perhaps the best known Lebanon Valley date stones are the ones found on the front of a large stone mansion at Sunnyside, known as the Heilman mansion and now in the possession of Roy Killinger. These are a very handsome pair of stones, in beautifully executed German lettering. The translation on the one date stone is: "God bless this house and all who go in and out—John Stover—Angenes Stover 1705." The second stone reads: "Peace be to this house and with those who go out; this house was built in the year 1705."

Near Hebron there formerly stood one of the largest and finest of all these stone mansions. Built in 1761, it was known as the Kucher homestead. Among other famous guests, General Peter Muhlenberg was entertained here on occasions. By a sheer stroke of good luck, this pair of very unusual date stones was preserved when this landmark was razed in the path of industry; the stone were imbedded in the wall surrounding the old Moravian cemetery at Hebron.

Heilman Mansion, south on Route 422, at Sunnyside; now owned by Roy Killinger.

Kucher date stones now imbedded in the wall of the Moravian Cemetery at Hebron.
The Kuchers very evidently wanted a pair of date stones; however, instead of his own name on the first stone and Barbara's on the second, he placed both names on one stone and had the second stone inscribed with very unusual designs.

Another interesting one is to be found on the Adam and Cathrina Orts (Orth) homestead; it carries the usual blessing but adds "to God alone the glory and to no one else." The added bit of piety may explain the character of the man, for Adam Orth, born in the Palatinate, is said to have been a man of unusual energy and contributed much to the early progress of Lebanon County.

In contrast to the piety of the last mentioned stone, I discovered several with a morbid cast—a warning, "Whether I go in or out, death stands and waits for me." Another one: "As often as the door turns on its hinges, O Man think of your end; built 1751."

The date stone on the famous Millbach home was removed and taken to the Philadelphia Museum, where two rooms have been set aside for the purpose of exhibiting Pennsylvania Dutch furnishings. A mill attached to this home has a date stone and by climbing on the roof and by the aid of the setting sun on a bright winter day I was able to decipher the time-worn "Gott allein deen [serve God alone] Michael Miller—Melisabeth Mielern 1784." A fitting inscription for a mill.

The Hannes Immel house is an excellent example of early local architecture, with its huge central chimney. This house has Dutch doors and exposed beams in part of the house, fifteen-inch wide oak flooring and very small deep windows. Aside from its age, style and condition, this house is of great historical interest for the granddaughter of Hannes Immel was married from this house to Governor Schultz of Pennsylvania.

Not only did houses, barns, mills and forts have these brown date stones, but they were also proudly displayed on the old churches. An outstanding example of church stones are the three imbedded in the rear wall of the present Tulpehocken Reformed church built in 1772, placed there when the church was remodeled.

Not all the date markers were of sandstone, however; many of the quaintest forms were date boards placed in niches made for the purpose when the houses were constructed; unfortunately, as they weathered and shrank, many fell out and were thus lost. An excellent marker of this type is the date board above a doorway which originally had a board archway above it. The writing on these boards usually carries only the name and date as this one: "17 Balthasar Sus—Maria Barbara Susen 47." Some of the markers, especially the latter ones, were of marble.

This partial record of a few of these mementoes of the past should include the unusual date stone on Fort Zeller near Newmanstown. This building, with the springs beneath it, is outstanding in every respect, from the sandstone-framed Dutch door to the great yawning central chimney which I learned to look for as I drove through the countryside in search of date stones.

People were generally interested and helpful to me. Some showed me their deeds for these old houses, deeds from Thomas and Richard Penn or Caspar Wistar to the first owners, witnessed by Conrad Weiser. They were written on parchment and included the annual red rose rental. The interest in some cases extended to curiosity and I frequently found myself surrounded by gaping groups of people staring wonderingly upward while I was trying to decipher a stone through field glasses. Their expressions as they walked away were not always flattering. As a result of my study, some interest has been aroused in the subject of date stones, for of necessity I contacted a great many people. I also encountered the unpleasant in my field work—unfriendly dogs and some suspicion. And not infrequently, the sun was uncooperative in that it was on the wrong side of a building to decipher the time-worn stones.

These date stones which have so stirred our interest represented a realization of hopes and dreams fulfilled; they were literally a petition for God's blessing. We, too, are blessed by them, for ours is the heritage of these people and these markers serve as a symbol of our goodly heritage.

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**Three date stones are unusual on the front of one house.**

**Date-board on house on road from Brickerville to Cornwall, near the Lebanon Water Works.**
Antiques in Dutchland

By EARL and ADA ROBACKER

The Pennsylvania Dutch country is as full of antique shops as it is of places to eat—and there are some very fine examples of both. In each case, however, it is not a bad idea to start with some which have an established reputation for superiority before branching out into others which may prove just as interesting but which are less well known. A reputation for excellence and quality does not come by accident!

Bear in mind that the Dutch Country is old country—nearly as old as early Virginia or early New England—and that it is as possible to acquire Eighteenth Century objects here as elsewhere along the seaboard. In some ways it is easier: Alone among the colonists, the Pennsylvania Dutch seem never to have thrown anything away and, more than that, so excellently did they make a great many objects that it was all but impossible to wear them out. As times and living conditions changed, people simply moved their outmoded household gear into the attic or the barn or the woodshed—but seldom was anything actually destroyed. What a boon to the historian or the collector.

There are three recognizable “periods” of interest to collectors of Dutchland antiques, the first of which has been labeled the “Hearts and Tulips” age—roughly, the years through the 1700’s up to about 1810. This was the time of strong pride in individual craftsmanship, the time when ironwork, pottery, furniture, dower chests, glass, and hand-made documents were most competently made and lavishly adorned with hearts, tulips and other flowers, birds, stars, swirling swastikas, and human and animal forms, to name but a few.

The second period—the “Painted Period”—extends to somewhere between the 1840’s and the 1870’s, and the chances of the collector, at least the amateur collector, are better here than in the foregoing era. Fine work in punched and pierced tin, the myriad cooky cutters, woven coverlets and homespun, painted furniture with painted and stenciled decoration, elaborate show towels, and fine pieces in copper and brass characterize this period. It should be noted that periods do not have sharp lines of demarcation; there is broad overlapping. Homespun, for instance, was made both before and after the years listed for the second period. One of the best of the “early” potters was working as late as 1931!

The third period, by no means to be discounted because of its comparative recency, extends to about the time of World War I. As indicated above, an occasional “early” craftsman was still carrying on in the centuries-old tradition. Moreover, much of the best work in basketry was done during these years, as well as beautiful patch-and-appliqué-work, “tramp” art, hand-made wooden toys, and a hundred offhand objects which came into being as the result of a creative urge no machine age could stifle.

Adding to the abundance of riches in Pennsylvania from earliest times are the imports which were popular chiefly in the Dutchland and which by adoption have long been considered “Dutch”: the stoneware, the various “gaudy” wares, and other Staffordshire pottery products. Then, too, there are the fine pewter of Pennsylvania provenance; the beautiful polychromed bride’s boxes which came from Berchtesgaden with the earliest settlers—and the incomparably fine grandfather clocks made all over the Dutchland; the old Bibles with hand-illuminated prefatory pages, and the painted tin or tôle ware which was as popular in Pennsylvania as it was in Maine or New York or Connecticut or Virginia.

Add the wealth of Victorian household appointments and furniture which slowly permeated the Dutch Country, and it is not difficult to see why the antiquer could spend a lifetime—to say nothing of a fortune—in the Pennsylvania Dutchland alone. There are those who have done it!

The most colorful piece of furniture in the early Pennsylvania Dutch homes was the painted dower chest. The unicorn was a Berks County motif.
Some Dealers in Pennsylvania Dutch Antiques

The list below is supplied with considerable trepidation. These are experienced, knowledgeable, reliable persons; the writers have known all of them for many years and have had eminently satisfactory dealings with them. Then why the trepidation? Simply this: As any one of them will tell you, genuinely good antiques are increasingly difficult to find, and it is impossible to be sure at any given time that a visit will be rewarding, since good antiques are snapped up quickly. But the chance is worth taking!

There are many other excellent dealers in the Dutchland and out of it who also have good Pennsylvania Dutch items, men and women with whom the writers have had the most pleasant of associations. No prejudice is intended to any dealer whose name is not included in the short list given here. Except as noted, the locations given are in Pennsylvania.

Brunner, Hattie; Reinholds (near Reading)
Burkhardt, Robert; Monterey (near Kutztown)
Meyer, Ralph; Delaware Water Gap
Penny packer, Gus; Telford (On Route 399)
Rothermel, Walter; R. F. D. 1, Temple (near Reading)
Sittig, Edgar and Charlotte; Shawnee-on-Delaware
Stevens, Joe; Massillon, Ohio
Weller, Cora-Lee; Allentown (near Allentown)
Yeagley, Sun; Annville

Some Terms the Collector of Pennsylvania Dutch Antiques Should Know

Bride's box: Oval box of thin wood with over-all floral decoration made in Germany in the late 1700's. The lid frequently has figures of bride and groom, often an inscription, rarely a date.

Dower chest: Finely executed forerunner of the hope chest, usually made by a professional cabinet maker and often beautifully decorated either in panel or over-all style. Chests are often identified by the counties in which their makers operated—Lehigh, Berks, Center, Montgomery, etc.

Fraktur (or Fractur): A general name given to certificates, documents, and family records which were hand-lettered in Gothic calligraphy and then embellished by pen- and brush-work with tulips, parrots, hearts, and a great variety of other motifs. In later years some of the records were partly printed. A fine piece of fraktur nowadays may range in price from two digits for a small bookplate to four digits for an elaborately conceived larger piece.

Gaudyware: A general name for brightly decorated imported English tableware especially popular in Pennsylvania. Specifically: Gaudy Dutch, Gaudy Welsh, gaudy ironstone, and gaudy Staffordshire, each category of which has many patterns. The word “gaudy,” incidentally, is a modern term applied by collectors and dealers.

Kentucky rifle: The long rifle used and made famous in Kentucky but actually made in Lancaster County by some of the world’s most highly skilled (Pennsylvania Dutch) craftsmen.

Lehware: (Pronounced “lane-ware”) Turned wooden egg cups, saffron cups, goblets, and other small pieces made and decorated during the Nineteenth Century.
Among the rarest of decorated hinges are those in the bird pattern.

