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THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN GARDEN
Contributors to this Issue

ALAN G. KEYSER, Lucon, Pennsylvania, has researched widely in Pennsylvania German culture in his home area of Montgomery County and in other key areas. He contributes to this issue the pioneer article on the subject of the Pennsylvania German garden. We trust that readers with additional information on this subject, including locations of other traditionally laid out gardens, will share their data with the author. Especially desirable also are additional pictures, photographs, drawings, or paintings showing the traditional Pennsylvania German garden.

GREGORY GIZELIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a native of Greece and a graduate of the University of Athens. At present he is studying for the Ph.D. degree in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. A previous article based on his field work in the Greek community of Philadelphia, dealing with the acculturation of foods and cookery patterns here, appeared in Pennsylvania Folklife, Volume XX Number 2 (Winter 1970-1971). We are pleased to add these papers to our growing list of significant research reports based on field work in Pennsylvania's urban ethnic communities.

ANGUS K. GILLESPIE, Merion, Pennsylvania, teaches at Episcopal Academy at Overbrook, Pennsylvania, and is a Ph.D. Student in American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania. His article in this issue analyzing the woodcuts of the Lancaster Almanac adds considerably to our understanding of the changes that farm life underwent in the 19th Century. Mr. Gillespie's latest article on our pages was "Gravestones and Ostentation: A Study of Five Delaware County Cemeteries," Pennsylvania Folklife, Volume XIX Number 2 (Winter 1969-1970), 34-43.
SPRING 1971 Vol. XX, No. 3

Contents

2 Gardens and Gardening
Among the Pennsylvania Germans
ALAN G. KESYER

16 Historical Sources
For American Traditional Cookery:
Examples from the
Pennsylvania German Culture
DON YODER

30 The Use of Amulets
Among Greek-Philadelphians
GREGORY GIZELIS

38 Work and the Farmer:
The Almanac as Cultural Index, 1858-1898
ANGUS K. GILLESPIE

47 Pennsylvania German and High German:
Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 19

Contributors to this Issue
(Inide Front Cover)

Engravings of Western Pennsylvania Scenes
(Inide Back Cover)

COVER:
The illustration on the cover is a detail from a large Fraktur
of the Schwenkfelder school of Frakturists. It is from the
Charles B. Montgomery Collection at the Historical Society
of Pennsylvania, and is used with the permission of the
Society. The piece is an expert copy, made at least half a
century ago, from an original then in a private collection.
Our illustration forms the right half of the whole. We have
used it because of its fine portrayal of the six-bed garden in
front of a Pennsylvania German house. The name above is
Salome Wagner (in), for whom evidently the piece was
originally painted. The left side is filled with an elaborate
"tree of life" design growing from an urn, framed symmetrically
in a classic arch matching that shown here. Some floral
details and the fencing in the foreground are reminiscent of
those in Plate 25 in Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Color
While it is difficult at this point to identify the Salome
Wagner of this particular piece, there was among the Schwenk-
felder families an early Salome Wagner (1761-1835), wife
of the Reverend Christopher Schultz (1756-1826), of Wor-
cester Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. They
were married November 29, 1781. For these families, see
Samuel Kriebel Brecht, The Genealogical Record of the
Schwenkfelder Families (New York: Rand McNally & Com-
pany, 1923). — EDITOR.

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GARDENS
And GARDENING
Among the Pennsylvania Germans

By ALAN G. KEYSER

When searching references to gardens of the Germans of Southeastern Pennsylvania one has no difficulty finding lists of plants, but uncovering a description of the design or layout is exceedingly more difficult. It is equally hard to find even the slightest reference to the methods used in caring for the gardens since “the ‘dressing’ of a garden was second nature to most experienced gardeners.” It has therefore been necessary to rely heavily on interviews with folk informants for this information.

Just ten years ago there were many more traditional gardens and gardeners than are found today. This is unfortunately due to what is called progress, or more properly laziness and the machine age. It is also due to the fact that many of the people who are still cultivating the garden the old way are of advanced age. There are now relatively few gardens of this time-honored type.

The Pennsylvania German garden under consideration here is not the elaborate pleasure garden so often described in histories of gardening, but the farm kitchen garden containing vegetables, culinary herbs, flowers, and medicinal plants.

It was in some ways a pleasure garden for the woman who kept it and the children who helped. According to Roy Hendricks of Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, they always looked forward to Spring when the garden could again be cultivated, and theirs was not by any means the only family to feel this way. A common practice according to almost everyone interviewed on gardens was that of the Sunday afternoon tour of the garden. Whenever the housewife, who was the keeper of the garden, had women visitors they were almost forced into going out to see how the garden was progressing. Mike Klapp of Denver, Pennsylvania, said that years ago in Reamstown, Lancaster County, it was the practice on a Sunday morning to walk up and down the alleys to see who had the best garden and the fattest pigs. Women took great pride in their garden almost to the extent of a declared competition.

Two of the most important items of consideration when locating the house on an early settlement site were the availability of water and a well drained area with the proper exposure for a garden. In German and Swiss sources it is possible to find some descriptions of similar gardens in Europe. There the garden was always “close at hand so the housewife could keep watch over the beds from the window or door.” It was also “on the sunny side of the house.” Here too

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Garden on the Alvin Kline Farm south of Walnuttown, Berks County, showing the grape arbor and the rows of onions (center right) planted in the old manner using a wooden rake to mark the rows.
in Pennsylvania the old garden was located near the early farmhouse and usually either northeast, east, southeast, south or southwest of the dwelling. Early gardens are rarely found west, northwest or north of an old house. They were also located on mildly sloping terrain to provide good drainage and prevent the water from gathering in low places in the paths.

**Fencing the Garden**

Surrounding most farm gardens was in the earlier days a wooden fence and more recently a wire mesh fence. Some, however, had a stone wall with a board coping. The wooden fences were basically a rail fence with pickets nailed to the rails. It was similar to the rail fence which enclosed the fields of the farmstead in that the posts were of either chestnut or locust wood hewn with a broad axe on four sides above the ground. About 4 feet 4 inches of the post was above the ground and differed from the field post in one feature. It had only two rectangular holes (6½” x 2½”), one six inches from the top of the post and one six inches from the ground. Into these two holes were fitted two twelve foot long chestnut rails which were flat on the outside. The posts were set eleven feet apart, and one eleven foot panel of fence was known in Pennsylvania Dutch as a *gäch*. Thus the size of the garden was

> John Gehman, Manuscript diary now in the Franconia Mennonite Historical Library, Kulpville, Pennsylvania. “March 1844, the carpenters are finished with the roof on the garden wall.”

Photographs courtesy of William P. Stein except as noted.
to some degree determined by the early methods of fence construction. The size of a garden was measured in panels. They were usually either a five or six panel garden measuring 55 or 66 feet square. A four panel garden was rather small for a family of any size, and a garden of more than six panels square was considered a large garden and very unusual.'

Vertical pickets were nailed to the outside of the chestnut rails leaving a space of one inch to an inch and a quarter between them. Pickets were of chestnut, oak, pine and even black walnut. According to Frank Heinsey of Reinholds the pickets on the farm where he was raised were made by cutting a chestnut log into four foot sections. The section was split using a mallet and wedges into pieces about four to five inches wide and six to seven inches thick. These were then split into boards about an inch thick with a froe and mallet. This produced a board one inch thick, four to five inches wide and four feet long. A single saw cut was then made at a 45 degree angle to point the top of the picket. The rough picket was then ready to be nailed to the rail. Pickets thus produced were not of uniform width or thickness. This is of course a very primitive picket. However other more elaborately finished pickets were used as can be seen on page 11. Some were saw cut and had a rounded top.

The Whitewashing Process

We have not been able to ascertain if the fences were whitewashed in the 18th Century as they most certainly were in the 19th. Whitewashing the fence was a job which had to be performed every Spring, and many children dreaded the thought of it. Some of the long since grown children now look back on the yearly chore with mixed emotions, and remember the hard work of

\[\text{1} \text{Information in this section is from an oral description given by Harry F. Stauffer, Farmersville, Pennsylvania, March 15, 1970.}\]

\[\text{2} \text{Interview with Frank Heinsey of Reinholds, Pennsylvania, January 23, 1965.}\]

\[\text{3} \text{Interview with Samuel R. Heller, Farmersville, Pennsylvania, March 15, 1970.}\]

...whitewashing. They are now willing on the other hand to concede the fact that it did improve the appearance of at least one area of the farm. This duty was performed primarily by the children, but at times the housewife even helped. Occasionally die Deitsche (tramps) were persuaded to help whitewash.

In the 19th Century many things on the farm were whitewashed including fences, grape arbors, buildings, trees to a height of four to five feet and I am sure even people had they stood still too long. Emma Knerr of Lower Frederick Township, Montgomery County, said that when she was a girl her father used to buy and stack the lime for whitewashing on Ascension Day.

An interesting early 19th Century recipe for whitewash is found on page 132 of a cookbook in the collection at the Landis Valley Farm Museum: "Mix a pint of rye meal with water boil the water and make it a smooth thin paste. Stir this into a bushel of whitewash mix it well together. Lay it on the brush as you do common whitewash but it must be thicker as it is for fences . . . ." The most common recipe was merely unslacked lime and water stirred together in proportions which rendered it thin enough to be applied by a brush. Whitewashing was done on a clear sunny day in May or early June.

