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COVER: Chapbooks, hawked by peddlers and read to pieces by sensation-lovers everywhere, told the gruesome details of Pennsylvania’s 18th and 19th Century murder cases. The cover shows three examples of this widespread genre of Americana.
By ROBERT D. BETHKE

Introduction

Capital crimes and public hangings aroused considerable interest in early Pennsylvania and, as was the case in England and Scotland and to a lesser extent in Ireland, these incidents occasioned the publication of scores of ephemeral broadsides and chapbooks recounting the sensational details of crimes and the events following them. The term chapbook refers to inexpensive paper-covered books, roughly 4" by 8" in size and ranging from 8 to 32 pages or more in length, which were once hawked by itinerant peddlers or sold from roadside stalls. The Anglo-American chapbook was an outgrowth of the single-sheet British broadside and it is analogous to the Volksbuch of Continental Europe. The coinage 'gallows-literature' designates those broadside or chapbook publications which gave a whole or partial narrative or descriptive accounting of the life, trial, confession, and execution of criminals convicted of capital crimes and sentenced to be hanged. Chapbook gallows-literature is most easily identified by the stark bold-face type which, together with a woodcut or engraving depicting gallows, coffins, or some other appropriate iconographic portrayal, announced the contents of the publication. The size and length of chapbooks varied according to their subject matter, place of origin, and the resources of the press or presses at which they were printed. Pennsylvania chapbooks published after 1850, for example, usually exceeded 32 pages in length due to the expansion of bulk paper supplies and rapid advances in cheap printing in the Commonwealth during the latter half of the 19th Century. Major English chapbook printers like the Catnapch Press, by comparison, seem to have consistently limited the length of their editions in order to facilitate large-scale production and circulation.

Post-Reformation journalistic printing practices in conjunction with deep-seated Christian religious sentiment and the ever-present factor of human curiosity in matters relating to sensational crimes and criminals combined to give rise to chapbook gallows-literature in the British Isles in the late 17th and early 18th Centuries. The chapbook was a major element of the trade in popular street literature which enjoyed its heyday on both sides of the Atlantic in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Large numbers of secular chapbooks were imported into the colonies from the British Isles from about 1723 to 1825. Native American chapbooks mod-

A distinction is sometimes made for classification purposes between the chapbook, as defined here, and the pamphlet. The latter category usually includes those chapbooks of more than 24 pages. This distinction is based on the fact that chapbooks printed in the British Isles in the late 17th and early 18th Centuries were often in 8vo form, that is, a broadside sheet folded into eight leaves making a book of sixteen pages. The leaves were cut and sewn together between coarse paper covers. A great many later chapbooks were 12mo, or a sheet folded into twelve leaves making a book of 24 pages (see Victor E. Neuburg, Chapbooks; a bibliography of references to English and American Chapbook Literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (London, 1964), p. 1). If consistently maintained, the distinction between the chapbook and the pamphlet is highly artificial in light of the form and contents of native American materials. The classification may also prove confusing for the reader unaccustomed to bibliophilic terminology. Hence, chapbook will be used throughout this article as a cover term for all those printed forms which otherwise conform with the tradition in popular printing described in the Introduction. I have limited my coverage to English-language (non-dialect) chapbooks published in Pennsylvania and dealing with crimes committed within the Commonwealth.


Weiss notes that, "In comparison with English and Scottish chapbooks, Irish chapbooks are scarce and little seems to be recorded about them" (p.7). See Ted Peterson, "British Crime Pamphleteers: Forgotten Journalists," Journalism Quarterly, XXII (1945), pp. 305-316.
Philadelphia was the major centre for the publication of Pennsylvania’s extensive “gallows-literature”. This example is the Confession of William Gross, convicted of murder in Philadelphia in 1823.

In cheap printing gradually superseded and finally replaced altogether by successful newspapers and magazines which could devote extensive column space to criminal reporting. Today, public executions are a thing of the past (in Pennsylvania, at least), and we learn about crimes of violence and the prosecution of criminals most readily via greatly expanded channels of printed and audio-visual mass media. In this day and age peddlers no longer hawk gallows-literature in the backstreets of Philadelphia or at hanging sites throughout the Commonwealth. But sensational newspaper tabloids are still very much a part of the urban and rural scene both here and in Britain.’ And, although the didactic Christian ethic which once permeated gallows-literature and gave it an unmistakably homiletic quality is seldom overt in today’s popular dailies, the spirit of former times persists nevertheless between the lines.

It is well to take stock of changes in the popular literature dealing with crime and criminals. From one vantage point, the literature of crime is a valuable documentary source for research in the social history of early Pennsylvania penology. In addition, viewed from the perspective of folk-life studies, the chapbook gallows-literature of early Pennsylvania provides an index for gauging, at both the folk-cultural and popular levels, changing journalistic practices and religious attitudes in an area of social concern which has always had a direct bearing upon American regional culture.

PUBLIC EXECUTIONS IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA

The rise and popularity of gallows-literature in early Pennsylvania, as throughout the northern colonies and in Great Britain, was closely tied to the spectacle of public executions and the tenor of the socio-religious milieu of which they were a part. Public executions were once crowd-drawing events which in many respects resembled a one-day country fair or carnival. People of all classes flocked to the execution site, where frivolity and socializing went hand in hand with solemn reflection on the lot of the public sinner, and where refined ladies literally rubbed elbows with coarse peddlers of popular street literature. According to contemporary estimates, for example, some 20,000 spectators crowded Logan Square in Philadelphia to witness the execution of James Moran in 1837 for piracy on the high seas. This was the last public hanging in Pennsylvania and drew an especially large and vocal crowd, but the number was not exceptional for the hanging of a notorious criminal in the early 19th Century. The hanging of John Lechler at Lancaster on October 25, 1822, is reputed to have been one of the major social events of the year in that region. Lechler had strangled his wife Mary in a jealous rage, later...
hanging her from a beam in the attic of their home and then mistakenly shooting the wife of her suitor. The incident aroused much public indignation. On the day of the execution, liquor sales were banned in the city and between 20,000 and 30,000 spectators jammed the gallows site to witness Lechler’s final moments.11

For most of the 18th Century, hangings in Pennsylvania were subject to the English legal code then in effect. Executions were purposely conducted as a gruesome spectacle in order to serve as a moral deterrent against socially disruptive behavior and religious transgression. In some areas condemned criminals were put on public display on their way to the gallows by being forced to sit astride their own coffin in the rear of a horse-drawn cart. In other cases murderers either “stood up in or walked before or after the cart.”12 A number of early accounts suggest that clergymen in attendance at executions preached lengthy discourses to the assembled crowd, cautioning them of the fate of sinners. It is difficult to confirm the actual prevalence or dimensions of the latter practice, although the ‘business’ of conducting a 19th Century hanging would seem to discourage drawn-out sermonizing beyond what could be integrated into the final absolution. More likely, as recounted in a recent treatment of the New England execution sermon, “the execution discourse was usually delivered in the church, sometimes the Sunday or Thursday before the execution date, but most often immediately preceding the time appointed for hanging...Ordinarily the major sermon consumed about an hour or slightly less.”13 Sometimes the condemned was entreated to utter a short homiletic speech himself, such pious conduct proving highly edifying and thought to represent true repentance. Louis

"Look at him—through his dungeon bars, Freshly and wild the matronly lock, 
Comes nothing round him then and last, 
As if it touched the night."—Whittier.

Embellished with numerous Engravings, 
Representing the Scenes of Blood and correct Likenesses 
of the Criminals.

HARTFORD:
S. ANDRUS AND SON.
1844.

This volume, published in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1844, was a collection of murder confessions, many adapted from the original chapbooks.
C. Jones, long recognized as an authority in the collection and study of native American gallows-literature, reprint in one of his publications a frontier reminiscence recalling an execution in Otsego County, New York, about 1805. The scene could have just as easily taken place in Pennsylvania:

On the day appointed, everybody repaired to Cooperstown to see Arnold hung. A gallows was erected, the prisoner was brought out and placed on the stage, where the sheriff with his deputies were in attendance. Clergymen were there, and went through with their religious exercises; the criminal was exhorted to make his everlasting peace; and the spectators to take warning and profit from the melancholy exhibition. Arnold was invited to address the multitude, which he did in a few words but so low a tone of voice as scarcely to be heard.

A number of 18th and 19th Century Pennsylvania chapbooks tell of criminals singing homiletic pieces on the scaffold prior to their execution. As in the case of criminal speeches, however, such instances were much less frequent than apocryphal printed accounts lead one to believe. A chapbook published in 1817, for example, contains a curiously incongruent description of how Cornelius Jones, a reprobate who poisoned his stepfather by feeding him doses of arsenic in his "cyder," took up religion while in jail and moments before his hanging "sung (aided by others) with a full, steady voice" a hymn of his own choosing. Religious singing seems to have had limited currency as a custom at early hangings in Pennsylvania, with the lead most often taken by the attendant clergy rather than the condemned.

Similarly, and consistent with a practice which is traceable to British gallows-literature, narrative and lyric obituary verses as well as hymn stanzas were on occasion printed as an appendix to chapbooks. These broadside verses typically consisted of a heavily didactic summation of the crime as well as a formulaic comment on the victim's misfortune and the criminal's moral transgression. The "last-goodnight" broadside ballad "James Monte" reported from Pennsylvania is said to have been "written by the James Monte therein named, and by him sung upon the platform just previous to his execution" in Lancaster County. Again, however, there is scant historical evidence to verify that last-goodnight singing was actually as widespread as reported in the popular literature of the times. Rather, verses appropriate for a given execution were commonly composed prior to the event by a hack poet or poets other than the condemned prisoner and hawked along with the chapbooks sold in the streets or at the execution site itself. For other than the most hardened and defiant criminal, the grim reality of a public hanging was a time for resignation to one's fate and consultation with the clergy. An emotional outpouring, when it did occur, was more likely a last minute cleansing of the conscience and spiritual preparation for the afterlife than vocalization in song.

It was the factor of public spectacle which eventually provoked the indignation of leading citizens, many of whom were Quaker and opposed to executions on basic religious grounds, and led to the abolition of public hangings in Pennsylvania. By the late 18th and early 19th Centuries, excesses in public executions had
began to offend public morality as much as to reinforce it. A major incentive for the institution of the penal reform movement in the 1780's was the degradation of criminals at the gallows site. Once such practice included driving a cart out from under the scaffold, thereby leaving the hapless victim dangling at the end of the rope in the convulsions of strangulation. An equally gruesome method which gained favor in some quarters was to force the criminal to climb a ladder which was then yanked from under him.

Public executions were legally abolished in the Commonwealth by an act of April 10, 1834, which moved hangings to within the confines of jail yards and limited the number of spectators to select county officials, immediate relatives, twelve "respectable citizens," an examining physician, and a clergyman designated by the prisoner. There was little more than token enforcement of this statute until about 1840, by which time the opponents of public executions had gathered sufficient broad-base popular support to pressure local sheriffs and other officials who were reluctant to abandon the older practices. England, by comparison, did not abandon public hangings until 1868. In 1913, Pennsylvania changed over to electrocution as the uniform measure of capital punishment throughout the state. Although the spectacle of hanging has been replaced now by callously efficient modern methods, representatives of the press are still permitted to witness executions in Pennsylvania penitentiaries.

Negley K. Teeters, the leading authority on the social history of penology in Pennsylvania, has drawn on a variety of printed sources, including chapbooks, in compiling an exhaustive record of public executions in Pennsylvania from 1688, the earliest recorded hanging in the province, to their abolition in 1834. Teeters reports that 252 persons were publicly hanged in the Commonwealth while 138 were pardoned during the same time period. According to his findings, slightly over 100 or roughly half of the 252 executions took place in Philadelphia, the remainder being unevenly distributed throughout the outlying rural counties.

Teeters' statistics are helpful in linking the incidence of public executions to changing social conditions in the state's past. Over the broad span of the "Provincial Period" (1682-1776), for instance, 33 of the 94 hangings were for murder, the other resulting from another of the thirteen capital offenses as defined by the harsh British Crown penal code in effect between 1718 and 1786. Under the original Quaker criminal code established in 1682 for governing the province, the only crimes punishable by death were premeditated murder and treason. William Penn and his followers favored imprisonment rather than execution, reflection and penitence rather than the severe forms of Anglican and Puritan retribution then in force elsewhere in the colonies.

"Negley K. Teeters, The Cradle of the Penitentiary: The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, 1773-1835 (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 2. From "A Brief Account of the Murders and Executions in Lancaster County since its Organization; an appendix to a chapbook recounting The Manheim Tragedy. A Complete History of the Double Murder of Mrs. Garber & Mrs. Ream: with the only authentic Life and Confession of Alexander Anderson . . ." (second edition, Lancaster, Pa., 1858), we learn the following: "After the personal influence of the great founder [William Penn] had ceased to exist amongst the colonists their criminal code again relapsed to the accustomed severity of the parent country . . . [The capital crimes included] murder, robbery, burglary, rape, sodomy, burglary, malicious maiming, manslaughter by stabbing, witchcraft and conjuration, arson, counterfeiting any current gold or silver coin, and felony (except larceny), on a second conviction—in all, twelve or thirteen specified offenses" (pp. 57-58) [italics added].

"Teeters (1955), p. 3.
The turbulent Revolutionary period (1776-1790) experienced an inordinate increase in the frequency of public hangings for various crimes, although the ratio of executions for murder to the total number of cases (23/102) remained remarkably uniform. A brief historical account of the executions in Lancaster County before 1858 appeared as an appendix to a chapbook of that year and included the following commentary:

The decade from 1770 to 1780 appears to have been more prolific in executions than any other period since the organization of the county. During those ten years there were at least five persons hung in Lancaster for various offenses; other crimes than murder being then punished with the death-penalty. A man called "JOCKEY JONES" was hung for stealing horses; CATHARINE FISHER, for killing her child; Capt. Taylor, for highway robbery; a colored man for committing a rape upon a white woman; and SAMUEL BRANDT for killing his father and setting the dwelling house on fire."

Finally, the statistics during the period from 1790 to 1834 show a sharp downward trend in the number of cases of public hanging (56), of which forty-five were for first-degree murder. The latter figures seem to reflect the impact of the 1794 statute as well as the post-Revolutionary reform movements generally upon Pennsylvania's judicial system. Again, quoting from the above-mentioned chapbook, "from 1780 to 1822, a period of forty-three years, no person was hung in Lancaster [Co.]." A point worth emphasis in light of all of these statistics is Teeters' observation that "hangings were rather infrequent affairs, especially in the hinterland counties."

**Gallows-Literature and the Popular Press**

A vendor of street literature wise in the ways of the popular press in 19th Century London is reported to have commented that, "There's nothing beats a stunning good murder, after all," an axiom which summed up the journalistic trade in gallows-literature on both sides of the Atlantic.

The legal abolition of public hangings in Pennsylvania in itself did little to stifle the production and sales of chapbook "trials, confessions, last-dying speeches, and executions," many of which were highly fictionalized accounts which drew as much upon stereotyped conventions and the popular rhetoric of the pulpit as upon firsthand reporting. Then, too, popular indignation and curiosity aroused by sensational murderers and their crimes continued to draw sizeable crowds to jail-yard hangings where, depending upon the local enforcement of the 1834 statute, the throng was either granted or refused admission to witness the event. More importantly, however, the statute had little immediate effect upon chapbook printing because trials and executions, under normal circumstances, remained open to representatives of the press. Indeed, in the 18th and early 19th Centuries, chapbooks were the principal media at the folk-cultural level for news of capital crime. Early American newspapers prior to about 1820—Pennsylvania's being no exception—were heavily devoted to political subject matter, "addressed to the educated upper class, and given over largely to foreign news." Particularly in rural areas, it was not until the second half of the 19th Century that detailed accounts of crimes and trials appeared in the daily press."

The acute paper shortage during the Revolutionary period and the general scarcity of major printing facilities on the frontier as late as 1830 tended to limit the production of indigenous chapbook gallows-literature prior to the Civil War to urban centers such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. If popular street literature is any indication, the residual effects

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"The Manheim Tragedy," p. 57. Teeters, in a note (1960, p. 147), mentions that he had been unable to verify the 'Jockey Jones' execution.