An exceptional specimen of a door hasp reflecting the fractur work of the Ephrata scriveners.

by Joseph Lehn. Now and then a coopered piece is found.

Pie cupboard: A pre-refrigerator safe or cupboard with sides of sheet tin pierced in various motifs. These cupboards were sometimes suspended from the cellar ceiling by means of a rope strung through the corner posts.

Pie plate: A heavy clay plate made in a great variety of sizes up to about 15 inches in diameter. There is no bottom rim; edges are often coggled; plates may be plain, or slip-decorated, or sgraffito. A good 6-inch plain plate may be had for a few dollars; a fine sgraffito plate in good condition with name and date could run in price to four digits.

Punched tin decoration: Objects made of tinned sheet iron (coffee pots, foot warmers, lanterns, pie cupboards, mirror frames) either lightly punched or actually perforated in a variety of favorite decorative motifs.

Redware: The general name given to heavy pieces of Pennsylvania pottery, glazed or unglazed. Redware apple butter pots are favorites with many collectors.

Schimmel carving: Highly individual carvings-in-the-round of birds and animals done by one Jacob Schimmel, an itinerant, shortly after the War Between the States. Schimmel eagles are highly prized.

Sgraffito: "Show" or display pottery demonstrating the potter's decorative powers and not often actually used. The word means "scratched"; the design was scratched into the clay before the piece was fired in the kiln. Rare, beautiful—and expensive!

Show towel: The ancestor of the guest towel, usually of linen homespun, with cross-stitch designs and drawn work. Like samplers, which the towels somewhat resemble, they often bear the name of the maker and the date.

"Slip" decoration: This term applies to pottery. "Slip" was a thin paste of clay applied to pottery for decoration in a contrasting color, in a variety of simple lines or squiggles. A very few pieces, however, have slip decorations in more elaborate forms.

Spatterware: An English Staffordshire tableware characterized by sponge decoration and such hand-drawn motifs as peafowls, parrots, roosters, schoolhouses, and various flowers. The colors in the motifs were applied by a brush.

Springerle boards: (Pronounced "springer-ly") Pennsylvania Dutch by adoption rather than by origin in most cases, since most appear to have come from German-speaking sections of Europe. They were boards used to impress designs on cookie dough.

Stiegel: William Henry Stiegel: legendary figure who produced clear, colored, etched, and enamelled glass during the decade of the 1770's; known also for ornately decorated cast iron stove plates. His glass is almost impossible to authenticate.

Stove plate: One of the elaborately decorated cast iron sides or the front of the early stoves produced by the ironmasters. Favorite designs were Biblical, classical, or floral-arabesque—not infrequently in combination.

Tôle: A general name for a great variety of utensils both utilitarian and ornamental (measures, cups, trays, cannisters, coffee pots, etc.) of tin plate, first japanned and then decorated by brush or stencil or both in floral, fruit, and other motifs. Tôle was generally popular along the seaboard; it is exceedingly difficult to authenticate pieces as being of Pennsylvania origin.

Tramp art: More or less elaborate whittling (and sometimes jig saw carving) done by itinerants clever with a pocket knife. Favorite pieces, often tended as payment for bed and board, were comb cases, wall racks of various kinds, mirror frames, and toys. Tramp art is a latecomer to the ranks of collectibles.
ANTIQUE or FOLK ART: Which?

By EARL and ADA ROBACKER

When is an object an antique—something ancient enough to be unfamiliar to the current generation—and when does it merit the term “folk art”? The two categories indicated often overlap, but they are by no means identical.

For purposes of import duties, it is generally agreed that an object made before 1830 is considered “antique”; for commercial purposes, an age of 75 to 100 years is considered sufficient for the term. Yet an “antique” automobile may be no more than 30 years of age. In other words, antiquity is largely a relative matter.

Folk art, on the other hand, may actually be independent of age; it may be in the process of creation now, or it may have been created hundreds or even thousands of years ago. Who can say that the paintings of Grandma Moses or the water colors of Hattie Brunner of Reinholds, Pa., are not bona fide folk art? The fact that they may be executed in the 1950's or the 1960's has very little to do with the matter. We do need an explanation, however, because the matter of what is and what is not art is a very complicated one.

Some art forms—notably painting or sculpture—presuppose a long period of apprenticeship and study, with hoped-for mastery of accepted techniques. The process of acquiring skill is an academic one, involving teacher and student. All that can be learned on the subject must be learned before the student can hope to be recognized through his own creative efforts, and his work will be judged by traditional, accepted standards. If he chooses to be a renegade, his work may never be acclaimed except by other renegades—but he is working in the field of fine art, not folk art.

Then there is another kind of art—one which is largely self-taught and which adheres to no recognized standard. The artist may be imitative or original; he may have much
or little actual skill; he may have worked for the approval of others or to satisfy an urge of his own. If he works at the beginning of the folk culture to which he belongs, before any kind of standardization has taken place, he may be called a folk artist. Likewise, if he lives and works at a time when he is untouched by the influence of other workers in the same field—workers who know what is "correct" in technique and operation—then he may be called a folk artist. By this definition, the work of Grandma Moes or of Hattie Brunner may fairly be considered folk art.

There is much untutored art, in a considerable variety of media and manifestations, to be found in Pennsylvania. Some has been discovered and publicized, but evidence points to the fact that there are more treasures to unearth. They are more likely to come to light in an antique shop—or possibly at a country auction—than elsewhere, but this circumstance no more makes art out of an antique than it makes an antique out of a piece of art. An antique is old, whatever that word may mean, but it does not necessarily have artistic qualities.

The Pennsylvania Dutch had a strong creative streak in their makeup. They were, in a sense, exiled from a homeland in which love of beauty was strong. They were excellent craftsmen; they were industrious; they were eternally bent upon bettering themselves and their situation. Small wonder, then, that in a wilderness, a new world in which almost all the articles of daily living had to be made by hand, what they made was created not only with competence but in many cases with marked artistic qualities.

The skill shows up in numberless ways. It is present in the decorations lavished on dower chests—hearts, tulips, stars, floral sprays, birds. It is obvious on pottery—in the decorations embodying horses, riders, pomegranates, birds, and flowers executed by men who might have laughed to scorn the idea that they were artists but who took pride in their artistic ability just the same. It is found in the intricate cut-paper work which long preceded the laedy valentine; in the painstakingly executed lettering of fraktur manuscripts; in the almost fantastically difficult renditions...
One of the finest pieces of fraktur, done in 1817.

of heart, tulip, and bird in wrought iron hinges; in the intricate patterns of punched tin, of needlework, of basketry, of calligraphic “pictures,” of cookey cutters.

Beyond the category of objects which were intended first of all to be utilitarian—even though today we may shudder at the idea of putting to use, for instance, a highly polished walnut slaw cutter with a perfect heart cut-out—there were still others created “just for fancy.” Wood carvings in the round, oftentimes of birds or barnyard fowls; fancifully shaped pottery whistles; “paintings” of the kind found on fraktur manuscripts but independent of lettering; tin coffee pots with nail-punch work so delicate it would have been pro-
famation actually to use them; show towels of drawn-work and cross-stitch so elaborate that it would be unthinkable to dry one’s hands on them—all these, bought and sold by antique dealers, add to the list of art work conceived and brought into being by the folk, according to the dictates of the individual.

To conclude: The Dutchland is full of antiques, some native, some imported. Of those which are native, some have artistic qualities and some do not. Of those which do, some were done by beauty-seeking persons with an untutored but powerful creative urge—and these we may place in the category of folk art.
At Your Library:

There are dozens of good books having to do with Pennsylvania Dutch folk art, available at public and at school and college libraries. The very brief list below should provide a starting point for those interested in the subject. For a list of smaller works, including inexpensive pamphlets, write for a list of the publications of the Pennsylvania Folklore Society, 218 West Main Street, Kutztown, Pa.

Barber, Edwin Atlee: Tulipware of the Pennsylvania-German Potters. An early, important work on pottery, potters, and decorative techniques.

Borneman, Henry S.: Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts. Excellent explanatory text on fraktur, with magnificent illustrations in full color.

Brauer, Esther Stevens: Early American Decoration. Decorative techniques explained by one thoroughly familiar with painted wood and painted tin.


Frederick, J. George: The Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Cookery. As interesting for its reminiscent sketches as for its recipes.

Gould, Mary Earle: Early American Wooden Wares. Not solely concerned with the Pennsylvania Dutch scene, but good.

Heller, Edna Eby: The Pennsylvania Dutch Cookbook. Tops! Written by the foremost collector—and tester—of Pennsylvania Dutch recipes. Much of the best folk art is found in the articles used in the preparation of food.


Kerfoot, J. B.: American Pewter. There are other, later books on pewter, but none so interesting as this, now back in print after many years.


Lipman, Jean: American Folk Art in Wood, Metal and Stone. Good treatment and good illustrations in the fields covered.


Peto, Florence: American Quilts and Coverlets. A general treatment, not limited to the Pennsylvania Dutch. A definitive work in this field has still to be written.

Robacker, Earl F.: Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff. The “standard” handbook or guide to the field of Pennsylvania Dutch antiques, with some emphasis on folk art.


Stoudt, John J.: Pennsylvania Folk Art. Copiously illustrated work, with considerable emphasis on the religious and mystical symbolism believed by many to be present in Pennsylvania Dutch folk art.

11th Annual
Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival
JULY 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9
Kutztown, Pa.