There was generally but one opening through the fence into the garden—the gate. Depending on where one is the dialect term for the gate is either s daerche or s daerli. The gate was usually just a bit wider than the wheelbarrow used on the farm. This was the largest object which had to be brought into the garden. It therefore determined the minimum width of the gate. The gate was hung on two wrought iron hinges and was kept closed by either an iron hook, an iron hoop eight to ten inches in diameter or a wooden turn button referred to in the dialect as der driller or der watervel.

\[\text{4} \text{Interview with John K. Kerr of Harleysville, Pennsylvania, March 24, 1970.}\]
The purpose of the pale fence or glabbordefens was to keep the barnyard animals out of the garden, especially the chickens. In the Spring one of the first things to be done in the garden was to make sure the fence was "chick-proof." This was done by putting a board along the ground attached to the inside of the fence to close any holes between the bottom of the fence and the ground. By thus keeping the chicks out of the garden the mother hen did her scratching elsewhere.

**The Layout of the Garden**

From European sources we get a description of the layout of the counterpart of our Pennsylvania garden. Rochholz describes the old German garden as having a "foot wide path which bisects the garden lengthwise and is crossed at right angles in the middle by a second [path], thereby dividing every garden into four main fields which are called beds ... In the center of the four beds on the cross path stands the rosemary plant on her own boxwood enclosed circular bed."

Herman Christ describes the Swiss garden as "approximately square, divided by a cross path, and similar side paths which continue around the edge. While the four inner areas divided into beds serve for the cultivation of vegetables, the area extending around the main middle paths and going between the fence and the border path is a narrow bed for aromatic and medicinal herbs and flowers. The main paths are often lined with boxwood which is carefully trimmed and kept to a height of eight inches." In all of Southeastern Pennsylvania I have found but one of these boxwood-lined square vegetable, herb and flower gardens. This is on the farm of Wayne Witmer in Penn township, Lancaster County (see page 4). The Witmers' garden is sixty-six feet square, and has only one of the narrow outside beds remaining. The fence is also gone, but it is still the finest example of the traditional Pennsylvania German garden we have found.

In the description by Rochholz the center bed appears. This round bed in the middle of the garden was probably the exception rather than the rule here in Pennsylvania since it is found only rarely today and just a few of the informants interviewed had ever seen one. It reportedly occurred rather frequently in Lancaster County, but I have not encountered it elsewhere.

East of Hinkletown in Lancaster County was a garden with a diamond-shaped center bed, because the beds were lined with straight boards.

The gardens which did not contain this four foot round bed did have either herbs or flowers planted on at least one if not all four corners of the cross path in the center of the garden.

In later years the four-bed garden on some farms lost the path around the four main beds. Doing this eliminated the narrow bed along the fence and put the herbs and woody shrubs into the four main beds. Still later in some gardens one or both sides of the secondary crospath was eliminated thus producing a garden with one or two long rectangular beds and one path. Since the advent of garden tractors even this main path has disappeared in all but a few gardens.

Another style of this garden in the earlier days developed six beds instead of the standard four. These gardens with six beds in some instances developed by adding two square beds to one side of the already existing four-bed garden. This was most probably done at the time the head of the household retired from farming and turned the farm over to a younger member of the family. When this was done the younger member and his family got the old four-bed garden and the retired head of the household and his wife took

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"Rochholz, 11, 126.
"Christ, 13.
"The existence of this garden was brought to my attention by Harry F. Stauffer and Samuel R. Heller of Farmersville.

"Interview with Hattie K. Brunner of Reinholds, April 12, 1970, and interview of Roy Hendricks by William P. Stein, February 26, 1970."
the newly added two beds as their garden. Christian Stettler of Frederick Township, Montgomery County, in his will of February 12, 1812, left his widow "one third part of the kitchen garden to be taken at the lower end which is to be manured as the other part of the garden by the possessor of my plantation . . . " Here Stettler is leaving his wife their two beds in the garden. Some of the six-bed gardens became three-bed gardens by the elimination of the main path or several of the side paths.

The paths in these gardens range in width from one and a half to two feet, and are kept completely free of weeds and grass by hoeing. In most cases nothing was put on the paths to control the weeds, but in some cases, however, sawdust was gotten at the sawmill and put into the paths. In still another instance tanbark was purchased at the tannery and put on the paths. As civilization progressed some people, though I shudder to think of it, planted grass on the paths and cut it with the lawn mower. This is definitely not the proper way to keep a garden.

The surface of the beds where the plants were grown was elevated usually from six to eight inches above the paths. The early and most widely used method of keeping the sides of the beds was to slope the ground on about a 60 degree angle. The angle of these beds was kept as nearly uniform as possible throughout the garden. Much time was spent by the housewife making sure that the edges of the beds were straight and the sloping sides neat. Some women even went to the extremes of running strings to keep the edges of the beds straight. The latter and less commonly used method of keeping the sides of the beds was to run boards along the path, and keep them in an upright position by using one by three inch stakes driven into the edge of the path at three foot intervals. The stakes were driven even with the top of the board. Several small stakes were used on the inside of the board to hold it until the ground could be put against it. These boards had to be reset every spring while digging garden. Most boards were six to eight inches wide but some people used foot wide boards for this purpose.

They were looked on by some as the only practical way to keep beds, and by others as an ugly waste of time.

**The Province of the Housewife**

The care of the garden and all decisions concerning it belonged to the woman of the house. The men did very little work in the garden. On some farms the men dug the garden or at least helped to dig, but in the majority of cases the men did nothing more than keep the fence in repair, haul the manure to the garden on the manure sled and throw it over the fence. Most farms had a larger vegetable patch which was known as *die lott* or *s chtick* in which the men were of more assistance. Here were planted and cultivated potatoes, pole beans, and larger quantities of other garden vegetables.

The tilling of the early garden was entirely by hand. No horse or plow was ever allowed in a garden once it was established. A horse may have been used to plow the ground when establishing a new garden, but not after it was plowed the first time, a fence erected and a shovel used to take the ground out of the paths. This was done to place the level of the paths below that of the beds, and from here all work was by man or woman power. A spade or shovel was used almost exclusively in digging the garden. In some areas the garden was dug in the ascent of the moon so that the ground would stay loose.

The digging was done by turning over a shovel full of ground at a time in rows, being careful not to put the ground just removed back into the same row from which it came. It was placed in the row just previously dug. Doing this produced a ditch into which the manure could be placed. Manure was put into every second or third row while digging, and was covered with earth by the digging of the next row. The amount of manure used was determined by how *m aager* the garden was. Several types of manure were used. Probably the type used in the early days was pig manure, because many of the people interviewed stated that it was the only practical way to keep beds, and by others as an ugly waste of time.

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*Interview of Cora Hasson of Frederick, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1970.*

*Interview with Samuel R. Helley, March 15, 1970.*

*Interview with Clint Moyer, Huffs Church, Berks County, April 4, 1970.*
Fenced garden on the Rothermel Farm with what appears to be a bakeoven at the right of the picture. Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley. (Courtesy of Schwenkfelder Library)

was preferred by their mothers. On the other hand some stated that pig manure made the soil too hard, but if wood ashes were applied before digging it helped to loosen the ground. Others used cow, horse, or in some cases in later years chicken manure. Harry Stauffer said that they put all the wood ashes produced during the Winter onto the garden as they were taken from the stove. There was also a practice of putting wood ashes on the garden on Ash Wednesday. This was to keep the bugs out of the garden. People also greased their garden spade with fastnacht lard before starting to dig garden in the belief that this practice would protect the vegetables from harmful insects and bugs.

After three or six rows had been dug it was the practice to take the wooden barn rake and rake the large clods out. This process was continued until an entire bed or section had been dug and readied for planting.

PLANTING BY THE SIGNS

Several things must be explained about caring for a garden before even a slight amount of understanding can be had on the subject. One of them is the system used by a number of women whereby the church calendar year and the signs of the moon governed the times, days and seasons in which things were done in the garden. At one time a system of some sort was probably used by every housewife in planting her garden and caring for it, but now it is almost as difficult to find a person who plants the garden using the old system as it is to find an old type garden. There are, however, more people who plant by the signs than there are traditional gardens since many of the people who plant by the signs also plow their gardens.

It would probably be in order to first list the days when no work was done in the garden. Foremost on this list is Sunday when only necessary work is done.

on the farm and gardening is not considered absolutely necessary. Good Friday was considered by some as a day no work should be done in the garden, also Ascension Day is a day when no gardening should be done at all. There were other times when people preferred not to work in the garden. One was when the plants were wet. Another was Saturday, or at least Saturday afternoon, because it was too close to Sunday. This already narrows the number of garden work days.

From Sam Heller we were able to collect his mother's system. This method of planting by the moon seems to be the most commonly followed. Her two signs for planting in the garden were zwilling un wog. Sam said that his mother told him that "zwilling dat alles dobble," and in "wog grickscht alles widder zuriick." From another source we have the type of seeds to be planted on the above days. Things which yield above the ground such as beans and pickles should be planted in the twins because it is the ascent of the moon. Things which grow below the ground such as red beets, radishes, and potatoes should be planted in the scales because it is in the descent of the moon. Sam's mother also liked to transplant her flowers on der blumme daak. This sign was considered to be good for flowers only, and any vegetables planted in the virgin would only bloom. Nothing was ever to be planted in der schitz because it would "shoot" to seed. Nothing was planted ufisch oder wasserman because it would be too wet. Sallie Snyder told me that if you plant red beets in the sign of the fish they will get stringy, and the seeds planted in waterman will rot. Do not plant anything in Scorpio or Capricorn. (Here I have not been able to find reasons or explanations for these beliefs.) Grebi (the crab) is also not a good sign for planting, and Emma Becker of Washington Township, Berks County, gave the reason. The "crab walks backwards so the plants will grow backwards or insects will eat the plants." No onions or radishes should be planted in Leeb (Leo) because they will have a strong flavor. You may plant in schofbock but there is no guarantee of favorable results. Sam Heller did not make any comment on the sign of Taurus nor was I able to find anyone else who could.

