Contributors to this Issue

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Bread, Baking, and the Bakeoven:
Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 13
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COVER:
The engraving of Moravian Pioneers at Herrnhut, Count
Zinzendorf’s original community in Germany, is from a print
published in Herrnhut and Dresden in 1822 to mark the
centenary of the renewal of the Unitas Fratrum. Dating from
1457, the Moravians are actually Pennsylvania’s oldest Pro-
testant church organization. It was from Herrnhut that Mo-
ranianism spread to the New World, making its headquarters
at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania.
The Moravian Settlements Of Pennsylvania in 1757: The Nicholas Garrison Views

By VERNON H. NELSON and LOTHAR MADEHEIM

When the Marquis de Chastellux visited Bethlehem in December, 1782, he received a guide, about whom he wrote: "This man is a seaman, who happens to have some talent for drawing." The seaman was Nicholas Garrison, Jr., a competent artist who lived in Pennsylvania from 1755 to 1784 and produced a small number of very significant drawings of Pennsylvania places.

Nicholas Garrison, Jr., has been neglected, even by Pennsylvania historians, because until recently the extent of Garrison's known work consisted primarily of only four prints: two of Bethlehem, one of Nazareth, and one of Philadelphia, showing the Friends' Almhouse, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and vicinity. Few people suspected that Garrison had left any original drawings. Local historians knew of the two drawings of Bethlehem—presumably by Garrison—in the Archives of the Moravian Church, but that was all.

Research done recently by the staff of the Archives has resulted in attributing to Garrison ten additional drawings of places in Eastern Pennsylvania. Nine of these drawings are on a single sheet of paper pasted on cardboard. The paper was damaged years ago, but most of the significant details have not been affected. The tenth item is another view of Bethlehem, this time from the north. It is pasted on cardboard and is seriously discolored due to a coating of shellac.

The nine views on one sheet, done in 1757, portray Salisbury (or Emmaus), Allemängel, Oley, Heidelberg, Lebanon (or Hebron), Donegal (or Mount Joy), Warwick, Lintz, and Lancaster, and are in several cases the earliest view of each place and in a few cases the only view. Garrison's attention to detail in drawing buildings, fences, trees, and even farm implements makes them an indispensable source for studying Pennsylvania architecture and related subjects.
Nicholas Garrison, Jr., was born on Staten Island on June 18, 1726. His father, Nicholas Garrison, Sr., was a sea captain who, after becoming a member of the Moravian Church, was put in charge of *The Little Strength* and then *The Irene*, Moravian-owned ships used to transport colonists from Europe to America. Nicholas Garrison, Sr., survived his first wife, who died in 1747, remarried, and died in Bethlehem in 1781.

Nicholas, Jr., went to sea at an early age; in 1743 he was a member of the crew of *The Little Strength*. He also sailed on *The Irene* and in 1755 captained *The Irene* on a voyage from New York to London and back.

It has not been determined whether Nicholas, Jr., had any formal education, particularly in drawing. Artistic ability undoubtedly ran in the Garrison family; a brother, Benjamin, is the supposed artist for a picture at the Moravian Historical Society in Nazareth showing the wreck of *The Irene*.

It was during the period between 1755 and 1762 when Nicholas Garrison, Jr., was living in Bethlehem (although he travelled widely, even as far as North Carolina) that he produced most of his extant work. In May, 1737, he set out from Bethlehem on a visit to the Moravian congregations located to the west. By
reference to various diaries, it can be determined that his itinerary was as follows:

**TRIP TO ALLEMAENGEL**

Fri., May 13, Lv Bethlehem in morning, Ar Salisbury
Sat., May 14, Lv Salisbury for Allemängel
Sun., May 15,
Mon., May 16, Ar Salisbury from Allemängel in afternoon
Tues., May 17, Lv Salisbury, Ar Bethlehem

**TRIP TO WARWICK**

Fri., May 20, Lv Bethlehem, Ar Salisbury
Lv Salisbury
Sat., May 21, Ar Heidelberg
Sun., May 22,

Mon., May 23, Lv Heidelberg, Ar Warwick
Tues., May 24,
Wed., May 25, Lv Warwick, Ar Lebanon at noon
Thurs., May 26, Lv Lebanon, Ar Swatara
Lv Swatara, Ar Lebanon toward evening
Fri., May 27, Lv Lebanon in morning, Ar Donegal
Sat., May 28, Lv Donegal, Ar Warwick
Sun., May 29, Lv Warwick, Ar Lancaster toward evening
Mon., May 30, Lv Lancaster, Ar Warwick
Tues., May 31, Lv Warwick in morning
Wed., June 1,
Thurs., June 2, Ar Bethlehem

Garrison presumably attended church services at Allemängel on May 15, at Heidelberg on May 22, and
at Warwick on May 29. He could have done his sketch of Lititz while he was staying at Warwick, about one mile away. It is probable that Garrison stopped at Oley either on his way to Heidelberg or on his return from Warwick to Bethlehem, or both.

The diary of Warwick for May 31, 1757, is especially enlightening. It mentions "Br. Nicol. Garrison, who has made sketches of all the Gemeinhausa in the country and their situation." This therefore appears to be an extraordinary case where drawings can be dated almost to the exact day the sketches were made. One has only to match the existing drawings with the days that Garrison is known to have been in a particular community.

A year later, on July 29, 1758, Garrison married Grace Parsons (also known as Johanna) in Bethlehem. A daughter of the famous William Parsons, she had been born in Philadelphia in 1736. The marriage was arranged by the Moravian leaders. In a letter written to John Ettwein in 1759, Johanna mentions having been married "in obedience to the congregation, believing our Lord to be director in such cases in it."

In 1762 the Garrisons moved to Philadelphia, where Nicholas became a shopkeeper. Their names, as well as the names of their children, appear frequently in the records of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia during the succeeding years. Life could not have been entirely happy; three children died at the ages of fifteen weeks, six months, and thirteen months.

The American Revolution created a major crisis for the Garrisons. In September, 1777, Garrison removed his family from Philadelphia to the relative safety of Oldman's Creek, New Jersey, where they lived with the Moravian minister. In 1778 the Garrisons settled in Cumru Township, Berks County, near Reading. They were located about ten miles from the Heidelberg Moravian Church, which they attended on special occasions. When Johanna became ill she moved to Heidelberg and spent the winter in the parsonage. Then she decided it was necessary to return to Bethlehem to recuperate further.

Unlike most Moravians, who remained neutral, Garrison apparently sided whole-heartedly with the American cause during the Revolution. The York diary mentions on June 19, 1778, that "Br. Nicol. Garrison came from the vicinity of Reading on business as well as the Board of War. He also reported to us the evacuation of Philadelphia and much more."

The Garrisons returned to Bethlehem in May, 1780. The leaders of the community considered them refugees and expected that they would not remain in Bethlehem permanently. This temporary arrangement actually lasted four years. During this period Garrison did a view of Bethlehem from the north (an unusual angle for Bethlehem views) as well as the more conventional view from the south, which was printed in 1784 (with the names of N. Garrison and Oester on the print).

After other possibilities did not materialize, the Garrisons finally left Bethlehem in 1784 and moved to Newport, Rhode Island. In Newport Johanna taught reading; it is not clear what Nicholas did. Johanna complained in her letter to Ettwein in 1797: "Happy would it have been for us, had he [Nicholas] been a little sensible of his own weakness, or that the congregation could have conceived how matters were, compelling us to stay in a place of safety. He has taken things so easy since here, as to make my burden oppressive beyond measure." The Garrisons remained members of the Moravian Church in Newport until their deaths. Their last years were spent in poverty. Johanna died in 1799, Nicholas in 1802.

This is no portrait of Nicholas Garrison, Jr., extant, as far as is known. The closest thing to a likeness, possibly of Garrison, is the portrayal of the artist and his dog in the corner of the 1784 view of Bethlehem. Also, it is possible that the two figures who appear in several places in the 1757 drawings represent Garrison and his traveling companion, Samuel Herr.

In several ways Garrison is more important for the history of American art than the more prominent Moravian artist, John Valentine Haidt. Haidt, who was among the first painters in America to do religious paintings, arrived in America at the age of fifty-three. His work can hardly be considered more than that of a transplanted foreigner. Furthermore, it is quite possible that additional examples of Garrison's works remain undiscovered or unidentified. A considerable amount of research has been applied to Haidt and unknown Haidt paintings have been uncovered; similar research on Garrison may turn up equally exciting items.

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Manuscripts
1. The Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem. Original records for all of the Moravian places mentioned were consulted. Besides diaries—the most helpful source—letters, minutes of conferences, church registers and catalogues, maps, pictures, and other materials were consulted.
2. Berks County Court House, Reading, Pennsylvania. The Deed Books were particularly valuable.
Garrison Sketches

None of the original Garrison drawings used with this article may be reproduced without the written permission of the Archives Committee of the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1757. The Moravian Church (left center) was built in 1746, the adjoining parsonage with two chimneys and two doors, was erected in 1750. The property was on West Orange Street. Note tower (courthouse?) and large buildings on horizon. The building at extreme left is half-timbered, with interstices filled with brick.
The Donegal or Mt. Joy Moravian Center, near present town of Centerville, Lancaster County. The settlement dated from 1732, and this view, like the others by Garrison, dates from 1757. Note pent roof on house, slanting dormer windows, and snake fence. Detail of drawing at right.
The Warwick Gemeinhaus, near Lititz in Lancaster County, was erected in 1747. Like many larger Moravian structures, the building had a gambrel roof.
The Heidelberg Gemeinhaus was built in 1744, and was located in what is now North Heidelberg Township, Berks County. Note pent roof protecting lower wall and windows, and hipped (Walm) roof truncated at either end. Here again Moravian pioneers had planted orchards and surrounded their fields with the widespread American "snake fence."

Salisbury (Emmaus) in what is now Lehigh County. The Gemeinhaus dates from 1746, this view was drawn in 1757.
The Olney Germantown in Berks County was built in 1748. This view shows it—the half-timbered, hipped roof building in left center—in 1757. The building, later known as the Moravian Schoolhouse, stood until the 20th Century, when photographs of it were taken.

Detail: Haymaking scene in Olney, 1757.
Garrison Sketches

Detail: Barn and other buildings in Moravian Lititz, 1757. Harvesters with scythes in left foreground.

Lititz in Lancaster County. The first house was built here in 1754. Note one-story barn at left, and hay barracks (hay barn with adjustable roof) at extreme left. Lititz today still preserves its colonial Moravian character, with many homes and ecclesiastical structures restored.
Libanon (Lebanon) in 1757. This was the Hebron Moravian settlement, now within Lebanon's city limits. The Gemeinhaus has the usual two doors, two chimneys, but a straight gable.

Detail: An enclosed garden with vertical palings, and a new orchard adjoins building. Brick arches above windows and doors of the Gemeinhaus and a house-inscription or house-blessing (between middle upper windows) were features of 18th Century Germanic houses of Pennsylvania.
Allemangel in present Lynn Township, Lehigh County, was founded as a Moravian outpost in 1751. This view, dated 1757, shows the small Gemeinhaus there, in a clearing in the Blue Mountains, surrounded with the usual orchard and snake fence.
The Aliquippa San Rocco Procession. Men of the parish carry the church's statue of the patron saint through the streets as in Italy. Note the sixteen large chambellis (San Rocco's bread) encircling the base of the statue.

The SAN ROCCO FESTIVAL
At Aliquippa, Pennsylvania:
A Transplanted Tradition

By MILDRED URICK

Preface
Ethnic groups in America lost much of their identity during the early period of immigration that came with the industrial revolution. In an effort to "Americanize" themselves, they abandoned many of those traditional customs that made them distinctly different from other groups. Alvin D. Capozzi, the National Vice-President of the Sons of Columbus Federation said in a speech delivered in Westmoreland County during the spring of 1967, "In our highly mobile society, the strong family unit which gathered at Christmas and at Thanksgiving, and at Sunday dinner has, in the main, disappeared. The Saints' days and the Feast days with the band concerts and the fireworks are rarely, if ever, celebrated.

The color and the joy that was found in the Italian-American home and community is fast disappearing. This, then is our first great task—to perpetuate and pass on the great traditions in which we were raised." My home town, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, has managed to maintain just such a tradition, complete with "band, concerts and fireworks," in our annual San Rocco Festival.

When the topic of Saints' days and folk festivals came up in one of my early folklore classes it just seemed natural for me to write of our celebration and its old-world traditions. I would especially like to thank my parents for their help in contacting sources and

The San Rocco Procession in Patricia, Italy. Here the statue-bearers are dressed in white robes as part of the tradition.

for their enthusiastic support of my project and Mrs. Hilda Kring for her irreplaceable encouragement.

Fireworks, a band playing arias from the Italian operas, children struggling with dripping hot sausage sandwiches, teenagers laughing and milling around, softball games, morra tournaments, little girls in white communion dresses marching behind the festival queen, chiambellis and pensive, barefoot old ladies quietly following the procession after high mass—this is Aliquippa's San Rocco festival, which means many things to many people, but to most it provides an exciting weekend of music and games in the middle of a hot, slow-moving summer. Months before the actual celebration, the San Rocco Committee, sponsored by the Musical and Political Italians Club (M.P.I.), comprised of men who are dedicated to keep this old world festival alive, meets and begins planning the weekend. The grounds must be secured, the band rehearsed, lighting and platforms erected, the queen elected; women must be found to do the baking and cooking, and most important, money must be raised. The yearly expenses for the celebration are paid for by private contributions. The bulk of the $3000 needed is raised through a drive in which people are personally contacted, and the lesser portion is gathered during the procession. A large banner depicting San Rocco is carried during the procession and people pin money to it. Children also carry a flag by the corners, and people on the procession route toss coins into it. The committee often invites guests to share in the festivities. The mayor of the Italian town of Patricia, Bishop John Wright of the Pittsburgh Diocese, and the late Justice Michael A. Musmanno have all been guests in recent years. In the final days before the celebration plans are checked, the traditional chiambelli are baked along with the regular Italian foods that will be served; the speakers platform is erected, a courtesy of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation. Game booths and refreshment stands are made ready; the inevitable "Sno-cone" truck stands at the park entrance. Everything is still, awaiting a signal.