"As reported in one of Henry Mayhew's interviews (London, 1851, p. 223) with a 'running patter' or 'death-hunter,' being 'men (no women) engaged in vending last dying speeches and confessions' (p. 214).

"Richard M. Dorson, American Folklore (Chicago, 1959), p. 50.

of these early conditions prevailed in American regional culture west of the Mississippi until the late 1850’s and early 60’s. The Mid-Atlantic region, which includes most of the Commonwealth, appears to have been as affected by these factors as the rural portions of northwestern New England, New York, the northern tier of Pennsylvania, and the Upland South. A handful of chapbooks bear Lancaster and Harrisburg imprints prior to 1850, but the overwhelming majority of Pennsylvania materials published in the 18th and 19th Centuries were printed in Philadelphia or its immediate environs and either carried or shipped to outlying regions. Almost without exception, chapbook gallowsliterature published west of Lancaster can be dated after the Civil War. In keeping with this pattern, the four chapbooks published in Pittsburgh with which I am familiar bear the dates 1853, 1857, 1866, and 1867.  

2For an example of a highly fictionalized chapbook published in the environs of Philadelphia, see Life, Adventures, and Confessions of Albert Teufel, convicted of the murder of James Wiley, with his trial, speeches of the counsel, conviction and sentence (Doylestown, Pa., 1867) [McDade, no. 969]. The murderer and the crime seem to have been legitimate, as Teufel was executed on April 18, 1867. Unreliable as history, the chapbook account is extremely humorous. It begins: “In the first place . . . I am and always have been a very remarkable fellow. Report says, I was from the hell; I know that during a great portion of my life I lived in jail, and from the way things look now I shall die in jail” (p. 7). The chapbooks are, respectively: Trial, Confession and Confession of Pamela Lee . . . (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1853) [McDade, nos. 598-9]; Lives and Confessions of Henry Life and Charlotte Jones . . . (Pittsburgh, 1857) [McDade, no. 304]; The Life and Confessions of Martha Grindler, the poisoner . . . (Pittsburgh, 1866) [McDade, nos. 395-4]; Life and Confessions of Charles Chase . . . (Pittsburgh, 1867) [McDade, no. 174].

Six coffins—the old-fashioned six-sided ones—on the Robert McConaghy Confession.

A Philadelphia chapbook of 1824 complete with visual warning at top. 1st, the printer suggests, hoping for greater sales, is “the Only Original Copy.—All others are Spurious.”

TRIAL, CONFESSION AND EXECUTION OF
ROBERT McCONAGHY, FOR THE
MURDER OF SIX OF HIS RELATIVES
IN BROAD DAY-LIGHT.

McConaghy was executed a few weeks later, and did not make his Confession until he was once surprised; the rope broke and let him down, after which he made a full Confession.

Price 15 cents.


2For Lancaster, see for example: The Dying Confession of John Lechler . . . (Lancaster, 1824) [McDade, nos. 594-5]; The Life and Confession of Daniel Sheaffer, who was found guilty, in the court of Quarter Sessions, of the County of Lancaster, Pa. in November 1821, of the Murder of Elizabeth Beaver, and sentenced to be executed on the 13th of April, 1822 (Lancaster, 1822) [McDade, no. 863]; and The Trial of Henry Kabler Muselman and Lewis Willman, for the murder of the attorney general, and the charge of the Judge to the Jury. Reported by J. Franklin Reigart (Lancaster, 1839) [McDade, no. 708]. For Harrisburg, see: A Report of the Trial of James Jameson and James McGoogan, in the court of oyer and terminer of Dauphin County, December, 1806. For the murder of Jacob Eshelman, on the night of the 28th of August, 1806. Likewise a sketch of the life of Jacob Eshelman; and an accurate account of the life of James McGoogan (Harrisburg, 1806). [McDade, nos. 509-11]. A similar chapbook telling of this incident was published in Philadelphia (n.d.). The execution took place on January 10, 1807.
Clearly, urban papers were able to adopt a policy of crime reporting at an earlier date than rural tabloids in Pennsylvania. They were less prosperous both in terms of circulation and facilities and more removed from imported paper supplies. Hence, it is not surprising to discover that urban periodicals in early Pennsylvania are on the whole a more profitable source of information on criminal matters than are their rural counterparts for a given period. There is evidence, for example, that the narratives of criminals' lives and deeds which appeared in chapbook gallow-literature were sometimes condensed from long biographies taken from the pages of urban newspapers. As early as 1741 the American Weekly Mercury, a Philadelphia paper, could devote considerable column space to the conviction and hanging of John Bullock for the murder of his wife, a crime described as "the blackest and most Barbarous kind." In later days, if reported at all in the rural press, the news of such incidents was often weeks or even months out of date. The small town workingman and farmer was much more likely to learn of the deed by word of mouth from itinerant journeymen or through chapbooks which peddlers purchased and resold at a small profit. Perhaps it was with this dissemination pattern in mind that Robert Desilver, a Philadelphia publisher, was led to imprint on the cover of an 1818 chapbook: "PUBLISHED BY ROBERT DESIVER, 110, WALNUT STREET; Where a liberal deduction will be made, to those that purchase by the dozen" (see illustration).

There can be little question that chapbook gallow-literature served an important and necessary function as a vehicle for the dissemination of news among literate and semi-literate adults in the lower socioeconomic classes in early Pennsylvania. But it is equally clear from the language of the 19th Century chapbook that its primary reading (and listening) audience consisted of the youths of both sexes, and it was essentially to this segment of the population that the hack journalist and the clergyman-author directed their rhetoric. While it is true that the religious undercurrents in the chapbooks indirectly served the publisher by reaching into the homes of adults who might otherwise have had little contact with this ephemeral reading matter at the popular level, the motive behind many publications was in large part a genuine one: in the words of one chapbook editor, "to warn the younger portion of the community against the allurements and temptations of the more hardened in crime." The motive was an unequivocal reflection of the religious and moral sentiment behind the Christian revival and reform movements of the early and middle-19th Century.

**Gallows-Literature and the Spirit of Revivalism and Reform**

Beginning about 1820, journalistic gallow-literature in Pennsylvania increasingly called attention to the moral and religious condition of the condemned criminal. In a new age of individual-centered Protestantism the focus was no longer centered exclusively on the final weeks or moments before the Ultimate judgment; rather, it was a criminal's entire life style which took on importance. This change was the result of a "basic shift in the relation between church and folk culture [which] came with the revivalist movement which reached its high tide in the pre-Civil War era."

Protestant clergy carried the spirit of moral reform, religious conversion, and salvation central to early 19th Century popular culture revivalism into Pennsylvania's jails and directly to its condemned prisoners. In broad terms, the ferment in the Commonwealth paralleled that in neighboring regions to the north, west, and south as the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakenings...
The Twitchell Case, also post-Civil War.

ening swept New England and the Atlantic seaboard westward to the Mississippi River. Significantly for the concerns of this discussion, the religious enthusiasm which gave rise to camp meeting revivalism on the western Pennsylvania frontier left a well-defined stamp on Mid-Atlantic popular street literature. The atmosphere of religious and moral reform in the 1840's and 50's pervaded native American gallows-literature in ways which were in evidence in the British Isles but far less pronounced in similar materials.

The shift from questions of spiritual substance to questions of individual and social morality marked a profound re-orientation in 19th Century Protestantism at the popular level, a pattern revealed in the rise of religious sponsored social movements which included temperance and prison reform. These new concerns, in turn, found their way into the content of chapbook gallows-literature, where they are epitomized in the brief Introduction to the Trial, Confession and Execution of Robert McConaghy, for the MURDER of SIX of HIS RELATIVES in broad day-light (Philadelphia, [1840]). It was claimed that the piece was the work of "the Rev. George L. Brown and John Peebles, the attending clergyman".  

INTRODUCTION

My object in presenting this painful narrative to the public, is, to warn the young who are entering upon the stage of life, not to tread in the steps which ultimately led this man to utter ruin. The first of which was a neglect of the house of God. He says he seldom attended upon his worship. The next fearful step was profaning his holy name. O what a needless practice!

"It chills my blood to hear the blest Supreme, Rudey, appealed to on each trifling theme.
Maintain your rank; vulgarity despise—
To swear is neither brave, polite, nor wise.
You would not swear upon a bed of death.
Reflect: your Maker now could stop your breath."

His next step in the downward path was tipping at the maddening bowl of intoxication, which seldom terminates short of disgrace and death. And in connection with this design, I wish to impress upon the minds of parents the great importance of giving their children an education. Of this there was a very great deficiency in the case of this individual; and this he declares in his dying confession was one great cause of his coming to such an awful end. There is another thing which parents ought not to neglect, viz. to pray with and for their children. If this be neglected, the blood of their souls will be found in their skirts. How true is the sentiment of the wise man: "Train up a child in the way in which he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

The Author.

A manifestation of this new emphasis upon man's worldly condition was the shift in the relationship between the organized church, in the person of the clergyman, and the layman. Particularly in those rural areas where traditional levels of folk belief sanctioned by custom persisted alongside of and underneath official religion, there was a need to personalize and de-sacramentalize the contacts between clergy and community. The transition away from old-style Calvinism, a process exemplified by Lyman Beecher's so-called 'clinical theology' in New England and Peter Cartwright's backwoods Methodism on the Western frontier in the early 1800's, sounded the final defeat of the cold rationalism of 17th and 18th Century Protestant theology. Replacing ecclesiastical aloofness in the dictate of public and private morality was the 'spiritual doctor' who treated his loosely-knit congregation as 'patients' and attended to the condition of consciences and souls as diligently as any physician in the usual sense. It is this new role which comes through most forcefully in 19th Century Pennsylvania gallows-literature, and it was a change which helped to shape both the composition and the content of this popular reading matter.

In an ironic but very real sense prisoners have long qualified as a captive if not totally receptive audience for the exaltations of religious and moral reformers. In this regard 19th Century Pennsylvania inmates condemned to the gallows were at one with countless other criminals convicted of capital punishment in

Footnotes:

early America. Provincial statutes passed in 1829 provided for the religious and moral instruction of inmates in the Eastern Penitentiary of Philadelphia, with the stipulation that the services of the clergy were to be gratuitous. Coming at the height of the penal reform movement which had its locus in urban Philadelphia, the spirit of the law if not its actual jurisdiction seems to have prevailed throughout the jails of the Commonwealth. Annual prison reports and the tenor of religious tracts and chapbook gallows-literature in the early 1800's suggest that the directive served to discourage all but the most zealous evangelistic reformers from performing such services without any compensation whatsoever.

Whatever the financial arrangements for prison visitors, it is clear that religious and educational training went hand in hand in early Pennsylvania prisons. Clergymen found it advantageous to instruct convicts in reading skills as this meant a wider circulation for their devotional literature. By 1830, for example, the Philadelphia Bible Society had made it a practice to furnish local inmates with religious tracts and bibles. Visiting clergymen and moral reformers did everything in their power to prepare the conscience and soul of sinners who faced the gallows without having confessed to a 'spiritual advisor.' The religious and social significance attached to the criminal confession was certainly not unique to the period of late 18th and early 19th Century revitalism in Pennsylvania, but its place in the chapbook gallows-literature of these years is one of major prominence.

**The Gallows-Literature "Confession": Authentic or Spurious?**

The 19th Century autobiographical or biographical criminal 'life, trial, and confession' in chapbook form, whether genuine or fabricated, was a secularized record of moral transgression against fellow-man and society. As such, it was conventionally structured so as to reveal a pattern of personal transgression, revelation, and conversion. One is tempted to draw an analogy between the popularly produced, public, and 'outward-directed' chapbook account and its distant congener, the private-

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The Dearing Tragedy was one of the most celebrated murder cases in Pennsylvania after the Civil War. It produced a lengthy chapbook, and also a German edition of its text.

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Graphic details illustrating the Dearing confession.

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...
ly produced and 'inner-directed' Quaker spiritual autobiography. The analogy breaks down, however, if pushed beyond the parallelism of the structural similarities in form. It is perhaps enough to say that the structure common to both genres lent itself well to service as a kind of moral exemplum for the benefit of the young and impressionable.

Unraveling the circumstances surrounding the publication of a given chapbook confession and the authenticity of its contents presents a series of challenges which far exceed those in the analysis of form. 'Confessions' to clergymen, jailers, members of the press, or other confidants prior to the execution were alleged to have been given for a variety of personal, religious, and economic reasons. There can be little doubt that voluntary oral confessions to visiting spiritual advisers were sometimes offered honestly and sincerely 'in the fear of God.' The 19th Century chapbooks make it clear that there was unanimity among Protestant and Catholic ministers of the gospel in placing heavy emphasis upon confession as a sure sign of repentance, and the evidence is extensive that considerable pressure was brought to bear upon the recitative criminal in the final days before his or her hanging. The pressure did not come from the clergy alone, as apparent from an openly revealing statement in The Dying Confession of John Lechler...made in the presence of Samuel Carpenter, Mayor of the City of Lancaster, and others (Lancaster, Pa., 1822):

The Jailor has frequently, as I have told several people, told me that I must give him my confession, because he gave me such good victuals—and at last I was compelled, for I am his poor prisoner, in chains to write a history for him, which he intends to publish also."

Lechler's narrative has an air of fiction about it, but the statement is corroborated nevertheless by direct and implied references to this practice in 19th Century penal literature published in England and America. Reflecting on his infamous career as the public executioner in Britain during the 1870's, 80's, and 90's, James Berry wrote:

In some few cases, where the prisoner has not confessed before the time for the execution, I have approached him in the cell in a kindly manner, asking him, as it can make no difference to his fate, to confess the justice of the sentence, in order that I may feel sure that I am not hanging

From p. 4.
An illustration from the "Manheim Tragedy," showing the dwelling house of Conrad Gerber where the murders took place. The engraving, made from a photograph, shows what is obviously a continental style Germanic house with central chimney.

Die Wohnung des Conrad Gerber, und Zahnplan des Manheimer Tragödienspiels.
(Nach einem Bildhübe in M. P. Escher Photographiccher Galerie.)

an innocent person. In most cases they have done so, either in the cell, or at the last moment on the scaffold. Of course, the confidences reposed in me at such moments I have never divulged, and it would be most improper to do so; but I am at liberty to state, that of all the people I have executed, only two or three have died without fully and freely confessing their guilt."

Such testimonies, often at odds with the impression conveyed by the point of view and diction of pretentious chapbook accounts, make it extremely difficult to evaluate the veracity and motives of published 'confessions.' Although contemporary courtroom records are helpful in such matters, the problems become acute in cases where legal documents are inaccessible and the printed narrative contains an abundance of didactic, sensationalized, and flaunted prose. More often than not, what is meant to pass as a criminal's 'only true confession' is in fact a highly elaborated narrative based on partial observation and incomplete oral statements given to clergymen, jailers, reporters, or other individuals with whom the prisoner had conversed during his confinement.

Many chapbook editors and publishers claimed that their printed account represented a written statement prepared by the condemned on the day(s) or night prior to the hanging. Again, verification is complicated by recurrent discrepancies between the letter of penal law and customary practices which reflected its interpretation by local officials. The exchange of written documents from prisoners to outsiders, for instance, was often prohibited in early Pennsylvania jails and prisons, an exception being made for letters to one's immediate family. As it happens, it was an exception which presents additional difficulties for the investigator, since fictitious love letters and so-called 'last letters' purportedly from the criminal to relatives became a popular convention in 19th Century gallows-literature in Britain and America. A Pennsylvania chapbook containing what may well be spurious material of this sort relates the Trial of Anton Probst for the murder of Christopher Dearing and family at Philadelphia, April 25, 1866, as well as his two confessions (Philadelphia, 1867). An appendix to the work included a translation from the German of Probst's alleged final correspondence:"

His last Letter Home.

The following is a translation of the letter which he wrote to his parents:

"Mr. Martin Probst, Uchlingen Amt, Bondorf, Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany."

"PHILADELPHIA, 7th June, 1866.