Charlie Miller of Bechtelsville uses a different system of planting by the signs of the moon. His appears to take advantage of some of the weak points in the previous system, and also utilizes its strong points. He, for instance, plants his lettuce and radishes in the "waterman" and "fish" so they will become nice and

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crisp. Charlie also uses the last day of the "blooming lady" (Virgo) for some of his crops which should bloom in order to bear. This includes sugar peas and cucumbers, but he adds that if you plant on the first Jungfrau (Virgo) you will get nothing but flowers. He also stated that he likes to plant his potatoes in either the "stonebuck" (Capricornus) or the "scale," and was quick to add that the potatoes planted in "stonebuck gave more than in the scales."

Lizzie Heller of near Walnuttown, Berks County, was able to add this to the list of favorable signs for planting. "Plants in widdler no grickscht widdler," she also prefers to plant in Schteebock, and her beans in the "twins." As everyone else Mrs. Heller declared that the bowman was a poor sign for planting because "es schiessst in die heh." 49

Emma Knerr gave a belief that is in some ways similar to Charlie Miller's system. She related the belief—"grumbeere blant mer in jungfrau as sie bliche dece. Wann sie net bliche dece, dece sie net drauge." Some people have a very simple system, and use nothing more than the ascent of the moon for planting crops which yield above ground, and crops yielding below the ground in the descent.

In addition to the above systems for planting by the signs of the moon there are proper days for planting and harvesting according to the calendar and church year. Some gardens contained a hot bed. 50 This was where the early cabbage was sown and grown before it was set out in its proper place on one of the four large beds in the garden. Cabbage seed was sown on St. Gertraut's day, March 17. After the Irish immigration of the late 1840's unfortunately the almanac makers changed the name to St. Patrick's day to suit the Irish. Even the makers of the German language almanacs followed suit. If the cabbage seed were sown on any other day it would become bug infested.

**THE PLANTING AND CARE OF ONIONS**

The planting and care of onions was an art and science unto itself. Onions were usually the first thing to be planted after the first bed had been dug. Marking the rows for planting onions was usually done by taking the straight-back edge of the wooden hay rake and pushing it lightly into the ground to form an indentation in the ground the length of the rake and at the most an inch deep. To continue the row a mark was made about six to eight inches from the first and parallel to it, and another parallel to that until the entire row had been marked. This formed a row about two feet wide and the length of the bed. Usually three to four or more of these rows were planted with onions leaving just enough space between rows to put the board on which one stood while planting. This board was usually three to four inches wide and the length of the square main beds in the garden. The art was being able to remain balanced on the board and not to fall or step into the prepared ground of the garden. Once the garden had been dug it was against all rules to have any foot marks on the garden.

In the raising of onions there are two other important days to be considered. The first is Seven Sleepers, June 27. This is the day on which the same rake used to mark the rows is taken and the tops of the onions are "put to sleep" or knocked down flat on the ground to prevent any of the strength from going into the tops. Anyone driving through the Dutch Country after the 27th of June can see the practice still widely used today. The second day for onions is St. Jacobus now indicated in the almanac as St. James. This is the day, according to Charlie Miller, on which the onions should be pulled to prevent them from rotting in storage during the winter.

"Interview with Charlie Miller of Bechtesville, Pennsylvania, on April 11, 1970."
Garden on the farm in the Oley Valley where the Susanna Cox murder is said to have taken place. Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley (Courtesy of Schwenkfelder Library).

PEAS, CUCUMBERS, AND GRAPES

When planting peas it is necessary to space the rows so that hecke or branches from trimming the fruit trees on the farm can be stuck between every other row. This is to allow the peas from two rows to climb the sticks. Some people also stuck the branches in the row immediately after the peas had been planted so that each row of peas had its own row of hecke. People who did not have a farm large enough to have an orchard went into the woods to collect the dead branches, and used them as a support for the pea stalks.32

Charlie Miller in his description of planting by the moon gave his method for planting cucumbers. He likes to plant his cucumbers on the last day of the "blooming lady" in the month of May. He also uses both male and female help to plant them, two males and three females. By having five people planting he can insure at least five cucumbers on each plant. This is the most interesting planting procedure I have collected in writing this paper.

Another plant which is at times found either just inside the fence, or near the garden on the outside is the grape vine. This requires a draue geitsch or grape arbor which is composed of upright posts and horizontal lath to which the grape vine is fastened with either leather loops and nails, inch-wide strips of old cloth, or willow shoots. The grape vine was trimmed in the late winter or early spring in the sign of the "scales" leaving usually two or three buds of the previous year's growth to produce new growth.


THE GROWING OF HOPS

An old proverb explains the harvesting time for hops. M'rs muss die hoppe roppe eb dar September wind driuwer blos (you must pick the hops before the September wind blows over them). The great majority of people followed this rule and Jacob B. Mensch was no exception. In his diary33 he records that he picked his hops the last few days of August every year. The hops were planted on the outside bed and provided with a pole to climb. This support in Sam Heller's mother's garden was actually two poles which were planted with the bottoms separated about four feet and the tops tied together to form an upside-down V. The poles were of chestnut wood about twenty feet high. In some instances, especially in Montgomery County, they were red cedar. Garrett G. Keyser told me his mother had a cedar pole about 10 to 12 feet high with approximately 10 to 12 inches of all the branches left on the pole. When this was covered with the hop vine it looked like a green tree in the garden.

Jennie Butler of Bucks County still has hops in her garden, and each spring she plants one or two poles for them to climb. She takes these poles out and lays them on the ground to pick the hops.34

Saffron was another plant which had a special time for harvesting. This was to be picked before the sunrise otherwise the saffron would not be as good.

Turnips, according to the Rev. H. E. Messersmith of Lebanon County, were to be sown on Pedder Kett.35

33Jacob B. Mensch, of Skippack, Pennsylvania, manuscript diary at the Franconia Mennonite Historical Library, Kulpsville, Pennsylvania. Diary covers the period from 1880 to 1911.

34Interview of Mrs. Jennie Butler, Bucks County, by Ellen Gehret, March 30, 1970.
August 1, and Sam Heller stated that they used to say they should not be sown after August 10, Saint Lawrence Day.

Two days from the church year seem to have been, at least to some gardeners, the approved time for planting beans. These were May 3, 'S Greitzl' Moi and June 5, Bonifacius.

PLANTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN GARDEN

No survey of gardens would be complete without the much studied list of plants to be found under cultivation. Probably the best such study to date is Plant Names and Plant Lore among the Pennsylvania Germans, by David E. Lick and the Rev. Thomas R. Brendle, published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1923.

In assembling a list of plants cultivated in the garden Lick and Brendle have been heavily relied upon. They did not always mention that the plant of which they were writing was cultivated in the garden, because at the time it was general knowledge which of the many of the vegetables, flowers and herbs were almost universally grown there. Therefore some plants have been listed here which are not noted in Lick and Brendle as garden inhabitants. Also from personal observation we have attempted to indicate the general areas where these plants would have been found.

The flowers and ornamental plants were probably, in the older gardens, included in a blumme land or flower bed which was a portion of the narrow bed just inside the fence. However, some annuals were probably also grown on the center bed if there was one, or scattered throughout the four main beds. Flowers were and still are a must for the Pennsylvania German housewife.

The members of the herb or gegreiter bett are included in the list of plants under the heading of the outside bed. The herb bed was usually near the gate and included both medicinal and culinary plants. The "teas" are also included in this same list, because they were usually at the lowest part of the garden on the neuwe land where there was the greatest amount of moisture available.

OUTSIDE BED:

Strawberry
Horshound
Southernwood
Mugwort
Ashdopel
Pimpernell
Self-seal
Downy Mint
Spearmint
Fumitory
Blue Vervain
Artichoke
Hyssop
Speedwell
Ground Almonds
Blessed Thistle
Hellebore
Hop

Coltsfoot
Mothserswort
Sweet Cicely
Caster Bean
Catnip
Calabash
Chamomile
Tansy
Thyme
Lovage
Lungwort
Lavender
Feverfew
Masterwort
Garden Balm
Meadow Sweet
Horse Radish
Lady Thistle
Valerian
Sweet Marjoram
Asparagus
Spurge
Oswego Tea
Avens

Agrimony
Elecampane
Parsley
Rue
Chives
Saffron
Comfrey
Sage
Wormwood
High Blackberries
Box Tree
Junepberry
Grape
Gooseberry
Red Raspberry
Black Raspberry
Currant

Lilac Bush
Rhubarb

Peas
Endive
Popcorn
Cauliflower
Beans
Savory
Borage
Parsnips
Catchfly
Tobacco
Fennel
Carrot
Cabbage

Kohlribi
Potato
Cucumber
Ground Cherry
Mammoth Pumpkin
Goriander
Job's Tears
Garaway

Fumaria officinalis. L.
Marrubium vulgare. L.
Artemisia, Abrotanum. L.
Artemisia vulgaris. L.
Asphodelus luteus. Reichb.
Pimpinella Saxifraga. L.
Prunella vulgaris. L.
Mentha aquatica. L.
Mentha Spicata. L.
Mentha Piperita. L.
Fumaria officinalis. L.
Verbeina Officinalis. L.
Helianthus tuberosus. L.
Hyssopus officinalis. L.
Veronica officinalis. L.
Cyperus esculentus. L.
Cnicus Benedictus. L.
Helleborus viridus. L.
Humulus Lupulus. L.