All this in the United States, so often referred to as a giant "melting pot" for people from every continent have immigrated here and, to some degree, have been assimilated into its culture. Without this assimilation, our country could never have reached any degree of unification, much less the American ideal of a distinctively American culture. In an effort to Americanize themselves, to become part of the "Anglo-Saxon" ideal, some of those non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups have abandoned their heritages in order to escape the stigma attached to "foreigners." Once the folk customs of a people are abandoned, they are hard to recover, for they seem to lose the spontaneity of the original. In opposition to this trend, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, a town of 25,000 persons located about twenty-three miles northwest of Pittsburgh, has managed to preserve some of the ethnic customs of its inhabitants. Aliquippa is almost a textbook example of the "melting pot" theory with its large groups of Polish, Serbian, Croatian, Ukrainian, Russian, Slovak, Greek, Lebanese, Jewish, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon peoples. They all have been assimilated into the American cultural ideal, but not at the expense of their ethnic heritages. One can find cases of individuals rejecting their backgrounds in an attempt to "Americanize" themselves, but by and large, these groups have held fast to their own customs and in many cases have adopted customs, foods, expressions and holidays of other groups. Serbian and Croatian groups sponsor orchestras and dance groups made up of the adolescent members of their nationalities who carry on traditional folk instruments, tunes and dances. The Orthodox churches still celebrate Christmas on January 7, and New Year’s on January 14, complete with traditional foods, customs and music. The Italians maintain the old-world custom of celebrating a saint's day with their traditional San Rocco Festival held yearly during the Saturday and Sunday nearest to August 16, the Feast of San Rocco. It is with this festival that this paper is concerned. One must realize that although
this festival is distinctly Italian in origin, it is celebrated and looked forward to by all the ethnic groups one finds in Aliquippa.

Aliquippa owes its existence to the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation that established a steel mill in Aliquippa on the bank of the Ohio River around 1907. With the industrialization of the Ohio Valley came thousands of immigrants from southern Europe looking for work in this new industrial area. As the immigrants came to Aliquippa, they tended to settle in distinct areas according to their nationalities. After they had begun work, they sent word back to their respective villages of the glowing prosperity of this new land. As soon as possible, people from these villages would come to Aliquippa and move into houses near their friends and relatives. Therefore, within the neighborhoods settled by these ethnic groups one found another division according to villages surrounding the major cities in the “old country.” The Italians especially held a fierce pride in their native villages. To outsiders they were all Italians, possessing all the customary Italian characteristics, but the social structure within the group was built on area rivalries—one knew better than to confuse a person from the Naples area with one from the Rome area or the Milan area or Sicily or any other location. These local groups maintained distinct dialects, personality traits, and religious customs. Aliquip­pa's San Rocco Festival emerged from such a group.

Quite a large number of people from Patrica (pronounced “Pa-dré-ga”), Italy, a small village about 86 kilometers from Rome, settled in the Plan 11 section of Aliquippa. Each village and town in Italy has a patron saint, and San Rocco is the patron of Patrica. San Rocco is a relatively obscure saint and usually treated rather nominally by the traditional books of saints' lives. This writer, however, was fortunate in finding Mrs. Bilde Giufre, a native of Patrica who was kind enough to pass on her version of San Rocco's life.

San Rocco was born around 1340 in Montpellier, France, to noble parents. At birth, he was found to have a red cross on the left side of his chest. He was a devout child who prayed with great devotion to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his early youth he was orphaned and raised by his uncle. As he grew older, Rocco had no interest in his noble background or in the vast riches he had inherited from his parents. His primary goal in life was to serve God and his fellow man. When he became a man he took a vow of poverty and distributed his riches to the poor. During his pilgrimage to Rome, a disease called “the pestilence” struck France and Italy. San Rocco went among the people and cured them of this dread disease by praying for them and making the Sign of the Cross over them.

There are also stories of his healing powers with running water at Cesena, Rome, Piacenza, Montpellier and in other parts of France. As he journeyed, he, too, caught a disease and sought refuge in a cave after being chased from his native town. San Rocco was probably afflicted with leprosy because he is always portrayed in statues and pictures pointing to an open sore on his leg. While he was an outcast in the cave, an angel cured his sores and provided a spring for drinking water. Here he met a strange dog who would not eat, but used to bring the saint bread from the house of Goltardo, the hunter. Weak and sick from all his past suffering, San Rocco begged to return to his childhood home. When he returned, no one recognized him and he was arrested as a spy and imprisoned. When questioned, he would only bow his head and pray. When asked of his parents and his religion, he would answer, “I am a child of God and my religion is Paradise in Heaven.” The uncle who raised him was the governor of Montpellier and even he did not recognize Rocco, for his uncle had ordered the arrest of this stranger. Although they could not prove that he was guilty, he was kept in prison for five years until he died from

\[\text{S. ROCCO Patrono di Patrica}\]

Prayer Card from Patrica, showing San Rocco as Patron of the City

The residential sections of Aliquippa were originally laid out in various areas fanning out from the mill and the valley in which the main streets of the town were planned. These original residential districts were outlined on different levels of the surrounding hills and these areas were referred to, in the initial stages of development, by number in the original scheme. Even today, some sections are still called by their numbers, such as Plan 6, Plan 7, Plan 11, and Plan 12. The other areas have taken on more conventional names such as McDonald Heights, Sheffield Terrace, and New Sheffield.
On the morning of August 16, the guard entered his cell to bring in his breakfast and found Rocco near death, a blue light radiating from his body illuminating the dungeon room with its eerie light. When the governor heard of this, he rushed to the prison and demanded for the last time to know who Rocco was and where he came from. In a thin voice the figure replied, “I am your nephew Rocco.” The governor had him disrobed in front of all the people present, and they all saw the red birthmark shaped like a cross on the left side of his chest. The uncle immediately recognized his only nephew. Those present knew that such a man must be a saint, for a voice from Paradise announced that Rocco’s soul had gone to heaven to receive the prize of immortal glory.

In 1925 a group of Patricians celebrated the first San Rocco Festival in Aliquippa by holding a street fair in the Plan 11 section. Throughout the years the celebration has changed its form only slightly although its location has been moved and confined. The other
Traditional Outdoor Processions are part of Catholic devotion in other urban Italian settlements in Pennsylvania. These clippings from Altoona in Blair County show the same Italian ethnic flavor that is evident in the San Rocco Procession at Aliquippa. Altoona's Italian population came principally from South Italy, many of the emigrants coming from two towns, Pontecorvo, between Rome and Naples, and Ripacandida, in the Basilicata (Lucania). The large photograph and article about the Mount Carmel Festival appeared in the Altoona Mirror July 11, 1969; the advertisement of the festival, July 15, 1969. The smaller advertisement for the Corpus Christi Procession appeared June 11, 1968. Clippings courtesy of the Altoona Mirror.

In Aliquippa the Women's Press, 1937), p. 87. Some of the Italian people who have been born and raised in Aliquippa seem to associate loud noises such as an explosion with the San Rocco Festival since there are small bombs being set off all during the celebration and during the fireworks display. Because of this association, one can detect people unconsciously saying "Viva San Rocco" as they continue working whenever a bomb is exploded.


Some of the Italian people who have been born and raised the American and Italian celebrations. These differences will be discussed below.

At six P.M. Saturday, the traditional aerial bomb is exploded bringing forth an almost unconscious "Viva San Rocco!" from those who hear it. The celebration has officially begun. Early Saturday evening the park area is brimming with happy sounds. Children swing on the swing sets and get stomach aches from mixing cotton candy and pizza; teenagers wander around the grounds much as teenagers do everywhere, some muttering about the senselessness of the celebration, yet these same teenagers will stay until the end—both nights, as they probably will as long as they live here. One finds that the festival has kind of a magnetic aura.
that seems to compel people to return year after year. If participants were asked why they returned yearly, most people would be hard pressed for an answer. The festival has become a pleasant habit. The middle-aged group renews old acquaintances and complain that they don’t see one another often enough. The old people are different. They just sit there and watch the colored lights hanging from trees and makeshift poles, listening to the band playing ballads, American pieces, and selections from Italian operas. They smile at children they don’t recognize and look around for people they do know. Every year the number grows smaller. Their eyes seem to transcend time and space—they are back in the old country, back to their youth and the small, special festivals of their own “pace” (small village).

Along the walkways one finds the traditional games of chance—coin tosses, a number board controlled by lights, and one based on a spinning wheel. The Women’s Auxiliary of the M.P.I. Club serves homemade pizzas and hot sausage sandwiches. Two-thirds of the way between the speaker’s platform and the V.F.W. Hall (which serves as the main refreshment stand and as the site of a dance for teenagers) the generations merge as the classical strains of the concert band join with the prominent bass and drum beats of the “rock” group playing for the dance in the hall. By 11 o’clock, the people begin to file into the baseball park to get a seat for the fireworks display. The baseball field was a W.P.A. project and is one of the largest and best-kept fields in the area, with seating for nearly a thousand

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**AUGUST, 8th Month.**

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**33] 11th Sunday after Trinity. Luke 19. Days' length 13 hours 34 min.**

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**34] 12th Sunday after Trinity. Mark 17. Days' length 13 hours 18 min.**

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Saturn (5) is on the 3d in Opposition with the Sun, and shines the whole night.
"Chiambelli" are modern day versions of San Rocco's bread, baked to traditional recipes by Aliquippa's Italian housewives for the August festival days.

people. Those who don't find seats in the bleachers sit or stand on the grassy field and await the fireworks. After the fireworks display, most everyone goes home either to prepare for Sunday's procession and high mass or just to rest up for tomorrow's activities.

At seven a.m. Sunday morning the M.P.I. Band begins its march around the Plan 11 area to awaken residents for the high mass. They march to the home of the vice-president of the San Rocco committee where they receive the San Rocco banner (the one that contribution money is pinned to), which will then be placed at the front of the church during the high mass. After the mass, at about 10 o'clock, the procession begins to form in front of the M.P.I. Club. Leading the parade is the M.P.I. Band, the officers of the committee, the parish priests and the bishop, if he is present. Following them are the standard bearers and the statue of San Rocco that was purchased with private donations made by participants of past festivals. The statue was imported from Italy and is very similar to the one used in Patrica. The base and carrier have been hand-carved and were recently added to the procession, giving the festival another touch of the old-world traditions.

Around the foot of the statue are sixteen large chiambells, one for each of the men who carry the statue. These chiambells are light, golden brown doughnut-shaped biscuits that are traditionally associated with the festival. They symbolize the bread that the dog brought San Rocco when he was sick and hiding in the forest. Literally bushels of small chiambells are made before the festival for the marchers during rest stops.

Sixteen men, eight from the San Rocco committee and eight from the Sons of Columbus Federation, comprise the two relay groups that carry the statue throughout the two and one-half mile parade route. This part of the parade is essentially the same in the old country except that the men there wear long white robes (as can be seen in the picture). An honor guard of the Knights of Columbus, altar boys in cassocks and surplices, and little girls dressed in First Communion dresses carry bouquets of flowers and follow the statue. A girl who portrays the Blessed Mother follows them. Immediately preceding the festival queen and her attendants, a group of girls carries an outstretched American flag that catches the coins tossed by spectators. The festival queen, "Miss M.P.I.," and two children, "Little Miss M.P.I." and "Little Miss M.P.I.," are chosen before the celebration and ride in a decorated, open car behind the flag. At the end of the parade march members of the M.P.I. and the auxiliary, along with other women. At one time women who had petitioned San Rocco and had their prayers answered marched barefoot in the parade out of gratitude. As the older generation passes on, so do old-world customs such as this one.

The procession frequently stops at homes along the parade route where they are served cold drinks and homemade chiambells. The procession ends its march at its point of origin, the M.P.I. Club, where a buffet luncheon is served.

The parade in Italy differs only slightly from Aliquippa's. The Patricans usually like to have two bands. They often spend extravagant sums for bands from towns over 400 miles away. Large, ornate candles, nearly three feet tall, are always carried by women in the procession, and as was mentioned, the men wear long, white robes. The Patrican festival is also the time for new clothes. In America one equates new clothes with Easter, but in Italy children associate a new outfit with the San Rocco festival. Anne Simoni, a second generation Patrican who returned to Patrica along with her sister several years ago, recalls how disappointed one little girl was when she didn't have a new dress to wear and how delighted the child was when Miss Simoni offered to buy the dress material for her.

A two-and-on-half mile parade route may seem quite a distance for an ethnic celebration parade, yet this
distance has been considerably shortened in recent years. During the first celebrations, the parades began downtown and proceeded through the main street and then up to and around Plan 11 and finally to the festival blocks. Yet even this is a seemingly minor trek when one realizes that the Patrician procession manages to march up and down every street and alleyway throughout the hilly terrain of the village. Along the parade route they also manage to visit each each of the five churches in the village. Finally, because the feast of San Rocco occurs on the day after the Feast of the Assumption, the decorations and general merriment are transferred over to the San Rocco festival. Ornate pictures constructed of flower petals line the streets along the procession route, especially near the churches.