SUNDAY, JULY 3

PROGRAM—STAGE B

12:00-12:30 Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.
12:30- 1:00 Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.
1:00- 1:20 Dialect folksong program.
1:20- 2:00 Hoedown and jigg ing demonstrations by championship sets.
2:00- 2:30 Carbon County musiganders.
2:30- 2:45 Dutch-English humor.
2:45- 3:25 Folk dances of the Dutch County.
5:30- 6:00 Music program.
6:00- 6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show.
6:30- 7:00 The "Horse-and-Buggy" Dutch.
7:00- 7:30 Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.
7:30- 9:00 Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.
9:00-12:00 Free-for-all square dancing on Folk Festival Common.
### MONDAY, JULY 4

**PROGRAM—STAGE A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00-11:30</td>
<td>The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30-12:00</td>
<td>Folk art in Dutch Pennsylvania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00-12:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30-1:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00-1:20</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:20-2:00</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00-2:15</td>
<td>Carbon County musiganders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15-3:20</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:20-3:35</td>
<td>Citation ceremonies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-7:25</td>
<td>Carbon County musiganders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:25-7:40</td>
<td>Professor Schnitzel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:40-8:20</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30-10:20</td>
<td>Major Folk Festival production: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklore.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20-10:50</td>
<td>Amish documentary film.</td>
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</tbody>
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**PROGRAM—STAGE B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:30-1:00</td>
<td>Folk music program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00-1:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30-2:00</td>
<td>Flax demonstration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00-3:30</td>
<td>Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30-3:55</td>
<td>Garb of the “Horse-and-Buggy” Dutch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:55-4:20</td>
<td>Antique and folk art show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:20-4:45</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch superstitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45-5:05</td>
<td>Water witching demonstration.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:05-5:30</td>
<td>Sheep shearing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30-6:00</td>
<td>Music program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00-6:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-7:00</td>
<td>The “Horse-and-Buggy” Dutch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00-7:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30-9:00</td>
<td>Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00-12:00</td>
<td>Free-for-all square dancing on Folk Festival Common.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### TUESDAY, JULY 5

**PROGRAM—STAGE A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:15-12:45</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:15-1:15</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:15-1:35</td>
<td>Folksongs of Dutchland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35-2:15</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15-2:30</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30-2:50</td>
<td>“Horse-and-Buggy” Dutch garb show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:50-3:30</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30-5:30</td>
<td>Major Folk Festival production: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45-8:45</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45-9:15</td>
<td>Plain Pennsylvania garb show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:15-9:30</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30-10:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch folklore in slides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Documentary film on the Old Order Amish.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**PROGRAM—STAGE B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:30-1:00</td>
<td>Music program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00-1:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30-2:00</td>
<td>Flax demonstration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00-3:30</td>
<td>Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FOLK SEMINARS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania folklore: a survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-4:30</td>
<td>Folk art; the best explored area of Pennsylvania Dutch folk-culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30-5:00</td>
<td>The folklore of Pennsylvania Dutch farm-life.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:00-5:30</td>
<td>Bee and insect lore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30-6:00</td>
<td>Music program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00-6:30</td>
<td>Garden lore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-7:00</td>
<td>The “Horse-and-Buggy” Dutch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00-7:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30-9:00</td>
<td>Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00-11:30</td>
<td>Free-for-all square dancing on Folk Festival Common.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WEDNESDAY, JULY 6

**PROGRAM—STAGE A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:15-12:45</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:45-1:15</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:15-1:35</td>
<td>Folksongs of Dutchland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35-2:15</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15-2:30</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30-2:50</td>
<td>“Horse-and-Buggy” Dutch garb show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:50-3:30</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30-5:30</td>
<td>Major Folk Festival production: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45-8:45</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45-9:15</td>
<td>Plain Pennsylvania garb show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:15-9:30</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30-10:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch folklore in slides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Documentary film on the Old Order Amish.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**WEDNESDAY, JULY 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Stage B</th>
<th>Stage A</th>
<th>Stage B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>Music program.</td>
<td>12:15-12:15</td>
<td>Folk music program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30</td>
<td>Flax demonstration.</td>
<td>1:15-1:15</td>
<td>Flax demonstration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00-3:30</td>
<td>Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>1:35-2:15 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
<td>2:00-3:30 Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch cooky cutters.</td>
<td>2:15-2:30 Dutch-English humor.</td>
<td>3:30-4:00 Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-4:30</td>
<td>A history of Dutch cookbooks.</td>
<td>2:30-2:50 &quot;Horse-and-Buggy&quot; Dutch garb show.</td>
<td>4:00-4:30 Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30-5:00</td>
<td>Herbs in Dutchland.</td>
<td>2:50-3:30 Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>5:00-5:30 The folklore on foods in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00-5:30</td>
<td>The folklore on foods in the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>3:30-5:30 Major Folk Festival production: folk-pageant of Gay Dutch folklife.</td>
<td>5:00-5:30 The folklore on foods in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FOLK SEMINARS**

- Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.

**THURSDAY, JULY 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Stage B</th>
<th>Stage A</th>
<th>Stage B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:15-12:15</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.</td>
<td>12:45-1:15</td>
<td>Folk music program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:45-1:15</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.</td>
<td>1:15-1:35</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:15-1:35</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
<td>1:35-2:15</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35-2:15</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
<td>2:15-2:30</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15-2:30</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
<td>2:30-2:50</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30-2:50</td>
<td>&quot;Horse-and-Buggy&quot; Dutch garb show.</td>
<td>2:50-3:30</td>
<td>&quot;Horse-and-Buggy&quot; Dutch garb show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:50-3:30</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>New areas in folk art in Dutchland.</td>
<td>4:00-4:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-4:30</td>
<td>Bird lore in Dutch Pennsylvania.</td>
<td>4:30-5:00</td>
<td>Folkdance of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30-5:00</td>
<td>Tramp art.</td>
<td>5:00-5:30</td>
<td>Folk dance of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00-5:30</td>
<td>The future in folk-cultural studies in Pennsylvania.</td>
<td>3:30-5:30</td>
<td>Folkdance of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30-6:00</td>
<td>Music program.</td>
<td>7:15-7:45</td>
<td>Folkdance of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00-6:30</td>
<td>Panel: Powwowing.</td>
<td>7:45-8:15</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-7:00</td>
<td>Panel: Symbolism in folk art.</td>
<td>8:45-9:15</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00-7:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.</td>
<td>9:15-9:30</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30-9:00</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.</td>
<td>9:30-10:00</td>
<td>Folkdance of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00-11:30</td>
<td>Free-for-all square dancing on Folk Festival Common.</td>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Folkdance of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FRIDAY, JULY 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:15-12:45</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.</td>
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<td>Folk music program.</td>
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<td>12:45-1:15</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.</td>
<td>1:15-1:35</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:15-1:35</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
<td>1:35-2:15</td>
<td>Dialect folksong program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35-2:15</td>
<td>Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.</td>
<td>2:15-2:30</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15-2:30</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
<td>2:30-2:50</td>
<td>Dutch-English humor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30-2:50</td>
<td>Dutch antique and folkart show.</td>
<td>2:50-3:30</td>
<td>Dutch antique and folkart show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:50-3:30</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>Folk dances of the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>Folktales collecting in the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>4:00-4:30</td>
<td>Folktales collecting in the Dutch Country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-4:30</td>
<td>Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.</td>
<td>4:30-5:00</td>
<td>Folktales collecting in the Dutch Country.</td>
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<td>5:00-5:30</td>
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<td>9:00-11:30</td>
<td>Folktales collecting in the Dutch Country.</td>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Folktales collecting in the Dutch Country.</td>
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**FOLK SEMINARS**

- Pennsylvania folksong research to date.
- Folklore on foods in the Dutch Country.
Saturdays, July 9

PROGRAM—STAGE A

11:00-11:30 The Gay Dutch and the Plain Dutch: two worlds in the Dutch Country.
11:30-12:00 Folk art in Dutch Pennsylvania.
12:00-12:30 Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties at the Festival.
12:30-1:00 Pennsylvania Dutch handcrafts show.
1:00-1:20 Dialect folksong program.
1:20-2:00 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
2:00-2:30 The "Horse-and-Buggy" Dutch and their garb.
2:30-2:45 Dutch-English humor.
6:15-6:45 Kitchen Band.
6:45-7:00 Prof. Schnitzel
7:00-7:20 Program of Pennsylvania Dutch folksongs.
7:20-7:40 Plain garb show.
7:40-8:20 Hoedown and jigging demonstrations by championship sets.
10:20-10:50 Amish documentary film.

PROGRAM—STAGE B

12:30-1:00 Music program.
1:00-1:30 Pennsylvania Dutch household lore show.
1:30-2:00 Flax demonstration.
2:00-3:30 Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.
3:30-4:00 Kitchen Band.
4:00-4:30 Dutch antique and folk art show.
4:30-5:00 Amish folklore.
5:00-5:30 Water witching demonstration.
5:30-6:00 Music program.
6:00-6:30 Pennsylvania Dutch homelife show.
6:30-7:00 The "Horse-and-Buggy" Dutch.
7:00-7:30 Pennsylvania Dutch funeral lore show.
7:30-9:00 Panorama of horse-and-buggy farming days in the Dutch Country.
9:00-12:00 Free-for-all square dancing on Folk Festival Common.
Religious Patterns of the Dutch Country

By DON YODER

On the Allegheny frontier in pioneer days “linsey-woolsey” was a favorite cloth because it combined the strength of linen with the warmth of wool. It was made by our frontier grandmothers by combining a flax “warpy” with a woolen “wool.” Like every other phase of Pennsylvania’s folk culture, our religion too is a “linsey-woolsey” mixture, an American hybrid. Without planning, without intention, our forefathers wove together a German “woof” and a British “warpy” and the resultant American coverlet has kept us spiritually warm for two and a half centuries!

One can best begin to understand the place of religion in the Dutch Country by discussing it under its three historic heads. For there were three distinctive “ways of salvation” that appealed to our Pennsylvania Dutch forefathers. These were the ways of the “Church People,” the “Plain People,” and the “Bush Meeting People.”

The Way of the “Church People”

The majority of our forefathers in the Dutch Country were members of the Lutheran or Reformed Churches—representing the “right wing” or conservative branch of the Protestant Reformation. Their worship was characterized by form and dignity. They sang with vigor the stately German chorales. They loved their prayer books and their catechisms. In other words, they were “churchly,” and historians have given them, to distinguish them from their sectarian neighbors, the name “Church People.”

On Pennsylvania soil these “Church People” developed their own peculiar institutions. One of them was the “Union Church.” Settling together in the valleys of Eastern Pennsylvania, the Lutherans and Reformed joined hands to build common church buildings. This Pennsylvania Dutch religious institution, known as the Gemeinschaftliche Kirche or “Union Church,” has spread all over the state, into Ohio and the Midwest, even southward into the Carolinas. One building for two worshiping congregations was an experiment in ecumenical living at the “grass roots” level. It was Pennsylvania’s own contribution to the ecumenical movement.