FOUR MAIN BEDS:

Tussilago Farfara. L.
Leonurus Cardiaca. L.
Osorhisa, genus.
Ricinhus communis. L.
Nepeta Cataria. L.
Lagenaria vulgaris Ser.
Anthemis nobilis. L.
Tanacetum vulgare.

Asphodelus officinalis. L.
Lecisticum officinalis. L.
Pulmonaria officinalis. L.
Lavandula vera. L.
Chrysanthemum.

Parthenium Bernh.
Imperatoria Ostrostium. L.
Melissa officinalis. L.
Filipendula Ulmaria. L.
Radicula Armoracia. L.
Silybum marianum. L.
Valeriana officinalis. L.
Origanum Marjorana. L.
Asparagus officinalis. L.
Euphorbia Lathyris. L.
Monarda didyma. L.
Geum, genus; Geum urbanum. L.
Asymmetrical, genus.
Inula Helianthus. L.
Carum Petrostrum Benth. (B.
Ruta graveolens L.
Allium Schoenoprasum L.
Crocos sativus L.
Symphytum officinale. L.
Salvia officinalis. L.
Artemisia Absinthium. L.
Rubus albigenus Porter.
Buxus sempervirens L.
Amelanchier, genus.
Vitis, genus.
Ribes reclinatum L.
Rubus idaeus L.
Rubus occidentalis L.
Ribes vulgare and Ribes nigrum

Syringa vulgaris. L.
Rheum Rhiparicum. L.

Pisum sativum, and varieties
Cichorium Endivia. L.
Var. of Zea Mays. L.
Brassica oleracea, var. botrytis DC.

Cabbage varieties and occasionally pole beans.
Satureja Hortensis. L.
Borage officinalis. L.
Pastinaca sativa L.
Silene inflata L.
Nicotiana, genus.

Foeniculum vulgare All.
Daucus Carota L.
Brassica oleracea, L. and varieties

Brassica oleracea var.
Solanum tuberosum L.
Cucumis sativus L.

Physalis, genus
Cucurbita Maxima and var.
Coriander sativum. L.
Coix Lachryma-Jobii L.
Carum Carei
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lentils</td>
<td>Lens esculenta Moench.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orach</td>
<td>Atriplex hortensis L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peppers</td>
<td>Capsicum annuum var.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radish</td>
<td>Raphanus sativus L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn Salad</td>
<td>Valerianella, genus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Turnip</td>
<td>Brassica Rapa L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Beet</td>
<td>Beta vulgaris L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>Lactuca sativa L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinach</td>
<td>Spinacia oleracea L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomato</td>
<td>Lycopersicum esculentum Mill.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celery</td>
<td>Apium graveolens L.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Onion</td>
<td>Allium Cepa L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplier Onion</td>
<td>Allium Cepa var. multiplicans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top Onion</td>
<td>Allium proliferum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ORNAMENTALS AND FLOWERS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer Cypress</td>
<td>Kochia scoparia (L.) Schrad.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grape Hyacinth</td>
<td>Mascari botryoides (L.) Mill.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prince's Feather</td>
<td>Polygonum Orientale L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergamot Mint</td>
<td>Menf thea cirrata Ehrh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahlia</td>
<td>Dahlia variabilis Desf.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asters</td>
<td>Callistephis Hortensis Cass.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petunia</td>
<td>Petunia, genus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodland Tulip</td>
<td>Tulipa sylvestris L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger Lily</td>
<td>Lilium tigrinum Ker.</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Lily</td>
<td>Lilium candidum L.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Day Lily</td>
<td>Funkia subcordata Spreng.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet</td>
<td>Viola, blue species.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Day Lily</td>
<td>Hemerocallis fulva L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red-Hot-Poker-Plant</td>
<td>Kniphofia aloides Moench.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Poppy</td>
<td>Papaver, genus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Snapdragon</td>
<td>Antirrhinum majus L.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Creeping Boys and Girls</td>
<td>Sedum acre L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneywort</td>
<td>Lysmachia Nummularia L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geranium</td>
<td>Pelargonium, genus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peony</td>
<td>Paeonia officinalis and varieties.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbine</td>
<td>Aquilegia, genus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrysanthemum</td>
<td>Chrysanthemum, genus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigold</td>
<td>Tagetes, genus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollyhock</td>
<td>Athaea rosea Cav.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Birthwort</td>
<td>Aristoloehia Clematitís L.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Amaranth</td>
<td>Amaranthus, genus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose-of-Heaven</td>
<td>Agrostemma Coeli-rosa L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden Fuchsia</td>
<td>Fuchsia, genus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden Ornipe</td>
<td>Sedum purpureum Tausch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houseleak</td>
<td>Semprevivum tectorum L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaranth</td>
<td>Amaranthus tricolor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn Poppy</td>
<td>Papaver Rhoeas L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Garden on the old Gottshall farm near Schwenksville, Montgomery County. (Courtesy William S. Gottshall, Collegeville, Pennsylvania).
Leopard Plant
Stocks
Lily-of-the-Valley
Honesty
Garden Pinks
Sweet William
Phlox
Daffodil
Calendula
Larkspur
Periwinkle
Bleeding Heart
Aster
Immortelle
Primrose
Hyacinth
Dusty Miller
Iris
Sweet Alyssum
Rose Moss

Farfugium grande
Matthiola, genus.
Convallaria Majalis L.
Lunaria biennis L.
Dianthus Caryophyllus var.
Dianthus barbatus L.
Phlox Drummondii Hook.
Narcissus pseudo-narcissus L.
Calendula officinalis L.
Delphinium, genus.
Vinca minor L.
Dicentra spectabilis Lem.
Aster
Helichrysum, genus.
Primula, genus.
Hyacinthus orientalis L.
Centauraea and Cineraria
Iris, genus.
Alchemilla maritima Lam.
Portulaca grandiflora Hook

CENTER BED:
Bear Grass
Crown of Thorns
Pansy
Saffron
Hollyhock

Yucca filamentosa L.
Berbers—a cultivated dwarf form
Viola tricolor L.
Crocus sativus L.
Athea rova Gav.

HOEING THE WEEDS

Weeds were a problem then as now and were controlled in much the same manner as we control them today. A broad hoe—breed hook—with a blade from eight to ten inches wide was used to scrape the paths and keep them completely free of weeds. A zinke hook was used to weed between the plants on the beds. Hoeing was usually done by the women and children and never by the men. The garden was never worked when the soil was wet, and some people preferred not to work the garden in the heat of the day or when the plants were wet. Most of the weeding was done by hoeing or stooping to pull the larger ones which had escaped a previous hoeing. At times radishes were broadcast in the onions just prior to the last hoeing, and then worked in by hoeing.

The hoes were usually kept at the same place as the shovel and the rakes. The location varied from farm to farm. On some farms it was in the pig stable, on others the coal house or wood shed, on still others the work shop or the wagon shed. In at least one instance the hoe was left in the garden where the women had finished hoeing, until it was needed again. The shovel was always kept shiny and wiped clean and free of all ground after each use. Some people even filed the hoes to keep the edge sharp. Shovels were at times oiled to prevent rust from forming.

WATERING TECHNIQUES

Ellen Gehret uncovered a rather unusual method of watering plants growing on hills. An earthen crock was placed next to each hill and a woolen rag was put into the crock with one end in the water and the other end was laid on the hill where the plants were growing.

"Interview of Roy Hendricks by William P. Stein on February 28, 1970.
"Interview of Sadie Schultz Beehler by Ellen Gehret on April 6, 1970.

Su e K. Kerr (in white apron) taking her two sisters-in-law for a walking tour of her garden near Schwenksville on a Sunday afternoon. (Courtesy Mrs. John M. Nice, Souderton, Pennsylvania.)
The water then wicked from the crock to the plants. A woolen rag had to be used because no other fabric would wick as well. This was not a common practice, but it was used in the upper end of Montgomery County and Ellen Gehret found two informants who had seen this used when they were younger. North of Boyertown in Berks County there was until several years ago a garden with pale fence around it, and on the fence were hung upside down on the pales many glass jars and earthen crocks. These we always felt were just the applebutter crocks in storage, but they may have been the irrigation crocks and jars for watering by the wick method.

Watering was done only in extremely dry weather, and usually with a sprinkling can. The sprinkling can was used at least as early as the late 18th Century if not earlier. It was found on most 19th Century farms somewhere not too far from a source of water upside down on the fence.

THE SECOND CROP

In order to fully utilize the limited area in the garden a second crop was planted where the early crops had been harvested. The most common second crop was late cabbage, and was at times planted either where the peas or early potatoes had been taken out. In Anna Weber's diary she records the planting of *winter salad samen auf das gugummen land*—winter lettuce in the cucumber bed."