Large numbers of people from other locations visit both the Italian and American celebrations. Rooms in Patricia are booked for weeks in advance and the number of people swells far beyond Patricia’s 3000 inhabitants. Many of the people who return for the festival are former residents or relatives of present residents who feel a special reverence for San Rocco, and some are just tourists. Aliquippa also receives quite a few visitors for the festival. Most of the people who return were originally from Aliquippa, and the weeks adjacent to the San Rocco festival are always a prime period for reunions and homecomings. Some families who never lived in Aliquippa but are natives or descendants of Patrician immigrants often travel great distances to visit the festival. Several years ago, the M.P.I. Club sponsored an Italian-American group from Aliquippa who returned to Italy for the San Rocco Festival in Patricia. For some it served as an opportunity to renew old acquaintances and to revisit the villages of their youth. To those second- and third-generation members it served as a visual introduction to the homeland they had only heard about from their parents and grandparents. They walked the same streets and visited many of the same houses that their parents knew, for little change comes to the outlying villages. This “San Rocco Airlift” was greeted with uninhibited enthusiasm on both sides of the ocean. City officials from Rome and Patricia met the plane in Rome, giving the tired travelers the warmest welcome a stranger could receive in a foreign land. They visited various parts of Italy alone and in groups, but the climax of the trip was the visit to Patricia at the time of the San Rocco Festival.

Sunday afternoon is filled with softball tournaments and the traditional Morra Tournament. This Morra Tournament is a prime example of the inter-ethnic relations in Aliquippa, for the game is distinctly Italian, yet the Morra team from the Serbian Club has won the trophy for the past several years. Trophies are awarded after the tournaments. At this time, presentations are sometimes made to individuals for their service to the community and/or to the San Rocco celebration. In 1967 an inscribed plaque was presented to Mrs. Thomas A. Durroch in memory of her late husband for his cooperation during past celebrations. Three past chairmen of the San Rocco Festival, Pio Colonna, Cesira Bianucci, and Joseph Paladini, were given plaques by Victor Vespiaziani, the chairman of the 1968 celebration.

Morra is an Italian game based on throwing fingers much like the American “odd or even” idea, only one must guess the number of fingers that will be showing. The game requires mental and physical dexterity—and an especially loud voice for outshouting one’s opponent.
Later that evening, the scene in the park is much the same as Saturday's, only this evening's festivities are climaxed by the traditional Doll Dance. By 11:30 the crowd begins to shift, each person trying to find the most advantageous position from which to watch the dance. The doll itself is an old manikin dressed in a shawl and a ruffled paper skirt built over a wood and wire cage. Her torso is perched atop the cage and the man who has been chosen to do the dance stands under this skirt/cage. A stick that holds rockets and fireworks is slipped through her bent arms and behind her back. The band begins to play an Italian Tarantella, and the doll and dancer emerge from behind the bandstand. He dances the intricate Tarantella for several minutes while men move the crowd back and prepare to light the firecrackers. These sparkling firecrackers are arranged in such a manner that one is lit as the one preceding it dies down and lights the fuse connecting the two. While the fireworks are shooting off their brilliant white lights, the dancer continues swaying and dancing to the haunting Tarantella. Children gasp and giggle as fiery bits fly from the doll, entranced by the rhythmic motion of dancer, doll, and shooting sparks. Older people inspect the dancing talents of the unknown man under the skirt's cage, speculating whether or not he is worthy of the honor of doing the Doll Dance. At one's first Doll Dance the spectacle created by the fireworks and music is impressive but seemingly not impressive enough to draw such large crowds year after year; but watching the Doll Dance is like reading an epic poem—the first time, one learns the story; upon rereading it, he learns about the story. Objectively, the Doll Dance has little significance aside from being the traditional ending of the celebration. The music is typically Italian; the dance is typically Italian, and the fireworks are not spectacular, but these are of little importance, for the significance of the dance lies in tradition. This tradition of music, dance, customs, and language has become a state of mind. The Italians of Aliquippa are good Americans. They, like most ethnic groups, appreciate what the United States has done for them, and what they have done for the United States; yet, they will always possess that unmistakable Italian spark that is fired by old-world tradition. A real understanding of the Doll Dance and the entire festival, for that matter, come when one is able to see the reaction of the festival's participants. The faces of the people make the dance the extravaganza that it has become. The Doll Dance symbolizes their rich Italian heritage; for without perpetuating these customs, the heritage fades and is soon lost. Without their heritage, the people are lost. Such ties to an old and established order act as a foundation for the new ties one makes in a new order.

As the last sparkler dies, and the band finishes playing, the dancer removes the doll, and the festival is over. Some people remain to talk for a little while longer, but most just gather up children and start home. The festival is ended.

PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Giufri, Bilde. Mrs. Giufri lives at 138 Fourth Ave., Aliquippa, Pennsylvania. She is a former resident of Patrica, Italy, who is in her seventies. She wrote out for me the San Rocco legend that served as a basis for my short biography of the saint.

Morrelli, Norma Legge. Mrs. Morrelli, 34, is a former newspaper woman who is now married and living in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. She is a former neighbor of mine who arranged for me to see old clippings from the Beaver County Times along with Fran Contangello who is presently employed by the newspaper.

Simoni, Anne. Miss Simoni is a legal secretary and a former neighbor of mine who lives at 515 Highland Ave., Aliquippa, Pennsylvania. Miss Simoni, who is 46, provided me with pictures and much of the information concerning the festival in Italy.

Vespiiziani, Mr. and Mrs. Victor. Mr. Vespiiziani was the chairman of the 1968 San Rocco Festival and he and his wife were a great help in providing information concerning the behind-the-scenes work done for the festival.

Urick, Nick and Vera. My parents played a significant part in laying the groundwork for my research by contacting people for me while I was away at school. My mother also translated Mrs. Giufri's story from the Italian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Amish Genealogy: A Progress Report

By JOHN A. HOSTETLER and BEULAH S. HOSTETLER

Folk societies are characterized by a kinship system that stabilizes the social order. “Folk” in contrast to “industrialized” societies are small, homogeneous, distinctive, and self-sufficient. Kinship is the major integrating factor within all folk societies and the Amish are no exception. A comparative study of kinship systems reveals how man in different societies arranges the basic biological and social requirements for survival—marriage, marriage, parenthood, training of the young, and the relation of individuals to property and to inheritance during life and after death.

To date there has been no modern scientific analysis of the Amish kinship system. Hopefully a step in that direction is the compilation of a list of all known family genealogies pertaining to the Old Order Amish.

In offering this list of published Amish genealogies it is necessary to make a few points of clarification. Genealogy and family history are closely related and often combined in the same book. Our list does not include family histories apart from genealogy. The aim was to assemble all titles that pertain to the current Old Order Amish population and their ancestors. There are many non-Amish or former Amish persons listed in these genealogies. The list includes all of the genealogy titles appearing in John A. Hostetter, Annotated Bibliography on the Amish (1951) and all titles known to have been published since that date. All of these titles have been published in North America. No genealogies of Amish people were published in Europe.

The genealogies provide information on birth, marriage, and death dates, number of children born to the couple, and often the occupation, residence, and religious affiliation. It is not unusual to find in these titles biographical sketches and accounts of extraordinary happenings such as fire, accident, murder, stealings, and strange occurrences in nature. Knowledge of these incidents has been orally perpetuated along family lines for many years. Titles issued by non-Amish compilers frequently give accounts of significant accomplishments by individuals or photographs of notable.

The genealogies vary in quality and type of organization. Numbering systems vary. In some, much of the valuable information is contained in the preliminaries.

The titles of all Amish genealogies that relate to the current Old Order Amish population are listed below alphabetically by author, title, place of publication or author’s address where known, year of publication, and number of pages.

The most profound contribution to Amish genealogy was made by the research of one man, Harvey Hostetler, who compiled two comprehensive volumes: Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler (1912) and Descendants of Barbara Hochstetler (1938). (Barbara was a daughter of Jacob Hochstetler.) The well-known account of the Indian massacre of the Hochstetler family, in 1757, appears in both volumes. Harvey Hostetler was born in 1857 at Summit Mills, Pennsylvania, moved with his parents to Marshalltown, Iowa, in 1865, and was graduated from Iowa State University in 1881 and from Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1884.
After his retirement as a Presbyterian pastor he compiled these two large volumes. Many of the small, privately published genealogies overlap the Harvey Hostetter volumes but contain more recent family listings.

Studies made by geneticists in recent years of recessively inherited diseases among the Amish have given impetus to genealogical research. The Amish have several characteristics which make them a valuable group for genetic research. They are a closely related population, their members are readily identifiable, and they have extensive, published genealogical records covering ten or more generations. The basic motive of the research is to increase knowledge of the genetic structure of man, patterns of inheritance, and the nature of hereditary disorders. Where possible, medical aid and counseling has been given to affected Amish persons who have participated in these studies.

Two major publication projects are in process that should be mentioned. Both are underwritten by the Johns Hopkins University. The first is a composite index of names listed in more than 100 Amish genealogies. This index includes all unindexed family genealogies, all publications with an inadequate index, and all titles of less than 100 pages whether or not they currently have an index.

The second project is a composite genealogy of all living, married, Amish persons. This material is now being prepared. It is designed for computer use and also be used by any individual. When completed it will be possible for the computer to print out all ancestral lines of a given Amish person as far back as he can be traced. The composite genealogy will have real significance for geneticists and will be a great timesaver for the genealogist tracing a family line. Initially this project was done for the Holmes County, Ohio, Amish settlement. The resulting publications, the Ohio Amish Directory and Ohio Amish Genealogy (1965) were issued in two imprints: Harold E. Cross, M.D., Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, and Ervin Gingerich, Millersburg, Ohio.

Since the genetic projects described above require access to all of the volumes at one place in order to trace all family lines, these books are now all in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana. Dr. Nelson P. Springer is Curator. Some of the titles are for sale by the compilers. Dr. Delbert Gratz of the Bluffton College library assisted with the compilation of the bibliography and location of hard-to-get genealogies. His periodic price list of family histories issued for sale is invaluable for Mennonite and Amish genealogical work.

Mrs. Rachel Kreider of Wadsworth, Ohio, who has done extensive research on Amish and Mennonite families, has given invaluable assistance in tracing individuals (especially Yoders) that would otherwise have been impossible to identify.

God be our Guide. His help is sure; in Him our hope shall rest secure. His strength the victory is sure. This prayer from every heart shall spring:

God be our Guide, God be our Guide!

Work that we purpose ev'ry hour, Can prosper only through His blow. Our souls His gracious presence seek; With joyful lips this prayer we speak.

God be our Guide, God be our Guide!

Mighty to bless from day to day
Till life's brief light shall pass away. He goes and takes, and works His will; We pray and bid our hearts be still.

God be our Guide, God be our Guide!

—from a German Hymn.

EDITORIALS

Pastor Niemolker, writing after his return home to Germany, states that he has had reports from the Kultur, where people died from cold rather than from one of the world's most productive coal fields. That, according to reliable report, at least 1,300 people froze to death in Berlin.

He also asks the question, "Who will answer for this misery? God knows.

But who will help overcome it? That responsibility is nominally one of the world's most productive coal fields. The people died from cold rather than from one of the world's most productive coal fields. That, according to reliable report, at least 1,300 people froze to death in Berlin.

"If a brother or sister be naked, and not able to buy a dress, and one say unto him, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and fed, notwithstanding ye give him not: what is that to thee?"

And in that well-known passage of Scripture—Matthew 25:34-36, referring to those in need and the significance of such service, Jesus said concerning those banned to everlasting fire, "Ye gave me not... ye rejected me... ye shut up..." adding, "Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these, ye did it to me..."

"Now brethren, let us not specify brethren here, if we are disposed to quibble about the distinction of brethren or of Christ.

However, let us bear in mind that the Word does say, 'As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith' (Gal. 6:10).


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PULPIT HUMOR
In Central Pennsylvania

By MAC E. BARRICK

When first informed of this meeting and asked whether I had a topic about which I could speak, I felt as a local Church of God minister must have felt once some fifty years ago.* The Reverend William Shade was a well-known and popular preacher around McClure's Gap about that time and his homiletic abilities were such, or at least his self-confidence was such, that he used to announce that he would preach on any topic the congregation wanted if they would write it on a slip of paper and place it on the pulpit. When he began to preach, he would look at the paper and preach on the subject written there. Then one day, he looked at the paper and it was completely blank, so, he preached on “Nothing,” taking his text from the first chapter of Genesis, “Out of nothing God created heaven and earth.” Local residents claim that this was the best sermon he ever preached. Despite the personal references, the same story is told throughout Eastern Pennsylvania about a variety of preachers; and the following version of it appeared in the Carlisle Gazette for October 22, 1788:

A Prussian Clergyman applied to the late King of Prussia for his permission to preach in his chapel, and to honor him with his presence. His Majesty thought it rather presumptuous for a country clergyman to ask such a favor, but nevertheless granted his request, and told him he would give him a text to preach on; that he should preach the Sunday following, when he would be there to hear him. The Clergyman waited with anxiety from day to day for the text, as he wished to have it in time, that he might make a fine sermon on it; but Sunday morning came, and no text. He, however, went into the pulpit with the intent to preach one of his old sermons, thinking the King had forgot to send him a text.—The King came to chapel soon after, and sent the Clergyman a letter, which he opened and read; the contents were, “The inclosed is your text, and you will preach immediately.” He opened the bit of paper that was inclosed; when, to his astonished, he found it quite blank; he looked at the other side of it, it was blank there too. He held it out for the audience to look at, and said, “Here is nothing” and then turning it, “and there is nothing, and of nothing God created Heaven and Earth.” Then quoting a verse in the first chapter of Genesis, he preached a sermon on it extempore. The King was so delighted at the great presence of mind the Clergyman had shewn, that he made him his Almoner.