Our forefathers treated the theological differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed in cavalier fashion. When asked the difference between the two groups, the Dutch farmer was likely to reply, “The Reformed begin the Lord’s Prayer with ‘Unser Vater,’ the Lutherans with ‘Vater Unser.’” If pressed further, he might admit that in the Holy Communion, the Lutherans preferred wafers, the Reformed plain bread. What did these differences matter to him? His family combined both elements within it and they went to church together, no matter whether it was “Lutheran” Sunday or “Reformed” Sunday. A union Sunday School, a union cemetery, even a union consistory or church council was the rule in these “union churches.”

But the “Union Church,” the historic Pennsylvania Dutch religious institution coming from the Church people, today seems to be on its way out. There are still over 175 of these hybrid churches in the Dutch Country. But while the Reformed are generally tolerant of the arrangement, the Lutheran synods have again and again gone on record as opposing their continuance.

The second historic religious institution of the “Church People” was the Parochial School. For Luther had written—“Aus der Familie in die Schule, aus der Schule in die Kirche, aus der Kirche in den Himmel”—“From the family to the school, from the school to the church, from the church into heaven.” Schooling was to them part of the church’s task in orienting children into life and work, as important a link in the chain of development as the family and the church itself. Hence every “Union Church” had a “Parochial School,” with the church organist and “föreinger” as schoolmaster. These schools flourished for the first full century of our history.

When the advent of the tax-supported public school signed the death warrant for Protestant parochial schools in Pennsylvania, the Lutherans and Reformed turned to higher education. In the days before public high schools were in operation, they sponsored scores of “academies” or preparatory schools in various communities, with the teaching done by the minister. The college movement began in 1787 when Franklin College was founded at Lancaster, jointly by the Lutherans and Reformed, as a Union venture—typical of their common aims in the early period. In 1825 the Lutherans founded Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, and in 1829 the Reformed added Marshall College, whose historic seat was at Mereersburg in Franklin County. The Lutheran interest in Franklin College was sold in 1850 and Franklin merged with Marshall College in 1853 to form the present Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster. Later in the 19th Century came Ursinus College (Reformed) in Montgomery County, Hood College (Reformed) at Frederick, Maryland, and Muhlenberg College (Lutheran) at Allentown.

Except for those brief decades in the nineteenth century when rebel wings of both churches attempted to remake their communions into German versions of revivalistic Methodism, both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches continued in their conservative, churchly ways, to minister to a large proportion of the Pennsylvania Dutch people. Like all the other churches transplanted from Europe, they too have been subtly Americanized in many ways. Gradually the German language has been given up as the language of worship. The Lutherans generally used it longer than the Reformed, because of their larger proportion of foreign-born German leadership in the nineteenth century.

Today no rural Pennsylvania Dutch church uses German, except for the few that have adopted the twentieth-century practice of holding an annual commemorative service “in the language of the fathers.” But as recently as 1930 there were several score of rural churches in Lehigh, Berks and adjoining counties where German services were held periodically. With the exception of the few favorite German chorales which were translated into English, the hymns sung at Lutheran and Reformed churches in Pennsylvania today are the same as those sung in the more formal sister-churches of Anglo-American origin. Parish organizations are in the American rather than the European German style. All of which again accents the fact that two hundred years on American soil have made a difference.

And yet the debt of faith to Germany and Switzerland remains. The German contacts of both Lutheran and Reformed Churches have enabled them to minister in a peculiarly effective way to the thousands of German-speaking
refugees from the German settlements of Eastern Europe, who found their way through the Iron Curtain after the Second World War. The twentieth century has matured the Pennsylvania Lutherans' sense of belonging to a worldwide Lutheran fellowship, which has broadened their world outlook in general. While the Reformed have historically been more ready to cooperate with other Protestant groups in what has now come to be known as the "ecumenical movement," the twentieth century likewise has awakened the Reformed Churches of Pennsylvania—since 1934 known as the Evangelical and Reformed Church—to the problems of suffering humanity.

The Way of the "Plain People"

In Bred in the Bone, Elsie Singmaster describes the Shindle-decker Sisters, members of the "Improved Mennonite sect," as striving to be "little and unknown, loved by God alone." Pennsylvania's "Plain People" have taken a different path to salvation than the "Church People." Springing from the "Swiss Brethren" movement in Canton Zurich, Switzerland, in the 1520's, the Plain People represent the "left wing" or radical ends of the Protestant Reformation. Unlike the conservative Lutherans and the middle-of-the-road Reformed, the "Swiss Brethren" or Anabaptists as they are generally called, took the path which led them farthest away from Roman Catholicism and its sacramental system.

The most striking difference between the Church People and the Plain People comes in their differing conceptions of what makes up the Church. In Europe the Lutherans and Reformed favored an all-inclusive state-church, connected with the government. In this "established church" you were born and lived and died. The Anabaptists felt differently—religion to them was a private matter which the individual should decide for himself, in his years of maturity. Here was the germ of the great idea of freedom of religion, which was to come to complete fruition in America.

While the Church People have emphasized a dignified and liturgical worship, the Plain People have accentuated simplicity of worship, and more especially, the working out of one's religious principles into everyday living. They have been an intensely practical people. We call them "plain" because they try to follow St. Paul's injunction not to "conform" to the "world," but to come apart and be separate from the world of men. Hence the absence of frills on their religion. No big beautiful churches for them, esthetically pleasing and emotionally satisfying as in Catholicism and Lutheranism. The plain Quaker meetinghouse was good enough for them, and there are of course some of the plain folk who do without even meetinghouses, preferring to worship in their own farmhouses. These are the Old Order Amish and the Old Order River Brethren.

In looking to the Bible for principles for their daily living, the Mennonites and other varieties of plain belief take as their principal guide the Sermon on the Mount and the teachings of St. Paul. Jesus' statement of "Swear not at all" means to them not only no oaths—and since 1749 they have been permitted in Pennsylvania courts to "affirm" the truth of their statements rather than to "swear" to their truth—but also it means no dealings with civil courts when disputes can be settled among church people themselves, and to some of the Mennonite sects, no voting. Jesus' injunction to "love your enemies" has developed into their cardinal teaching of nonresistance or pacifism.

But while we must look to the Anabaptist ideals as the acknowledged source of many present-day Mennonite and Amish teachings, it is equally true that the Plain People have changed tremendously in the two centuries since their ancestors stepped off the emigrant boats at Philadelphia. Their costumes are today almost entirely different, although they are still plain. From the other American sister-churches have come such new institutions as the Sunday School, missionary conferences, the college movement, the tent and revival meeting. The plain people have almost no hymnody of their own—the "gospel song" has made a complete sweep of the plain groups.

The most significant change has come within the past few years. Today, fifty years after the Methodists—those chief protagonists of the revival meeting in America—began to tone down their revivalist technique in favor of educational methods, Lancaster County's Mennonites—the most conservative bloc in the Old Mennonite Church—are becoming revivalist. Witness the Brunk Brothers' Tent Meetings which have been held within Lancaster Conference for the past several years.

Three outstanding contributions of Pennsylvania's Plain People are evident in this twentieth century. The most important is their witness to earlier Christian ideals such as pacifism. In a sense they have written the "minority report" on the Christian's duty in time of war, and they deserve to be heard. Good Doctor Rush of Philadelphia, writing in 1784 in his Account of the Manners of the German Settlers of Pennsylvania, had high words of praise for "these German sects of Christians ... who refuse to bear arms for the purpose of shedding human blood." These, he prophesied, "may be preserved by divine providence as the center of a circle, which shall gradually embrace all nations of the earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace."

Their emphasis on community living is another twentieth-century contribution of the Plain People. While the Lutheran and Reformed farm communities, like most others in America, are, socially speaking, beginning to disintegrate in the 20th Century, from the combined impact of radio, television, the movies, and the general shifting of interest from religion to secular interests, the communities of the plain people are still holding together. They are not unshaken, of course, but the sectarian, with his policy of "nonconformity" to "worldly" ways, has the better method of centering his and his children's attention on religion and away from the enticements of the secular position. Walter Kollmorgen's splendid sociological study of the Old Order Amish Community of Lancaster County, and the interest shown in the Amish by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference are evidence of national recognition of this peculiar facet of the "plain" approach to living.

While the Plain People have wanted to be "little and unknown, loved by God alone," the twentieth century has brought to them as to the Church People the realization that
the outside world beckons as an avenue for Christian service. The Second World War was a period of testing, of sifting ideals. While conscientiously opposed to the taking of human life, in peace or war, their Christian conscience led them to play the Good Samaritan to the victims of the war in noble fashion. Not only is it true that the plain groups gave more per capita to European relief and reconstruction than the other American church groups, but it was from their inspiration that the practical form of relief known as the “Heifer Project” came to the aid of suffering Europe. Thousands of young cattle were sent abroad after the war to replenish the depleted herds of Europe. Pennsylvania’s Plain People—Mennonites, Brethren, Amish—initiated the project and carried it through, good evidence of the intense practicality of their Christianity.

The Way of the “Bush Meeting People”

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 between the Delaware and the Juniata a whole host of new German Methodist 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. Because of their complete adoption of the frontier recruiting technique of revivalism, centering about the “camp meeting,” or as it was called in the hills of Pennsylvania, the “bush meeting,” we can call this group of churches the “Bush Meeting People.”

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 Methodist lines, sharing the Methodists’ concern for morality and discipline and organized along the circuit-riding 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 shouting Evangelicals and United Brethren folk that the “Pennsylvania Dutch Spiritual,” their greatest contribution to our folk culture, was born. Besides the bush meetings, which were held outdoors in the summer or fall, there were also the winter “protracted meetings” and the prayer and class meetings where emotion ran deep as one after another the converted farmers gave their testimony of “what the Lord had done” for them. For the bush meeting people stressed conversion as the chief end of man. One was not born into the church, as among Lutherans and Reformed, nor was one guided into the path of duty by growing up among a “peculiar people” as among the plain groups—the bush meeting Christian, found his way into a fellowship of converted sinners, usually through a sudden and elminsque experience known as conversion or the “new birth.”

Not only was conversion the chief end of the religious program of the church, but it was for the convert the beginning of new life on the more excellent way. The moral requirements for belonging to the fellowship were strict—it was the bush meeting folk who fastened upon Pennsylvania the pattern of pietistic mores still familiar in many rural and small-town areas—no drinking, no smoking, no card-playing, no novel-reading, no doubtful amusements (even the circus was suspect well into the twentieth century), no “breaking of the sabbath.” The path was clearly marked and woe to the convert who overstepped the bounds and “backslid” from grace.