"The Gerhard Clemens diary for 1795 records that he gave his daughter Sara a sprinkling can. This manuscript diary is owned by Mrs. Hannah Clemens of Lansdale, Pennsylvania. "Anna Weber, of Akron, Pennsylvania, Manuscript diary 1864-1873 in possession of Alan G. Keyser, Lucon, Pennsylvania. The earliest she records sowing the winter lettuce is August 24, St. Bartholomew, and the latest was September 15."
Fenceposts of chestnut wood with two rectangular holes top and bottom. These posts are placed about 11 feet apart. This garden was on the George Burkholder farm, Cocalico Valley, Clay Township, Lancaster County. Also notice the lilac bush in the north corner of the garden. (Courtesy Harry F. Stauffer).

Burrowing Vegetables For Winter Use

An even better example of utilization of the garden at virtually all times is the storage of cabbage, turnips and red beets in the garden for the winter. From Sally Landis we collected the practice that "Iff aller Heil un aller Seel hen m'r die sieve eigewale." This was followed by more than the family of Mrs. Landis for in Jacob B. Mensch's diary we find that for a number of years he took in the red beets on November first. He also says he "took in all our cabbage and filled a barrel in the garden and covered it with ground." To bury cabbage in the ground the cabbage was pulled up by the root and laid head down—root up in the barrel. Had the root been cut off the cabbage would have rotted. This way it could be removed anytime the ground was not frozen too hard. By Spring the cabbage had bleached to a condition commonly known as shee gehl ("nice and yellow"). In this state it was thought to have its best flavor.

At times a hole was also dug in the middle of one of the four large beds, lined with long straw, filled with the usual vegetables, covered with straw, boards and the ground removed from the hole to insulate it against the frost. A hole was left at one side so easy access could be gained during the winter. The hole was sometimes covered with a sheaf or two of corn fodder. Some people used leaves instead of the straw to line the hole. On some farms apples were also buried in this fashion to keep them fresh until Spring.

Moving the Garden

Another interesting fact about the garden and gardening was what happened to the garden on moving day. In the early days the traditional moving day was either a few days before or after April first. This was the day properties were sold and leases expired. Therefore it was moving day. Sam Heller said that when

On All Saints and All Souls we buried the turnips.

his family moved they took as much as a two-horse wagon load of garden things from one place to the next. This was because his mother had her favorite type of rhubarb and many other garden plants. Also one could not be sure how many of the perennials the previous owner had, or even more uncertain, had left behind when he moved. So to insure a good garden the first year the perennials were dug up, put into boxes and baskets and loaded on the wagon for moving.

Seed Production

The raising of seed for the next year's planting was a very important part of gardening. The production of seed for vegetables such as beans and peas was done by simply allowing some of the pods to remain on the plant until completely mature. For crops such as cabbage, lettuce, and endive several stalks were allowed to shoot to seed and mature. Once the seed had ripened the tall stalk was cut and hung upside down either on the porch or in the attic until it had dried. The seed heads were rubbed by hand to loosen the seeds, and
the seeds were removed and stored in a dry place until spring. Several beets were saved from the previous year and planted in the garden to produce seed which was harvested when mature and dried. Onions too, were saved from the previous year and planted to produce seed. The following year this seed was sown in a row and allowed to grow into onion sets. These sets were saved until the following year and planted. This procedure was continuous and therefore in any given year seeds, sets and onions were all raised to continue the three-year cycle.

SCARECROWS AND OTHER DETERRENTS

Uninvited guests were always in attendance in the garden, and the art of eliminating them took various forms. The most common repellent was a scarecrow, but these did not always work and at times a gun was used as a last resort. In our family a favorite story concerns my grandfather who was quite a good shot, but on this particular day did not live up to his reputation. There was a black bird which landed on the grape arbor, so grandpop went for the shot gun. He lifted the gun, aimed and fired. When the smoke cleared the bird had flown away, but one leaf of the grape arbor had been fatally wounded.

Long inch-wide strips of calico were sometimes tied to the sticks supporting the peas to chase the birds.

Johann Krauss in his book" gives a recipe for repelling snails which used two quarts of wood ashes mixed with five cents worth of dry salt. This mixture is spread under the infested plants and in three days no more snails will be seen. Krauss says that "experience teaches that this is much more effective than garlic." So garlic must have been used for this same purpose. Potato bugs were also an ever present problem, and one of the easiest methods used on some farms to eliminate them was to allow the ducks in the garden to catch them. Ducks are constricted in such a way that they can not scratch and therefore did not damage the garden while catching the bugs. Most mothers sent their children into the garden to catch the potato bugs by hand, and put them into a tin can or kettle, but Sadie (Schultz) Beckler's father made her a "pinchers" or tweezers which she used to catch them. No hands.

In the earlier days the potatoes were gekallicht (limed) by taking a coarse-weave bag containing lime and giving the bag one vigorous shake over each plant. This sifted the lime out on the dew-covered potato plants and rid them of all ungeziffer (bugs). In more recent years Paris Green was applied from a water solution by spraying and achieved a similar result.

Moles were also a problem in the garden so either the castor plant or spurge was planted to repel them. In the village of Dryville, Berks County, is a garden kept in the traditional manner which contains upwards of twenty mole plants. The woman who keeps the garden assured me that they no longer have any problem with moles.

CONCLUSION

Not nearly all the aspects of gardens and gardening have been covered here, but it is hoped that we have presented enough of an outline that anyone interested in recreating or restoring a traditional Pennsylvania German garden can do so from this article. We have not even attempted to cover the European background and history of our garden which probably dates back thousands of years to Persia or even Egypt.

We have also not made an attempt to explain the symbolism which is undoubtedly connected to the garden here and in Europe. One thing stands out in the study of gardening and that is the strong relationship of the church year or calendar and the cultivating of the garden. If there were no tie between the garden and religious symbolism, the church year would probably not have played so great a part in its care. Could there be a symbolic tie between the four paths and the four rivers of the Garden of Eden, between our garden and the Garden of Eden?

*Interview by Ellen Gehret of Sadie Schultz Beckler of Frederick, Pennsylvania, April 6, 1970.
HISTORICAL SOURCES
For American Traditional Cookery: Examples from the Pennsylvania German Culture

By DON YODER

My paper will be centered on the cookery and foodways of the Pennsylvania Germans, on which my own research has concentrated. It will (1) discuss problems in cookery research, (2) suggest the values and problems in using historical materials in their solution, and, hopefully (3) provide a model for regional archives of traditional cookery in the United States.*

The Pennsylvania German culture is one of the early American, colonial period cultures, with wide influence on other ethnic groups in Pennsylvania, and, through migration, upon other areas of the United States and Canada. While the average American insists on looking at Pennsylvania German culture as something “German” and European and essentially foreign, the culture actually is a highly acculturated, hybridized system of elements combined on American soil from two principal sources: the Continental European, essentially Germanic culture of the emigrant generations, and the British Isles cultures of their neighbors in Southeastern Pennsylvania. This indigenous American culture began to shape up in the first half of the 18th Century and has continued to develop to the present time.1

*This paper was read at the First International Symposium on Ethnological Food Research, held at the University of Lund, Sweden, August 20-26, 1970. A shortened version of the paper, including recommendations on regional archives of traditional cookery and foodways in the United States, omitted here, will appear in Acta Ethnologica, 1971. A detailed account of the Lund Conference, with discussion of Current Developments, Methods, and Objectives in Ethnological Food Research, is scheduled for publication in Keystone Folklore Quarterly, Fall 1971.—EDITOR.

1 For the Pennsylvania German culture, see Martin Lohmann, Die Bedeutung der deutschen Ansiedlungen in Pennsylvania (Stuttgart, 1923), Schriften des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts Stuttgart, A. Kulturhistorische Reihe, Band 12; Emil Meynen, Bibliographie des Deutschtums in den Amerikanischen Einwanderungsstädten (Leipzig, 1929); Fredric Klées, The Pennsylvania Dutch (New York, 1930); and the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, and the Pennsylvania Folklore Society (The Pennsylvania Dutchman, 1949-1956, Pennsylvania Folklore, 1956- ).

2 Susan Ginsberg, member of my seminar in “Material Aspects of Folk Culture,” Spring Semester 1970, wrote her seminar paper on regional foods of Eastern Pennsylvania as reflected in restaurant cuisine and menus. I will be publishing her findings in Pennsylvania Folklore. It is strange that with the wide tourist interest in things Pennsylvania Dutch, there is as yet no Pennsylvania Dutch restaurant in Philadelphia.

In looking at Pennsylvania German cookery in 1970 we have to press our way past the undergrowth of tourist menus at the pseudo-“Dutch” restaurants in Eastern Pennsylvania, which include, in atrocious dialect forms, a mixture of a few regional specialties with a full range of general American dishes.2 In attempting to determine what the Pennsylvania Germans ate...
traditionally, on the farms and in the small towns of Eastern Pennsylvania, we can approach the problem in two ways. First, we can use the ethnographic approach of interview and questionnaire, so successfully used in European food research, to determine the geographical diffusion of certain dishes and food customs in the present. At the same time, of course, from the memories of our informants, we can get a good idea of the changes in Pennsylvania German foods and foodways roughly over the past 75 to 100 years, from the era of the grandparents of our present informants down to 1970.

Linked with the ethnographic approach, and a necessary supplement to it, is the historical approach, used much more extensively in European scholarship than in American regional research. Here the total range of historical documentation on the Pennsylvania Germans needs to be combed and sifted for references to cookery and foodways. This can take us farther into the past and can sketch in the background of our ethnographic materials, as well as providing a guide to what to ask for on our questionnaires.

Roughly we can divide historical sources into the three categories of printed texts, manuscript materials, and iconographic sources.