The same story is told verbatim in the Cumberland Register (Carlisle), February 4, 1806.

For a time I thought that, like the preacher, I’d have to talk about “Nothing,” until I remembered this story and others like it and decided that “Pulpit Humor” was better than nothing, usually not much better, but it will have to do this evening.

The previous story reveals an interesting fact about the rural folk of Central Pennsylvania. They take great pleasure in seeing a preacher expound extemporaneously on his text. The tend to be suspicious of a preacher who reads his sermons. One of these preachers used to brag that he never prepared a sermon, that the Lord would tell him what to say. There is a story, not native to this area, of a young preacher who reads his first sermon and is criticized by a member of the council: “In the first place, you read it. In the second place, you read it badly. In the third place, it wasn’t worth reading.” In Cumberland County they tell of a preacher who reads his sermons, and one of the members later discovered that he had written on the margin such instructions as “Pause here,” “Look up,” “Pound on pulpit,” and “Yell like hell.”

The closer the preacher was to the level of his congregation in education and background, the better his people liked him. It was not uncommon a generation or so ago to see a rural preacher participating in the large farm gatherings—threshings, butcherings, and barn raisings—and working right alongside the other men. Most of these rural preachers were simple honorable men, to use Conrad Richter’s phrase, who had been “called” to preach. And sometimes there were those who misread the call. The story is told of a man out in the field working one day when he saw the letters “P. C.” in the sky. He went to his minister and told him of the vision and said, “I’m convinced the Lord wants me to preach, because he put the letters ‘P. C.’ up there, and that means ‘Preach Christ!’” “It’s more likely,” the minister decided, “that He means ‘Plow corn.’”

Being a member of the working classes, the preacher could hold his own with rough men, and many stories are told of how order was maintained at camp-meetings, with the preacher being compelled at times to beat up rowdies who were causing trouble. The blind evangelist, J. H. Maice, who lived in Carlisle about 1900, tells of several such incidents in his autobiography.

Preachers were, and I suppose still are, subject to human foibles. Many years ago there was a preacher in the Newville area who was notorious for his behavior, and he always tried to justify himself by saying, “Do as I say, not as I do.”

Many stories are told of how a preacher’s rhetorical flourishes get him into trouble or how a parishioner

humiliates with a clever retort a preacher who tries to reform him. A minister chides a man for swearing, and the man says, "Reverend, I've often heard you swear." The preacher says, "I never swear. In fact, if you ever catch me swearing, I'll give you an apple pie." So the next Sunday, when the preacher announces his text: "By God we live and by God we die," the man jumps up and shouts, "By God, I get my apple pie!"

Another story involves an attempt to reform a swearing man:

This fellow went to the preacher and told him he wanted to quit swearing, but couldn't, so the preacher said, "Get yourself a handful of $2 bills, and then when you catch yourself swearing, give one to the first person you see, and pretty soon you'll stop it." So he thought he'd try it and went and got the $2 bills. So the next day he was walking down the street and stumbled his foot and let out with a real one. And then he remembered what the preacher said so he looked up and there stood the preacher's wife. So he pulled out a $2 bill and handed it to her and said, "I guess you know what this is for." And she looked around and said, "Yes, but where will we go?"

Some preachers had more obnoxious habits than swearing:

This preacher always used to git awake in the morning an' let a string of farts. An' his wife got tired of it, so she said, "If you don't quit that, someday you're gonna fart your guts out." But every morning it was the same thing over agin. So one morning before he gits awake, she puts a bunch o' chicken guts in the bed, an' when he gits awake, he lets a string o' farts. So later he comes down t' breakfast an' his wife says, "Didn't I tell ya y'd far yer guts out some morning?" "Yes, but with the help o' God an' my index finger, I got 'em all back in again.""

Children around Carlisle delight in telling stories in which a preacher is faced with an obscene parrot. The parrot embarrasses the visiting preacher and the host by swearing or telling dirty jokes, or the parrot interrupts the preacher's sermon with off-color remarks. In one of these, a preacher wants to buy a parrot to teach the Sunday School children the Lord's Prayer and other memorable things. Unfortunately the only parrot available is one that had belonged to the local madame, but the preacher says that will be all right; they can re-train him. The next Sunday, the parrot is sitting in church when the preacher comes in wearing his cassock. The parrot says, "New madame." The choir comes in. The parrot says, "New girls." Then the church council comes in, and the parrot says, "Same old crowd.""

"C. K. Snyder, Carlisle, before 1958. Charles Coleman Sellers (Lorenzo Dow [New York, 1928], pp. 250-251) tells how Dow used a similar text, Acts 17:28, to win a bet that he would swear from the pulpit.

"Lester Brown, Carlisle, June 19, 1966.

"Carlisle, about 1950.

"Mrs. Jean Barrick, Carlisle, October 12, 1968.

Another tells of a preacher who decided to lend dramatic emphasis to his sermon by hiding a parrot in the loft of the church. "Each time I say, 'All good things come from heaven,'" he tells the parrot, "you throw down a loaf of bread." So while he's preaching, he says, "All good things come from heaven," and down comes a loaf of bread. "All good things come from heaven," and another loaf of bread. So finally the parrot runs out of bread, and the next time the preacher says, "All good things come from heaven," the parrot says, "What do you think we're runnin' up here, a goddamn bakery?" This story is obviously an adaptation of a much older one, told about a number of preachers, including the famous Lorenzo Dow. Dow, it is related, once engaged a young Negro boy named Gabriel to hide in a tree beneath which he was going to preach. The boy had a tin horn, and when Dow came to the climax of his sermon, "Suppose that at this moment you should hear the sound of Gabriel's trumpet," the boy blew the horn and frightened the congregation into being converted en masse. In another version of the story, the preacher does not know the boy is there and is himself scared, saying, "Lord, you ought to know that I don't mean everything I say.""
Another time, a preacher was trying desperately to convert a certain man in his congregation and every Sunday he would preach his sermon directly at the man's vices, but after the service the man would always say, "You sure told it to 'em this morning, preacher." This went on Sunday after Sunday, until one winter day, a heavy snow fell and no one made it to church except the preacher and this one man. The preacher thought, "This is my chance to get him," and preached his fiercest sermon. After the sermon, the man came up, shook his hand, and said, "You'd a sure told it to 'em today, if they'd a been here, preacher."

Sometimes someone falls asleep in church, despite the preacher's best effort. It is said, that if all the people who sleep in church were laid end to end, they'd be much more comfortable. One preacher, seeing a man asleep during the sermon, turned to a little boy sitting next to him and said, "Waken that man, little boy." And the little boy said, "You waken him. You put him to sleep." Another preacher, to waken a sleeping man, said, "All those who want to go to heaven stand up." So everyone did, except the sleeping man. Then he said, shouting this time, "All those who want to go to hell, stand up!" The man, suddenly awakened, stood up, looked around, and said, "I don't know what we're voting for, preacher, but it looks like you and I are a very puny minority." The Reverend Timothy Priestley, brother of the scientist, had an effective way of waking up sleepers: "Observing one of his congregation asleep, he called to him (stopping in his discourse for the purpose) "Awake! I say George Ramsey, or I'll mention your name."

Issues of early Carlisle newspaper frequently carried anecdotes about preachers, some of which have entered oral tradition:

A certain bishop had a Biscayan man servant, whom he ordered one festival to go to a butcher, who was called David, for a piece of meat, and then come to church where the bishop was to preach. The bishop, in his sermon, bringing authorities from the scriptures, in this manner: "Isaiah says thus—Jeremiah says thus." At last happening to turn toward the door, as his servant came in, he went on, "And what says David?" Upon which the Biscayan roared out, "He swears that if you do not pay your bill, you need never send to his shop again."

A Clergyman in Scotland, desired his bearers never to call one another liars, but when one said the thing that was not, they ought to whistle. On Sunday he preached a sermon on the parable of the loaves and fishes, and being at a loss to explain it, he said the loaves were not like those now a days, they were as big as some of the hills in Scotland; he had scarce pronounced these words, when he heard a loud whistle—"Who is that (says he) cal's me a liar?" "It is I, Whilly M'Donald, the baker." "Well, Willy, what objection have ye to what I ha' told you?" "None Miss John, only I

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"Told by a high school student, Carlisle, before 1951.
3 Ibid., Carlisle, circa 1945-1948.
4 Told by Harold Starr at the Grace E. U. B. Church, Carlisle, March 15, 1965. Cf. J. E. Herrera, Pennsylvania Dutch Wit and Humor (Gettysburg, 1960), p. 3; "Prof: If there are any other dummells in the room, stand up. (No one stands but Jacob). Ach, Jacob, so you are a dummell. Jacob: "No sir, it's just that I hate to see you standing there by yourself." Boatright (Folk Laughter, pp. 133-134) includes a story of a preacher who calls for the friends of Jesus to stand up. When no one does, a cowboy rises, saying, 'I'll stand up for any man who hasn't got any more friends than he has."
5 American Volunteer, Carlisle, December 14, 1815, p. 4.
want to know what sort of ovens they had to bake those loaves in.”

A fellow who was travelling in the new settlements of the western country, in the state of New York, was overtaken by a Methodist preacher. This Mr. Longface attempted to exhort our plebeian, and began by asking him “What state his soul was in?” “In the state of New York d—n you,” retorts he. “Lost! lost! Thou art wholly lost!” groaned the Preacher.— “Lost!” exclaimed the traveller, with some indignation, “Why d—n you, I knew this country before there was a road in it.”  

And recently a Harrisburg paper published the following:

A boisterous minister, serving his first mission in the Kentucky hills, noticed that one of his faithful flock, an elderly woman, had been absent from services several Sundays in a row. Her friends assured him she wasn’t sick, so he decided to see her and find out why she stayed away. Shaking her head and looking at him pitifully, she said: “Son, you just ain’t old enough to have sinned enough to be able to preach about it.”

So you can see, the poor preacher joke ye have always with you.

Denominational differences are often the basis for stories about preachers. J. H. Maice quotes one:

A good Methodist and a good Baptist clergyman, says an exchange, got to telling dreams to each other one night at a church social, “I dreamed I was in heaven and saw no Baptists there,” remarked the Methodist. “I inquired where they were,” and was answered, “They have not arrived yet; they’re coming by water.” “I dreamed,” retorted the Baptist, “That I was in heaven and saw no Methodists there. Upon inquiry I was told they were all outside the walls on six months probation.”

Another tells of a preacher who was filled with spirits other than holy:

This preacher was drunk and they made him get off the train and he saw his fellow standing there all dressed in black, so he said, “Who are you?” “I’m a Dunkard preacher.” “That’s what they called me, and they made me get off the train.”

Catholic priests figure in a number of jokes told in the area, and frequently these jokes are highly satirical of Holy Mother Church’s beliefs and practices, especially the doctrine of celibacy. Such anti-Catholic humor probably dates from Reformation England, though similar stories appear in the Catholic countries of Europe as early as the 14th Century, for example in Boccaccio’s Decameron. Klone’s Gazette published the following on November 11, 1801:

"Kline’s Carlisle Weekly Gazette, June 5, 1799, p. 4, This is Motif X434:1; "The large loaves need a large oven.”

"Kline’s Carlisle Weekly Gazette, April 14, 1802, p. 4. For a similar tale about backwoods ignorance, see Boatright, Folk Laughter, pp. 132-133.


"The Blind Man, p. 186.


There is no place, where an instance of simplicity appears with less propriety than in the Pulpit. A Priest at Tivoli, was declaring in his Sermon against adultery. “I would rather,” says the indignant preacher, “be connected with ten virgins, than one married woman!”

More recently, the following story was told in the Carlisle area:

A priest and a rabbi each received a new car as a gift from their congregations. Going through the Holland Tunnel, they met and started to race. The rabbi got ahead of the priest and had to slow down when suddenly the priest smashed into him. A big Irish cop came over and asked the rabbi for his license, then walked back to the second car. Seeing the priest’s collar, he said: “How fast was this fellow going when he backed into you, Father?”

The gastronomic habits of the local minister come in for some ribbing in a number of stories. Whether chicken is his favorite dish or not, it is invariably served when the preacher comes for dinner. A common story in the area is one in which the preacher is sitting at the table, eating, and hears a rooster crowing constantly outside. “What’s he crowing about?” he asks. “You’d crow too if your son had just entered the ministry,” is the reply. The following is less delicate:

The old man was away, and the old woman was out in the yard chasing a chicken. Somebody asked her why and she said it was for the preacher.

“F. . . . the preacher,” the other one said.

“I did, but he still wants chicken.”

Of course, the preacher must eat what is set before him, so as not to offend the lady who prepared the meal. Mose Dissinger, a Dutch preacher about whom many stories are told in Eastern Pennsylvania, once visited the filthy home of a church member, and seeing the conditions inside the house, spoke the following prayer as grace: “God bless this dirty woman; God bless this dirty food; and God bless poor Mose who must eat it. Amen.”

J. H. Maice tells of a similar experience:

The next morning the old lady asked me whether I would have some eggs for breakfast. I said yes, I will take about three, and she said, how do you want them? I said “soft boiled.” She went into the kitchen and I heard them consulting together, finally they agreed they would put them in water, and see if they could boil them soft. They boiled and boiled them, again and again for about 20 minutes, when the old lady came in and said to me, “we have boiled them eggs 20 minutes, and they are just as hard as they were when we put them in the water. I do not know what we will

Source unknown, about 1950-1954.

The Blind Man, p. 186.

A visiting evangelist at the Holiness Christian Church in Carlisle in the late 1940's recalled having attended services at a Negro church while he was in college. Each time the preacher saw someone come in after the service had started, he'd take up a collection, saying, "Let's give these people a chance to take part in the service!"