But the bush meeting way of salvation was a joys way too. The convert who had found suresuce from his sins and new moral challenges to remake his community, burst forth in song and shouts of joy for his salvation. At the bush meetings he sang, and the songs that he sang have become part of America’s treasury of “spirituals.” For the bush meeting Christian took over the Methodist camp meeting spiritual, translated it into German or Dutch, and retrograded it into something that sounds native to our hills and valleys.

The “spirituals” sang of the hardships of the “pilgrims’” lot, of the perils of sin, of the joys of the Savior, of the happiness of the “New Jerusalem,” with its golden streets, its welcoming committee of angels, its tearless eyes and Tree of Life. Hundreds of these Dutch spirituals are still in existence, although they are passing from the scene. But you can still hear them in the hinterlands. At a particularly warm prayer meeting in the Lebanon Valley the U. E.’s often shift from English to Dutch and a round of spiritual singing ensues. At the Church of God Bush Meeting at Hepler’s Grove in the Mahantango Valley hundreds of voices are raised every year in the old favorite O wie lieblich, wie lieblich, wie lieblich uns Jesus!—"How lovely, how lovely, how lovely is Jesus" and a score of other favorites. But the time is coming when they will be only a memory.

The contribution of the Bush Meeting People to Pennsylvania and its daughter colonies in the south and west has been chiefly in the type of morality and character they produced. They were our native Puritans, and they had the Puritan responsibility for reshaping the society in which they lived. The Plain People were more interested in “non-conforming” to the world than in transforming the world into their own pattern. The Bush Meeting People were builders of a new order—they wanted to see the Kingdom come in earth as in Heaven. In Pennsylvania they were among our most active apostles of antislavery and temperance, and many a Dutch community has been remade entirely in the refining fires of bush meeting evangelism.

The Evangelicals and United Brethren—now happily united in the Evangelical and United Brethren Church since 1946—and the Church of God and a few of the other smaller bush meeting groups, have also contributed to higher education in America. Lebanon Valley College at Annville, and Albright College at Reading, are their products.

Conclusion

It now should be partially apparent why, as the U. S. Bureau of the Census declares, Pennsylvania, of all the states with a colonial foundation, has within its borders more religious denominations than any other in the union. It seems that the Pennsylvania Dutchman, when it comes to religion, is like the Holland Dutchman. In Holland it is proverbial that the Dutchman is so religious and with it so conservative that “where there are two Dutchmen, you find a church—but where there are three Dutchmen, you find two churches.” It is so in the Dutch Country of Pennsylvania. No one way of salvation could possibly hope to minister to all Pennsylvania Dutchmen, for the Dutch soul is a many-manioned soul, and the Dutch heart has many loves. We have created for ourselves—as Bishop Dibelius of Berlin said of all nations and their national form of religion—the religion that we deserve.
Redmond Contyngham, in his *History of the Mennonites and Aymenists* (1830), writes that at the time of the Amish immigration in the 18th Century, "The long Beards of the Men and the short petticoats of the Females just covering the knee attracted the attention of the English Settlers. The Men wore long red caps on their heads; the women had neither bonnets, hats or caps but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face. The dress both of the Female and Male was domestic[,] quite plain [and] made of a coarse material after an old fashion of their own."

What? No bonnets and no broad-brimmed hats? How could one tell these motley immigrants as Mennonites or Amish? Wasn't the present "plain costume" brought to Pennsylvania by the immigrant generation, from Switzerland and Germany?

Today it is so easy to tell an Amishman or a "plain" Mennonite on the streets of Lancaster that most people never stop to think that his forbears dressed quite differently. As a matter of fact the present plain costumes, like everything else in the historic Pennsylvania Dutch folk culture, are an American hybrid affair. There are, to be sure, some Swiss and German elements in the costumes, but other elements were picked up here from the Quakers, who "lived neighbors" with our German-speaking "plain people" for two and a half centuries.

The Quaker influence upon the Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren has never been fully evaluated. It was strong in the early period, when the Quakers were in control of the provincial government. Naturally the German sectarians, both less politically adept and socially competent because of linguistic handicaps, leaned on the Friends for support. Some of the influences of the Quakers upon our plain people are profound, others more subtle. Quaker styles in dress and church architecture early found their way across the language line into the Mennonite fold. The Mennonite "meetinghouse" of the colonial and early federal period, with its two doors and separate sections for the brethren and the sisters, its plain Georgian lines and domestic shutters, plainly copied Quaker models.

In the realm of costume, the plain bonnet as worn by Mennonites and Amish and Brethren today, is an adaptation of the Quaker bonnet. Even the Quaker women did not wear bonnets in the eighteenth century. According to Amelia Mott Gummer, in her *History of Quaker Costume*, the Quaker bonnet—called by the irreverent the coal-scuttle or sugar-scoop bonnet, was introduced into Pennsylvania around 1798, through the "visit in gospel love" paid the

![Mennonite preacher of 1815 in breeches.](image1)

![Plain garb in transition from breeches to trousers in early 1800's.](image2)

![The Dunkard garb in the mid 1850's. The Dunkards wore beards.](image3)
Pennsylvania Friends by the English Quaker preacher, Martha Routh (1743–1817). Her visit to Goshen Meeting in Chester County wearing the new English bonnet caused such a flurry of imitation among the Quaker sisters that Emmen Cook, schoolmaster at Birmingham, recorded in his Memorandum Book (1829) that Sister Martha was a means "of bringing bonnets in fashion for our leading Fri's, and hoods or Caps on the Cloaks in the Galleries, which of latter time the Hoods on the Cloaks of our Overseers and other active members have increased to an alarming height or size:—how unlike the dress of their grandmothers!"

For their grandmothers in the eighteenth century wore the "flat hat," the charming pastoral straw hat, tied under the chin. This for summer wear, the winter's version being the same though made of felt or beaver. The "flat hat" pictured in our illustrations was made in the Kishacoquillas Valley of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, where it is still worn in the summers by Amish women and girls for field and garden work. For formal wear they don their heavy black bonnets, but around the home they wear the "flat hat" of the eighteenth century. Two hundred years is a long time for a style to last!

The bonnet, then, became the standard mark of Pennsylvania's plain womenfolk only in the nineteenth century. By Civil War Days the plain bonnet reached its full proportions, and has been shrinking ever since. But it is still true, as the Quaker historian of costume expressed it, that "like the stars, each bonnet differeth from another in glory." The glory of the Amish bonnet—black for women, colored for the children, different from the glory of the Old Mennonite bonnet, whose frill and under-the-chin ties are gradually disappearing as more and more of the younger women prefer the smaller token bonnet, a black chip of a bonnet that fits on the back of the head. As long as this token bonnet does not approach the heretical lines of the forbidden turban, Lancaster County's Mennonites can wear it.

In between the capacious Amish bonnets and the token bonnets of the Old Mennonites are the charming black or gray bonnets worn by the New Mennonites and the Old Order River Brethren. The New Mennonite bonnet—worn by the "Herrtös," a schismatic group which left the main trunks of the "Old Mennonite" group in Lancaster County around 1812—is quite large, with stiff frills that stand out horizontally at the side of the face and at the back of the head like airplane wings and tailpieces. The bonnet of the Old Order River Brethren comes to a higher rounded point in the back, and the frills are not stiff but fall down around the neck in very charming fashion.

If the bonnet is the first and principal outward mark of plain women today, the "prayer covering" is the second. Also called the "prayer veilin," this is the little cap of white net material that Mennonite women wear around the house, at church, or anywhere else indoors in public when they have occasion to take their outer bonnet off. Older women, especially in the more conservative circles, make their own "coverings" of plain white cloth, with ties under the chin. The more "modern" of the Mennonite girls and women prefer to buy the more modish prepared prayer coverings at Hager's "Plain Clothing" Department in Lancaster or one of the other "plain stores of the Dutch Country.

If you ask a Mennonite for the origin of the "prayer covering," you will be directed to St. Paul's injunction in I Corinthians that women must keep heads covered "when praying or prophesying." That is of course the scriptural justification for the practice, and the Mennonites can quote chapter and verse for all their religious customs. But actually the prayer covering itself, in its material outlines, is just the charming Pennsylvania adaptation of the Swiss and South German peasant's woman's Hausbe or everyday headdress, which was made of white material, plain or embroidered, and tied under the chin. The plain white Hausbe differed from region to region, but some of those in the areas where our Mennonite foremothers emigrated from are suspiciously like the present-day plain covering.

The dress of a plain woman varies according to the religious group she belongs to. You can all distinguish an Amishwoman from her bright colors, set off with black. The Amish have no objection to colored materials for dresses, as long as the material has no pattern. An Amishwoman's dress may be bright green, or blue, or purple, but she will wear a large black apron, and a black shawl or "cape." The New Mennonites and Old Order River Brethren wear very long dresses, all of plain material—dark gray, black, light gray, or light blue—without pattern. Old Mennonite women wear plain or figured material of any color, depending upon the taste of the wearer, but there is one way besides the prayer cap whereby you can tell the wearer is a member of the Old Mennonites, the largest of our Mennonite groups. Her dress must have the regulation "cape," a detachable shawl arrangement over the shoulders fastened to the belt of the dress. And long sleeves are the rule.

Pennsylvania's "plain clothes men" also dress differently from their eighteenth and early nineteenth century forefathers. "Breeches" and shadbeiled coats were the rule in the eighteenth century, Quaker style. It was not until around the turn of the century that long trousers came into style in America—with the democratic backlash of the French Revolution. When the change came, probably our Mennonite and Amish forefathers felt as did the aged Quaker
preacher, Jonathan Kirkbride. Having worn breeches all his long life, he put on trousers with great reluctance, write Alice Morse Earle in her *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, and complained that they "felt so shanny" flapping around his ankles.

The distinguishing marks of the men's costume among our plain people were historically the broad-brimmed hat and the beard. Today the hat, as well as the presence or absence of a beard, and its length and trim, depends upon the church membership of the wearer. One can tell a "House" or "Old Order Amishman" from a "Church" or New Order Amishman in this way. Among the Amish there is a great variation among broad-brimmed hats, depending upon marital and ecclesiastical status. The very wide and high crowned "bishop's hats" of the Old Order Amish, with the proportions of a black sombrero, are made by the Swiss people on special order through the McLeod Hat Store in Reading, which furnishes Lancaster County's Amish with most of their formal hats. The broad-brimmed straw hats for field work in the summer are made privately in Lancaster.