1. **Printed Texts**: Printed source materials on the Pennsylvania Germans include: travelers' accounts of the 18th and 19th Centuries; cookbooks in German and English; government reports, such as those of the National and State Departments of Agriculture, which deal with farm crops, food preparation, and the material culture of cookery; laws, particularly state and borough regulations dealing with marketing; newspapers, which include advertisements involving foods; periodicals, particularly the agricultural journals which were concerned with progress in farm life and therefore came to report constantly on "bad" traditional regional ways of doing things; the 19th Century literary monthlies which include many accounts of life among the Pennsylvania Germans; the women's magazines which contain recipes and household hints about cookery; almanacs, which include recipes and household hints; broadsides, some of which deal with medicine and nutrition; biographies and autobiographies of Pennsylvanians; local histories, particularly the county histories which appeared in the last third of the 19th Century in the wake of the Centennial; and finally novels, particularly the regional, local color works which record ethnic and regional patterns of life.

'Some of the nationally circulated Philadelphia cookbooks of the 19th Century show important evidence of Pennsylvania German foods. Cf. for example, The National Cook Book, By a Lady of Philadelphia, A Practical Housewife, 9th ed (Philadelphia, 1855), which offers recipes not only of local Philadelphia specialties such as "pepperpot" and "shad" oysters, but in addition the Pennsylvania German dishes: "Soused pig's feet," Scrapple, German Hot Potato Salad, "Sour Kraut," Dandelion "Dutch Salad" (hot lettuce, with ham vinegar dressing), "Dutch Loaf" (a coffee cake), pfeffert's (puffed beets with hard-boiled eggs), and Apple Butter. The earliest German cookbook in Eastern Pennsylvania, Die Geschichte Hausfrau: Eine Sammlung von Guter Rezepte und Vorschriften zum Kochen, Braten, Kuchen-Bakken, und Einmachen von Früchten (Harrisburg, 1851), 30 pp., contains the following: Apfelkuchen-Pei (Dried Apple Pie), Getrockneter Kirschen-Pei (Dried Cherry Pie), Kurkuss-Pie (Pumpkin Pie), Johnny-Kuchen (Johnny Cake), Kornmehl-Muffins (Indian Meal Muffins), Weiche Lebkuchen (Soft Gingerbread), Schussam-Kuchen (Sponge Cake), Kalbfuss-Gallette (Calf's Feet Jelly), Kutter Krani-Sollat (Cold Slaw), Spreizen-Bier (Spruce Beer), Kutfeljerk (To some tribes), Gefueltene Suswies-Füse (Pies feet soused), and Bratwürste.

'One such broadside in my collection, the "Diet" prescriptions by Dr. W. Williamson of Philadelphia, dating from the 1870's or 1890's, seems to list most regional foods among the "forbidden" dietary items: salads, vinegar, pigg's feet, hog's head cheese, scrapple, sausages, mince pies, smoked meat, smoked fish, oyster soup, and buckwheat cakes. Among the "allowed" items were: however, butter milk, cottage cheese, hot corn, hominy, Indian or rye mush, groats and pearl barley.
Cookstove (Kitchen Range) from Doylestown Salebill, 1890.

2. Manuscript Sources: The best sources for cookery in the manuscript category are personal legal documents which are found by the thousands in all of our early courthouses: (a) the wills (last will and testament) of individuals, which often give detailed instructions on the yearly food outlay which the estate is to provide for the widow; and (b) estate inventories and sale accounts, which list foods and food-preparation tools and implements in the estate of the decedent. These have not been studied for foodways in detail as yet in any area of the United States. They are extremely valuable for terminology and vocabulary, and will have to be used eventually to enlarge the dictionaries of American English for American terms, which are thus far based only upon printed sources. In addition there are, of course, by the hundreds in libraries, historical societies, and private collections, manuscript autobiographies, travel accounts, and cookbooks which have not been studied. Personal letters are another important source, particularly Amerikabriehe of the 18th Century, recording the emigrant's reaction to the foodways of the "New Land," and letters from Pennsylvanians who have moved Westward in the 19th Century, comparing Pennsylvanian foods and life styles with those on the prairies. Finally, records of agricultural improvement societies are a prime source for food and foodways; one important example is the manuscript records, beginning in 1785, of the Pennsylvania Society for Improving Agriculture, which are on deposit in the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

3. Iconographic Sources: These, too, are legion, and turn up in unexpected places. Book and periodical illustrations are an excellent source. Children's books and the illustrated weekly of the Harper's Weekly and Gleason's Pictorial type provide for the 19th Century a wide record of American rural life, including food preparation. Manuscript drawings are found in various collections; one example is the Charles Lesueur Collection in the Museum of Natural History at Le-Havre, France. Lesueur, a French naturalist, spent much time in Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the 19th Century, and his manuscript drawings of a walking trip through the Pennsylvania German country in 1825 provide us with valuable dated and geographically pinpointed pictures of Pennsylvania houses, barns, inns, wagons, bakeovens. Photographs, including stereopticon views, are also legion, and there are now many good collections of photographic Americana in libraries and museums to make it profitable to use them for food-
Dietary Profile of Pennsylvania German Culture

Until we can survey the culture with interview and questionnaire, the only way we have of determining the dietary profile, which I define as the major dishes and food complexes in order of their importance in Pennsylvania German cuisine, is to use the historical sources.

Let us begin our discussion with the "Germanic" elements in Pennsylvania German cuisine, since most of the travelers and outsiders' accounts of the culture centered on these. They include such staple dishes as Sauerkraut, identified universally as a Pennsylvania food; less known regional specialties such as Panhaas (scrapple) and Schnitz un Gnepp (dried apples stewed with ham and dumplings); a great many noodle and dumpling dishes which link Pennsylvania German with the Mehlspeisen cuisine of South Germany; an elaborate Wurstkultur, if I may be permitted the term, involving a variety of smoked (Brodwarscht) and sour sausages (Summerwarscht and Rollitsch); a strong soup tradition, mostly flour and potato soups (gereeschdi Mehsupp, Grumbieresupp); the tradition of the hot salad of dandelion or other Spring greens with sweet-sour bacon dressing; and a tradition of dessert baked goods in which both the Kuchen and the pie have rivaled for first place.

The traditional festival cookery of the Pennsylvania Germans involves New Year's, pre-Lenten (Fastnacht), Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas specialties. New Year's Day was a day for feasting on Sauerkraut. The lore accompanying the dish in this case claims good luck throughout the coming year for the eater. Turkey is the general American festival dish, particularly for Thanksgiving and Christmas and secondarily for New Year's Day. Sauerkraut is normally served with pork; a curious folk rationale for eating pork rather than fowl on New Year's is that barnyard fowl scratch backwards, while the pig roots forward. There is, however, one geographical area in Central Pennsylvania and Western Maryland where it is traditional to eat sauerkraut with turkey for New Year's dinner—this is the area West of Harrisburg and extending into the German counties of Western Maryland.

Let us look in some detail at the historical documentation on the Pennsylvania German hot salad. A Scottish traveler in post-Revolutionary America provides us with our first dated documentation on this distinctive Pennsylvania German dish, describing the dish as served to him at an inn in the mountains of Central Pennsylvania:

Salad was produced to us at one of the Dutch hotels in the Alleghenies, with a hot, sweet, and acid sauce, but as this was not relished, the ladies of our party made the usual salad sauce, substituting:

For an example, see The Countryman's Family Album (Pensburg, Pennsylvania: The Schwenkfelder Library, 1954), based on the H. Winslow Fogley Collection of Eastern Pennsylvania photographs.

For Christmas and Easter cookery, with the related festivals in Advent, Lent and Pentecost, see Alfred L. Shoenaker, Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study (Kutztown, Pennsylvania, 1950), and Easteride in Pennsylvania (Kutztown, Pennsylvania, 1961).

1. Determining the Dietary Profile of Pennsylvania German Culture.
5. Pennsylvania German Reactions to Changes in Food Technology.
The first German cookbook for Pennsylvania was called Die Geschickte Hausfrau (The Expert Housewife) and was published at Harrisburg in 1851. Included are many pie recipes—see the recipe for "Aepfelschutz Pie" (Dried Apple Pie) on page 16.

The Germans, among the first of the emigrants who came to this country, brought with them their love of bread and the apples which grow so profusely in Europe. A pie was a dish they could make do with American apples, which usually were the chief fruit of the season.

But even in the earliest years of this country, the pie was considered a dish fit for a king. Sometimes a pie was the sign of a day of celebration, and the pie was special, often with a unique crust. The pie was a way of celebrating a special occasion, a way of showing off the skill of the cooks. It was a dish that brought people together, a dish that was a symbol of love and family. And so the pie became a part of the American way of life, a part of the American cuisine.

The pie is a dish that is enjoyed by people of all ages, a dish that is enjoyed by people of all backgrounds. It is a dish that is enjoyed by people of all cultures. It is a dish that is enjoyed by people of all nations. The pie is a dish that is enjoyed by people of all ages, a dish that is enjoyed by people of all backgrounds. It is a dish that is enjoyed by people of all cultures. It is a dish that is enjoyed by people of all nations.
2.

**THE ACCLUTRATION OF ETHNIC CUISINES IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA**

Historical sources make clear the early acculturation, the cultural trading and sharing of the distinct ethnic cuisines of Eastern Pennsylvania. Eastern Pennsylvania was settled principally by three groups: the English and Welsh Quakers and others from England proper, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from Ulster, and the Pennsylvania Germans. While there were distinct settlement areas where each of these ethnic groups predominated, there were enough enclaves of the other groups scattered through them to bring about early acculturation in food and foodways as well as other aspects of culture.