A tale widely told is the following:

There was a preacher who got up, it was supposed to be in a colored church, got up back o' the pulpit with a handful o' stones. An' he said, "there's a chicken thief, in this audience, an'," he said, "I know which one it is, an','" he said, "I've got five stones here, an'," he said, "if I don't git him with the first one, I'll git him with one o' the other ones." An' he said, "The one that stole the uh, the chickens, I'm gonna hit him with this stone,'" and when he drew back, there was five ducked down behind the seat."

The same story is told about Lorenzo Dow, but is probably much older than that. I seem to recall a story about a preacher named Moses who was up in the mountains one time and when he came down, he said, "Now, I found out that while I was up in the mountain, some of you people have been lyin' and stealin' and worshippin' a golden calf, an' I know who those people are, an' I'm gonna hit 'em with these two rocks."

By now, some of you are wondering what it is about the preacher that makes him such an attractive topic for folk humor. It is undoubtedly because preachers are a highly select group of men, looked up to by their congregations as examples of conduct and models to follow. "The people of the country lanes expected the preacher to know everything,am and the preacher in fact possesses a certain knowledge or training that is mysterious to the layman." And it is the awe with which the layman regards the minister that leads him to joke about the profession, possibly in an attempt to equate himself with the mysterious Shaman-figure. It is quite likely, too, that the curious juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane that we find in many of these preacher jokes is simply a present-day extension of the mood of burlesque and gaiety that lay just beneath the surface of the somber and religious Middle Ages.

Medieval preachers occasionally introduced humorous or colorful anecdotes into their sermons to assist in teaching moral behavior or simply to entertain a restive audience. The fifth-century bishop Sidonius Apollinaris had suggested that jocularity should be used to enliven serious instruction: "Tetrica sunt amoena jocularibus" (Epistolae, i.19) and preachers' manuals from

"JRB, tape-recorded in Carlisle, March 20, 1968; told frequently before that. See Sellers, Lorenzo Dow, pp. 149-151. Cf. Motif 1114.13: 'The thief is tricked into revealing himself in church.'


the 13th Century on not only recommended the use of moral illustrative tales and anecdotes, called *exempla*, but also provided collections of them for use by the clergy. Master Ryton of Durham, a contemporary of Chaucer, included in one of his Latin sermons a narrative about a certain bailiff who is accompanied on his rounds by the Devil. The Devil says that he accepts not what men say he is to take, but what they are willing to bestow on him with their whole heart and soul, that he accepts. Thus he refuses to take an ox which a ploughman is commending to the Devil, nor does he take a child whose mother is willing it to the Devil. But then they see a poor widow whose cow the bailiff had seized the day before. She shrieks, “To all the devils of hell I commend thee!”, and because she is sincere in her wish, the Devil carries the bailiff to hell.6

Medieval preachers drew their illustrative material from a variety of sources—saints’ lives, historical chronicles, and classical literature, though there was some difference of opinion as to the value of the latter. Similarly, modern preachers draw stories from many places—personal experience, literature of various types, and, I suspect, the *Reader’s Digest* and television. Some preachers refrain from telling jokes from the pulpit because their parishioners object to such frivolity in a preacher. Much depends on the minister’s popularity. If he is well liked, he can do no wrong, and if he is not liked, nothing he does is right. When the preacher draws on his own experience, he occasionally introduces elements which are not strictly true, to make his point more effectively. Dr. Ows, the historian of English sermon literature, says this is perfectly proper: “Whether it is the truth of history or fiction doesn’t matter, because the *example* is not supplied for its own sake, but for its significance” (Literature and Pulpit, p. 155).

One preacher of my acquaintance tells of a time when he was a boy; his father told him to plant a sack of corn in the field. To save time, instead of planting it, he buried the whole sack at the end of the field. Later in the summer, the corn came up anyway, and he reaped a just reward. The moral he draws from this: “Be sure your sins will find you out.”3

A speaker visiting a Carlisle church in the late 1940’s was trying to convey an idea of the horror of hell. He told of attending a service in the coal regions, and during the course of the service, a baby began to cry. The mother tried to quiet the child, to no avail, and it soon began to annoy the other worshippers and especially the preacher, who said, “Madam, please quiet that baby, or take him out.” At this a burly miner arose and said, “Let that baby cry. I’ve been down in the mines for two weeks, and I didn’t think I would ever get out. I never thought I would hear a baby cry again. That baby crying is the most wonderful thing I ever heard. Let me hear that baby cry.” Then the speaker, very dramatically, made his point, “My friends, there’ll be no babies crying in hell.”

Sometimes the preacher will take his illustration from nature, like the one who compared original sin to a bosom-serpent:4

A man is walking in the woods one day and he becomes very thirsty. Then he sees a cool spring and goes to it to drink. He knelt down at the side of the spring and drinks his fill, but as he does, a small white object hidden in the grass at the water’s edge slips down his throat without his noticing it. In his stomach the object hatches and produces a snake, and as the months and years pass, the snake grows larger and larger, feasting on his sustenance, while the man, deprived of nourishment, wastes away, not knowing the cause, until finally the snake destroys him.

Though scientifically inaccurate, the imagined incident very effectively carried within it the desired symbolism of the nature of sin.

A speaker at a Youth for Christ rally in Carlisle about 1948 told the story of a man who defied God. He vowed to prove there was no God, and climbed up onto a hilltop where he stood and said, “If there is a God in heaven, let him strike me down with lightning.” Just at that moment, a black widow spider climbed up his leg and bit him. The speaker drew a moral from this, that God’s judgment is not always spectacular, but it is certain.5 Another preacher in Carlisle was once asked why atheists are not struck dead when they defy God. He suggested that this situation is like that of a famous evangelist who was in Chicago preaching on the street one day, when a dirty ragged fellow challenged him, “Hit me, you coward.” The man persisted, cursing the evangelist, who did nothing. Though he was a strong, healthy man who could have squashed the heckler easily, he realized that the fellow as not in possession of his senses, and so restrained himself. So it is, explained the preacher, that God does not strike down the foul-mouthed people who curse him, since he feels they are not worth the trouble.

A story frequently told to refute the arguments of atheists is the following which appeared in the *American Volunteer*, October 22, 1818:

A celebrated astronomer and Christian Philosopher, having an acquaintance who denied the existence of the supreme Being, took the following method to convince him of the grossness of his error, upon

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5The Rev. Joseph Miller, evangelist at the McClure’s Gap Church of God, about 1950.

6The motif of the bosom-serpent is an ancient and much-used one, occurring in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, IV; Fernando de Rojas’ *Celadita*, Act 10; Ribadeneyra’s *Principe cristiano*, I, 23; Bécquer’s short story, “Creed en Dios”; Hawthorne’s story, “Egotism; or the Bosom Serpent”; Michael Dync, “A Tongue of Silver,” in *Best Televion Plays* 1937 (New York, 1937), p. 96, etc.

A recent German collection of "preacher stories" is entitled 
Frohliche Herzen im schwarzen Habit (Gutersloher Verlagshaus 
Gerd Mohn, 1961).

his own principles.—Expecting him at a certain time, on a visit, he procured a very handsome globe of the starry heavens, which being placed in a corner of the room, where it could not escape the gentleman's observation, the latter seized the first opportunity to ask from whence it came, and to whom it belonged. 'Not to me, said the astronomer, 'nor was it ever made by any person, but was moulded into that form and came into this room by mere chance; That replied the gentleman, "is impossible." The astronomer, however, with an air of seriousness persisting in his assertion, took occasion to reason with the gentleman upon his atheistical principles. You will not, said he, believe that this small body originated in mere chance; and yet you would contend that those heavenly bodies, of which it is only a faint and diminutive resemblance, came fortuitously into existence without order or design.—Pursuing this chain of reasoning, the gentleman was at first confounded—in the next place convinced—and ultimately joined in a knowledge of the absurdity of denying the existence of God, as the intelligent, all wise and powerful Architect of the universe.

The same incident is told as happening to Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887):

The noted agnostic, Colonel Robert Ingersoll, during a visit with Henry Ward Beecher, noted a beautiful globe portraying the constellations and stars of the heavens. "This is just what I've been looking for," he said after examining it. "Who made it?"

"Who made it?" repeated Beecher in simulated astonishment. "Why Colonel, nobody made it; it just happened." I have heard the story told in the Carlisle area within the past twenty years.

One preacher speaking about prayer used the text "Faith to Move Mountains" (Matthew 17:20), and told of a woman who prayed every day that a certain mountain blocking her view would be moved. And every morning she would get awake and say, "Just as I thought. It's still there." Similar lack of faith is shown in the story of a preacher who was conducting a testimonial service in Texas, and member after member would stand up and thank God that he was ready for heaven and just couldn't wait to get there. Finally, a cowboy stood up, walked down front, pulled his gun, and said, "Now I been listenin' to all you people, how you're ready for heaven and just can't wait to get there. So, since you're all so anxious to go, I'd like to see you get there, so anybody who wants to go to heaven right now, stand up." Of course, no one stood up.

On occasion, a fundamentalist preacher will take a joke seriously. One of these preachers was speaking on the Second Coming of Christ and said that it is an event so imminent and so inevitable that a newspaper in Chicago has a front page all set up for when the event occurs. His source for this idea is probably the story told of a small town newspaper whose editor was very conservative in his use of type-faces. One day in absence, an assistant came out with a 60-point headline to announce an important local disaster. The editor was furious. "All these years," he said, "I've been saving that type for the Second Coming of Christ." Sometimes a preacher introduces a joke or anecdote just for the hell of it, but these cases are rare. A preach-

"Edmund Fuller, 2500 Anecdotes, no. 1651.
"Carlisle, about 1945-50.
"Fuller, 2500 Anecdotes, no. 1246.
er in Plainfield once told of a hillbilly who bought himself a mirror and hid it out in the barn so his wife wouldn’t find it. Every day he’d go out and look at himself, combing his hair and preening in front of the mirror. His wife became suspicious of this, so one day she slipped out to the barn, found the mirror, looked at it and said, “So that’s the old hussy he’s been runnin’ around with!” The preacher may have drawn a moral from that, but it’s difficult to think what it might be.

Another form of medieval humor still exists in the pulpit today. I’m not referring to the theological concepts still reiterated by some rural preachers, but to the use of accommodated scriptural texts as the punch lines of jokes. Such jokes were told in the monasteries of the 12th and 13th Centuries and are still popular today. One hears of such things as additional Beatitudes—“Blessed are they who run around in circles, for they shall be known as wheels”—and new commandments: “Thou shalt not get caught,” which the Reverend Owen Brubaker, pastor of the Methodist Church in Montoursville, once called the eleventh commandment.

Many of these stories involve a little boy who goes to church, listens to the sermon and then returns home to tell his parents what it is about. Once he tells them the preacher spoke on “Many are cold and a few are frozen.” Then again he says the topic was, “Don’t worry, the quilt’s here,” rather than “Thy comforter has come.” In at least one story, the preacher asks the little boy why his parents aren’t present: The little boy went to church and after church the preacher asked him where his folks were. He said, “Mom’s real sick.” The preacher said, “That’s too bad. What’s wrong with her?” “I don’t know.” She’s just sick.” So the preacher thought he’d go and see her so he goes and she’s cleaning the house. The preacher says, “I see you’re feeling better.” And she said, “Why what do you mean?” And he said, “Why Johnny said you were sick.” So she asked him, “Johnny, why’d you say I was sick. Where’d you ever get that idea?” “Well, I heard Daddy this morning saying, ‘Roll over and take your medicine.’”

Sometimes it is a Sunday School teacher who is the butt of the joke, as when the teacher tells of the destruction of Sodom: “Then the Lord told Lot to take his wife and flee out of the city. And Lot’s wife looked back and was turned into a pillar of salt.” One little boy asked, “Please, teacher, what happened to the flea?”

Another teacher came in and found two little boys fighting. To restore order, she had each one in the class recite a Bible verse, and when she came to these two boys, the one glared at the other and said, “And he went out and hanged himself.” And the other said, “Go and do thou likewise.”

One Sunday School teacher was telling the story of Samson and asked, “What did Samson use to kill the Philistines?” When no one answered, he pointed to his chin and said, “What’s this?” One little boy said, “The jawbone of an ass.”

To illustrate the dangers of alcohol, a Sunday School teacher (in some versions, a Negro preacher) took a glass of water and a glass of alcohol. She dropped a worm in the glass of water and he swam around happily. Then she dropped him into the alcohol where he died. Then she asked, “What lesson can we learn from this?” And one member yelled out, “If we drink alcohol, we won’t get worms!”

Some jokes involve parodies of hymns. In one of these, the preacher was preaching a temperance sermon and concluded with the words, “I think that all the beer and whiskey should be dumped into the river.” Then someone stood up and said, “Now for our closing hymn, let’s all sing, ‘Shall We Gather at the River.’”

A much older story is one of a man who goes to stay all night at a small hotel. They ask him the next morning how he slept, and he says, “Oh, I heard such beautiful music last night. I seen so many bedbugs on the wall, and they started to sing, ‘There is a Fountain Filled with Blood.’ And then they sang, ‘I’m at the Fountain Drinking,’ and ‘Fill Me Now.’ Then as they went back up the wall they sang, ‘God Be With You Till We Meet Again.’”

These tales and anecdotes reflect the importance of preachers and religion in the life of the people of Central Pennsylvania. For generations the coming of a new preacher or a peddler represented for these people a contact with the world beyond their own community. Whatever the preacher’s background, whatever sources he utilized in preparing his sermons, all of this had an influence on the culture of his parishioners. This influence of the rural preacher on the expansion and diffusion of folk-culture deserves additional attention and study.