"Dear Parents, Brothers and Sisters:

"I do not know whether or not you received my last letter, in which I sent you the sad intelligence of my fate. I desire to write to you once again to inform you how I have spent my time here in the prison. I have now spent eight weeks in this cell, and have endeavored to prepare for my death as well as I possibly could.

"The clergyman has visited me every day, and has instructed me well. I have several times confessed and received the holy communion. Besides this, many prayers are offered up for me throughout the entire city, and therefore I am now so cheerful and comforted that I can gladly offer my

"See Mayhew (1851), pp. 234, 280-283.

"P. 115."
life as an atonement for my fearful crime. I trust that you also will be consoled and cheerful as I am.

"The clergyman will send you all the particulars of my death. I only entreat you all to pray for me. I have the holy sacrifice of Mass offered up frequently for the repose of my poor soul.

"Joseph Wachter has also visited me several times during my imprisonment. He will send you my picture and a lock of my hair.

"The eighth of June has been appointed as the day of my death, and to-morrow will be the eighth of June, on which I am ready to offer up my life with greatest joy for my sins.

"I trust to meet you all in eternity, in a happier and better place, and this hope makes me rejoice with my whole heart.

"I will now close my letter with many thousand greetings to all of you.

"I send a most heartfelt farewell. May we meet again in a better world.

"ANTON PROBST."

Characteristically, the sentiment in the Probst letter was ponderously religious—in this case, Roman Catholic—and calculated to convince the reader of the sincerity of the murderer’s contrition. A recurrent journalistic technique in chapbook gallows-literature was to impart a tone of verisimilitude to the entire contents of the piece, thereby obscuring the fine line between fact and fancy.

The contents of a number of Pennsylvania chapbooks include descriptions of the methods used to elicit confessional statements from condemned prisoners. In 1861, for instance, an account appearing simultaneously in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin and a chapbook contained the confession of Thomas J. Armstrong, hanged for the murder of Robert Crawford. The text of the statement was said to have been dictated by Armstrong to the Rev. A. G. McAuley, the local sheriff, and a Bulletin reporter who subsequently authored most of the accompanying description of the case. The chapbook contains the following editorial commentary:

The subject of his [Armstrong's] confession was broached, and after some conversation he agreed to furnish us with the details of the story of his connection with the crime of which he has been convicted. It was written at his dictation, and after we had transcribed it carefully, it was read to him and it received his approbation. The question of the disposition that should be made of the statement then arose and the prisoner finally left the determination of the matter to his friends, who decided that it should be made public at once through the columns of the BULLETIN.

Securing the cooperation of local officials was a necessary step in conducting prison interviews, and there is reason to suspect that such arrangements included some form of remuneration for the obliging authorities. In addition, enterprising clergymen collaborated with hack journalists in the actual authorship of 19th Century Pennsylvania chapbooks, as in the case of the Trial, Confession, and Confession of...


Illustration from the Troutman Murder Case—
the one-and-a-half story log house where the murder was committed in 1880.

The "Life and Confession of Frank H. Rumberger," describes the murder of Daniel Troutman in Mabantongo Valley near the town of Pillow. The book concludes with farewell letters and a "History of the Gallows" on which the murderer was executed.
Pamela Lee... written at her request, and according to her dictation, and prepared by the Rev. Augustus Demick of Philadelphia, 1853. Included in the chapbook is the correspondence from the Rev. Mr. Demick, then Pastor of the Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh, to the editor of the local newspaper which was ultimately responsible for the publication of the material:

"Mr. THOMAS LUCAS—Having read the extract published in your paper, relative to the early life of the ill-fated Pamela Worrin, whose spiritual adviser I am; and have reason to hope, through the goodness of God, to succeed in preparing her for eternal mercy; and if, rightly informed, you intend to publish the above mentioned, in pamphlet form; if so, I will be able to furnish a full and entire confession from her own pen, which I will condense into as little space as possible...

The "letter" in actuality may have been a shrewd contrivance, since there is no record of the execution. Whatever the facts, by printing the letter the editor drew upon a popular convention in the genre in order to lend credulity to the account.

The Impulse Behind a Tradition in Popular Journalism

In all, the pages of Pennsylvania chapbook gallows-literature contain a spectrum of explanations meant to justify their publication. Some chapbook authors claimed that they wished to rectify real or imaginary personal injustices. The Life and Confessions of Charles Chase... (Pittsburgh, 1867) begins:

Not being a man of education, those who expect a highly wrought, or flowery book, will be disappointed. A plain, truthful story of my life from birth until the present [sic] time, is what I desire and intend to give; first to vindicate and defend myself from false accusations and prosecutions....

The editor of the Dying Confession of John Lechner... ingenuously claimed that one of the objects of the publication was "to raise a small pittance for the assistance of those innocent orphans who are rendered destitute by the crime of their father and the justice of their country." In still other cases, little attempt was made to conceal the author's real motives, as in the "Account of the Life of James McGowan" contained in The Lives and Confessions of James McGowan and James Jameson... (Harristown, and Philadelphia, reprinted for James O'Hara, travelling stationer, 1807):

Knowing myself on the verge of an awful eternity—and believing the public anxiously solicitous to learn the particulars of their unfortunate fellow creature, who in a few hours must suffer an ignominious death, to expiate his abetting in the dreadful crime of murder!—I therefore willingly leave behind such details of my life, as can in any degree excite curiosity.

The prevailing impulse, however, behind the tradition of chapbook gallows-literature in early Pennsylvania and elsewhere in the colonies was as much a moral and religious one as it was economic. It was an 18th

P. 3.

and 19th Century Christian impetus in conjunction with the rise of popular journalism and cheap printing which promoted the rise and popularity of this genre of street literature. The publication of these chapbooks was legitimized in Protestant popular culture because they served as moral lessons in the consequence of anti-social and anti-Christian behavior. At the popular level of culture they functioned to inculcate and reinforce standards of social and moral conduct among those impressionable youths into whose hands the chapbooks might fall as easily as the comic book or paperback of today. For older readers, too, the pages of chapbook gallows-literature afforded engrossing entertainment and news which was at once sensational and highly moral in tone. It is difficult to imagine that this tradition in popular printing would have flourished for a century or more had the religious and moral atmosphere been otherwise in 18th and 19th Century Anglo-American life. In Pennsylvania, where a variety of Protestant religious sentiment had a pervasive effect upon popular as well as folk culture, gallows-literature was bound to reflect those socio-religious attitudes and practices which most directly had a bearing upon the treatment and deterrence of capital crime.
One of the intriguing phenomena in the world of the antique collector is the mushrooming popularity of “stick” spatter. Five years ago, few persons cared much about it, even among those who knew what it was. Ten years ago it was completely ignored. For the neophyte, perhaps one can perform the best service by following Shakespeare’s advice and point out what it is by indirection rather than by direction. The path is a somewhat circuitous one.

First, it is not the spatterware we ordinarily think of as spatter. Nor is it necessarily echt Pennsylvania Dutch. It is, however, one more in a list of objects commonly considered Pennsylvania Dutch, but which are in the family by adoption rather than by birth.

The story of the usual kind of spatterware is well enough known that the subject needs only a minimal repetition here. It was an inexpensive Staffordshire export ware made in the early 19th Century, was gaily decorated in a limited range of patterns, and was shipped principally to Pennsylvania. In a day when the great potteries of England were going full blast, and when the market for tableware at home was exceeded only by demands from abroad, decoration, although it had to be at least reasonably competent, also had to be achieved speedily. While assembly-line methods had not yet come to perfection, there was a degree of specialization among artist-decorators. Thus, a completed platter, gravy boat, or whatever might well serve as a demonstration ground for the efforts of a number of workers.

It was at this point—with the need for quick accomplishment paramount—that the process of spattering appears to have come into being. Hand-done designs, whether simple or elaborate, were time-consuming. An independent artist creating a single rose might devote to the act any amount of time he saw fit; however, a man making his living by painting roses, as nearly identical as possible, on all the pieces of a dinner set had to find some way of speeding up the total process. Thus it is that pieces of conventional spatterware normally have two components in their decoration: the hand-drawn, hand-colored central de-
Conventional spatter decoration in three widely differing wares, all antedating stick spatter: middle, 17th Century tin-glazed Delft deep plate; left, 18th Century Leeds saucer; right, 19th Century red spatter creamer with red, white, and blue tulip.

All articles shown are from the Robacker Collection.


Covered vessel in late 19th Century spatterware. This kind of decoration is found also in green and red. As a rule it is only heavy objects—pitchers, mixing bowls, toilet sets—which were subjected to this thin spattering process.

subject to variation. Rarely, the entire top or upper surface was spattered, usually in blue, occasionally in red. The effect here is likely to be one of heaviness, not especially attractive. The opposite extreme is that of a narrow line of spatter, not more than half an inch wide, around the circumference of cup, plate, saucer, or whatever the object being "painted." And between the extremes, of course, lie myriad variations, some attractive, some less so. Least effective is perhaps the thin border on the edge of a piece which has an overly small or comparatively colorless handdrawn motif—the dove-and-olive-branch pattern, for example. More satisfying to some would be the wider, overlapping areas of blue, pink, and green crowding in closely upon the central motif. Some prefer their spatter confined to irregular areas serving as clouds, as foliage for trees, or as grass. All these are admittedly personal preferences, with no greater intrinsic value attaching to any one than to any other.

The spattering process, incidentally, was not limited to what we call spatterware. Too handy—and too effective, for that matter—not to have sprung into being long ago, it is found on such widely varying pieces as early Delft—from which it may well first have been borrowed by the Staffordshire potters—Leeds
Stick spatter at what is usually regarded as its best. The 11-inch platter is in purple and green. The dinner plate is in red and green and has been dubbed the holly pattern.

Child's set; red stick figures set within a border. The shape of the cup is especially good.

Demi-tasse size, but actually pieces intended for children's use. The central saucer and the cup to the right are in brilliant red, yellow, and green. Cups with handles and those made without them occur with about equal frequency.

Sponge spatter is almost always blue—a rich, beautiful blue, a thin, washed-out blue, blue evenly or irregularly laid out over white, and a dozen in-between variations of blue. At its best it has considerable artistic merit. It belongs with the spatter fraternity because it started as spatter, even though it became something else.

Apparently an attempt was made to keep spattered surfaces or areas sharply defined as to their essential dotted quality; very few smeared pieces are discovered—a possible indication either that workmen took pains to be careful or that marred pieces were destroyed.

There is one ware, however, mentioned here principally to avoid misunderstanding because of its name, in which the spattered dabs were intended to run or smear in the kiln in the firing process: sponge spatter.

The wares, 18th Century Prattware, and common kitchen ware.

Sugar and creamer by Villeroy and Boch (German). The squares are blue, the central crosses yellow, and the remainder is in green. A strikingly effective set.
Blue, blue sponge, stick spatter, and still others, he can not escape the realization that if any color tended to get out of hand in the firing, it was blue. Seemingly, no matter what the precautions taken, it was likely to run. The person, then, who wanted it to run, and who thus created sponge blue, made a virtue out of a situation innately devoid of virtue.

The full story of sponge blue has yet to be told—but its first maker may not have been a Staffordshire potter at all; the chances are equally good that he was an American, and that he was familiar with American Rockingham and/or Bennington operations. There are strong points of resemblance in the motting, streaking, and general markings of sponge blue and of Rockingham, allowing, of course, for the fact that one was blue and one was brown. A mystery in connection with sponge blue is that so many of the pieces have minor imperfections in the potting; a creamer will have part of a decorative scroll missing; a vegetable dish will have what looks suspiciously like a flat chip on the base—but under the glaze. Someone has put two and two together, in consequence, and come up with the suggestion that sponge blue is essentially a salvage product—imperfect pieces, originally intended for other kinds of decoration, spattered after hours by workmen who might then claim the product for their own. In this theory, the blue was used so that none of the faulty pieces might find their way back into the “good” output. The theory at first blush seems tenable, but there are a good many unanswered questions, among them this one: If sponge blue is really non-brown Rockingham, why are there so few overlappings in shape with the real thing?

We know that spatter—sponge spatter, that is—was made at East Liverpool, Ohio; pieces marked “ELO” are in the hands of various collectors. Firm claims are made that it was also produced in southern New Jersey. It probably was—and also at Buffalo and at other places if the “salvage” theory is valid.

A late, heavy ware in a kind of sponge blue is now engaging the attention of a few collectors. The spattering is thin and consists largely of wavering, indistinct circles and fragments of circular dabs. The color is oftener pale blue but occasionally green or red—and sometimes a superimposition of all three. The pieces—mixing bowls and pitchers of various sizes are most often found—were obviously designed first of all for heavy duty and only secondarily to delight the eye.
So much for what stick spatter is not. It is not conventional spatter; it is not sponge blue; nor is it an offshoot of Rockingham or Bennington. Some is indisputably American—but some is English, or Holland Dutch, or German, or Belgian, or Austrian, and is so marked on the back. There can be little question of its widespread popularity; three seemingly identical plates, for instance, may have been made in Germany, in Holland, and in England. The best guess as to its age is that it is closely pre- or post-Civil War—but there are those who claim earlier dates than that—at least as early as the 1840's. The triangular placement of kiln marks is identical with that of early spatter-ware. It is not porcelain, although occasional pieces approach translucency; if a distinction can be made among the inexpensive wares which combine the qualities of what should be called soft paste and what should be considered pottery, it is usually closer to pottery of good quality than to soft paste. The range is broad—and what it is made of does not really matter.

What does matter is the hand decoration—the design on the little sponge tacked to the end of a stick, dipped into the pigment, and applied to the object before glazing. One significant factor is that in stick spatter the conventional patternless spatter border is usually done away with. In nine cases out of ten, the hand-drawn and colored designs are also done away with—but not in every case. Several floral pieces, in particular, combine handwork and spatter in acceptable combinations.

What occurs, then, is an over-all design created by the close repetition of a single motif—usually as a border or a series of concentric borders, but occasionally as a major motif. In many pieces only one motif is used; rarely are there more than two or three. As art, this kind of decoration might have to be considered elementary; as a device for a manufacturer who could not or did not wish to hire a creative artist but still wanted his product to look good, it had its merits.

A contemporary research team, in an impressive study of the field of spatterware, including stick spatter, ad-

**Bows of English ironstone, shown inverted to emphasize the pattern. The big fellow at the left is 8 inches in diameter.**

**The 6-inch pitcher in the middle and its 4-inch companion at the left are decorated in blue; the piece at the right has the much rarer combination of brown (middle band) and light green (rim and handle).**
advances the opinion that much spatter decoration was the work of children, rather than of trained, competent adults. Certainly, the naïve quality of much spatter decoration is supportive of the idea. These writers, incidentally, prefer the term “design” spatter to “stick” spatter.

One of the inescapable factors in our present consideration is that, like so many phases of our American culture, antique collecting has been hit, and hit hard, by the population explosion. Only a limited number in any category of collectibles are likely to survive. When a half dozen collectors are diligently searching them out, one kind of condition obtains; when hundreds are playing the game, the inevitable happens: The good ten-dollar teacup goes to fifty, to two-hundred-fifty, and then, with its chipped and cracked second cousin, off the market altogether. There are more collectors—and more money—than collectibles.

Something like that has already happened to conventional spatterware, good pieces of which less and less frequently come to market these days. Sponge blue is on its way out of the picture. Spatter has had something like fifty years of collectibility. Sponge blue has had not much more than a decade, but there are so many more people looking for it that in just a few years it, too, will be only a memory.

Stick spatter may well be the “hottest” collectible in tableware right now. In a single year or two, good pieces have quadrupled in price; in a few more it will have priced itself out of existence. That’s the way the collecting game goes.

Illustrations can demonstrate, more efficiently than text, the nature and effectiveness of individual design
motifs. The research team mentioned above has applied names to certain designs or patterns, but for the most part dealers and collectors refrain from so doing; the territory is too new and too unexplored for names to have gained acceptance as yet. A few are inevitable, of course; a maple leaf, for instance, is a maple leaf, and no fooling. A heart is a heart. Others are descriptive to a degree, but a full nomenclature will probably be developed about the time the last avid collector has added the last piece to his collection!