Like his wife, the Old Order Amishman can sport bright colors. Black is the rule for trousers and short coats ("wam-muses"), as well as for the heavy "cape-coats" for winter-wear, but an Amishman can wear a bright green shirt with no qualms of conscience. The other plain groups wear more conventional clothing. Coats are plain, with standup collars, and traditionally shirts are worn without ties. By the older Old Mennonite men, plain black felt hats are worn with regulation narrow brims, but without a crease. But Lancaster County's young Mennonite men are trending toward the "gay suit"—the ready-made man's suit, in conservative colors of course, but with the lines and the lapel of the average American teenager's suit. In Western Pennsylvania and other portions of the Old Mennonite Church this "compromise" has come earlier. And of course there is a whole wing of the Mennonite Church—the General Conference Mennonites—who feel that Mennonite ideals can be preserved without any plain uniform at all.

The 19th century humorist Robert J. Burdette amused countless American audiences with his lecture on "The Rise and Fall of the Mustache." Some historian should trace the lengthening and waning of the ecclesiastical beard among the plain groups of Pennsylvania.

The "plain" beard, like the broad-brimmed hat, seems to have been brought across the Atlantic by the plain people. Naturally you will understand that styles in beards, as with other parts of apparel, change frequently among the general population. The most recent evidence of this came with the rise of the beard in America through the military fashion of Civil War Days. We just a few generations ago pulled out of that period. The plain people's beards may possibly have reflected an earlier period of general masculine hirsuteness, preserved into later eras, or they may have been "nature-boy" protests against the shaven and perfumed lopopies of the Renaissance period. I frankly do not know!

The important thing is that we do not owe our Mennonite forefathers' beards to the Quakers. The Quakers were against the beard, so much so that when that New Jersey "character," Joshua Evans (1731-1708), grew a beard in his attempt to make his life consistent with his religious principles he got himself "shunned" by his brethren. Being an advocate of peace, he banished from his table tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, and salt, upon all of which taxes were levied for the support of the Revolutionary War. Plainness was an obsession with him—"his dress was of domestic fabrication, altogether in its natural colour, and clear of superfluous appendages." But he went too far when he let his beard grow. The monthly meeting appointed a committee "on account of his wearing his beard and other peculiarities." They labored with him in vain—the report is that "they left him with his beard on, much as they found him." But Joshua traveled on, visiting Redstone, Canada, Carolina, beard and all.

Our conclusions? The "plain" beard must have been brought to America with our Mennonite forefathers. For unknown historical reasons, but probably through Quaker influence, the main body of American Mennonites early shaved off their beards. By the 19th century our Mennonites, like our Pennsylvania Quakers, were quite beardless—a truth to which the Lewis Miller drawings witness. Thus with the defection of the Mennonites from the ways of the fathers, the patriarchal beard was bequeathed to the Amish, the Conservative Dunkards, and the Old Order River Brethren, among whom it flourished even unto this day.

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These photographs showing the making of “Liebesmahlbrot” were taken in May, 1955, at the Meyer Church of the Brethren, located one mile south of Hamlin, on the Berks-Lebanon border. The dough is still prepared in the dough tray shown here.
After the dough is ready for kneading it is divided into two-pound units.

"LOVE FEASTS"

By DON YODER

In the hills and valleys of the Dutch Country, where Pennsylvania's colorful religious groups preserve church customs that call one back over the centuries to earlier days and earlier ways, one hears a great deal about "love feasts." Like the primitive Christians in the days of the apostles, the "love" that they feast on is not "earthly" but "heavenly love." While this "heavenly love" or Christian fellowship is the aim of meeting, it is achieved in most cases through sharing a common meal, or an appetizing coffee snack, together. Far removed from the general American "church supper," the love feast as found among Pennsylvania's Brethren and Moravian groups is actually a religious service, worship with a Dutch touch, which features a worshiping congregation enjoying the old Pennsylvania Dutch pastime of eating together.

The Brethren "Love Feast"

Pennsylvania's "Brethren" groups—called colloquially the "Dunkers" or "Dunkards"—hold the most elaborate love feasts of all. In Brethren circles the "love feast" always precedes Communion. Because the Brethren follow the Gospel of John in their interpretation of the communion, they hold it in the evening (the first communion was, after all, the "Last Supper"), they precede it with a common meal (our "love feast"), and they precede that with the rite of feetwashing (for John tells us how before the Last Supper Jesus washed the disciples' feet).

As served today in the meetinghouse belt of Pennsylvania, the Brethren "love feast" is a modest meal—usually made up of bowls of warmed broth, boiled meat, and hearty loaves of Pennsylvania Dutch bread. From older days come accounts of tables laden with additional Dutch delicacies, even beet pickles and purple pickled eggs and bowls of apple butter for the generous slices of bread. Eaten by conservative Dunkards in their homes, or by more liberal Brethren in the meetinghouse, the meal is a symbol of Christian fellowship, a sign that all of life, even the fellowship at the table, had its religious significance.

In the older congregations men ate on the one side, women on the other, at linen spread tables made by flipping up the backs of the meetinghouse benches. Hence the Dunkards have added to the roster of Dutchland antiques another practical item—the love-feast bench-table.

The Brethren "love feast" is a religious service, accompanied with the singing of hymns. It is accompanied also with much kissing, as the "holy kiss" (which we read about in the New Testament) is passed from man to man and from woman to woman, as a symbol of the unity of the congregation. Another echo of New Testament practice is the serving of tables by the men. After all, the women
Kneading the dough, from left to right: Annie Heisey, Anna Lineceaver, Lucille Meyer, Elva Lentz, Verda Gibbel, Gladys Merkey and Sallie Bomberger.

The dough, when rolled out, is ruled off into strips with the use of a marker.

prepared the meal, and they are happy twice a year to sit back and let the menfolk serve it. The “deacons” of the New Testament churches did as much.

The Moravian “Love Feasts”

In Bethlehem, Nazareth, Emmaus, Lititz and elsewhere, the Moravians also hold love feasts. Outsiders who venture into their services can be forgiven for expressing surprise when, in the midst of an otherwise ordinary religious meeting featuring hymns and prayers and a sermon, women diners enter with trays of succulent sugar-buns, called streisslers, and steaming urns of coffee. It’s a “love feast,”

A three-pronged fork is used to prick holes into the bread—always five in number, representing the five wounds of Christ on the Cross.
After the kneading process is completed (it takes in the neighborhood of an hour) the women roll out the dough.

A finished "loaf" of Liebesmahlbrot, ready for the oven. At communion, the ministers break off the strips. The end pieces (with fewer holes than five) are frequently given to the children.

and where but in the practical Dutch Country can one find the "coffeebreak" system applied even in the churches?

In the old days the Moravians held these joyous services on various occasions. They seemed to delight in holding them often. The old accounts tell us that whenever they built a house or a church, finished a missionary campaign, whenever a missionary arrived from the Indian country or from Europe, whenever a member had a birthday or a congregation had an anniversary, they held a "love feast," accompanied by much singing and prayer and outpouring of coffee. They are still popular and are held in the older congregations as many as eight or nine times a year, not always in connection with Communion, but on anniversary occasions or special festal days. Most popular of all is the Christmas Eve "love feast," when the buns and coffee taste especially good in a church decorated with evergreens.

"Love Feasts" of the "Bush-Meeting People"

Yet another significance for the word "love feast" exists in the Dutch Country. Among the Methodists and their Dutch Country children, the "Bush-Meeting People" (the Evangelical United Brethren and related groups), "love feasts" are still held in connection with the annual conferences in the spring and the camp-meetings in the summer or early fall.

These "love feasts" are feasts not of Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties but of spiritual things. They are the old-fashioned "testimony meetings," when one after another, members of the audience tell their religious experience, interspersed with hymn-singing and prayer.
"HORSE-and-BUGGY" Mennonites

By ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

Service "break" at Bowmansville.

Two-door Weaverland meetinghouse.

Contemporary garb of the "Horse-and-Buggy" Mennonites of Eastern Lancaster County.
The first question the New Yorker asks when he arrives by bus at the annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival at Kutztown—an essentially Gay Dutch affair—is always the same: “But where are the queer Dutch?”

By “queer” Dutch the tourist, of course, means the most conservative of the Plain People: the “Hook-and-Eye” Amish and the “Horse-and-Buggy” or “Team” Mennonites, the folks, in other words, who dress in a strange garb and still use horse-drawn transportation.

The term “Horse-and-Buggy” or “Team” Mennonite refers to the most conservative of Lancaster County’s Mennonite population: the Wengerites, the Pike or Stauffer Mennonites, and the Thirty-Fivers. Like the “Hook-and-Eye” Amish, these three groups of Mennonites do not use automobiles. They drive buggies and carriages. They permit neither electricity nor telephones on their farms. In many respects they are even stricter than the most conservative Amish.

The basic differences—outward ones—between the “Team” Mennonites and the Amish are that the “Team” Mennonites meet for Sunday services in meetinghouses surrounded by horse sheds, the Amish in their homes; and unlike the Amish, the “Team” Mennonite men are clean-shaven.

Of the three groups of “Team” Mennonites, the Thirty-Fivers are generally considered to be the most conservative. Up until a relatively few years ago they insisted, for in-
Endless sheds at Bowmansville.

In using candles instead of other non-electric means of lighting. The Wengerites share their meetinghouses with the "Black Bumper" Mennonites, rotating Sundays for services. The Black Bumper Mennonites are permitted automobiles, but they must paint every bit of bumper chrome black. The idea is, of course, to express planness.

In the estimation of this writer the quintessence of all the sights in Plain Dutchland is a Sunday morning at one of the "Horse-and-Buggy" Mennonite meetinghouses, at the hour when the service ends and the men and women, boys and girls, all in plain garb seek out their carriages and buggies and start the ride home.

Two-door Weaverland meetinghouse.

The young f ry sport buggies with all sorts of decora­
tions (top). Reflector tape in heart cutouts are common among courting youth (center). The owner's initials in reflector tape (bottom).

The young f ry sport buggies with all sorts of decora­
tions (top). Reflector tape in heart cutouts are common among courting youth (center). The owner's initials in reflector tape (bottom).
Weaverland does not have enough sheds to house the teams during the services.