"Plaintfield Church of God, May 12, 1963. This is based on Motif J1795: "Image in mirror mistaken for picture."


"November 10, 1963. Burton Stevenson lists five occurrences of this in his Home Book of Proverbs (New York, 1948), 385:3. To these add: ‘Thou shalt not be found out’ (Leen’s Collectanea, IV, 158); ‘Das elfte gebeut heisst: las dich nicht verweischen’ (Wilhelm Binder, Sprichwörterzücht der deutschen Nation [Stuttgart, 1873], 12:45). ‘Loss dich net Frosche is a elfte gebeut’ (Edwin Fogel, Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans [Lancaster, 1929], p. 64); ‘It’s almost as if there were a new commandment. Thou shalt not be found out’ (Slattery’s People) WGBS-TV, Nov. 30, 1964); ‘I want you to take the negro’s eleventh commandment: that is, Every man mind his own business’ (Autobiography of Peter Cartwright [New York, 1856], 218 (cf. Sellers, Lorenzo Dow, p. 2): ‘The eleventh commandment: mind your own business’ (Albert D. Richardson, Beyond the Mississippi [Hartford, 1867], p. 289); Thomas Hardy, Return of the Native, Bk. VI, Afternoons, ch. 3.


"JB, August, 1968.

"LB, Carlisle, March 12, 1966."
To be no more than three hundred and fifty years removed from the introduction of the now dominant culture to this continent provides the American folkloric scholar with a short-term opportunity to develop cultural studies which are comprehensive in the sense that they can yet get to the beginnings of American culture with a considerable mass of detail extant for study. The initial phase of the evolution of our cultural forms is not lost in antiquity. A second factor which bears strongly on the urgency of this opportunity is the period which now separates the American scholar from the last American generation to grow to adulthood in a world largely uninfluenced by radio, television, air travel, computerization and other forces which have restructured American society in a way which is unmistakably different. The last generation which was largely raised in rural America is now at least fifty years of age, and there remains but a scant twenty years in which to collect from this generation firsthand.

It is the intention of this paper to outline briefly one such project which attempts a thorough study of the forces and environmental factors at work in the American rural scene from the first interaction of the European settler with the New World environment to the introduction of new elements of communication and power which appear to have caused a restructuring of American culture.

This paper will then develop one research problem evolving from the work of the HRSMC and show how this anomaly may possibly be developed as a diagnostic device in the analysis of early settlements in the area of study.

Because each settlement area is unique when studied in detail, a considerable effort has been made here to provide the reader with a social and geophysical context to which the detailed analysis and problem may be related.

The Montgomery County townships of Upper Frederick, Lower Frederick, New Hanover, and Limerick were chosen for a number of reasons. This area com-

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This early photo of the Heinrich Ates Homestead demonstrates the central fireplace and the double attic common to its type. All houses of this type (all houses mentioned in this article are of this type) measured thus far indicate the thirteen-inch foot. This photo probably dates from 1880-1890 and is preserved in the Schwenkfelder Library in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania.

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prises a good portion of the drainage basin of the Swamp Creek. Two very early routes of access traverse the area, these being the present Swamp Pike and Route 73. The area is one of the few near Philadelphia which are largely untouched by suburban development, the economic basis of the townships being largely agricultural. Numerous homesteads in the area of study have shown upon investigation to be occupied until very recent years by conservative folk who have done little remodeling.

A further and very important reason for choosing this area is that it forms the community in which a family lived and worked, whose homestead the Goschenhoppen Historians, Inc., have undertaken to restore. This undertaking requires a thorough understanding of the contemporary community. Hence the indicated survey was undertaken.

Finally, the project presently scheduled is to be considered a pilot project, testing methodology for the development of a survey covering a much larger unified culture area. This area is that part of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, which was known almost universally in the 18th and 19th Centuries as Goschenhoppen. Goschenhoppen comprises a long rectangular area following the longitudinal axis of Montgomery County.

The four township study area is situated in the Piedmont Province of the Appalachian Highlands. The Piedmont Province is the non-mountainous portion of the older Appalachians. Its plateau surface is the result of degradation since the underlying rocks are deformed throughout the area. The surface is rarely parallel to the rock beds and the original surface is not preserved.

The Piedmont is divided into Uplands and Lowlands. The survey area is situated in the northern of two lowland areas which are separated from each other by a widening of the Highlands at the line of the Schuylkill River. This northern Piedmont lowland extends north to the Hudson River in New Jersey and Southeast New York. From this place it extends to Reading, Pennsylvania, abutting along the Eastern side of the Reading Prong of the New England Upland. On the seaward side it extends to the Coastal Plain in New Jersey, but it is separated from the latter in Pennsylvania by a narrow tongue of the crystalline Piedmont Uplands which parallels the Delaware River.

Within the boundaries of this Lowland both altitude and topography vary considerably. Part of this variation is referable to rock character. The Newark Group of Triassic rock contains three formations, of which the Lockatong in the middle consists of hard dark shale. This is more resistant than the rest of the lowlands. The softer Brunswick Shale above and the Stockton formation below, largely soft sandstone, form the more typical rolling Lowlands. The Lockatong is evident in the form of swells, which rise to exceed the rolling plains in height by 100 to 150 feet.

A greater contrast in resistance is found between the above Triassic sediments on the one hand and igneous formations on the other. These igneous formations are commonly known as Trap Ridges. These occur in sheets parallel to and included between the Triassic beds. Along with the sediments they were tilted by faulting before the erosion which produced the present features. The building within the survey area is frequently of igneous rock, small quarries being found in the trap ridges. It yet remains to be determined the extent to which Bedford Shale was used in construction, though it has been frequently noticed.

The ethnographic distribution of the Goschenhoppen area was largely Germanic, entering the area by way of the settlement at Skippack as early as 1700. Not enough is yet known about this early wave of settlement to be precise. This will have to await further extension of the survey. Also unstudied at the present time is the matter of specific routes of entrance. While the location of Indian trails has not been documented as yet, we may feel quite certain that the settler's use of Indian pathways for his earliest transportation needs was not different from that of the Musconetcong Valley in Northern New Jersey, so well documented by Wacker in his study of that valley. Access into the area in general was had by way of the Bethlehem Pike out of Germantown, through Chestnut Hill and Erdenheim to Whitemarsh, at which point, after 1713 the road divided, continuing on one hand toward Montgomeryville and on the other hand to Skippack. There were at least three parallel routes into Goschenhoppen, the westernmost being Skipack Pike, the center one Morris Road and the easternmost Summertown Pike, all having their origin off of Bethlehem Pike.

Research has not been completed to determine the extent of non-Germanic settlement, though it did exist. An analysis of thirty-six names on a randomly selected page of the HRSMC Index of Landholders shows twelve names definitely Swiss; ten names Germanic, of undeterminate origin; four names English; four Holland Dutch; two French names; two Palatine names, and two Silesian names. Though this question has not had adequate research, there can be no question but that the Goschenhoppen region was almost exclusively Germanic. The Germanic settlement consisted primarily of the following groups, the distribution of which has not yet been adequately studied: Holland

1 All geophysical details are from Nevin W. Fenneman, Physiography of the Eastern United States (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938).

Dutch Mennonite, Swiss Mennonite, Palatinate Lutheran, Palatinate Reformed, and Palatinate Dunkard.

These settlers in the first wave located always along a waterway providing meadowland. An adequate study of the effect of the aboriginal burning and deforestation has not been made. Therefore, we cannot be sure of the extent of early meadowland. Investigations are now underway of the considerations which entered into the layout of the settlement.

The initial project of the survey is to map and prove the precise location of all initially settled tracts. At the present time there is indication that land was first sold both to speculators and directly to settlers. Land was sometimes bought by a land speculation company, such as the Frankford Company. Speculators were both English and Germanic, including David Powell, 3,000 acres, William Bacon, 5,000 acres, Thomas Mayberry, and Heinrich Van Bebber. That land was also sold directly to the settlers is indicated by the sale of HRSMC Tracts XI and XII by the proprietors to Michael Dotterer and George Philip Dotterer in 1734.

These tracts ranged in size from about 50 acres to 250 acres. All surveys are run on a base line running from Southeast to Northwest. Where the tracts are not remnant pieces they fall into two types. The prevailing pattern is a broad rectangle ranging from an approximate ratio of 2:1 to a square of 1:1. Ratios of 2:3 and 5:9 are frequently noted throughout the area. One exception to this is a cluster of tracts along the Swamp Pike which bear ratios of approximately 1:10. This is a phenomenon which shall be investigated, as it may represent both the Hof and the Dorf settlement pattern in the study area.

Mapping of well over fifty tracts has now been completed. These tracts have each been proven by thorough title search. They have been drawn on plastic overlays which may then be placed on enlarged sheets of the Aerial Photography Survey of Montgomery County. These tracts were drawn from dimensions on the deeds and it was very gratifying to see the accuracy of the work reflected in the degree to which the proposed tract lines were matched by field lines, corners and roads.

With the tracts securely identified it was then possible to begin a detailed study of the settlement areas on each tract. In most cases it is not difficult to identify the original settlement site. Knowing the original settler makes it possible to analyze the settlement type. The present phase of work includes a photographic record of each building on the site and a measured scale drawing of the house including the floor plan.

An analysis of these measured drawings has resulted in the discovery of an anomaly in the standard of measurement used in the construction of the earliest period of settlement. It appears at the present time that this anomaly does not show up in all of the early Germanic houses, nor does it appear in late 18th Century houses. For these two reasons it could possibly be developed as a diagnostic device. This anomaly can only be described at the present time, but the study outlined above will

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<th>FEET &amp; INCHES</th>
<th>FEET</th>
<th>FEET &amp; INCHES</th>
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<td>10°-10&quot;</td>
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<td>31°-5&quot;</td>
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<td>11°-4 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>29 1/2</td>
<td>31°-11 1/2&quot;</td>
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<td>11°-11&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32°-6&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 1/2</td>
<td>12°-5 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>30 1/2</td>
<td>33°-1 1/2&quot;</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>13°-0&quot;</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33°-7&quot;</td>
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<td>12 1/2</td>
<td>13°-6 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>31 1/2</td>
<td>34°-1 1/2&quot;</td>
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<td>14°-1&quot;</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>14°-7 1/2&quot;</td>
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<td>15°-2&quot;</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35°-9&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 1/2</td>
<td>15°-8 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>33 1/2</td>
<td>36°-3 1/2&quot;</td>
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<td>18°-11 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>36 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>19°-6&quot;</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40°-1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 1/2</td>
<td>20°-1 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>37 1/2</td>
<td>40°-7 1/2&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>20°-7&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Conversion Table. Thirteen-Inch Foot and Ordinary Twelve-Inch Foot*
The house is of a type frequently found in the study area. It is characterized by a central fireplace and a lack of symmetry. This house type may be found in a number of German sources, but there has not yet been time to explain certain variations found in the American type. This house is called by Rudolf Meringer “das Oberdeutsche Haus.” August Meitzen shows this floor plan, calling it both “Fränkisches Haus” and “Schweizerhaus.” Richard Weiss gives a very plausible architectural evolution of the type, which may be found in Hhäuser und Landschaften der Schweiz.

The accompanying floor plan is the one given by Meringer for the Oberdeutsches Haus. This particular form of the Oberdeutsches Haus he calls the “Kreuzhaus.” The house is bisected by a stone wall on which is located the bakeoven. To the right is the kitchen, to the left in the front is the formal room, and on the left to the rear is the sleeping room. One enters first a shallow corridor on the right. The elements to be remembered are the kitchen on the right with the bakeoven to the left as one enters, and the two left-hand rooms, the larger Stube in the front and the smaller Kammer in the rear.

The floor plan of Meitzen’s Schweizerhaus has lost an area of usage on one side. It is a mirror image of the Kreuzhaus, but otherwise is the same. He speaks of “Flur mit Herd” rather than Küche. There is apparently no bakeoven.

The floor plan of the Antes house shows the central fireplace, the basic three-room floor-plan with the lack of symmetry imposed by the axis of the Küche parallel to the gable. Thus, while we are not yet able to make a perceptive analysis of the origins of this house-type, we may be sure that we are dealing with a traditional house-type, brought from Germany relatively intact.

Since this building is established as a very traditional house, built early in the 18th Century, it was surprising to find upon studying measured drawings of the house a most capricious and apparently arbitrary set of measurements. The measurements in themselves suggest a standard of workmanship that can be most aptly phrased by the colloquial term “eyeballing it.” The following table will demonstrate the apparently haphazard dimensions of the house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Height, ground level to roof peak</td>
<td>32' 7&quot;</td>
<td>3' 3&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside rear wall to Front Fireplace Jamb</td>
<td>20' 7&quot;</td>
<td>2' 2&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right front corner to Stube window</td>
<td>9' 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>3' 3&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width, fireplace jamb</td>
<td>3' 3&quot;</td>
<td>5' 5&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right side of Stube wall to Kammer</td>
<td>8' 8&quot;</td>
<td>8' 8&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right side of front door to left side of Stube window</td>
<td>13' 0&quot;</td>
<td>9' 9&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right front corner to right Stube window</td>
<td>10' 0&quot;</td>
<td>10' 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right Stube window to right Kammer window</td>
<td>15' 2&quot;</td>
<td>12' 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front door to left front corner</td>
<td>10' 0&quot;</td>
<td>10' 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top of Stube window from ground level</td>
<td>7' 6 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>7' 6 1/2&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height, left front second floor window</td>
<td>4' 5&quot;</td>
<td>4' 5&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width, right front window</td>
<td>3' 2&quot;</td>
<td>3' 2&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left front corner to left front upstairs window</td>
<td>9' 10&quot;</td>
<td>9' 10&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right front corner to right upstairs Stube window</td>
<td>9' 10&quot;</td>
<td>9' 10&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left front corner to right side, front door</td>
<td>10' 0&quot;</td>
<td>10' 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Henry Antes was a millwright, a craft which by its very nature, was precise. One need only read Oliver Evans' to determine this. When one considers the problems that must be faced in raising a large stone house, it is easily seen that if one was to minimize the labor necessary, very careful planning was required beforehand. How much stone must be quarried? How long must the roof rafter be to meet at the ridge pole? What quantity of wood must go into the beams to support a span of a given length? The assurance that these requirements be met necessitated a very careful formulation of the geometric principles governing the dimensions of a building. It is my belief that house “types” represent successful formulations of geometric requirements which are adapted to various patterns of space usage with a structure. The traditional builder was careful, accurate and essentially conservative because he knew his house “type” would work. Variation was in general limited to non-structural decorative features. Thus it is not possible to conceive of the traditional builder as “eyeballing it.” Therefore, the apparent arbitrary measurements must be explained in terms of either the geometric formulations used by the builder or the tools with which he worked.