Pieces of supposed American provenance currently command a higher price than those clearly stamped on the back “Saar Basin” or “Made in Holland” or those which bear the names of English potteries. There is nothing thus far reported to make us suppose that stick spatter, whatever it was called in the beginning, has been manufactured in America in the past hundred years. Some of the European pieces, however, have an all but contemporary look and feel about them.

Whatever their age, these off-beat pieces, coming almost at the end of the days of general hand-decora
tion, are interesting. There may be food for thought in an incident of only a few years back: A matron of advancing years, in Central Pennsylvania, decided to dispose of her cherished accumulation of chinaware, glass, etc., among her daughters and daughters-in-law according to their preferences, but with some attention also to primogeniture. These women, in rotation, took their pick. One of them obviously had to be last, and this least-favored person had to content herself with something for which she really did not care. Since in her mind there was little from which to choose, she decided to take a somewhat conservatively decorated dinner set, as much for its completeness as for its attractiveness. Though she did not know it at the time, she was acquiring what may well be the only complete stick spatter dinner service, snowflake pattern, in existence to-day—a fabulous possession.

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The blue snowflake pattern, attractive in spite of the fact that the artist had some trouble in distributing his snowflakes evenly.

Platters, which commonly survive in other kinds of dinnerware, seem to be rare in stick spatter. The one shown here, with blue arrowhead decoration, is 15 inches in length. The oval vegetable dish has a brown and blue floral decoration, and is marked Mayer Potter Ironstone.
When any object made by man is presented without a person in some relationship with it people often find it hard to relate to. They identify more with a human being than with an object. When there is a group of buildings to exhibit, any exhibit in it tends to be sterile without a human. At Old Economy in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, we have the center of a once thriving community. There are seventeen buildings left which were once occupied by an active group of German separatists. A large amount of their furnishings, archives, music, and clothing has survived along with the reasonably intact buildings. No matter how well we restored the buildings and furnished them there was still one ingredient missing—the human being.

The Harmony Society was founded by Johann Georg Rapp (1757-1847), who was born in the Swabian area of Germany. He brought his followers to this country in 1803 and founded the town of Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1804. In 1805 they formally organized themselves into the Harmony Society (Georg Rapp mit Gesellschaft) and in 1807 celibacy was adopted as a general rule. From 1814 to 1826 the community was established at New Harmony in Indiana. In 1826 they returned to Pennsylvania and founded the town of Economy. After Rapp’s death in 1847 they went into investments and eventually built the town of Beaver Falls, the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad, and many manufacturing plants. They were among the first in the oil business. In 1902 they sold their farms to U. S. Steel for the American Bridge Company plant and in 1905 the last three members dissolved the Society. The portion which is now the museum was escheated to the state in 1916 and this accounts for its preservation. Old Economy is now administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Since 1938 the Commonwealth has been restoring Old Economy to its state before 1850. In 1965 the Museum was reopened to the public with exhibits on all ground-floor rooms. Since that time new exhibits have been opened and the existing exhibits refined. As Curator, being responsible for the exhibits, I of course feel that they are as good as conditions allow, ranging from fair to excellent. However, they had the one major failing of exhibits in a restoration—they did not have people in them. We wanted more than just a human being standing there—we wanted a human being who would look as though he belonged and who would be doing something relevant to the exhibit.

Major restorations, such as Colonial Williamsburg, Old Salem, Sturbridge Village, etc., have craftsmen continually working in their buildings, and this has been a very successful interpretive device. These crafts-

Photographs by DAN E. STAUFFER
men become part of the exhibit and can be a working exhibit with a talking label. We decided to do the same thing at Economy. The only thing we lacked was the financial resources of the above museums. However, there is always a way. We had people.

The human needs were met first. The most important thing in these events involving a large number of volunteers is the chairman. Without a good chairman you might as well not try it at all. We found our chairman in Mrs. Charles Andrews, Beaver Falls. Mrs. Andrews had been a docent (volunteer guide) at Old Economy since we reopened in 1965. She had participated as a chairman or volunteer in almost all of our activities in this four-year period. She turned out to be one of the best chairman I have ever worked with. Mrs. C. W. Reed, Beaver Falls, who is an outstanding spinner and dyer agreed to be our craft chairman and she found most of our craftsmen. Also serving were Mrs. David Black, Sewickley, Mrs. Robert Merrick, Beaver, and Mr. Len Szafaryn, Baden. The sponsoring organization was the Harmonie Associates, Inc., a private organization attached to Old Economy.

What we wanted to do was to put the appropriate craft into the proper building: churning and baking in the kitchen, weaving in the loom room, printing in the print shop, etc. We sat down and sketched out a plan of the museum and indicated an activity for each building. Then we tried to find the craftsmen to fit that activity. We were a lot more successful than we anticipated, eventually finding about twenty-five crafts or activities for the festival.

One needs a catchy name for one of these festivals. We selected the title "Kunstfest." The modern German word kunst means art, essentially a fine art, but at one time it meant the art or craft of making almost anything. For instance, one had the art of cabinetmaking. This may not concern scholars especially, but a tricky title which is easily pronounced and remembered is a great help in promoting a festival. We wanted many people to come to this event. If one has a lot of money one can afford to have these things for the few people of culture who can appreciate them, but we, as a publicly-supported museum, felt we had an obligation to encourage as many people as possible to come to the Kunstfest. Besides, I had never met any of these few people of culture. Has anyone . . . ?

There were actually three different themes which went on at the same time: The first and most important was the crafts; the second was the museum itself; and the third was other events held with it. All three needed a staff. While we were assembling our craftsmen we also assembled a group of ladies who were to act as hostesses. They were assigned to a specific house or room and were taught enough to answer any questions about the specific place that a visitor might have. It is the finding and organizing of all these people which makes a good chairman so important. Our guides and docents we used for more responsible positions.

For the third class of activities—events—we tried to have something going on at all times. This was not done just out of the goodness of our hearts but helped keep the crowd moving and broken up in small groups. We had several movies on crafts from Colonial Williamsburg shown in the Schoolroom. Again, this is an activity closely related to the original use of the room. One of the films, "The Cooper's Craft," was outstanding. I would recommend that everyone see it if he has the chance. Colonial Williamsburg will rent it at a modest charge. The other three films were not so successful as this one but certainly entertained the visitors.

The most important event held in relation to the Kunstfest was the concert of Harmonist music. When interpreting a life style it is important to have sounds and smells, as well as sights. The Harmony Society was quite musical and we have large holdings of their music. Mr. Richard D. Wetzel is currently writing his

When people watch a craft such as spinning they cannot believe that at one time all yarn was made in this fashion. It helps explain the difference in the way of life of the period before 1850 and our own. The spinner is Mrs. Curtis Reed, who also specializes in dyeing, and who was our Chairman of Craftsmen.
Ph.D. dissertation on the music of the Harmony Society at the University of Pittsburgh. He is our Archivist for the Music Collection and has almost completed a catalogue of the collection. Using this as the basis, Mr. Wetzel has presented a number of concerts of Harmonist music in the past. This music collection consists of about fifteen cubic feet of music written by members of the Harmony Society, written for them, or used by them. The Harmonists were not quite so sophisticated as, say, the Moravians, but there was some good music in this collection. We were fortunate in securing a grant from the National Foundation for the Arts to help present this concert. It was given in the large Feast Hall. In this Saal or hall the Harmonists had their periodic feasts. With the music we were able to duplicate the original Harmonist music in the original building. This conveyed feeling, one of the hardest impressions to give in a restoration. I had someone tell me after a concert that anyone who could write and listen to music such as that was not a simple peasant! This is the effect we were trying to achieve.

In it is a real adventure and people consider it an exciting part of the tour. We served sauerbraten as the main course.

In addition to the dinner, the concert, and the movies as events, we also had a band concert on the Sunday of the festival. This was done by James Sebastian's orchestra. It was presented in our formal garden and consisted of typical band music of the pre-Rock period.

There were many crafts, and at the possible expense of boring you, I would like to describe them building by building. Visitors entered at the Feast Hall, where they could watch the movies, hear the concert in the evening, and see an interpretive exhibit on the history of the Harmony Society. Just outside the Feast Hall is the Feast Kitchen, which was used to cook the meals for their festivals. Here we had homemade sausages cooked in the original ovens and served with sauerkraut. Food is an important part of these events.

The Harmony Society's Cabinet Shop is still intact with its tools, and the museum's only craftsman, the cabinetmaker, demonstrated how furniture is made. We also had an expert cabinetmaker working in this shop as a volunteer. Behind our row of shops we had several angora goats to show the original source of the wool we were using in front of these same shops in the clothes-making exhibit. As far as the children were concerned, these goats were the hit of the show! We also had our blacksmith making horseshoe nail rings in this area. There is still a company in New Brighton with horseshoe nails as part of its name, but when we approached them about some nails for the smith they said they had not made them for years. However, they did get us about twenty pounds of nails to use in this craft.
We had the major share of the crafts in front of the row of shops on the old main street of the town. This consisted of teasing, carding, spinning, and dyeing wool. Teasing was a good job for young children, and we had many helpers throughout the day. Wherever possible we tried to get the visitor to help with the crafts. We also made candles and soap on the street. The candlemaker both dipped and molded candles. Having these activities outside posed a problem, as we would have had to bring them inside in case of rain. As it was, it rained the morning of the second day but during the actual event the weather was excellent. We had alternate "rain" locations for all outside events. Some had to be outside because they needed fires.

In the Tailor’s Shop we demonstrated weaving, shoe-making, and the tailor’s shop itself. We were fortunate in obtaining skilled weavers and this is one of the most fascinating crafts to demonstrate. There is a barbershop in the Tailor’s Shop and we had, of course, barbershop quartet singing there. This again added the dimension of sound to the exhibits. The bang of the loom, bubble of wax, and ring of the anvil also were sounds which added a real quality to the event.

In our Store we had some quilters. These ladies had the greatest time of their lives in showing off their skill. If they had had a dozen quilts for sale they could have sold them all. Talking to the craftsmen was also an important part of the visit.

In our typical dwelling, the Baker House, we had some ladies making *fastnachts*, a kind of doughnut made for *Fastnacht* (Shrove Tuesday). These were made by an unusual group of ladies who are excellent bakers, among many other things. They had previously made and served us a meal of *spätzels* and stew, which was a typical Harmonist dish. This was done for our docent’s class. These *fastnachts* were very popular. They are yeast risen and the visitor could watch the whole process. The only problem of putting this in the Baker House was that the house was too small for the crowds who wanted the doughnuts. If people have to wait for something they seem to like it better, but the next time we did this we put them in a larger room.

In the Great House, the home of George Rapp, we had a few simple household handicrafts. The one our visitors like best was churning and we finally had to get our dairy maid some crackers so she could give each visitor a sample of butter. We also had crewel embroidery and knitting and would have had a lace-maker if she had not become ill. Our crewel-maker decided she would learn how to make lace and we hope to use her for that at the next Kunstfest. We also had someone demonstrating tole-painting. She turned out to be our only casualty when she sprained her ankle and could not come for the second day. The Great House itself was enough of an exhibit without the crafts and next year we are going to display it without craftsmen and put these household crafts out on the gallery to help control the crowds.

We had artists in the garden. One cannot have a Kunstfest without *Künstler* and we were fortunate in securing several good ones.

We wanted the children to remember this festival so we borrowed a large milk wagon and had a horse named Bob to pull it. This kept all the neighborhood children out of mischief also as we gave all the children a ride whether they were attending the Kunstfest or not. This horse and wagon gave us the most trouble! We had a terrible time finding a horse and did not find one until two days before the Kunstfest. Then we had trouble finding someone to drive it. One of our youthful volunteers is a horseman but had had only saddle experience. After a few near misses with disaster we found that our foreman was raised on a farm in Maryland and knew all about horses. He took over driving poor Bob and all the children were happy. Just in case there was an accident we had the Red Cross standing by—they used one bandaid in the two days of the festival!

Picking a date for one of these events is very import-
ant. We had originally scheduled ours for the second weekend in June, 1969, but when we discovered that we already had a wedding scheduled in our garden for that date we changed it to the first weekend. It would have been better to have changed the wedding date! The first weekend, or the 7th and 8th, was also the time of the Three Rivers Art Festival and a big national publicity program in Pittsburgh, plus about twenty other events. As a result of this we did not get any publicity in the Pittsburgh papers. This, in a way, was lucky, as we had almost more people than we could handle. Our publicity was handled mainly by Len Szafaryn and me. Mr. Szafaryn is director of the Beaver County Tourist Promotion Agency and did an excellent job of promoting us. The reason we picked a date early in June is that it is just before everyone goes off on vacation; there is no school to interfere; and the weather will be good (hopefully).

This was our first craft festival and we had no experience on how well it would draw. Our expenses were so low (thanks to volunteers) that we felt 1000 people would pay all the expenses, but we would have considered that few visitors a failure. We drew over 600 on some Sundays without a Kunstfest. We decided that 3500 was our break-even point between success and failure. As it turned out, we had more than that on the Sunday of the festival. Over 6000 attended and I am sure that if the weather had been better we would have had more. Our usual attendance runs a little less than half paid (adult). At the Kunstfest almost two thirds were paid, which is a very high percentage. For years we had been trying without success to get local and Beaver County people to come to the museum. The percentage of local people attending was quite high, perhaps as a result of our lack of publicity in Pittsburgh but more probably because of interest.

About one hundred volunteers took part in various ways. We would not have been able to have this Kunstfest without them. It took Mrs. Andrews almost two months on the telephone to line up all these people and get them scheduled. The Kunstfest ran only from 1:00 to 5:00 p.m. on two days, as that is all the craftsmen could work. We sometimes had four different people at one spot during the period of the festival and it took a lot of work to make sure they were there and relieved properly. We used a walkie-talkie and runners for communication but later Mrs. Andrews and I figured we had walked close to fifteen miles each day of the festival.

The Kunstfest achieved its purpose of putting people in the museum. Over ten percent of our anticipated year's attendance for 1969 visited us during these two days. On the basis of this success we were able to keep three craftsmen at the Museum all summer, which is our busiest season. Also, based on this success, in September the Harmonie Associates held a fall festival called the Versammlung (gathering). Although the Versammlung was held on only one day, Sunday, it drew over 3000 people and also was a success. We will hold both events in 1970.

The Kunstfest not only achieved its aim of putting people in the museum as far as the visitor was concerned, it also did this as far as the craftsman was concerned. As our various docents, craftsmen, hostesses, and helpers left at the end of the festival they all told us they had had a wonderful time and to be sure to invite them back next year. We will.
The degree to which the illustrators of Pennsylvania German manuscripts "were conscious of the implications and meanings of the motifs which they employed, has always posed a difficult problem," writes Donald A. Shelley in his study of Fraktur-Schriften. Shelley identifies three general views that have been expressed in the past: 1. the illustrators possessed and employed extensive iconographical knowledge, 2. only a few familiar motifs were consciously used by illustrators as symbols, and 3. the illustrators were motivated purely by a love of design when making Frakturs.

Perhaps the only way of telling what the intentions of an illustrator, now long dead, were, is by studying the correlation, if any, between his drawings and an accompanying text.

In the present investigation we will avoid the baffling, probably insoluble problem of the knowledge and intentions of secular illustrators of the 19th Century. We shall turn rather to the very beginnings of Fraktur-Schriften in the United States: the Cloister founded at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, by Johann Conrad Beissel in the 1730's. We deal, thus, with a group that is known to have been familiar with traditional Christian symbolism.

Our purpose is not to support or refute any given view, but to demonstrate the complexity of the relationships between illustration and text in a single Pennsylvania German manuscript, a line of investigation which, to our knowledge, has not been attempted before. Once it has been shown how problematic these relationships are even in a text produced by a society steeped in the Pietistic tradition, investigators may be more wary of making claims about relationships in Fraktur-Schriften of a later period. As our object of study we have chosen the so-called Turtel-Taube Manuscript, or Ephrata Codex, because it is one of the handsomest and best-known products of the scriptorium at the Cloister. We choose it also because it has a limited number of illustrations of identifiable objects, all of which we will discuss. From it also come the decorative capital letters used in the title of this study.