In cookery, sauerkraut and apple butter and panhaas and other Pennsylvania German specialty foods came to be served on Quaker and Scotch-Irish farm tables, while certain British Isles specialties were early adapted to German tastes.

Chief among the latter is the round fruit pie, which in its apple version was long America’s “favorite dessert” and whose universality has led to the phrase “as American as apple pie”. There is linguistic as well as historical evidence that the pie is a borrowing from the British Isles cultures into the Pennsylvania German world. Pie is an English word, meaning a mixture, as, according to some authorities, in “piebald” and “pied”. The Pennsylvania German Hausfrau came to make numerous pies, so many, in fact, that one Pennsylvania scholar has suggested that the Pennsylvania German country is the center of the American pie belt. We find however that the Pennsylvania Germans have no Germanic word for pie. Rather they call pie “boi”, as in “Schnittboi”, dried apple pie, “Kaerscheboi”, cherry pie, “Boigrat”, pie plant, i.e., rhubarb, etc. Why “boi”? Probably because “poy” was the commonest English-Irish pronunciation of “pie” in the 18th Century, when the borrowing first began to register in the culture.

However, there are many analogues to the English “pie” on the continent of Europe, from the Wihe to the pizza. The Pennsylvania Germans, from their German and Swiss background, were accustomed to making the square or rectangular Kuchen—flat pieces of dough into which slices of plums or other fruit, or onions, are literally stuck—the whole baked in the outdoor bakeoven. In the 19th Century such Kuchen, as for example, Zwetschgenkuchen, onion pie (or onion cake?), were favorite foods for the Zehnhausstück, the ten-o’clock piece which was carried to the men in the harvest fields.

Throughout the 19th Century the Kuchen and the Pie continued to be made by Pennsylvania German cooks. Toward the turn of the century the pie had gradually won first place and the Kuchen was then old-fashioned and fading out of the picture. Older informants still recall the Kuchen from the late 19th Century, but I do not have evidence as yet of its use in Pennsylvania after the first World War period. The term Kuchen is still used by some cooks interchangeably with “pie” for the curious hybrid cake-pie called “Shoofly Pie” or “Shoofly Cake,” a molasses-flavored crumb cake baked on a round pie shell without a top crust. But that is another story.

“Preston A. Barba: “The eastern counties of Pennsylvania constitute the piebelt of America. In this area more and better pies are eaten in greater variety than anywhere else on this terrestrial globe. We Pennsylvania Germans eat pie at breakfast, at dinner, at supper . . . ” (Ann Hark and Preston A. Barba, Pennsylvania German Cookery: A Regional Cookbook [Allentown, Pennsylvania 1930], p. 191).


“Shoofly Pie is now considered a “typical” Pennsylvania German specialty. It is essentially molasses crumb pie. Central Pennsylvanians in my background called it “Granger Pie.” Eastern Pennsylvanians “Shoofly Pie”. I have no documentation on it before 1900. There was a popular song in the Civil War period, “Shoofly, don’t bother me,” which may or may not have a connection. An original etymology was developed by one Pennsylvania German scholar (Preston A. Barba) tracing it from the French word “choufleur,” since the baked crumb topping resembles the texture of cauliflowers. The essential thing is that it is a moist cake topping baked in a round pie shell. There are other similar pies (Montgomery Pie, Fanny Pie, etc.) listed in the Pennsylvania German cookbook. But until much more research is done on American pie typology it is unsafe to attribute this type exclusively to Pennsylvania German cookery.

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**BACON & GREENS.**

*As sung by Robt. H. Craig, Esq., of the Arch Street Theatre.*

I have lived long enough to be rarely mistaken,
And had my share of life's changeable scenes;
But my joys have been doubled by hoes and greens.
What a thrill of joy as they waken,
Of childhood's gay morning and youth's merry scenes;
When one day we had greens and a plateful of bacon,
And the next we had bacon and a plateful of greens.

Ah! well I remember, when and how, when,
Heart-wrenching by the score of a villain in her homes.
How I fed from her sight to my loved greens and bacon,
And forgot my despair ever bacon and greens.
When the banks refused specie, and credit was shaken,
I shared in the wreck, and was ruined in money;
My friends all declared I had savored my bacon,
But I lived, for I still had my bacon and greens.

If some fairy a grant of these wishes could make one
So worthless as I, and so laden with sins,
I'd wish all the greens in the world, then the bacon.
Then wish for a little more bacon and greens.
Oh! I have a charm in this dish, righteously taken,
Which from caustics and jellies an epicure warns;
Stick your fork in the fat: wrap your greens round the bacon,
And you'll rue there's no dish like good bacon and greens.

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*The popular song literature of America is an untapped source for food and foodways research. This Philadelphia song broadside celebrates the early American dish, Bacon and Greens.*
The round pie, an English food specialty, early became America's favorite dessert. The Pennsylvania Germans borrowed the term "pie" as well as the concept. The illustration is from Willson's Second Reader (1864).

The ethnic conflict in Pennsylvania was always rather sharp. Prejudice between "Dutchman" and Irishman, or between "Dutchman" and Yankee (New Englander) was very common, and often expressed in the historical documentation of the 19th Century. As the travel accounts we have cited show, the groups at first disliked each other's standard foods—a universal human trait; it would seem. But gradually the cuisines were acculturated to each other, so that by the end of the 19th Century one can speak with justification of a regional Pennsylvania farm cuisine shared by most of the groups.

By the end of the century the Pennsylvania "Dutch," the Scotch-Irish and the Quakers had largely forgotten their old rivalries and name-calling. They now could turn their attention to the "new immigration" which was bringing Central European and Mediterranean ethnic groups to the Pennsylvania cities. Good Quaker Wilmer Atkinson's Farm Journal opened a blast against these newer immigrants in October, 1897. The reason—again, a universal human one involving ethnic food habits:

The farmer, the gardener and the dairyman load up their wagons with choice supplies, and drive to the city week after week, and wonder why they cannot sell their produce as they once did. Let him look around carefully and this is what he will see: A three-room house kept by a Hungarian boarding mistress, with ten Italians with no families; blocks of houses filled with Slavs and Poles, nearly all men—hundreds of them in every manufacturing city, each man taking a place that should be held by some loyal American supporting a family.

"What do these foreigners consume?" the editorial demanded. The answer: "Rye bread, noodles, refuse meat, bologna and beer." The complaint continues: "Do our farmers ever sell them any butter, any eggs, any fruit, and choice vegetables? Do their milk wagons stop at their doors?" Obviously the answer is no, and the indignant farmer calls for restriction of immigration.

If the polemист and his editor could only come back today, they might find their own rural progeny relishing the very foods that those "foreigners" brought to the American city—spaghetti and pizza, stuffed cabbage and borscht, pepperoni and pastrami.

3.

The Diet of the Emigrant Generations

We are attempting to show that the cuisine of the Pennsylvania Germans developed in stages, and is in fact an extremely complex historical development. Let us look in more detail at the source materials on the food and foodways of the emigrant generations in the 18th Century.

America is a nation of emigrants, and each new emigrant group and each new emigrant generation has had to react to what American historians refer to as the "American experience" and the "American environment." The Amerikabriebe sent back home to Europe by German and Swiss emigrants of the 18th Century, reporting as they did their astonished reaction to the plenty of staples such as white bread and meat in America, are one of our best sources on the diet of the emigrant generation. One such letter was sent back to Franconia from Pennsylvania in 1753:

Grains are as dear here as in Germany, but one can earn five loaves of bread sooner in this country than one in Germany, for the day's wages are very good. In the winter a man gets 18 pence, that is in German money 7 (27?) kreuzer; in summer 11 batzen, but rich board along with it—meat two to three times a day, and a good drink made of apples."

The "Newlander" Mittelberger echoed hundreds of Amerikabriebe when he wrote in his little account of his trip to Pennsylvania:

Even in the humblest and poorest houses in this country there is no meal without meat, and no one eats the bread without butter or cheese, although the bread is as good as with us. It is very annoying, however, that nothing but salt meat is eaten in summer, and rarely fresh meat in winter. He reinforces his statement by adding, "I don't think that there is any country in which more meat is eaten and consumed than in Pennsylvania". And he gives us some comparative notes on English and German diet. "The English know little or nothing of soup eating; bread and butter and cheese are always their dessert, and because sugar, tea and coffee, are very cheap, they drink coffee and the like 2 or 3 times daily."

For the diet of the emigrant generation one might think the shipping contracts signed by the emigrants with the Rotterdam shipping firms which brought them to Philadelphia, an unlikely source. While they spell


D I E T

ALLOWED:

Pure water, loast water, barley water, rice water, or gun arabie water.

Sweet apples, pears, peaches, apricots, melon, gages, sweet cherries, grapes, strawberries, raspberries, and other fruits possessing little or no acidity.

Water-melons, cantaloups, figs, raisins, and sweet oranges.

Bananas, arrow-root, sago, tapioca, cream, milk, eggs, whey, milk posset, fresh butter milk, cold custard, milk cheese, plain jelly, good butter, cottage cheese, and pure olive oil.

Weak black tea, cocoa, or plain chocolate.

Preserved peaches, pears and quinces, raspberry and strawberry jam or syrup, strawberry and pineapple ice cream.

Sugars, unasses, and salt in moderate quantities.