An interesting study in wheels—buggy and carriage.

Horses and buggies lined up on a Sunday morning.

View from the cemetery at Weaverland.
The enormous vitality with which the old-order Amish Folk retain their semi-anachronistic way of life amid the stresses of the modern American society is quite astounding. No other major in-group in America has so effectively resisted the homogenizing effects of the present technological and mass-media era. Even the hill folk of Kentucky, according to educator Jesse Stuart writing in the Saturday Review of Dec. 28, 1957, have gone “modern.”

Of no small consequence in the preservation of solidarity and esprit de corps among the Amish is their remarkable faculty for relative self-sufficiency. Indeed, the Amish need not reach beyond their immediate group to satisfy the larger part of their physical needs and all their social, spiritual, and emotional needs.

The resounding conviviality and wholesome camaraderie attending an Amish wedding is an excellent case in point. It is here that the multi-faceted Amish personality is expressed and stimulated by nothing more than membership in their own microcosm, happily fulfilled.

While the groom and, sometimes, his brother, invite the Amish guests personally, the bride’s mother and father may invite “English” guests by means of a personal visit or a casual post-card. However, invitations extended to non-Amish friends are extremely rare. Usually, only the family doctor, the school teacher, the feed supplier and the like are invited.

I managed to wheedle a grudging invitation to the wedding of Dave Zook’s daughter only through frequent and pointed references to his wife’s excellent reputation as a cook and to my eagerness to sample some of her fare . . . “Just drop on in if you like,” he said laconically.

Rachel Zook’s wedding to Levi Fisher was to be held on a
Tuesday morning during November. Tradition dictates, as it does in so many modern Amish practices, that, with the work of the harvest completed and the harder filled to overbrimming, the wedding season should begin. The alternative day would have been Thursday. Other days are inappropriate insofar as Monday is a day of preparation after the Sabbath, Wednesday is the day of preparation for Thursday weddings, Friday is unlucky and Saturday is the day of preparation for the Sabbath.

At about 8:00 A.M. I drove my small French Renault into the Zook's farm-yard, already cluttered almost to the point of overflow with the grey, box-like buggies of the family men and the black, rakishly-open buggies of the young bucks. Ephraim Riehl, close friend of the groom, came up to the car and mischievously advised me that even though he was chief hostler he could not manage to put up in the stable all the “horses” under my hood. All morning, Ephraim and his crew had been unhitching horses from the buggies of guests and putting them up in the stable. A type of numbered horse-check which they gave to each guest helped identify horses when it came time to leave.

Mr. Zook, father of the bride-to-be, came out to shake my hand and take me by the arm. As we walked into the house, he explained: “The young fellows are all out to do mischief at weddings. If you was to walk in alone they'd think you wasn't invited and they'd blacken your face for sure.”

The ground floor of the Zook house had been cleared of most of its furniture to make room for a score or so benches and a number of chairs. The religious ceremony was due to begin at 9:00 A.M. In corners of the main room and in other rooms, both upstairs and down, the wedding guests, grouped according to sex and age, were engaged in conversation. Most of the married women were either in the yard of the cellar executing final refinements on the food. The bride and groom were commingling freely with guests their age. The shrill giggles of the bride's friends alternated with the raucous guffaws of the groom's friends in a type of nuptial antiphon.

The bride, much as her unmarried girl-friends who were gathered around her, was dressed in a solid color, rather formless, frock made by Mrs. Zook. An ample white organdy apron extended from waist to lower hem and two thirds of the way around her body. Pinned to the top of the apron was a triangular Halstuch (neckchief) extending tightly across her breast, over her shoulders and down to the top of the apron in the back. Perched atop her bun of ample hair was an organdy cap fastened to the hair with two narrow ribbons tied in a bow at the base of her throat. Her shoes were high-top and, most likely, would not be worn again until old age. Symbolic of the constancy of wedding vows was the fact that she would never again wear her bridal apron and Halstuch until laid to eternal rest.

The groom was dressed in what was probably his first store-bought outfit, consisting of heavy black trousers, a brief vest and a collarless jacket. His unmarried friends were dressed similarly, except that their clothing was made by a member of the family or by a local seamstress. Accenting the clean white shirts of all the eligible boys was a meticulously adjusted ribbon bow tie.

A few minutes before 9 o'clock, a reverent hush pervaded the entire house as the wedding guests began filling the benches and chairs in the meeting room. I was about to take a seat close to the front when an imposing elderly patriarch leaned over and asked me to find a seat in an adjacent room where the younger children were seated. “We don't like non-Amish to be in the main room during the service,” he explained.

From a seat in the next room I could still, by sharply craning my neck, see and hear most of the action.

At 9 o'clock sharp, the wedding party consisting of three boys and three girls came down the aisle and took places in
Hostlers put the horses in the barn and leave buggies haphazardly arrayed in the field.

the front row. In the same row were the Bishop (Volle-Diener), Deacon (Diener zum Buch), Sub-Deacon (Armen-Diener), fathers of the bride and groom and the song-leader. The girls in the wedding party wore black organdy caps which they had put on just before walking down the aisle. The other unmarried girls in the congregation, just before the service began, replaced their own white caps with the black ones that bespeak their eligibility.

Not a girl in the entire room, whether she was in the bridal party or in the congregation, wore cosmetics or jewelry or carried flowers.

As soon as the bride and her waiters and the groom and his attendants (one of whom I had previously seen acting as a hostler) had taken their seats, the song-leader stood up and began to intone the traditional first wedding hymn entitled: "Wohlauf, Wohlauf, Du Gottes G'mein" (All hail, all hail, Thou Church of God).

With this, the Bishop and Deacons solemnly arose and proceeded, with the wedding party following immediately behind, to the door of an especially prepared upstairs room. The attendants and waiters stayed outside while the couple and the preachers, seating themselves in a circle of previously arranged chairs, discussed the multifold responsibilities and obligations of Christian marriage.

At the completion of the first hymn, the song-leader again stood up and this time intoned the first words of the second traditional hymn for weddings and all religious services, "Der Lob Song" (The Hymn of Praise). With full-throated piety, the congregation followed in a one voice (soprano) chant closely resembling German Gregorian chant of the 17th century, they clearly enunciated the words:

O GOTT VATER WIR LOBEN DICH / UND DEINE GUTE PREISEN / DAS DU DICH O HERR GNADEICH / OH God, our Father, we praise you and glorify your goodness that you, a merciful Lord,

AN UNS NEU HAST BEWIESEN / UND HAST UNS HERR ZUSAMMEN GEFÜHRT / UND ZU ERMAHNNEN DURCH have demonstrated anew to us. And you, oh Lord, have led us together and you admonish,

DEIN WORT / GIB UNS GENAD ZU DIESEM us through your word. Give us guidance in this.

The third hymn, sung until the consultation in the upstairs room ended, was entitled, "So Will Ich Aber Heben Akm" (So Will I Continue to be steadfast). As soon as the wedding party and the Bishop and Deacons had resumed their seats, the hymn was terminated. At this point, one of the deacons delivered the initial sermon in the sing-song intonation characterizing all sermons. This sermon consisted of references to the obligations of marriage and of scriptural readings such as Matt. XIX: 1-13.

Then, after several minutes of kneeling in silent prayer, the congregation sat again to listen to the Bishop deliver the wedding sermon in Amish High German. This was the same sermon the Bishop had given at weddings ever since his nomination and consisted of further and sometimes, repetitious, references to the responsibilities of marriage and of scriptural readings from 1 Cor. 7, Eph. 5, 21 and from the Apocryphal Book of Tobit on the marriage of Tobias and Sarah.

At the conclusion of the sermon, the Bishop, looking first to the young couple and then to the congregation, asked softly in Pennsylvania Dutch dialect if there was any im-
A gathering of Amish men and women. Note the so-called “humility flap” under the apron of the woman in foreground.

pediment to the marriage known to the assembled. When there was no reply, he motioned for the bride and groom to come forward and stand before him. The attendants and waiters remained seated, as did the father of the bride. Accordingly, the couple exchanged vows without such externals as someone to give the bride away and a wedding ring.

The actual exchange of vows marked the culmination of preparations that had begun almost at birth in the Zook and Fisher families, as will all Amish families who follow the Ordnung (Church discipline).

From their first birthday on, young Amish children are given, among other things, gifts especially intended to furnish a future home. Boys and girls, alike, receive china and glassware. Moreover, boys receive farm equipment, carpentry tools and so forth. Girls receive table and bed linen patiently embroidered by the women relatives and friends, sewing equipment, cooking utensils and the like.

When the children reach school age, their parents make every effort to send them to one-room schools where they are less likely to meet and become friendly with non-Amish. The fact that one-room schools still exist in Amish areas eloquently attests to the perseverance of Amish parents in protesting large modern consolidated schools. They feel that such schools tend to have a diluting effect on the faith of their children.

Usually, as soon as the young man reaches his 16th birthday, his father gives him a racy black open buggy, appropriately called a courting buggy, and a horse of his own. In this buggy, the young Amish man will run his numerous errands and go to “singings” held Sunday evenings in the barn of alternating families in the community. Here he will meet young Amish girls who, when they reach 16, are permitted to come along in the company of their older brothers or sisters.

At the “singing,” the young people, grouped off in the
A typical Lancaster County Amish farmstead with “gross-dawi” additions to the main house for the grandparents.

barn according to sex, sing traditional Amish hymns for several hours.

The more alert young Amish man spends much of the evening trying to line up one of the girls to ride home in his buggy. He brags profusely about how fast his horse can run, how his buggy out-shines all the others, how sharply he can take a corner, etc.

Should a novice succeed for the first time in taking a girl home, his friends will do everything possible to confuse him. On some occasions they have been known to follow the couple at a discreet distance and, when the young man tires up his buggy in order to walk the young lady to her house, make off stealthily with his horse or, even, a wagon wheel. The custom, locally, goes by the name “scouting.”

Should a rapport be established between the young man and woman during the singings, and the rides home, he will make it a point to ask her, as they walk along the lane to her house, if he might not come visiting one of the evenings of the week.

If accepted, he will wait for his parents to go to bed and, then, make his way stealthily out of the house. At the girl’s house he ties his buggy to a fence post at the far end of the lane and proceeds to a point directly below her window. She, of course, is awaiting him and needs only to be notified of his presence below by the pebbles or bits of corn he throws or the flashlight beam he plays against her window. Promptly, she comes quietly down the steps and opens the kitchen door.