On March 16th, 1927, the Anderson Galleries in New York City offered an unusual manuscript for sale. Their catalogue stated the following: "Inside the front cover is written in the handwriting of John Wilkes, the notorious English agitator and Mayor of London: 'April 1775. This curious book was lent me by Doctor Franklin just before he set out for Pennsylvania' .... Franklin printed the first hymn books and other works of the Ephrata community before they acquired their own press." The purchaser of the manuscript sold it to the Library of Congress where it was placed in the Music Division, its present location. The Librarian in his annual report cited a letter by Benjamin Franklin in 1772 in which the statesman declared he had recently received from Peter Miller (Beissel's successor) "a most valuable curiosity," presumably, adds the Librarian, the Ephrata Codex. The report also gives some interesting facts on the manuscript: "The index to the 1746 Ephrata Codex lists 763 titles (whereas the printed 'Turtel-Taube' of 1747 lists only 278); of the 763 hymns in the codex, 310 have been set twice, 69 have been set three times and 4 have been set four times, which gives a total of a little more than 1,220 tunes and choruses contained in the manuscript." Finally, on page 110, the report quotes the official chronicle of Ephrata and identifies its new acquisition with the manuscript made by the Brothers for Beissel. The passage in the Chronicle reads: "... it was resolved, at a general council, that both convents present him with a worthy reward as a testimonial of filial esteem. This was to consist...


Ibid.

Ibid., p. 111.
of two complete music books, furnished for all voices, one of which was to be made by the society of the Brethren, the other by that of the sisters. On the part of the Brethren three of them worked at it for three-quarters of a year. It contained about 500 tunes for five voices; everything was artistically ornamented with the pen, and every leaf had its own head-piece. The Superintendent's name stood in front, skillfully designed in Gothic text; around it was a text of blessing added by each Brother. Although modern ascriptions of Ephrata manuscripts are suspect, there seems to be little doubt about this identification.

Only a small part of the music in the Ephrata Codex is for the Turtel-Taube hymnal published on the Cloister press in the following year, 1747, with the title Das Geäng Der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube Nemlich der Christlichen Kirche. (Hymns of the Lonely and Deserted Turtledove, namely, of the Christian Church). Most of the music is intended for the many hundreds of hymns contained in the Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel... published for the Cloister in 1739 by Christopher Sower in Germantown, Pennsylvania. With but a few exceptions, the music for the hymns in the Turtel-Taube hymnal of 1747 does not begin until page 740 in the manuscript and we therefore refer to the latter as the Ephrata Codex.

The leaves of the manuscript, larger than those in most works from the Ephrata scriptorium, measure eight by nine-and-a-half inches. They have been placed in laminated sheets for protection and are bound in heavy, modern green leather. The dedication and title pages are especially beautiful. The dedication page, which in the present binding stands first, reads as follows:


The original foliation is varied and confusing. We will refer to the foliation in pencil visible in the upper right hand corner of the recto of each leaf.
2. — "Die Bitter SÜE" (The Bitter Sweet) read the title pages of the Ephrata Codex, and conclude with "Ephrata in the year 1746." The decoration is not so rigidly geometrical as that of the dedication pages, but the forms still are not natural.

[Friedsam, "A Lover of Peace," i.e. Beissel], one who stands in God's Grace, and a father of many solitary and virgins who are bound with him in the school of the cross under his direction, to follow in the footsteps of the chaste and slaughtered lamb. He is a golden rose, planted in God's paradise among the hundred forty-four thousand. Just as he received it through his ceaseless toil day and night, and through his great gifts, this abundance of spiritual melodies has come to us, so are they to be seen in this book.

The lovely title page [2] which is bound next reads as follows:

Die Bitter Süse Oder Das Gesäng der einsamen
Turtel-Taube, der christlichen Kirche hier auf
Erden, die annoch im Trauerthal auf den
düren Ästten und Zweigen den Stand ihrer Witterungs-
chaft beklaget, und darin in Hoffnung singet
von einer andern und nochmaligen Vermählung.
Ephrata im Jahr 1746.

[The Bitter Sweet or: The Song of the Lonely Turtle-dove, the Christian Church here on Earth, Which, from Parched Branches and Twigs in This Vale of Tears, still Laments Its Widowhood, and at the Same Time Sings in Hope of a Second and Repeated Betrothal. Ephrata, in the Year 1746.]

Around the border of this dedication page, which is so large that it must be folded to fit the rest of the manuscript, may be seen inscriptions from various Brothers of the Cloister. Because the artists at Ephrata liked symmetry, it is probable that there was at one

The first reports of the Ephrata Codex recorded the third word as "Güte," goodness. John Joseph Stoudt has correctly transcribed it as "Süse," sweetness (Pennsylvania German Folk Art: An Interpretation, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Volume 28 [Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1966], p. 155). These inscriptions have been translated by Dr. Stoudt. Ibid., p. 156.

time another piece, a border, on the right hand side containing three more benisons like those on the left. This probability is strengthened by the existence of an old center-fold in the dedication leaf about one inch to the right of the present center.

Unlike many of the manuscripts produced at the Cloister, the Ephrata Codex contains no illumination. All of the pages—936 in number, not counting the dedication and title leaves—are inscribed in black ink. And unlike any product of the Cloister writing school that we have seen, this manuscript has a complex border decoration at the end of the music staves on the recto of almost every leaf. Most of these decorations are rigidly geometrical. Others are freer in form [3]. A very few are highly decorative [4]. And most important for our purposes, some contain scenes or objects that are realistically depicted and not dominated by a geometrical spirit, as is so often the case with Ephrata illustrations and decorations.

Artistically, the realistic drawings of the Ephrata Codex are of two kinds: those of high quality done with the type of ink used in the rest of the manuscript, and those executed in part or wholly in what appears to be pencil. These latter are of inferior quality and were probably executed after the rest of the manuscript had been written. In our investigation of the relationships between illustration and text we will begin with the pencil group, for they appear to exhibit the most simple and obvious relationship: that in which the illustrator depicts an object or scene from one of the hymns whose first lines are given on the adjoining leaf.]

See illustration 3 for a complete page opening from the manuscript, showing the location of text, illustration, and music.
3.—Whereas the recto of most leaves in the Ephrata Codex contains a geometrically-designed mast joining the three musical staves; the staff decorations on the above leaf are independent and the botanical forms are almost natural. Like all page openings in the manuscript, this one is foliated in the upper left hand corner ([CVC]). Because the music and text cover both pages, this foliation pertains to the visible parts of both leaves. In the upper right corner of the right-hand leaf may be seen a faint page number (203) in pencil. The decorative flourishes above the first lines of text and in the lower center are characteristic of the Ephrata Codex and seldom found in other Ephrata manuscripts. The weaver’s pattern, on the other hand, located in the lower center is found frequently in almost all Ephrata manuscripts. The page numbers on the right-hand leaf (415, 406, 416) refer to the pages in the Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel where the complete texts of the accompanying hymns are to be found.

On page 521 of the Ephrata Codex is an illustration of Christ on the cross [5]. All three of the hymns accompanying it are songs of praise of the Lord. The middle hymn, taken from page 742 in the Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel, begins with an indirect reference to the crucifixion.3

"Future references to pages in the Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel, which we will henceforth call the Weyrauchs-Hügel, will be made to "ZWH," followed by the page number. Roman numerals will be used to indicate verse numbers, even though there may occasionally be two verses—of different hymns—of this same number on a given page.

4.—A few pages in the Ephrata Codex are highly decorative. This page opening is entitled "EINE ROSE" (A Rose). Flowers in general, and especially the rose, had important symbolic meanings for the members of the Cloister.

Jerusalem, du Gottesstadt, gedeneke jener Plagen, da Gott um deine Missatheit dich ehmals hart geschlagen...? [Jerusalem, thou city of God, consider the grief thou once suffered when God severely punished thee for thy misdeed.]

On page 551 of the manuscript is depicted what appears to be one of the Brothers of Ephrata with a hoe (?) and a sheet of music [6]. The presence of the hoe is probably explained by a terse statement in the top adjoining hymn. It reads:

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5.—Many illustrations in the Ephrata Codex, like this one of the crucifixion, are in orals. Here again one sees the decorative flourishes above the lettering for the hymns, and the page numbers referring to the Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel. The dark vertical line passing through the oral is from the ink on the following page. Because the Cloister used corrosive ink this, and more serious deterioration, is common in Ephrata manuscripts.

Will man mit in dem Himmel sitzen, so muss man mit im Garten schweiten. (ZWH, 416, iv)

[If you want a seat in Heaven, you’ve got to sweat in the garden first.]

The sheet of music was apparently inspired by the following verse from the bottom adjoining hymn:

Das Wort von deiner Kraft das alles macht und schafft, gibt mir in allen Dingen Anlass von dir zu singen. (ZWH, 32, i)

[The message of Thy power which makes and creates all things inspired me to sing of Thee for all Thy blessings.]

A third pencil drawing would appear also to illustrate something in an accompanying text. On page 459 of the Ephrata Codex a Brother is depicted among trees [7]. The hymn at the top of the adjoining leaf begins as follows:

Himmels-Lust ist bezwus einem Streiter Jesu Christ. (ZWH, 636, i)

6.—Here, apparently, is one of the Brothers with a hoe and a sheet of music. The design surrounding the oral is characteristically rigid and geometrical. 7.—In this oral is, apparently, another Ephrata Brother.

[Heavenly joy fills the heart of a soldier of Christ.] The middle hymn begins as follows:

Ich sehe die Pflanzen im Paradies-Feld vom lieblichen Frühling sehr herrlich ausposten: nun wird wieder sanft, was vor war verstellt, durch Herbe und Kälte im Winter verschlossen. Da stehen die Bäume mit lieblichem Grünen, so dass es zur Freude und Wollust muss dienen. (ZWH, 98, i)

[I see the plants on the sweet paradise field of spring gloriously thriving. Once more grows soft now what previously was hardened, locked in the vice and cold of winter. There stand the trees with their lovely new foliage, giving rise to joy and delight.]

The rest of this last hymn tells of the streams that flow from the temple in the midst of paradise, of the verdant cedar of Lebanon mountains, the flocks of lambs and their shepherds, the spring of life, and finally of the poet himself and the other faithful ones. The figure illustrated in the manuscript on page 459 is

The coming of spring in the Weyrauchs-Hügel may represent at least three different events: 1. the season with its new birth, 2. the new birth of faith in the individual Christian, and 3. the Second Coming of the Lord and the birth of a New World. An adequate rendering of the participle “verstellt” would thus have to combine the meanings 1. decayed, 2. hardened, and 3. distant.
and so I rejoice inwardly, that I too am numbered among the hosts that stand so gloriously by the glassy sea, and play beautifully in honor of the lamb, and all the while see many virgins with lovely gait who exalt with many songs of praise.

The relationship between this hymn and its illustration is similar to the case of the Ephrata Brother among trees in two ways. First, the hymn that most closely parallels the illustration contains many elements not depicted, and more important, there is an element of symbolism involved in the relationship. Just as the Brother is a soldier only in the extended sense of this word, so Christ, mentioned in all three hymns adjoining manuscript page 427, is present in the illustration in his symbolic aspect as lamb.

At least two more illustrations in the Ephrata Codex exhibit both a direct and a symbolic relationship with the texts accompanying them. On page 429 is a buxom angel holding two long-stemmed flowers [9]. The top adjoining hymn begins as follows:

Der frohe Tag bricht an, es liegt sich nieder der harte Jacobs-Dienst, es wird ihm wieder gegeben seine Braut, die ihm vermahnet, und sich beym Leben-Brunn zu gebieten.

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3. Here we see the Lamb with a banner, symbol for Christ since early Christian times. 9—The lilies carried by this angel are a traditional symbol for Christ. The illustration appears to depict the marriage of the church, or of the individual Christian, with the Heavenly Bridegroom, Christ. The top accompanying hymn, quite appropriately, tells of the Second Coming of Christ. 10. The crown and palm tree, symbols of spiritual triumph.

not clothed like a warrior. He is probably an Ephrata Brother, and thus a soldier of the Lord. Although most of the objects and events of the middle hymn are not illustrated—and they hardly could have been in so small a space—it is likely that the many trees mentioned in this hymn gave rise to the depiction of trees in the illustration.

On page 427 of the Ephrata Codex is a crudely drawn lamb with a cross and banner held by one hoof, a symbol for Christ since early Christian times [8]. All three of the adjoining hymns praise Christ the Savior. The top hymn contains the following lines:

Ich geh gebückt den ganzen Tag, und folge meinem Jesu nach, und trag sein Kreuz mit Schmerzen... Drum freu ich mich in meinem Sinn, dass ich auch mit gezählet bin zur Schaar, die Prächtig stehen mit Harfen an dem gleizenden Meer; und spielen schön dem Lamm zu Ehr, und noch dabezieh vieler Jungfrauen sehr schön im Gang, die rühmen mit viel Lob-Gesang. (ZWH, 509-511, i, xii)

[Burdened I go the whole day long, and follow in the way of Jesus, and bear his cross with grief...]

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those blessed souls who day and night praise Thee
and Thy wondrous might.
I too night and day in much distress, I Thy dove:
to always a Lovely Being do I cry breathlessly for
Thy sweet grace.

Whether the person identified with the dove in our
hymn is the whole church or an individual Christian,
it seems most likely that the artist who drew the luxum
angel was representing the bride of the Lord mentioned
in the accompanying hymn, for the flowers held by
the angel are quite clearly lilies, a traditional symbol
for Christ.

On page 431 of the Ephrata Codex is an illustration
of a crown encircling what appears to be a palm
tree [10]. The top hymn on the preceding page begins
with the words: "Ich seh in dem Geist, dass sichs zur
Ende weiss ... " [I know in my heart that the
harvest season approaches . . . ] and, like the hymn
previously discussed, tells of reunion with the Lord.

Two of the verses read as follows:

11.-Although not mentioned in the accompany-
ing hymns this ark is directly related to the top
adjoining hymn. It stands for faith in times of
stress, the major theme of this hymn. 12.—No ben
and cocks are mentioned in the accompanying
hymns, but as the symbol of protection, the ben
relates to all three of them.

The illustration of a tree raises a problem, since no
mention of a tree is to be found in the hymns on the
adjoining page. Although not so common as the crown,
one of the main symbols in the Weyrauchs-Hügel, the
palm tree is frequently referred to in the hymnal. One
hymn mentions both it and a crown, and both objects
seem to signify the same: final victory, thus explaining
why they should appear in the same illustration. The
first stanza of this hymn declares:

Die Zeit ist noch nicht da, da Zion triumphiert,
da ihrer Kinder Hand ein goldner Palm-Zaum
ziert. Sie sind noch nicht gekrönt, sie werden
noch erhöht, und ob sie gleich den Feind besie-
gen, so müssen sie doch unten liegen. (ZWH,
357, i)

The time has not yet come when Zion is to
triumph, when her children in their hands a golden
palm leaf will carry. Not yet have they been
crowned, they still must yield to mockery, and
even though they quell the foe, they still must
stay below (on earth).]

In another hymn the palm tree is used as a symbol
of virtue, which though strained like the fruitbearing
branches of a palm, will, like them, persevere (ZWH,
308, iii). Here again the palm appears to be a symbol
for victory after painful struggle, and thus closely
related to the crown. The illustration then, contains
both a direct and a symbolic representation of an
element in one of its hymns.

But how do we know an illustrator was inspired by
the adjoining texts when making his drawing? Is it
not possible that the objects in the illustrations we
have discussed are, like the crown, so common that
they will fit almost any hymn? There is evidence to
support such a view.

Let us take in order the six illustrations—and eight
hymns—beginning with the first. If we look to see
whether hymns on the other five page openings
mention elements in this first illustration, we find that
several do. One of the hymns opposite page 551 and
one adjoining page 459 mention Christ's blood and
wounds (ZWH,416, v: 658, i). One of the hymns
adjoining the illustration on page 429 mentions carrying
Christ's cross (ZWH, 773, ii), and one adjoining page
431 speaks of the way of the cross (ZWH, 362, iii).