It will be noticed in Table I that the following pattern occurs frequently: 2' 2", 3' 3", 5' 5", 8' 8", 9' 9" and 10' 10". When one allows a tolerance of ± one inch for the difficulty of measuring a stone surface, we find 9' 8½" becomes 9' 9"; 7' 6½" becomes 7' 7";
4' 5" becomes 4' 4"; 3' 2" becomes 3' 3" and 9' 10" becomes 9' 9". Thirteen feet is 12' 12".

If we postulate an inch whose length is equal to 1.1 standard English inches, we arrive at a foot whose length is 13.2". For reasons to be outlined later we have named this 13" foot the Baufuss. It will be noted that 2' 2" = 26", or two 13" feet. Thus 2' 2" = 2 Baufusse; 3' 3" = 3 Baufusse etc. If we then take the length of the house, 36' 10", convert it to inches and divide by thirteen, we have 34 Baufusse. Applying this principle of the Baufuss to Table I, we get the following results:

### Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Length of House</th>
<th>34 B. ± 0&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Length, outside wall to</td>
<td>17 B. + 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feuermwand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Feuermwand</td>
<td>2 B. = 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Height to roofpeak</td>
<td>30 B. + 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Outside rear wall to front</td>
<td>19 B. = 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fireplace Jamb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Right front corner to Stube Window</td>
<td>9 B. - ½&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Width, Fireplace Jamb</td>
<td>3 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Right Side Feuermwand to Fireplace Jamb</td>
<td>5 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Right Side Stube wall to Kammer Door</td>
<td>8 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Right Side Front Door to Left Side Stube Window</td>
<td>12 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Right Front corner to Right Stube Window</td>
<td>10 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Right Stube Window to Right Kammer Window</td>
<td>14 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Front Door to Left Front Corner</td>
<td>10 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Top of Stube Window from Ground Level</td>
<td>7 B. - ½&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Height, left front Second Floor Window</td>
<td>4 B. + 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Right Front Window</td>
<td>3 B. - 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Left Front Corner to Left Front Upstairs Window</td>
<td>9 B. + 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Right Front Corner to Right Front Upstairs Window</td>
<td>9 B. + 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Left Front Corner to Right side, Front Door</td>
<td>10 B. ± 0&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus it may be seen that the dimensions of the Antes house were carefully laid out, using however, a standard of measurement very close to, if not exactly, thirteen modern English inches.

It must be noted here that in taking measurements from a drawing for the purpose of converting them to thirteen-inch feet, one must be sure to find the point from which the builder took his measurement. Thus, when establishing the distance of the front door from the left front corner, one must decide which side of the door to measure to. Since all of the features on the front of the house appear to have been taken from the right front corner, one must add the width of the door, 3' 10" to the distance from the left side of the door to the corner, 7'. This gives the desired 10' 10", or 10 feet of 13 inches.

Though we have not yet clearly established enough measurements throughout the house, it may well be possible to trace the way in which the house was laid out from the knowledge of where each point of departure is located.

To this end it may be said that nearly every first floor feature has been related to the overall pattern of the house in terms of Baufuss.

To simplify matters, we shall use the German word Baufuss from this point on to indicate a foot of 13 inches. The reason for this choice of terms will be indicated later when discussing the European background of this phenomenon. The front of the house is 34 Baufuss wide. The front Stube window is located 9 Baufuss from the right front corner and the door is 24 Baufuss from that corner. The rear of the gable Stube window is 10 Baufuss from the same corner and the gable Kammer window is 24 Baufuss from the same corner. The rear Kammer window is 8 Baufuss from the right rear corner. The interior door leading from the Stube to Kammer is 8 Baufuss from the right gable wall. The Feuermwand is 17 Baufuss from the right front corner. It is 2 Baufuss thick and the fireplace jamb extends 3 Baufuss from the Feuermwand. The front jamb of the fireplace is located 19 Baufuss from the outside of the rear wall. The distance from the Feuermwand across the Küche to the outside of the left gable wall is 15 Baufuss. The right side of the rear door is 9 Baufuss from the left rear corner of the house. The left Küche window is 16 Baufuss from the left front corner, with an error of ½ inches, the only one of the above measurements with an error of more than one inch.

There are two important features on the first floor which do not seem to be expressible in terms of the Baufuss. The first of these is the Seelenfenster*. Since the Seelenfenster cannot as yet be related to any architectural feature in the house in terms of point of measurement.

*The Seelenfenster is a folk tradition in Germanic architecture which has been carefully documented by Richard Weiss in Volkunde der Schweiz (Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1946). Plate #286, facing p. 320. It is a small window located by the master bed which was quickly opened at the moment of death to permit the soul to pass out of the house.
primary Germich houses in Pennsylvania. Though it is not now understood to apply this type of analysis to ciples which governed the construction of the building, J. Marshall Jenkins, writing in "Ground Rules of Welsh Houses: A Primary Analysis," has developed the geometric principles governing the proportions of Welsh houses. Work is now underway to apply this type of analysis to Germanic houses in Pennsylvania. Though it is not ready for publication, it is worthwhile to note that Jenkins derives one dimension of the floor plan through geometric treatment of the diagonal of a square, thus resulting in derived measurements which are expressible only as values of the square root of two. This would certainly explain our consistent inability to measure the gable wall in even units of measurement, while the front is always so measured. We are extremely anxious to get on with this analysis, as it provides such a basic understanding of the house as a unified structure.

The Baufuss has been identified in a number of other Pennsylvania houses in the Goschenhoppen area of Montgomery County. Two of these structures are of log and two are of stone. In each case the house is of a type which is described as a continental central-fireplace house. Two other houses of Swiss origin were tested with negative results. Cross-cultural testing has not been carried out at this point to an extent which would warrant drawing any conclusions. The two log houses present considerable evidence of the Baufuss. However, the problems of sag and deterioration in log houses are considerable enough to hamper the reliability of the measurements. It is thus necessary to be selective. In the Knurr log house, located on Meng Road in Schwenksville, Montgomery County, enough data was taken from the masonry to produce satisfactory results. Title search on this property does not indicate the builder of the house. Its probable date of construction is 1750. This building possesses a Feuerwand two Baufüsse thick, and fireplace jams 3 Baufüsse in length. The second floor is 7 Baufüsse wide and 10 Baufüsse high. On the front of the building, the door is located 7 Baufüsse from the left front corner and the Stube window 7 Baufüsse from the right front corner. The gable Stube window is located 7 Baufüsse from the right front corner and the gable Kammer window is located 18 Baufüsse from the same corner. The reliability of these two measurements is questionable due to evidence of major reconstruction of this wall. As in the case of the Antes house, neither the depth of the house nor the Seelenfenster in the rear wall can be correlated to the rest of the house in terms of Baufüsse.

The second log house has been shown by title search to have been built on land owned by Valentine Nungesser. Its probable date of construction is circa 1740. This house has a left gable end of stone. There is clear evidence in the interior that the existing gable fireplace replaced a central fireplace through an early renovation. The overall dimensions of the structure cannot be expressed in Baufüsse. The log portion can however, supporting the thesis that the present fireplace and the stone gable represent an early renovation. The length of the log portion is 22 Baufüsse. The Stube window is 7 Baufüsse from the right front corner, and the front door is 16 Baufüsse from that corner. The right gable window is 4 Baufüsse from the right rear corner and the window is 3 Baufüsse wide. The rear Kammer window is 11 Baufüsse from the right rear corner. There is no Seelenfenster in this house, but as in the other two

This fine cabinet is located in the wall of an upstairs room of the Antes House. The function of this room has not as yet been determined. It is peculiar that there are two of these cabinets in one room, suggesting an unusual room usage.

The lock on the cabinet door.
The Yost Log and Frame House. This structure, located in Central Montgomery County, is a significant field demonstration of the two standards of measurement. The older right-hand part is log construction, of English origin, and measured with the ordinary 12-inch foot. The frame left-hand portion is of a later date, and shows the Germanic (13-inch foot) measurements. Site documentation shows the later owners to be German.

buildings, it is not possible to express the depth in Bau-
füsse.

The stone house is located on the Geryville Pike north of Sumneytown. Title to this house has not been searched. It is an early 18th Century Germanic house of the Palatinate type, but nothing more is known of it. This house is precise in terms of Baufüsse. Each of seven window is 2½ Baufüsse wide. The front door is 5 Baufüsse from the right front corner. The interval between the left two front windows is 5 Baufüsse and the distance from the left front window to the left front corner is 5 Baufüsse. The first left gable window is 5 Baufüsse from the left front corner, the interval between it and the next window is 5 Baufüsse, and the distance from there to the left rear corner is 7 Baufüsse. The intervals along the rear wall are 5, 5, and 6 Baufüsse. The right gable was obscured by an addition and could not be studied.

The above observations serve to establish clearly the use of the Baufüsse by the Germans of the early 18th Century in Eastern Pennsylvania. With measurements of such precision it is necessary to propose that the German settlers brought with them measuring instruments which they used in the construction of their buildings and which reflect the standards of measurement current in Europe at the time they left.

Sir William M. Flinders, writing in the Encyclopedia Britannica, presents a long history for the thirteen-inch foot. The ancient foot of Asia-Minor was 13.35 inches, the ancient Greek foot was 13.36 inches, at Lachish, 13.18 inches, in Syria about 620 A.D., 13.22 inches and the Drusian foot of the Belgic tribes during Roman times was 13.10 inches. A foot of 13.2 inches was the basis of the old mile, six feet equalling one fathom, 79.2 inches 10 fathoms equalling one chain, 792 inches 10 chains equalling one furlong, 7,920 inches, and 10 furlongs equalling one mile of 79,200 inches. The 13-inch foot was the most common building unit of medieval England and was the basis of medieval French architecture, since the Canne equaled 78.24 inches, or six feet of 13.04 inches.

The situation in pre-metric Europe can only be described as chaotic. The complete lack of standardization made necessary the publication of the Cambists, books which discussed in detail the standards of measurement in each of the cities of Europe. The Universal Cambist and Commercial Instructor gives the following values for the length of the foot in the following European cities.


Perhaps the best source for pre-metric values of the foot is *Dictionnaire Universal des Poids et Mesures Anciens et Modernes.* This book gives approximately 600 values for the length of the foot. A study of these values did shed some light on the problem of pre-metric Europe, although it was not conclusive in terms of the particular thirteen-inch foot in Pennsylvania.

The areas chosen for study were Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Lombardy, Venetia, the Papal States, the Roman States, Switzerland, Bavaria, Hessian Electorate, Prussia, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt and Saxe-Weimar. The mean length of the foot was computed from the number of observations in each state as indicated in the following table.

**Table III**

| 1. Berlin | 12.36 inches |
| 2. Bern | 11.57 inches |
| 3. Cologne | 10.83 inches |
| 4. Hanover | 11.45 inches |
| 5. Bavaria | 11.37 inches |
| 6. Nuremberg | 11.96 inches |
| 7. Osnaburg | 11.00 inches |
| 8. Zurich | 11.81 inches |

**Table IV**

| 1. Saxe-Weimar | 11.246 |
| 2. Baden | 11.548 |
| 3. Hesse-Darmstadt | 11.349 |
| 4. Schleswig-Holstein | 11.430 |
| 5. Hanover | 11.398 |
| 6. Bavaria | 11.993 |
| 7. Prussia | 11.831 |
| 8. Roman States | 16.655 |
| 9. Piedmont | 18.006 |
| 10. Papal States | 18.072 |
| 11. Lombardy-Venetia | 15.619 |
| 12. Spain | 10.958 |
| 13. Switzerland | 12.113 |
| 14. France | 12.061 |

It may be seen from the tables that the length of the foot in the Italian states was considerably longer than in the rest of Europe. Two areas are indicated extending across Lombardy and into the Eastern Piedmont. The shorter of these is to the north and the longer to the south. It is not clear what factor influences this distinction. In Switzerland there are also two distinct areas, the eastern value being about 11.812 inches and the western, about 11.546 inches. Data for Holland was insufficient. The picture in Belgium indicates four clusters of values, which may fall roughly along the lines of the Belgian provinces. The province of Hainault shows a very consistent foot of 11.551 inches. The Flemish foot to the west is shorter, around 10.8 inches, as are the clusters to the north and east. The map of Germany is interesting in that while it shows three distinct clusters, it shows also a completely random pattern in the areas of the Rhemish Palatinate and Bavaria. An explanation for this is not yet evident. A detailed look at the values for Bavaria will indicate the completely random appearance that this area shows.