Hence, in the warmth of the kitchen, while the family ostensibly sleeps, the courtship takes its course.

In view of these practices, it becomes obvious that such features ascribed by legend to Amish courtship like the blue gate and bundling have no basis in fact.

The young couple continues its courtship in the blissful assumption that no one else in the world knows, or should know, about it. If questioned by parents or friends about designs toward the person with whom they have frequently been seen leaving the “singings,” both, young man and young lady, will vehemently deny any interest at all. Such white lies are traditional in Amish families—the parents having done the same with their parents—and only serve to put everyone on guard.

Unknown to the couple, the fathers, thus alerted, get together and begin discussing tentatively such mundanities as granting the dowry, the purchase of a farm, construction of new buildings, stocking with animals, ordering a family buggy and the like.

When the couple, by mutual consent, decides to marry, the young man makes a visit to one of the deacons of the church. He confides in him and exhorts him go to the father of the bride to ask permission for the marriage.

Forthwith, the deacon, couching his mission in the secrecy
the Amish love to have attending their wedding plans, goes to the girl's father in the capacity of intermediary (Schteckli-mann) and officially advises him of what he has long suspected.

From this point on, the families take over the preparations for the wedding. As much as possible, however, the plans are kept secret until the banns are published at a church meeting at least two weeks before the wedding.

On the day that the banns are to be published and the whole congregation apprised of a fact that they, too, have long suspected, the bride-to-be does not come to meeting. The groom, traditionally, sits near the door so that, as soon as the announcement is made, he may run out to his buggy tied-up near the road and speed to the home of his betrothed. As he rides off, a few of his closest friends may run out of the meeting and call teasingly after him.

For the first time that Sunday, the young man visits his woman in the light of day, under the noses of the entire family.

The few weeks between the announcement and the wedding are crammed with the feverile excitement of cooking foods, preparing clothes, extending invitations, cleaning the house and the like.

After the Bishop, standing before the meeting room full of friends and relatives of the couple, had performed the ceremony, the newly-united pair again took their seats. This time they listened to testimonies on the essence of Christian marriage delivered by the deacons, preachers and other esteemed men in the congregation.

To close the wedding ceremony, the song-leader chanted the first lines of the hymn, "Gelobt sei Gott im Höchsten Thron" (God in His Highest Throne be Praised), and the other members of the congregation took it up. Tradition holds that singing at one's own wedding may bring bad fortune; hence, Levi and Rachel Fisher merely smiled as they led the wedding procession slowly out of the house and into the farmyard.

There was no reception line; but members of the congregation, led by the Bishop, the Deacons and the parents, swarmed around the couple extending congratulatory wishes. The young girls took this opportunity to change back to their white caps. Rachel, too, changed to a white cap which she would wear from then on at meetings.

In the meantime, about thirty women and young girls hustled about inside the house clearing away the benches and setting up tables in almost every room. Then, they formed a type of bucket brigade to bring the profusion of food up from the cellar.

Mrs. Zook advised the Bishop when dinner was ready and he called in each group to take the place he assigned. The bride and groom, their party and most of their young friends sat in the main room at tables arranged in the form of a large square, with one corner left open to provide access for the food-servers. From the "bride's corner" that Levi and Rachel occupied, they were able to look over the room filled with young unmarried guests, the boys on one side of the tables and the girls on the other. The Bishop and Deacons were seated at the main table. So, also, were the hostlers.

The occupants of the other rooms were, for the most part, married. They were assigned places according to age and sex.

The table of the newly-weds was brightly decorated with wedding cakes and other imaginative desserts prepared by girl-friends of the bride.

As soon as the carver, who was seated next to the bride and groom, performed his express function of serving those
The married women prefer to watch other guests playing games.

seated at the main table, everyone in the house fell to the sumptuous feasts with relish. Coming past me at my table in the kitchen was a variegated variety of serving plates and bowls containing copious portions of about four types of soup, eight types of meat, fourteen types of vegetables, thirty types of desserts and dozens of miscellaneous. So acute, indeed, was the need for servers and bus-boys as close to 180 people ingested delicious food with unrestrained enthusiasm that several of the young men volunteered to help.

The Amish cat in surprising quantity and haste, chatting freely and constantly. The young guests, especially, teased and jested with the newly-weds almost without pause. I had scarcely finished a few representative helpings of the main course when the first after dinner hymn started, led by a young man not too far from the main table. It was entitled, "Wacht Auf Ruh! Uns Die Stimme" (Awake, The Voice is Calling to Us). Of course, Levi and Rachel did not sing. They were kept busy passing out pieces of the variety of wedding cakes on the table. The first three after dinner hymns were "slow tunes," or, Gregorian Chants. The next five hymns, beginning with "Ich Will Lieben" (I Will Love), were, as is traditional, "fast tunes." The text of the fast tunes derives from scriptural passages and the tunes, from modern American gospel songs.

Once the eight traditional songs were out of the way, the tables were briskly cleared of dirty dishes and most of the young people went outside. Some of the older people, too, went out to the porch or front lawn. The rest stayed at the tables to nibble at the seemingly unending supply of desserts and to continue singing. In fact, throughout the entire day the guests kept returning to the tables to gulp down a few mouthfuls of food from constantly replenished platters.

A group of young fellows, accompanied by the groom, went to the barn to play corner-ball, basketball, bluensack or soccer. The bride and her group, strolling along the road and across the fields, seemed to giggle with every step. Some of the married men went to play croquet and some of the women, horseshoes. Others were content just to watch the exertions. A small group of older men made directly for the tobacco shed where, it was alleged, a keg of brew had been hidden among the stalks of unstripped tobacco. All the rooms of the house were filled with small groups exchanging stories, playing games, posing conundrums or singing.

Just as night was falling, the young unmarried men formed the groom's coterie started in from the barn. Suddenly, a group of Levi's closest friends sneaked up behind him and, by prearrangement, threw him, spread-eagle, over a fence and into the waiting arms of a ground of young married men. Thus was effected, symbolically, the transition from the care-free bachelor life to the care-ridden life of a married man.

On another part of the farm Rachel's close single friends were tossing her also, but, in this case, it was over a broom handle. Thus did she pass from the nubile to the married state.

At the evening meal, the married guests took the same seat occupied at dinner. The young people, however, were required to desegregate. Now, boys and girls were happily integrated.

After a repast equally as overwhelming as that of a few hours before, the customary toasts began. With a glass of unsweetened lemonade the Bishop, the groom's father and father-in-law and a number of guests close to the family stood up regally to recite a serious or facetious toast. Many were the satirical barbs cast at the blushing couple.

At a given moment, dressed in all manner of dowdy disguises, the young men who had helped served the food and clear the tables put on their traditional act. They paraded in front of the bride's table and through a series of delight-
fully exaggerated gestures and syllables made it known that they expected tips for their work. Going along in the act, the bride and groom yawned noisily and feigned indifference. Finally, with a rumbling sigh of resignation, the groom reached into his pocket for a coin he had prepared for the occasion and sent it rattling into the ladle one of the young men was using as an alms cup. This was the signal for everyone in the room to do likewise.

The servers usually use the money to buy some souvenir of the wedding.

Finally, another dozen or so hymns were sung, punctuated by a profusion of good-natured banter and repartee.

The better part of the rest of the evening was spent in the barn; the young folks engaging in folk games and dances and the older folks watching, eating, chatting and singing.

At about 10:30 one of the women from the kitchen came into the barn to advise the whole company that was again time to eat.

This time we sat down to cold food left over from previous meals. The young people were in a jovial mood, having just been dancing actively in the barn. For the first time during the entire affair, it was the girls who got up to tell anecdotes or to caricature the bride and groom or some of the other young guests. The laughter was hearty and continuous. Indeed I have never seen such camaraderie generated at a gathering of young people in all my years of party going.

It was well after midnight before all the guests had handed their horse-checks to the sleepy hostlers and clattered off in the autumn night. The last person to leave was Levi Fisher, Rachel’s husband. He rode off in his parent’s buggy.

But, he was to come back again the next morning and every other day that week to visit his new wife.

On the Sunday after the wedding, Levi took his wife, now dressed in a darker dress and a black apron in contrast to the lighter colors of dress and apron during her single days, to the meeting. After the meeting they went to the Fisher home and stayed a few days.

It was from the home of the husband’s parents that the newly-married couple embarked on a buggy visit to almost everyone who had come to the wedding. They had to use Levi’s open buggy because the closed family buggy, ordered

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by the parents, would be a year or so in coming due to the large backlog of orders at the local carriage shop.

Mr. and Mrs. Levi Fisher methodically made their way through the Amish community, stopping at one farm for lunch and at another for supper and lodging. Everyone went all out to fete and feast them. At each stop the gift-giving pattern was the same. Just as the couple, seated in the buggy, was about to drive out the lane, one of the young children raced out of the house with the wedding gift.

The collection of wedding gifts, all of them for use in the house, tool-shed or barn, piled up in the back of the buggy during the rest of the tour.

After a month or so of touring, the couple returned to the home of the groom's father. From there, they moved into their new house, bought or built and almost completely furnished by the two fathers and the neighbors and relatives.

By the time Spring arrives, the Fishers will be ready to start their planting. If they are fortunate, they should be welcoming the first new member of the new family during the next wedding season.

And, each new member of the Fisher family, as with every other Amish family, will be prepared from earliest childhood for that day when he or she will marry in the fashion I have been attempting to describe.

Thus is closed the delightfully simple and immutable circle of life among the old-order Amish.

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Department of Anthropology and Sociology
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The offices and library of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society are located at 218 W. Main Street, in Kutztown, Pa. Officers are Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker, president and director; Dr. J. William Frey of Franklin and Marshall College; Dr. Don Yoder of the University of Pennsylvania; treasurer is Don Mylin, the retired treasurer of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

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2) The 350-or-plus-page, hard-cover Society annual for 1961, "Pennsylvania Spirituals" by Dr. Don Yoder. This definitive volume on Pennsylvania's greatest contribution in the field of folk music will be ready for the membership by January 1, 1961. Copies apart from membership will be $7.50.

3) Two membership-passes to the 1961 Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival. The annual membership-pass provides free admission and parking on the Festival grounds UNLIMITED times.

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