If we turn now to the Brother with his hoe and
music sheet, we find that almost every hymn on the
other page openings refers at some point to singing
praises to the Lord—although usually this is stated
in the form of an exhortation to all the faithful rather
than to just one person. Some of the hymns also speak
of sowing grain or of harvesting, but none fit the illustration so nicely as the line about sweating in the garden.

Concerning the third drawing, several hymns accompanying the other five illustrations mention trees, and in some the hymnist speaks of himself. Because of the indefinite nature of this illustration, the person depicted could be the hymnist, in which case the drawing would fit with many hymns. With respect to the fourth illustration, a lamb is frequently mentioned elsewhere. One hymn alludes to the gentle face of the lamb (ZWH, 33, xiii), another refers to lambs cavorting in the meadow (ZWH, 98, vi), another refers to the sacrificial lamb (ZWH, 765, ix), and still another mentions both the nature of the lamb and its coming (ZWH, 362, vi, xiii).

If the buxom angel represents the reunion with Christ, then, as we have seen, many other hymns touch on its theme. The sixth illustration refers to the same time period, the reunion, even if stressing a different aspect: triumph after great labor.

If we were to look at the rest of the texts in the hymnal we would, of course, find many hymns containing passages that fit these six illustrations. But this does not prove that it was not the accompanying texts that inspired the drawings. On the contrary, most of the illustrations do seem to fit best one or more of the texts adjoining them, and in the case of the illustrations discussed so far, we feel that they were indeed inspired by their accompanying hymns. What this profusion of common objects in the literary texts does suggest, though, is the case with which an association could be made between text and illustration where one had not been intended.

It could be argued, of course, that the Ephrata artist was inspired by the whole of the mystical and pictorial tradition in making his illustrations, that what he drew was not inspired just by the adjoining texts, but by all the texts.6 The illustration of the crown and palm tree indicates, not surprisingly, that the illustrator was familiar with the various symbols used in the Weyrauchs-Hügel. If we can show, however, that there is a striking correspondence between one or more illustrations and their texts, the argument of general inspiration will be weakened, at the very least.

On page 555 of the Ephrata Codex is depicted an ark [11]. Although this object is mentioned directly on page 357 in the Weyrauchs-Hügel, in the hymns adjoining this illustration neither the ark nor the Biblical events surrounding it are mentioned. The top hymn on the adjoining page, however, begins with the following two verses:

Heiße gleich oft wir verbrincken, nun geht alle Hoffnung drauf, wenn das Schifflein will verbrincken, wacht erst der Helfer auf. Rettung kommt doch stets zu reden, wenn es uns am schlimmsten geht, und wenn kommen dunkle Nächte, Jesus Licht am nächsten steht: breit gleich ein ein Wetter-Regen, muss sich doch der Sturm bald ragen. (ZWH, 472, i-ii)

[Hope won't hurt you, though great patience it demands. When evil once has passed, the good you'll then receive. On the tender rose branches the thorns protrude beyond the buds. Must the palm tree bend beneath its burden, in the end it will rise once more. And whoever Canaan wants to see, must first into the desert go.

Although people often cry, when the ship's about to sink, we will drown, all hope is lost; salvation always at the right time arrives, when things are going worst. And when the dark nights do fall the light of Jesus comes the closest. Though the rainstorms descend upon you, they soon must pass away.]

Clearly, it seems to us, the illustrator was inspired by these two verses to draw an ark as the symbol of hope, of faith in time of anxiety.

Or let us take the hen and her chicks illustrated on page 557 [12] and the accompanying hymns. The image of a mother hen and her chicks is to be found at least twice in the hymns of the Weyrauchs-Hügel.

Friedel! ach Friedel! ach göttlicher Friede vom Vater durch Christum im heiligen Geist. [Peace! o peace! a heavenly peace from the Father through Christ in the Holy Spirit!] begins a hymn on page 146. Its seventh verse, on the following page declares:

Küchlein die bleiben bey ihrer Glück-Henne, sie schreien, und laufen den Räuben nicht nach, doch auch, Seele, nur Jesu nachhemen, dich sündlicher Bruth und Welt-Vögel entlich, so wird auch dein Heiland sein Küchlein beschirmen, wenn auf dich Welt, Teufel und Hölle lostürmen. [Little chicks stay by the mother hen; they don't go crying and running after the ravens. Thus, o soul, you too should follow Jesus. Just as the pack of sinners will cast you from their worldly nest, so your Savior will protect His little chick, when the world, the devil and hell conspire against you.]

Hymn 151 on pages 168-170 of the Weyrauchs-Hügel declares how foolish it is to look for peace other than in Christ, names the places where many things of this world find their protection, including the chick who runs to the hen, and then exhorts the soul to turn to Christ. All three of the hymns adjoining the illustration of the hen and the chicks have the same theme: seeking one's rest and protection in the Lord. As in the case of the ark, although the texts do not mention the chief object in the illustration, they undoubtedly inspired the illustrator.

A third illustration that clearly was intended to relate to the text accompanying it is found on page 788 of the Ephrata Codex, and consists of two angels holding within a heart, two birds with a crown above them and a cross below [13]. It is the first of the finer ink drawings we will consider and one of only two drawings accompanied by a single text, in this case a choral from the Ephrata Turtel-Taube hymnal
of 1747." A major division in the Turtel-Taube, the third, begins on page 140. On page 143 is located the hymn whose music accompanies the above illustration in the Ephrata Codex. In between are several chorales of one stanza and a chorale of nine. The chorale on page 143 is to be sung antiphonally with the preceding one of nine stanzas. Because the chorale with the illustration is so closely related to the chorales preceding it, we consider the texts on pages 140 through 143 to be a unit and will relate them to the illustration.

All of the chorales refer to the reunion with Christ, and, in the context of Ephrata, presumably also to the midnight masses which were held at the Cloister in expectation of the Second Coming. The one-stanza chorales of interest to us are the following:

(1) Die Braut des Lamm, als sie eckewacht wird
Durch die Stimme ihres Gefiehren, übersteigt im
prophetischen Geist die Myrthen-Berge, und erhält
ihrer zukünftige Verwaltung unter Rosen und
Lilien. (T.T., 140)

[The bride of the lamb (either the church or the
individual believer) upon being awakened by the
voice of her beloved, in a prophetic spirit trans-
cends the mountains of myrrh (either incense or
prayers which rise to heaven) and views her future
life among the roses and lilacs (the blessed).]

(2) Wo der Tauben Einfallt pranget in dem rein-
en Kinder-Sinn: ist der Weisheit Schatz erlanget
mit viel Segen und Gewinn. Wohl dann nun!
Es ist gerathen: ich vergesse, was ich war. Ich
bin sonst mit nichts beladen, weil ich bin ein
Tauben-Paar. (T.T., 140)

[Where the simplicity of doves shines forth with
the pure spirit of a child, there wisdom's treasure
has been unlocked with much blessing and boon.
How wonderful! It has succeeded. I forget my
past. I am burdened no more, for I am a dove
pair (united with the Lord).]

(3) Wann zwey verliebet seyen, und sich in eins
verpaaren, kann eins des andern Schatz und jung-

frauschaft bewahren. Der reine Geist, die Taub,
die mich an sich gezogen, hat mich mit sich
gepaart ... (T.T., 140-141)

[When two persons are in love and unite as a
pair, then the One of them (the Holy Spirit)
can protect the treasure and virginity of the other.
The pure spirit, the dove, who attracted me to
himself, has now become my mate ...]

(5) Ich bin ein Blum im Rosen-Thal, die unter
Dornen sich ausbreitet, gesellt zur keuschen Jung-
frau-Zahl, die sich in Lieb dem reinen Lamm
beieilt. Wir gehen einher und tragen unser Kreuz
auf Erden, bis wir dort mit dem ganzen Heer der
Jungfrauen verkörpert werden. (T.T., 141)

[I am a flower in the vale of roses that thrives
among the thorns. I'm numbered among the vir-
gins pure who have taken an oath of love with
the lamb. We go about and carry our cross on
earth, until with the whole company of virgins
we'll be glorified in the beyond.]

The chorale hymn whose music accompanies the
illustration and the foregoing hymn both mention
the crown of glory. If the birds in the illustration are doves
then in these few chorales all the elements of the
sketch except the two angels are directly mentioned in a
meaningful whole: doves, cross, crown, and love—symbol-
ized by the heart. The fact that there are two angels
and two birds emphasize the theme of heavenly mar-
riage mentioned so prominently in the chorales. Clear-
ly these texts inspired the illustration.

A direct relationship with an accompanying text is
to be seen also with the second of the fine ink illustra-
tions that we shall consider. Of the few pages in the
Ephrata Codex which contain sketches, most have
only one. Page 209, however, has three scenes, all
different, but all of Golgotha [14].

The place itself is not mentioned in the adjoining
hymns. In the Weyrauch-Hügel on page 354, hymn
319 mentions Christ hanging between two murderers,
but the name Golgotha does not appear in the hymnal.
On the other hand, because the crucifixion is such
a central theme in the pietistic tradition, we are not
surprised to find a rather direct reference to Christ's

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We have used the first of the two different editions that
were published with the same imprint, and will refer to it
parenthetically as "T.T.," followed by the page number. It
contained 359 numbered pages.
These three scenes on one page each represent the same event: the crucifixion on Golgotha. The middle accompanying hymn relates directly to the crucifixion. Two birds and a cross-like mast. Do they have a specific meaning related to the accompanying texts? The foliage is strikingly similar to the decoration on the title pages of the Ephrata Codex. Does the lack of decorative flourishes over the lettering of the hymn texts indicate a different scribe?

Before going on to the rest of the ink drawings let us consider four illustrations which may have been intended to relate to their accompanying text, but whose relationship we are unable to determine. On page 547 of the manuscript is depicted an unusual cross flanked on either side by dove-shaped birds [15]. All three of the accompanying hymns mention Christ's passion. The bottom hymn, which does so most clearly, begins as follows:


[So rests my strength in Jesus's blood and wounds, there goes and blows a gentle wind of love. With mind and heart to him I'm bound; I see before me sweetness pure. And thus I love to sit within the fissures of his side. There I'm at peace when all the storms are breaking, and gently rest in this cave of love.]

The middle hymn calls upon Christ to break the chains of the world from the believer. The world, it

passion as well as to death in general in one of the accompanying hymns. The middle hymn contains the following verses:

Will mich des Moses Eifer drücken, blitzt auf mich der Gesetzes Weh, droht Strafl und Holle meinem Rucken, so steig ich glückig in die Höh, und flieh in deiner Seiten Wunden, da hab ich schon den Ort gefunden, wo mich kein Fluch-Strahl treffen kann ... Führst du mich in die Kreuzes-Wüsten, ich folge und lehne mich auf dich ... Der Tod mag ander diister scheinen, mir nicht, weil Seele, Hertz und Muth in dir, der du verläßest keinen, o allerliebstes Leben! ruht. (ZWH, 496, iii-v)

[When the zeal of Moses threatens to oppress me, when the lightening strike of the law causes woe, when punishment and hell do threaten, I climb on high in faith and flee into Thy wounded side. In that dear place no ray of curse shall strike me ... If Thou leadest me into the crucifying wastelands, I'll follow and put my trust in Thee ... Death may seem to others dreadful, but not to me: my soul and heart and strength rest in Thee. Thou who deserteth no one, o most blessed Life!] It seems very probable these lines inspired the illustrations of Golgotha.
declares, views the cross as the Christian's chains. The eighth verse calls on God to release the soul from the grave by the strength of the blood of the new covenant, and the final verse asks the Lord of Love to crucify whatever is not acceptable to him. The top hymn may perhaps explain the birds that face the cross. Its fourth stanza refers to the believers and declares:

Sie sind die Erstling und die Früchte, an denen Gott gefallen trafen: die Seele schaut sein Angesicht, die keine Falschheit in sich hält, des Lammes Blut zur Lösung führet, und sich mit Reinigkeit geziert. (ZWH, 249, iv)

[They are the first ones, the first fruits, in whom God is well pleased. The soul observes His countenance, if within no falseness there be, and purity is its habit. The blood of the Lamb to salvation leads.]

If the central object in the illustration really is a cross, and if the birds represent believers, then the illustrator has depicted the souls contemplating Christ. But why does the fourth verse speak of His countenance? And do the birds really represent believers? We think so, but this is only conjecture.

Another illustration we are unable to comprehend is to be seen on page 655 of the manuscript [16]. If there is a connection between the birds among vines and the accompanying hymns it is most likely to be found in the theme of divine protection, repeated so often in the texts. The middle hymn begins as follows:

Wer unterm Schirm des Höchsten sitzt, der ist sehr wohl bedeckt; wenn alles donnert, kracht und blitzt, bleibt sein Herz ungeschreckt. Er spricht zum Herrn: Du bist mein Lichte, mein Hoffnung, meine Zuversicht, mein Thurn und starke Veste: Du rettest mich von fallender Strick, und treibst des Todes Netz zurück, und schützest mich auf beste. (ZWH, 404, i)

[Who sits beneath the protection of the Highest is well covered. Midst the crash of thunder and lightening, his heart remains unmoved. He says to the Lord: you are my light, my hope, my assurance, my tower and strong fortress. You rescue me from the hunter’s trap, and drive away the net of death, and protect me to the fullest.]

Later verses speak of God’s protecting wings and shield. Hymn 417 (ZWH, 470-471) recounts God’s care for the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt. The third hymn emphasizes more God’s goodness to the faithful and His humbling of the proud.

In hymn number 652 opposite the preceding illustration the hymnist had termed Christ the vine and called himself the grape that is nurtured by Him. In another hymn the Christian becomes a branch on the vine, Christ (ZWH, 416, iii). Do the vines in the Ephrata Codex illustrations represent God or Christ, and the birds represent the believers under his protection? There seems to be no way of telling.

Another bird amidst vines, a bird with the same appearance as the one depicted on page 665, is illustrated on page 371. The accompanying hymns are from the Turtel-Taube. The top and middle hymns emphasize God’s healing power, while the bottom one concerns itself with the protection He gives to the faithful. The top and middle hymns also mention wine, something not commonly referred to directly in the Turtel-Taube. But once again the meaning of the illustration, if it has one, is not clarified by the accompanying hymns.

A fourth illustration whose relationship to its text is not clear is the one accompanying the music to the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah on page 331 of the manuscript [17]. The figure illustrated can hardly be Jeremiah himself, for he is clothed in the habit of the Ephrata Brothers. The passage in this chapter from the Bible concerning God’s love for Israel and the new covenant He would make with them undoubtedly had great significance for those at Ephrata. Perhaps the illustration is of one of the Brothers taking up his cross and following in the way of the prophet.

A consideration of the rest of the ink drawings brings us back to the central problems involved in determining relationships between an illustration and its texts. In discussing the pencil drawings we have already noted the difficulty caused by the frequent reference in hymns to a few central motifs, and by the vague nature of the drawings which permit them to be associated with many texts. A further complicating fact is the great number of objects which may be associated with a single person.
On page 39 of the Ephrata Codex, in another oval, is depicted a flower [181]. Floral motifs are to be seen again and again in the hundreds of geometrical designs in the manuscript. But this unique little flower stands alone on its own plot of ground. Does it signify anything specific? Did the hymns adjoining it inspire the artist to draw it?

One of the associations of a flower is with Jesus. And the hymns adjoining page 39 of the manuscript mention Christ. But then so does almost every pictorial hymn ever written. Some mention Him by name, most mention Him indirectly through a symbol. Fortunately for our understanding of this latter practice, a few hymns in the Weisnachts-Hügel tell us explicitly what represents Christ and why. Hymn 35, for instance, reads as follows:

Mein Vater! zeuge mich, dein Kind, nach deinem Bilde, und schaffe selbst in mir die neue Natur, lass mich so gutig seyn so heilig, Weiss und milde, durch deiner Gnaden Kraft, wie du bist von Naturr.

Mein Licht! erleuchte mich, lass deiner Gnaden Stralen mir dringen in mein Herz, vertreib die Finsterniss; ich fall und irre sonst zu allzuvielen malen, ja werd ich nicht erleucht, verderb ich ganz geiz.