A great number of the various feet derive their name and perhaps their value from the way in which they are used. We have thus the Builders’ foot, the Field foot, the Foresters’ foot, the Carpenters’ foot, the work foot, the stone-carvers’ foot, the artillery foot, the stone foot, the legal foot, the town foot, and the land foot. In Belgium we find the feet named after a Saint, such as the Saint Gertrude foot, the Saint Lambert foot, and the Saint Hubert foot. A very common foot in France was the *pied de Roi*, 12.789 inches, and the Rhemish foot, 12.357 inches.

For our purposes, it must be noted that very few of these values are 13 inches. Another source lists under the German term *Zoll*, meaning inch, a specific builders inch which has a value of 1.111 inches. Since he lists the values of specific cities also, it may be assumed that this particular measure had a widespread usage, it being common enough to list separately. This will give a foot of 13.333 inches, which is quite close to the value evident in Pennsylvania houses. One of the questions which should be answered is whether or not the builders foot was the unit in use throughout pre-metric Germany or whether it was used alongside other units in an area when a building was being built.

When the previously mentioned survey of four townships is completed, we shall be able to determine if there is a point in time after which the thirteen-inch foot is not used. It will also be possible, perhaps not within the four townships, but as the survey is extended and more data collected, to correlate this phenomenon with particular ethnic groups. When this has been done it can take its place as another of the diagnostic devices used in the study of the culture of Southeastern Pennsylvania.

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Mennonite Contacts Across the Atlantic:
The Van der Smissen Letter of 1838

Edited by DON YODER

We have published several documents which illustrate the continuing contacts kept up by families of the 18th Century emigrants to Pennsylvania with their relatives who remained behind in Europe. The latest such contribution was the Beritaet Letter of 1806, published in Pennsylvania Folklife, XVI:1 (Autumn 1966), 44-45.

Particularly extensive is the literature on Mennonite contacts across the Atlantic. The Mennonites, with branches in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, France, Denmark, Russia, Canada, and the United States, even though dispersed in small groups, were an international church body, and brethren of the faith frequently corresponded with each other over vast distances. In some cases this correspondence led to Mennonite emigration.

The letter we present here was written by Carl Justus van der Smissen (1811-1890), from Friedrichstadt, Holstein, then in Denmark, where he was preacher of the Mennonite congregation. The letter, a kind of epistle general, was directed to the Mennonites of Canada, from whom he sought information about themselves. It was published in the Canada Museum, the pioneer German newspaper of Berlin (new Kitchener), Ontario, and picked up by the Reverend Friedrich Schmidt, editor of the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung und allgemeines Schulblatt of Easton, Pennsylvania, who published it in his issue of May 2, 1839, from which it has been translated here.

Carl Justus van der Smissen was a member of a distinguished Mennonite family which originated in the Netherlands and migrated to Germany, where important branches were established at Hamburg and Altona, branches as distinguished for their business networks as for their Mennonite piety. Carl Justus van der Smissen was born at Altona, studied at the Missionshaus in Basel as well as the University of Erlangen, and succeeded his father as minister at Friedrichstadt.

In 1868 he emigrated to America, called by the General Conference of the Mennonite Church to teach theology at their school in Wadsworth, Ohio. He served the General Conference also in editorial and administrative capacities, as did also several of his children. His thought and his teaching have had extensive influence on the General Conference Mennonites. We are indebted for our information on him to Cornelius Krahn’s sketches of the van der Smissen Family in The Mennonite Encyclopedia, IV, 549-551. —EDITOR.

The following letter is excerpted from the Canada Museum, and we commend it to the perusal of our readers on account of the Christian spirit which it expresses.

To the Mennonites in Canada, in America.
Friedrichstadt on the Eider, in the Duchy of Schleswig, Kingdom of Denmark, the 19th of August, 1838.
The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you, beloved brethren, and with us. Amen!

Those who can with all their heart offer each other their hand with this greeting, are sifting a common goal and striving toward membership in that glorious congregation, which has neither stain nor wrinkle, which is irreproachable in love, cleansed, purified and made righteous by the Lord Jesus Christ and through the Spirit of our God. In them Christ has taken shape. They are as members in Him, [who is] the head united to a body, and united through all joints through which one gives the other charity. They serve one another, each with the gift which he has received of the Lord. They live one in the other and one for the others, and all live in the One, who died for all on the cross and poured out his blood for the remission of the sins of many. They all have one feeling, which is the feeling of their natural misery, their sorrow over sin, their need of grace. They travel a path, the narrow way which leads to life, and they strive toward going to the peace which is ready for the people of God. As one of these, with this before his eyes, I write to you, beloved brethren in the Lord, since I hope you will in friendly manner receive a brotherly greeting from the far, far distance and read with sympathy that here too there are brethren according to the faith and confession.

Through my brother-in-law, Heinrich van der Smissen, who as you perhaps know lives in Thornhill near Toronto, I have heard that brethren in the faith, i.e., Mennonites, also live in Canada, hence the desire arose in me to write you and ask you to write me sometime and if possible quite soon, giving me report on how you are getting along; for I love my brethren wherever they may be scattered in this world, and I rejoice very much when I receive a letter from a brother in the faith, whom I may not learn to know face to face except before the throne of our God in heaven, and then join with him in singing: Holy, Holy, Holy is our God, the Lord of Hosts.

My great love for the Mennonites was the motive in my taking the trouble of learning to know our congregations as much as possible; I have therefore made many
Lutherische Kirchenzeitung

Die preußischen Oberämter

An die Mennoniten in Kanada, in Amerika,

An die Mennoniten in Kanada, in Amerika,
journeys and carry on correspondence with many of our brethren. For several years I was in Basel in Switzerland and from there visited sundry of our congregations in Switzerland and in Alsace. Later I made a journey to Rhenish Bavaria, there visiting Friedelsheim, the Weichof, Monseheim, and the Ibersheimerhof. If any of you emigrated from this region, then I should like to know if there are among you too families who bear the name Egly or Strichler, for in my congregation here there is a family by this name, whose forefathers came hither from Ibersheim and Mannheim.

From Ibersheimerhof I journeyed to Eppstein, from there again to Friedelsheim and went via the Rohlfhof to Mannheim. Then I visited the Baden Mennonites in Brechhausen, Wiesloch, Bockshaft, Pickelhof and Regenau. On this same journey I also learned to know some congregations in Old Bavaria, namely Marweiler near Neuburg on the Danube.

Six years ago I had opportunity also in Prussia to get acquainted with many of our brethren in the faith; for there there live about 30,000, although many have emigrated to Russia, where also now about 30,000 are living. From what has been cited you see now, dear brethren, that I have made myself acquainted with our congregations and I hope you will give me the satisfaction now of writing me something also about yourselves; in particular I should like to have the following questions answered:

1. How large is the number of Mennonites who live in Canada?

2. From what region in Germany did these emigrate?

3. How are your external conditions? Are you making a livelihood, and are you tolerated by the government?

4. Have you good opportunity to have your children given the necessary instruction? How is it particularly in regard to religious instruction?

5. How many elders, or stated ministers, and how many teachers are there among you?

6. What does your baptismal instruction consist of? From what book is this imparted? How often before baptism do the baptismal candidates come to instruction?

7. Do you know the book, "Die Glaubenslehre der Mennoniten oder Taulgesinnten," by Cornelis Ris?

8. Are there also among you, such as practice footwashing?

9. Finally, my brethren, what is the status of the living faith in Jesus Christ? Is our blessed Savior preached as the one upon whom simply and solely our salvation rests; and are there still persons on the path of repentance and faith, seeking to work out their soul’s salvation in fear and trembling? Or, as in so many places among our brethren in the faith, have coldness and indifference also gained ground among you, so that indeed the outwardly respectable conduct is there, but there is lacking an active confession of sin, so that we then find ourselves on the wrong path, believing ourselves able to earn heaven, yet the Holy Scriptures teach that righteousness cometh from faith?

Now so that you may receive some news from here, I want to impart something to you about us. The congregation in which I am preacher, emigrated from Holland and came here in the year 1626. At that time it was pretty considerable, but later many returned to Holland, and many families died out, so that it now consists of just 40 souls. About the year 1734, since the instruction of children was so very much neglected, and so many brethren had refused election to the service of the ministry, the congregation resolved to call a preacher from Holland, who was not to practice a trade, but be supported by the congregation. Toward this end there had been so many bequests that the interest suffices for the support of the preacher.

Now I know very well that many Mennonites take offence at this, that indeed some cherish the sad delusion that this is just as if they wanted to buy the Holy Spirit for money. But these dear brethren not only do not have the Holy Spirit themselves, but they are not searching the scriptures either, otherwise they would indeed have read in I Corinthians 9: 7-14 and I Timothy 5:18, [and] take notice of Luke 10: 7. I beg of you, my brethren, that you regard me not in such a way, as if I were none of yours, if on this question you are presently not in agreement with me. Indeed it just calls to mind that we are at one on the main point and it is just that, then such things cannot separate. I, my brethren, respect and love you and can call to you with the Apostle Paul, I Corinthians 2: 1-2, and I should like to hear from you, that we were united as brethren in Him who for you and for me poured out his blood on the cross.

The greater the temptations in our time, the more love grows cold in many, the more necessary is it that those who call upon the name of the Lord, and in Him alone seek salvation, bind themselves closely and intimately and mutually admonish each other to remain faithful. The community has a strengthening and enlivening factor, it quickens the heart and enlivens faith and love. For such communion my heart longs; for outside of my little congregation there are otherwise no Mennonites here. The nearest congregation is Altona and Hamburg, whose preacher is named Isaac Goos; that is 15 German miles from here. All the more comforting to me is the correspondence with distant brethren, and I hope you will now send me a long, detailed letter, which you need only give to my brother-in-law in Tornhill, who then will send it to me.

The Lord our God bless you in soul and body! He, the God of Peace, hallow you through and through, and may your spirit wholly, along with soul and body, be preserved irreproachable toward the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ—that is my wish for you and for me. Your brother united in the Lord,

Carl Justus van der Smissen, Preacher of the Mennonite Congregation in Friederichstadt on the Eider.
Almost lost in America, even in rural America, is the fine art of making home-made bread. Except for its survival among some more conservative farm elements, and its revival among progressive suburban housewives, home-made bread is a thing of the past. Even more archaic, and disappearing rapidly from the rural scene, is the outdoor bakeoven, once a necessary part of the Pennsylvania German farmstead, and found widely on farms of other ethnic groups in rural Pennsylvania. Because of the urgency of collecting material on bread preparation while Pennsylvanians still remember the time-honored older methods, we have prepared the following questionnaire which we invite our readers to answer. For our readers who come of Pennsylvania German background, note that we want names for tools and processes involved in baking, in Pennsylvania German dialect as well as in English.

**BREAD, ITS TYPES AND USES**

1. What types of bread were made traditionally in your childhood home, the homes of your uncles and aunts and grandparents, and of your neighbors? What were the names, shapes, and approximate sizes of the different types of bread? Especially be specific on the rivalry between wheat and rye bread in the Pennsylvania past. Was there a time when rye bread was more common than white bread?

2. What grains were used to produce Pennsylvania's bread? Was the milling different for each? How was flour procured for home use in baking? When did one go to the mill to have grain ground into flour? Where was the flour kept in the house?

3. List and discuss the varying ways in which bread, in its different forms, was eaten. Where was bread kept in the house? Were there special cabinets, boxes, or containers for it? How was bread cut, before or during the meal? Describe the taboos about placing bread upside down. How was bread passed at the table?

4. Was fresh bread eaten the same day it was baked? Was bread eaten at all three meals?

5. Do you recall older members of your family telling of the earlier hunger times, when bread was scarce?

**THE BAKING PROCESS**

6. Describe the different steps in making bread, kneading the dough, etc. How large was an average "baking"? What is a "doughtry" and what is its purpose?

7. What does it mean to "set" bread? What types of "rising" were used in bread dough? Where did the housewife earlier get her yeast for baking? Were hops ever grown for domestic yeast production? If so, describe the process of yeast preparation.

8. Describe the production of bread in the common coal or wood stove. How was the stove prepared for the bread? How long did the baking take?

**THE OUTDOOR BAKEOVEN**

9. Describe the outdoor bakeovens that you remember. If possible, draw us a sketch of what they looked like. Did they have a shed-roof to protect the opening? What is a "squirrel tail" bakeoven? What was a "summer oven"? Name and describe the parts of the bakeoven, including the rounded vault which covered the actual baking space. What was the material used in the bakeoven roof covered? Was the bakeoven a separate building, or was it connected with other outbuildings?

10. Describe and name the tools of the bakeoven—the bread baskets or baking containers, the instrument with which one raked out the coals before the baking began, the instrument with which one shoved the bread into the oven. How were the ashes removed from the ash pit?

11. Describe the baking process in an outdoor bakeoven. How was the oven heated? What was the usual type of wood used? How did one test to see whether the bakeoven was just hot enough and not too hot for the bread? How long was the baking period? How big was the normal "baking" that you remember? Were other pastries baked in the oven after the finished bread was removed? Where was the bread deposited to cool? Where was it normally stored before use on the table?

12. Was there a specific baking day in the housewife's week? Who of the family normally did the baking?

13. Describe the use of the bakeoven for the drying of vegetables and the parching of corn for "mash meal," or did your family use a "dry house" for this purpose?

14. Were there also community bakeovens in villages, where more than one family could bake their bread on an agreed schedule?

15. We will appreciate your sharing with us any stories, jests, dialect phrases or sayings, songs, or other remembered materials which refer to bread, baking, or bakeovens. What, for instance, does it mean to "ride the bakeoven"?

16. Finally, what in your opinion are the reasons for the decline in the home baking of bread?

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
College Hall Box 36
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104
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