Mein Weg zum Vatterland! ach öffne mir die Pforte, die mich ins Liebe-Reich im Glauben überbringt, du weist ja, dass dein Knecht an einem wüsten Orte schon lang genug gewohnt, und nun nach Freyheit ringt.

O Wahrheit! heilige mich in aller deiner Wahrheit, und bringe meinen Sinn zu Deinen Rechtenurtleit; vertreib den Lügen-geist durch deines Wortes Klarheit, und mache mich recht fest in allem Kampf und Streit.

Mein Leben! leb in mir, und lass in dir mich leben; ich bin ja ohne dich zum guten gänzlich tot. Du bist das Lebens-Biord, das einzige Nahrunig geben kann meinem matten Geist in aller Hunger-Noth.


Mein Hoherpriester! hör nicht auf für mich zu beten, ach ruhe doch mit mir den Vatter täglich an; lass deinen heiligen Geist mit seufzen mich vertreten, wenn ich im harten Kampf sonst nicht mehr bieten kan.

Mein König! schütze mich, wenn Satan, Welt und Sünde, so sich in mir noch regt, auf meine Seele stürmt, hilf, dass in deinem Schooss ich allzeit Ruhe finde, denn der ist sicher nur, den deine Macht besichert.

Mein Hirtel weide mich auf einer grünen Auen, und lagre mich im Durst ans frische Wasser hin; Hohl meine Seele herum; wolt ich auf eute schauen, so bringe bald zurecht den ausgeschwüflierten Sinn.

Mein Arzt! bin ich verdunkt, sind ausgekehrt die Kräfte, so lass die Liebs-Tinctur, dein heur vergossnes Blut mich heilen; lass der Geists Erneuerungs-Lebens-Säfte mich leben und erfreuen, mein drücklen Herz und Muth.

Mein Freund! vertraue dich doch besser meinem Herzen, und lass mich deiner Treu noch mehr versichert seyn, auf dass zu aller Zeit ich meiner Selten Schmetzten getrost verrechen darf in deines Herzens Schrein.

Mein Bräutigam! liebe mich, und setze mir das Siegel der unverfalschten Liebe, den Geist, auf meiner Brust, lass deinen Geiss und Kuss mich schmeken; sey mein Spiegel, darinn ich mich beschau mit aller Hertzens-Lust.

Mein Ein und Alle! lass mit dir mich eins hier werden, so wird mir alles nichts, du aber alles seyn. Und nimm deine Güte mich endlich von der Erden, so geh ich Friedenroll in deine Freude ein. (ZWH, 40-41)

[My Father! Raise me, Thy child, in Thine own image and make within me a new creature. Let me be so good, so holy, wise and mild as Thou art by nature, through the power of Thy grace. My Light! Enlighten me; let the beams of Thy grace penetrate my heart and drive away the darkness. I fall and go astray, else, all too many times. O if I be not enlightened, I'm destined for perdition.}
My Path to the fatherland! O open up the portals that lead me full of faith into the realm of love. Thou knowest Thy servant, in the desert long enough hath dwelt, and now is striving for release. O Truth! Make me holy in all Thy truth, and purify my mind aright. Drive off the spirit of untruth through Thy word so pure, and make me firm in temptation and in strife.

My Life! Live in me and let me live in Thee. Without Thee I am wholly dead to good. You are the life-bread, which alone my jaded spirit in all its hunger feeds.

My Little Lamb, still and pious, pure, holy and guiltless! o bring about in me the gentle spirit of a lamb, that I may be like Thee, in suffering patient, and gladly follow in the way of the cross.

My Master! Teach me to know the father well, for without Thee, o light! I see neither God nor light. O teach me to call Him Abba, to say all my prayers with fervor.

My Bridegroom! Love me and place upon my breast the seal of pure love, the Spirit. Let me know Thy greeting and Thy kiss. Be my Mirror, in whom I view myself with a joyful heart.

My One and All! Let me here be one with Thee, then will all I have be nothing, but Thou wilt be my All. And when Thy kindness takes me from this earth, I'll go in peace into thy joy.

Another hymn with a catalogue of the symbols for Christ, number 37, mentions Him as a flower:


You are my garden where in silent joy I revel, my beloved little flower which I place therein for decoration, my little rose in the valley of the cross, wherein midst countless thorns, I oft in pain have trod.

This hymn of eighteen verses also declares Christ to be the hymnist's joy, wonderful light and sure path to heaven, the truth, his life, his sweet heavenly bread, drink and spring, his most lovely clothing and jewelry, his castle and safe house, the shepherd of his soul, his pasture, bridegroom, high priest, lamb, king, friend, brother, healer, nurse, hero, armor, shield and sword, comforter in sadness, ship, anchor, compass and

net, lodestar, riches, his heights when in the depths, his sugar in sauer places, his solid roof, his delight, daily work, thought, dream, sweet rest, and the curtain before his bed. Finally, in the last verse the breathless hymnist cries out:

Was soll ich, Schénbiets! wol von dir noch weiter sagen können? ich will dich meine Liebs-Begier, mein einig Altes nennen, denn was ich will, das bist du mir ... (ZWH, 44, xviii)

[What more o Pious Person shall I say of you? I'll call you the object of my love, my one and all, for what'er I want, that you to me.] These final lines express well the mystical-pietistic Christian tradition and we need quote no further. The number of objects that have been identified with Christ are as unbounded as the human imagination and a large number indeed have found their way into the pages of the Weyrachts-Hügel. The significance of this for the relationship between illustrations and their texts is that the possibilities of relating the two through Christ are almost unlimited and the possibilities of the modern student making associations not intended by the illustrator are great. But Christ is not the only person with a catalogue of symbols in the pages of the Weyrachts-Hügel. And to make matters worse, many of the same objects associated with Christ are associated with other persons also.

The inhabitants of the Ephrata Cloister were not only pious and physically industrious, they were also learned. How widespread the knowledge of various languages was among the members, and precisely what mystical traditions they were steeped in, we may never know. That they were concerned about religious learning, the products of their press alone give sufficient evidence. Their queen of knowledge they called Sophia, and to her the following hymn was addressed:

Ein jedes Ding nährt sich aus seines Ursprungs Leben, und was es in sich zieht, das kann ihm Nah rung geben. Ein Tiers holt seine Kost aus dieser Erdens Koth, und, weil es irdisch ist, fällt wieder in den Tod.

Ein Geist, der himmelisch ist, sucht höher seine Speise, ist von dem höchsten Geist auf ganz geheime Weise: die Liebe nährt ihn, ohn alle fremde Kost; die Liebsgebährender, Sophia, ist sein Trost.

Sie ist ein süßer Trank, ein sanftgefallner Regen, der alles wol erhöht; sie ist der grosse Segen; der wärere Honig-Thau der schönnsten Gottes-Braut, der reichlich den begehrt; der auf ihr Wellen schaut. Wer nach ihr dürstigt, dem will sie sich ergeben; und der denkt weiter nicht in ander Lieb zu leben: sein Leben, Seel und Geist und Leib, sind heimgestellt in ihre rolle Macht; er thut, was ihr gefällt.

"[In his second chapter, "Sources of Pennsylvania German Illuminography," Dr. Stoutt traces the main course of the tradition and notes many more objects identified with Christ. Op. cit., pp. 21-56."

"Primarily, as the hymns in the Weyrachts-Hügel show, the Cloister followed the German pietistic tradition of the seventeenth century. The claims of the most prolific historian of the Cloister, Julius Friedrich Sachse, that Beissel and his groups were also influenced by Rosicrucianism is still unanswered. (Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts ... Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 16 [Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1937], p. 51)."

40
The greatest powers such wisdom to possess, would want to build an inner realm, springing from love. All the world would want to rule, according to her will. She is a sweet drink, a gently fallen rain which nourishes it, without any foreign fare; the source of love, Sophia, is his consolation.

She is a sweet drink, a gently fallen rain which everything refreshes; she is the great blessing, the sweet honeydew of the most lovely bride of God, Who richly him rewards, who ponders her desires. Who after they died, to him she'd give herself, and he then has no desire to find another love: his life, soul and body and spirit are at home in her great power. He serves her will.

Wisdom is the bride. She, and not a maiden, is given him by God, that he may look upon her always. Else where would we a pure spirit find? What wouldn't he love, if Sophia's attractive power did not keep him bound?

How often have not rocks attained the softening point when gentle love has met their hard nature? A man leaves parents, wife, children, friends and all else when he in wisdom's light the true bride can view.

Who'er this beauty sees and does not long to have her for his bride, I consider him deceived, confused and unwise. He is a clod and stone whom her light of love and brightness does not move.

Did she the whole world rule, according to her will, how justly would she with lofty mind the scepter wield. The greatest potentate such wisdom to possess, would want to build an inner realm, to match the one without.

The rights that govern life in such a place, would spring from love. All the world would want to stay, if every subject with wisdom was concerned, and love and land of God did there hold sway. In such a state strife and war, envy, injustice, wrath and hate would soon be cast aside. There'd be no trials or executions; life, peace and joy, a citizen's reward would be.

Battles with love would be surrounded, and grass we all could eat. In short: Wisdom would be the food, the clothing and protection. In all things she is good, in all things she is useful.

In hymn 152 in the Weyrauchs-Hügel (pages 170-171): wisdom is termed the hymnist's seal, treasure, counselor, helper, nurse, healing strength, comfort, mother, protector, magnet, and faithful bride. Occasionally the hymnist also enters the game. Although usually he terms himself a worm, or, less flatteringly, a maggot, sometimes he applies elements of the same catalogue used for others to himself.

Still another person is catalogued in the hymns of the Weyrauchs-Hügel: the virgin Mary. Hymn 154 contains the following verses addressed to Her:


You will surely stay most lovely, o Thou gleaming morningstar! This I know because you sparkle far and near. All things, all things must submit, when to you I them compare.

The sun of sons you are: to us, brighter than the garnet stone, truly goddess of delight, more lovely than the moon's own light; frightful as the enemy's phalanx, you who keep us from our foes.

Mighty fort that's always closed, and tower of ivory, and a fountain that God did seal, and a chest of jewels of pearl, a garden of spring enclosed, most noble Virgin Thou.

If we look at the objects used to refer to more than one person we find there is usually a particular aspect of the object which characterizes the referents. The magnet is used to refer to God, Christ, and Sophia (ZWH, 189, ix: 346, iv: 171, xi:). In each case they attract the believer and keep him from the world. The hymnist calls himself a rose because he is so beset by thorns, that is by pain (ZWH, 69, ii), and, as we have seen, Christ is a rose because of His thorny path (ZWH, 44, xvi). A different aspect of the rose, its red color, causes it to be identified in hymn 210 with the wounds of Christ. (ZWH, 223, i). The term bride is usually applied to the church or to an individual Christian longing for the Heavenly Bridegroom, Christ. But because there is to be an equally strong and pure bond between Sophia and the Christian, she also is termed a bride (ZWH, 251, i) and thus the Christian, by inference, becomes the bridegroom.

Many associations are made with water. There are, for example, many kinds of springs: those of grace,
life, love and wisdom. But most interesting are the fountains. Jesus the fountain of life cools and flows into the heart, driving away fear (ZWH, 14, ii). The hymnist asks Jesus to transform his heart into a fountain, flowing full of grace into eternity (ZWH, 84, vii). Just as water emerges from a fountain, all that exists flows from God, and so he is termed the fountain of all creation (ZWH, 82, i). In like manner, seclusion, a manifold boon to the Christian, is compared to a fountain of blessings (ZWH, 214-215, iii). But sin can also deluge one, and so it is spoken of as a fountain (ZWH, 120, i).

A delightful simile refers to "löchrierte Brunnen" (ZWH, 620, v). There is but one source of nourishment for the soul according to hymn 546, and that is God. Human thought, like a leaky well, cannot water the soul. To conclude, one of the most descriptive verses identifies Jesus once more:

Das ist der Brunn, aus welchem hergefallen, was mich in meiner Wallfahrt, früh und spät, an Seel und Leib jegends erguckt hat, der sich hat Strom-wässer über mich ergossen, dass ich den Augenblick nicht nennen kann, da mir nicht wäre daraus gut gethan (ZWH, 556-557, vii).

This is the fountain from which has flowed, all that has ever refreshed me in body or soul, early and late, in my life as a pilgrim. In a mighty stream it has poured upon me, so that I no moment can remember when from it I did receive no good.

If we return to the hymn about Sophia that we have translated, we find still different objects used to refer to more than one person. In this hymn Sophia is called sweet drink, rain, and honey dew. In hymn 175 (ZWH, 192, x) the hymnist asks Jesus to be both food and drink to him, surely because, like Sophia, he gives spiritual food. In the last verse of the hymn to Sophia she is called food, protection and clothing. How she can be spoken of as clothing is best illustrated by a verse from a hymn wherein Christ is called the same:

Du bist mein allerschönstes Kleid, mein Zierlat, mein Geschmeide, du schmückst mich mit Gerechtigkeit, gleich als mit reiner Seele: ach gibt dass ich die schöne Pracht, damit die Welt sich herrlich macht, als einen Unflath meide (ZWH, 45, ix).

"You are my most lovely clothes, my finery and my jewels, you adorn me with justice so fine, as if I were clothed in silk. O Lord! Let me avoid the nasty glitter, in which the worldlings find their glory.

In these metaphors of both food and clothing we see the elements of another problem complicating possible relationships between illustrations and text. A symbol, by definition, is a bundle of meanings. Food and clothing as used in the above hymn are symbols because in addition to their normal daily significance, they are given a more specialized religious meaning.

The pearl in everyday life is considered precious. Jesus is dear to the believer and thus by extension is termed a pearl. But sometimes in the Weyrauchs-Hügel the pearl is referred to as a bauble, as a worldly object men treasure rather than the Savior, thus adding another extended usage, a negative one this time, to its everyday significance as pearl. Hymn 499 condemns at once several of the chief objects usually employed as religious symbols, condemns them in their worldly aspect of ephemeral values. Speaking of the Christian who is aware of the other world, the hymnist says:

Gold, Perlen, Edelsteine, Kronen, und was ein Mensch für herrlich hält, ja wären auch die höchsten Thronen, ich lage mehr, die ganze Welt, sieht es nicht in dem Wege an, und hält sich wie ein wacker Mann, der nach dem Kleinod recht zu streben sich alles Dinges muss begeben (ZWH, 571, ix).

"Gold, pearls, precious stones, crown and all that people hold to be precious, even the most powerful thrones, yes even the whole world, he disregards as he goes on his way. He conducts himself like a valiant man, who knows how to strive for what is dear, and does sacrifice all else."

Jesus is frequently called the Lion of Jesse, but in at least one hymn in the Weyrauchs-Hügel the lion, because of its dangerous power, is identified with that which threatens the soul (ZWH, 275, ix). Finally, and herewith we return to the ink drawings in the Ephrata
of the Ephrata Codex are two birds [22]. The adjoining hymns are to be found in the Turtel-Taube. Although these hymns do not mention the turtledove, we know the smaller of the two birds belongs to this species because it is so similar to the turtledove (Turtel Taube) over the capital letter “T” in the Ephrata ABC manuscript.” The larger of the two is very similar to the other birds we have seen in the Ephrata Codex. Is this the male dove? The common theme of the adjoining hymns is that of suffering in this world and bliss in the next. The birds appear to be pure decoration, although as symbols for the church or the Christian they would indeed fit well the theme of suffering.

The most unusual illustrations are the few natural scenes with perspective, something very rare for Pennsylvania German manuscripts. On page 575 are several huts placed in unusual, hilly country [23]. A similar cabin is depicted on page 627 and again on page 215. Huts are alluded to in the Weyrmach-Hügel both as huts per se and as symbols of shelter, but not in the hymns accompanying these illustrations. The most charming illustration, found on page 45, depicts what looks like an Ephrata Brother at the seashore [24]. The Chronicle tells of a trip taken by four Brothers to New Jersey and to the coast of Rhode Island, beginning on September 22nd, 1744. Since it took nine months to make the Ephrata Codex, no more than two years could have transpired between this journey and the production of the manuscript. We do not wish to claim that in addition to its many other innovations and creations the Cloister invented the Brownie camera, but it does seem obvious that one of its skilled illustrators commemorated the trip to Rhode Island with this sketch.

In summary, the question of the relationships between illustration and text in the Ephrata Codex, as in any work of its kind, is extremely complex. We have tried to show, first of all, that there are drawings that were inspired directly, if not always solely, by the accompanying text. These drawings may illustrate the text in two ways: by depicting an object actually mentioned in the text or by presenting symbols that stand for something in the text.

The relationships studied were complex for the following reasons: 1. the illustrations themselves and the objects they portray are often of a vague or general nature, 2. A vast range of objects can refer to a single person or idea, 3. A single object can refer to more than one person, and 4. An object can have both a positive and a very different, negative, significance. For all these reasons it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether a text inspired the making of a particular illustration. We are not satisfied that we have been able to distinguish in every case the true relationship, but we believe we have identified two kinds of illustrations that were not inspired by their accompanying hymns: the essentially decorative and the completely realistic.
In an age when young people are finding it increasingly difficult to identify unexplored frontiers which are accessible without a great expenditure of time and money, the feeling persists that there are still discoveries to be made concerning things just "under our noses," areas which would yield knowledge to the serious lay observer. History, as seemingly irrelevant as science is unattainable, is unlikely to strike the imagination of most young people. To many high school students the prerequisites for discovery seem uniformly tedious. Few of them are in a position to recognize that in their relatives' two hundred year old farm in New England or Pennsylvania may rest an accessible, albeit hidden, past, the like of which is only just beginning to be explored with a scholarship still in its infancy, with techniques still being established to some degree with an "apple on the head" approach, a pioneer field drawing on manifold literary, historical, and scientific disciplines. The unexplored region is as vast and unknown as that confronted by Lewis and Clark, yet is as within reach as the nearest old house or, perhaps, reflected in the tales of one's own grandparent.

Largely unrecorded and not understood, the material and oral components of folklife are so extensive and varied that total competency is precluded, so that the interested person, layman or professional, is compelled to freely consult experts in diverse fields. At a time when very little frontier is visible to the "educated" nonspecialized novice, folklife offers an immediate approach to our distant past as well as the promise of an inexhaustible supply of readily available materials. Any interest will find some aspect of rural folklife to which its talents can be applied. The skills of the artist, architect, musician, photographer, historian, chemist, and archaeologist combine effectively with the general experiences of students of almost any educational background.

Certainly the Living History Seminar,1 conducted jointly by the Perkiomen School and the Goosenhoppen Historians, at the very least exposes interested high school students to a few of the areas which comprise the study of folklife. Furthermore, the study is not superficial or contrived, rather it consists of a thorough participation in the domain of basic scholarship. Centering their interest on the accurate recording of a Montgomery County 18th Century settlement site now owned by Arthur Jervis, students experience learning by participation, before being exposed to a great quantity of formidable folklife theory. At the end of the first week each student has become quite familiar with many of the tools used in the site survey: plane table, transit, and stadia rod. Every relevant dimension of the site is carefully recorded and checked; maps and drawings are made, data sheets written, photographs taken. Already, almost unwittingly, the Seminar realizes that it has made some small contribution to scholarship by simply recognizing something of value and recording it carefully. As studies continue, precision becomes a matter of competitive interest, documentation an obsession, collation a habit. Inevitably the importance of asking the right questions becomes obvious; subsequently some answers yield to inquiry. Adolescents looking at an old barn find themselves thinking and talking the jargon of the material culture fieldworker; in many instances the Seminar originates or adapts methodology in order to make its job more efficient. The sense of accomplishment derived from doing basic research rather than end of chapter exercises is inevitable and of permanent value to a young person who might learn to love learning were he given the impetus.

When the weather makes fieldwork difficult, the Seminar meets in the classroom to discuss topics such as the relationship of building orientation to tradition and to geographical features. Students learn the existence of disciplines which can contribute to the understanding of a site: topography, geology, hydrology, climatology, plant and animal ecology. Students and faculty check notebooks, evaluate photographs, sketches, and written descriptions. At first little attempt is made to interpret; recording is the sole task. Representative observations concerning the site include the following: structural details of buildings, orientation of structures relative to each other and to magnetic north, location of dams, quarries, or roadways.

By now students are knowledgeable, discussing such architectural details as a summer beam, plate beam, purlin, gable, sill, lintel, hiproof, tiebeam, Seelenfenster, or Dachstuhl.

Another phase of the Living History Seminar involved the apprenticeship of students, during the Kutztown Folk Festival, to genuine craftsmen who still practice the 18th and 19th Century craft-skills. Initially hesitant to confront strangers, many of whom were more conversant in Pennsylvania Dutch than in English, students soon warm to teachers and tasks as fascination grows. Many of the contacts thus established eventually terminated in mutual friendship and understanding between apprentice and master.

Apprenticeship is not only an opportunity to meet and work with people of a unique cultural background, but it is invariably a means whereby understanding and, above all, respect for the folk and their craft is acquired. Students are soon engaged in soapmaking, fraktur artistry, quilting, coopering, candle-making, printing, pewter-making, and shingle-splitting. Learning to handle the tools of the craft results in the production of some admirable handwork. Discovering latent talent provides satisfaction to many members of the 1969 Seminar. In addition, each young person derives from his labors a “feel” for the physical, material, even “spiritual” requirements of 18th and 19th Century rural life.

Six weeks of reading or listening to authorities would have been far less a learning experience than even two hours with a traditional craftsman. Students come to realize that the craft and tradition are inseparable, that the soap is as much a part of rural Pennsylvania tradition as the harvest, that fraktur is the manifestation of a deep faith in God. The academic past of each student is often elicited as he sees touches of Old World history in this “new” world. Many will reconsider textbooks with the realization that the knowledge of this earth is not as nicely settled upon, agreed to, and established as many books might have it. Persisting in asking critical questions, students are now prepared to find answers just as persistently elusive; it requires intellectual honesty and courage to admit that a given superficially appealing answer may not be definitive. Generalizations among the students become more and more scarce, opinions more carefully worded, conclusions less hastily drawn. The “I don’t know” answer so ruthlessly avoided in the classroom is seen as an admitted necessity as the Seminar attempts to strain the objective truth from a large body of “learned” misinformation and tourist lore. Easiness soon comes to be viewed with suspicion and little is taken for granted.

As the Seminar students come closer and closer to the insiders, the folk themselves, the perspective of these young people changes so that they are able to view the public, now apart from themselves, as a large body of sometimes interested but often uninformed people. Administrative problems regarding folk festivals, museums, and other public presentations, are brought to light; compromises are weighed in view of reality and the ideal. Already, students are beginning to become quasi-competent observers, not only of folk-life, but of the problems of presenting authentically a culture which is predicated on local and regional traditions and is thus ill-at-ease when displayed. The folk comprise a society with ancient roots whose food, art, and religion are all intertwined, a fact not readily apparent from even the best folk festival.

Much of the six week Seminar was devoted to simply immersing the students, as nearly as possible, in the everyday life of a typical 18th or 19th Century farm. Cooking food in a large “walk-in” fireplace, students brewed, baked, and stewed traditional Pennsylvania Dutch dishes, actually preparing an entire meal from start to finish—from collecting the firewood to eating waffles done in irons over the open fire. Mr. and Mrs. Philip Gehret provided the kitchen in their 18th Century home near Obelisk, Pennsylvania, and supplied many of the utensils used in preparing the meal.

For many the archaeological dig is a highlight of the Living History Seminar. Students often enjoy this phase of the program because it is generally their first opportunity to participate in this science about which they have read so much in school. The dig is conducted at the Henry Antes house, built in 1735, used as Washington’s headquarters in 1777, now situated on 105 acres of Montgomery County farmland.

Living History Seminar brochure for 1970.
By now students realize the importance of archaeology to the understanding of any settlement site. Moreover, there is a phase of the dig which will appeal to most interests: the categorization of unearthed objects delights those with a technological bent, while the physical exertion of trench digging appeals to would-be scientists who loathe classwork. Always the hope for an important find persists, against objective judgment, a lure which provides unceasing motivation.

In no other way is the need for carefulness better exemplified than when a student makes an interesting find which is understood to be useful only because he has learned the necessity of accurate documentation. The worthlessness (indeed harmfulness) of careless work is understood through the student's personal experiences in error and incompleteness. Since recording placement of unearthed materials is essential in archaeology, measurements in three dimensions are critical; students must replace vague notions of "location" with a new and precise definition. Soon all students come to think of the placement of any archaeological item in terms of distances from datum (an arbitrary point from which all horizontal measurements are made), and an established north-south baseline.

As Seminar students discover how little they know of what there is to be known, they come to respect a good restoration, for example, for the meticulous work which it involves—work which is often uncredited, indeed unrecognized by even the "cultured" public. Thus the means becomes inexorably tied to the result in the minds of students who have witnessed something of the results of haste and misdirection.

Now restoration problems are pondered with a view to innumerable considerations including the employing of consultants, deciding on the period to which a property will be restored, complying with local and state laws, and ascertaining the appearance of the original structure. Such awareness of the manifold contingencies involved in any administrative alternative, is a key lesson for teenagers who may be apt to view the world rather idealistically.

In a very real sense the old Frederick Antes house becomes more than just that; the structure which weeks ago would not have turned the head of one of the members of the Seminar is now imbued with a viable past which fact when fully realized instills a panic in these young people for fear of what even the well-meaning populace might do to a nation's history through neglect and bulldozer planning. The catastrophic results of a little learning seem all the more plausible when the Seminar remembers that several weeks ago each of them was completely unaware of the discipline of folklife studies, indeed of the materials studied. As intimate participants in a regional past, they are now eminently qualified to appreciate this aspect of American culture.

Visits to completed restorations and museums give students perspective on the work which they previously had completed. Displays and reconstructions are studied at the Daniel Boone Homestead, Mercer Museum, Landis Valley Museum, Morton Homestead, Hope-
Folklife scholars are interested in every aspect of traditional community culture. This includes, naturally, the study of regional foods and "foodways"—that total complex of activities and attitudes involving the preparation, preservation, storage, use, and function of foods in the culture that produces them. Attitudes toward foods, dietary taboos, dietary schedules (the daily, weekly, and seasonal schedule of foods served), the connection of foods with religion (sacred and secular cookery), mealtimes and table settings, and the entire material culture of food preparation (the tools, implements, and containers used) are included. It is a vast, a basic, and a universally important field of research, and one that strangely enough has been neglected by folklorists as well as American historians.

Among the food complexes of the folk-cultures of Europe and America, that revolving around milk products is one of the most ancient and constant. Dairy products on the Pennsylvania farm include not only milk and cream in their natural state, but butter, cheese, and the various sour milk products that were discovered early in man's development as necessities if milk was to be preserved over periods of time. Some of these old peasant foods—sour milk, sour cream, yogurt, and bonny clabber, for example—were old-fashioned for a long time in the 20th Century, but now have been rediscovered as "health" foods for city dwellers, and are very much an "in" part of American cuisine at the present time. By means of the present questionnaire we hope to collect information from readers of Pennsylvania Folklore who remember the older processes and attitudes from their childhood days as well as from the memories of their older family members.

MILK AND ITS USES

1. Who milked the cows on the farms with which you were familiar? Was it true that in some areas men did the milking, in other areas women? Was this a rigid rule?

2. Were cows always milked in the stable? Were they ever milked in the meadows or grazing areas? Were other animals than milch cows ever kept on Pennsylvania farms for their milk?

3. Describe the milking stools, milking benches, etc., which were used in your neighborhood? Who made them?

4. Where was milk kept in the days before mechanical refrigeration? What types of containers was milk kept in? If you remember a springhouse or milk-cellar, describe it for us. Where was it located in relation to the other farm buildings?
5. How was milk used at the table and in cooking? Was milk, or skim milk, a common table drink? How was milk used as a thickening agent in hot foods, or as an addition to cold foods (salads, coleslaw, cucumbers)? How often was bread and milk eaten when you were a child? How was cow’s milk used for baby’s food after weaning?

BUTTER AND THE CHURN

6. Describe the butter-making process as you remember it. What types of churns were used on Pennsylvania farms? Can you draw us a picture of the ones you remember?

7. When was butter made? Where was it normally made on the farm? Who (adults, children, men, women?) did the churning?

8. How and where was butter kept? What sort of containers were used? If butter was marketed from the farms you grew up on, where did it go, i.e., to neighbors, to city markets, to local storekeepers?

9. Where did buttermolds come from? Were they ever carved by the farmers themselves? What were the designs which you remember? Were there a purpose to the design beyond the purely decorative aspect?

10. When butter was being made, sometimes it was slow to “come”. In the old days people sometimes attributed this to witchcraft. Do you recall any stories about the rituals performed to rid the butter of the supposed witch’s “spell”? Do you recall any of the “butter charms” that the butter-maker recited to “help” the butter to “come”? Some of these begin, “Come, butter, come...” or in Pennsylvania German, “Budder, Budder, dick dich...”

CHEESE MANUFACTURE

11. What types of domestic cheeses do you remember from your childhood days? What types of cheeses were actually made on the farm, what types were bought at the country store?

12. How common was cheese as a food in your background? How and when was cheese eaten in your family—were there, for instance, cooked cheese dishes as well as cold cheese? Were their nationalities in your neighborhood which depended more on cheese as a staple of diet than your own group?

13. Can you describe the preparation of cheese on the farm? Where was it made? Where was it kept for the curing process? Describe the making of as many of the domestic cheeses as you can remember, for example, cottage cheese (Schmierkess), stink cheese (Schtinkkess), egg cheese (Siekerkess).

14. Was domestic cheese ever made in such quantities that it could be sold to local stores or markets?

15. Who made the cheeses, i.e., was it men’s work or women’s work?

SOUR MILK PRODUCTS; BYPRODUCTS

16. How were buttermilk (a byproduct in the production of butter) and whey (a byproduct in the production of cheese) disposed of?

17. Do you remember the dish called “thick milk” (Pennsylvania German Dicke Millich) or “banny clabber”? How was it made and how was it eaten?

Since personal and group attitudes to traditional foods are one of the folklore areas which need detailed research, please be as specific as possible in answering these questions, to give your own personal reactions to these basic foods of the Pennsylvania cultures. Some persons, for instance, report overexposure to certain of these foods during their growing up days which caused them to dislike them as adults, while others of us became devoted to some of these homely old-fashioned foods and have revived their use on our tables.

Please include also the lore, the customs, and the humorous stories and jests about these foods, as for example, the widespread jest of the stingy (?) farmer who told his sons at the table, “Put the gravy on thick, boys, butter’s twenty cents a pound”.

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
College Hall Box 36
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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104
Pennsylvania's one-room country schools are now a thing of the past except among some of our "Old Order" sects who insist on their retention. School photographs, either of the whole school (all eight grades) or of one of the "classes," were taken as a souvenir of school days in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. The examples reproduced here are from the Editor's Collection.

School Houses were given romantic names in the 19th Century. This one was the "Warbling Run" School near Hegins in Schuylkill County. The date is February 8, 1889. Note line-up of lunch kettles in half windows.

The Teacher poses with his "A Class"—the oldest students in "Pleasant View" School, Season of 1907-1908.

Schoolboys relaxing on the fence.

This school, from Lancaster County, includes two "plain" girls dressed in the plain garb of one of Pennsylvania's non-conforming sects. The other pupils are dressed in the current costume. Time: early 1900's.
An invitation to become a subscriber to the Society's periodical PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE, now in its twenty-first year, published quarterly, in Fall, Winter, Spring and Summer. Each issue appears in a colored cover, with 48 pages or more of text, and is profusely illustrated. Subjects covered include: architecture, cookery, costume, customs of the year, folk art and antiques, folk dancing, folk medicine, folk literature, folk religion, folk speech, home-making lore, recreation, superstitions, traditional farm and craft practices, transportation lore and numerous others.

The purpose of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation, is three-fold: collecting and displaying the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public.

PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY
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