All kinds of light bread and plain biscuit, containing no potash, soda, &c., and not too fresh; dumplings made of wheat, rye, Indian, rice, or bread; hot com, hominy, Indian or rye mush, grouts and pearl barley.

Beetson, carrots, beets, balsalm, peas, beans, spinage, asparagus, squashes, and cauliflower.

Beef, mutton, venison, and the lean part of ham; raw cucumbers, mastest system, and soft boiled eggs.

Farm-yard poultry, cooked without stuffing, pignions, small birds, squires, rabbits, and wild game generally.

Soups and broths of the aboe animai and vegetable substances, prepared without herbs or spices.

Fresh peaches, straw, sea-bass, and small creek fish; salted, smoked and salmon, after being well washed or pure-bred.

All highly seasoned, stimulating and medicinal articles, as well as every particular rule of diet. The underseigned passengers (71½ "freights" in number) "want to have freedom (as God's weather permits) to cook a few victualls for ourselves and the little children, and to make use of the fire from six o'clock in the morning till the same time in the evening . . . ."

The ship owners (Isaac and Zacharias Hope of Rotterdam) made some attempt to adapt their provisions to the dietary standards of their "High German" clients:

Inasmuch as we, as experienced merchants, who have been transporting people twenty or more years already, have found that bacon and meat are very heavily salted, from which salted provisions scurry and other complaints arise, and moreover the High Germans are brought up more on fresh than salted provisions, we are ready to give

out the food available to the emigrants during the long Atlantic crossing, one supposedly untypical period in the emigrant's life, actually the contracts do very probably reflect some standard foods. One such "Agreement for Transport from Rotterdam to Philadelphia," dated February 16, 1756, promises that the ship shall be fitted out with food and proper provisions, namely: good bread, meat, bacon, flour, rice, barley, peas, syrup, butter, cheese, beer, good fresh water, and whatever else is necessary: likewise the ship shall be twice daily cleansed with vinegar and juniper berries, to purify the air; and daily there shall be given out to each whole freight the following:

Sunday — one pound of beef cooked with rice
Monday — barley and syrup
Tuesday — one pound of white wheat flour
Wednesday — one pound of beef cooked with rice
Thursday — one pound of beef cooked with rice
Friday — one pound of white wheat flour and one pound of butter


FOBIDDEN.

Lemonade and all other acidulated drinks; all kinds of fermented and distilled liquors, mineral waters, &c.

Coffee, green tea, spiced chocolate, tobacco, snuff and segars.

Cabbage, turnips, onions, garlic, parsnips, radishes, horse-radish, mushrooms, tomatoes, egg plant, cucumbers, pickles, salads, celery, mustard, peppers, catsup, vinegar, artichokes, plums, prunes, tamarinds, currants, dates, and acid fruits of all kinds.

Milk, butter, strong cheese, lard, pork, roast pig, eggs, potatoes, hops, head cheese, scrapplle, sausages, sauce pies, smoked meat, smoked fish, veal, turkeys, geese, ducks, hard boiled eggs, omelet, fried oysters, cyster soups, pepper-pot, turtles, terrapins, lobsters, clams, oysters and eel.

All kinds of pastry, rich cakes, shorten cakes, fresh cakes, dough nuts, highly seasoned souces, soups and broths, and honey.

All spices, herbs, and aromatic, tooth powders, curds, and other confectionaries, cake prepared with much fat or aromatics, and all kinds of nuts.

All domestic medicines, herb teas, &c., and all kinds of perfumery, as well as the external use of camphor, balsam, turpentine, vinegar, cologne water, bay rum, &c.

Should any of the articles allowed be found to disagree on account of constitutional peculiarity, or the nature of the disease, they must be discontinued immediately.

Fruits, eggs, oysters and boiled vegetables must not be eaten in colic and diarrhrea.

W. WILLIAMSON, M. D.,
No. 80 North Eleventh street,
Philadelphia.

DOYLESTOWN HOTEL.

Mr.
TO D. D. MARPLE.
Dr.

Dinner
Supper
Lodging
Hay
Oats
Bread
Gin
Porter
Ale
Sugars

Received Payment of $ . . . .

D. D. MARPLE.

Tavern Bill, Doylestown, 1827

A doctor-prescribed diet from Philadelphia, dated circa 1840, forbids some favorite folk foods (scraipple, sausage, smoked meats) while allowing others (bominy, musk, butter milk, cottage cheese).
two or three fresh meals weekly, which they will judge more fit for them.

Emigrant German reaction to the increased use of meat and other “American” tendencies in cuisine continued with the 19th Century emigration to Pennsylvania. A letter from the Birkenauer Johannes Klein, from “Grinwillitsch” (Greenwillage), Franklin County, Pennsylvania, October 8, 1831, sounds the familiar note once again:


[If they don't have meat three times every day, they can't stand it. Meat consumption here is really astounding. My neighbor, a shoemaker, in three months devoured four pigs and has to earn it all with shoemaking.]

And thinking of his “Freundschaft” still living under the old cuisine in Germany, he writes:

Ich wolle, meine alte gebrechliche Mutter war bey mir in der Freiheit und kennt das weisse Brot und kennt die guten Apfel geniesen, Malasig, Sirob und Honig und Butter wird erstaunlich viel gege sen. Es wird Fleisch und weisses Brod mit Butter geschmiert und zusammen gegessen. Diese Lebensart ist ganz anders wie in Birkenau. Vor die Weibspersonen ist es ein vortrefflich gutes Land. Das Waschen und Backen ist ihre Arbeit. Sie tragen sich wie die Edeldamen, es sey Arm oder Reich, es ist alles gleich. Sie haben leghornene Sommerhüte vor den Preis um 3 bis 18 Thaler und Schleier darauf. Sie haben ein grosses Recht in diesem Lande. Ihre Männer dürfen sie nicht brigen, sonst kommen sie bis weg. Wenn eine 2 Meil auf Besuch will, reiten sie auf Pferden dahin. Sie rauchen alle Tabak."

[I just wish my old infirm mother was with me in freedom and could enjoy the white bread and the good apples. Astonishing amounts of molasses, syrup, honey and butter are consumed. Meat and white bread are smeared with butter and eaten together. This style of life is quite different than in Birkenau. For the womenfolk it is an outstandingly good country. Washing and baking is their work. They act like noblewomen, whether they are poor or rich, it's all the same. They have leghorn summer hats for the price of 3 to 18 dollars with veils on them. They have great rights in this country. Their husbands are not allowed to beat them, or they get the worst of the deal. If a woman wants to go visiting two miles away, they ride there on horseback. They all smoke tobacco.]

Additional light is shed on this problem and a different conclusion reached in a recent study by James Lemon, based on the wills and inventories of Eastern Pennsylvania. Lemon makes the suggestion that since grains are usually mentioned first in 18th Century wills, bread was still considered the “staff of life” by the European settlers, English and German, where meat was scarce and potatoes had not emerged by 1750 as a significant part of the diet. Certainly, he says, bread and porridge remained important items of diet; perhaps three times as much grain was used per person then as now. He argues against the common idea that the frugal Germans ate more rye bread than wheat bread, in fact suggesting that the Germans, once settled in Pennsylvania, satisfied their preference for wheat bread and seemed to have consumed less maize than New Englanders and Southerners. Certainly Southeastern Pennsylvania was one of the prime grain producing areas of colonial America. It was also, for that reason, the biggest distilling center."

The widow's arrangements of the farmers' wills are, as the work of Lemon and Gilbert and Oliphant show, a prime source for our knowledge of what Pennsylvania farm families considered basic as everyday food. A sample is the Will of Georg Remely, Whitehall Township, Northampton (now Lehigh) County, Pennsylvania, dated 1801, the original of which is in the editor's possession. By this document the decedent transfers to his "dear wife Elisabetha" a tract of eighty-five acres with all of its buildings "as her widow's residence as long as she shall bear my name," further ordering his executors to build for widow Elisabetha "a roomy one-story dwelling house, 26 by 22 feet, with a [knee]-wall and a cellar, as also a stable with an entry for her cattle." For her animals the executors were to clear a one-acre meadow and fence it well, and were to provide her with "a garden with a clapboard fence and a bake-oven with a shed-roof," all to be kept for her in top condition. They were to cut and haul her yearly supply of firewood, and provide her with ten bushels of rye out of the estate and sixty pounds Pennsylvania currency, and the "choice of two cows, two sheep, and two pigs, as also whatever she needs of household furniture and kitchen utensils." If she were to remarry, Elisabetha was instructed to take with her "one cow and all the household goods and kitchen utensils which she brought to me" (i.e., as dowry at the time of the first wedding).
Outdoor bakeovens were a feature of Pennsylvania German, French Canadian, and Cajun cultures. Occasionally but rarely they were found elsewhere. This crudely roofed one was sketched in Virginia. From Virginia Illustrated (New York, 1857).

zu machen und einen backofen mit einem obdach wie auch die Fens auf obigem besagten land immer in einem Lawollen Stand unterhalten und dass jährliche brennholz ihr hauen und beyfahren sollen — 3) ist me[1]n Wille dass besagte meine Ehefrau zehen buschel Korn aus meiner hinderlassenschaft haben soll — 4) verordene, dass meine bemeldete Ehefrau Elisabetha sechzig Pfund Pennsylvanisch Courrencye; die auswahl von zwey Kühen zwey Schafen und von zwey Säue wie auch an Hausrath und Küchegeschirr zu nehmen was sie zu ihrem gebrauch nöthig hat aus meiner hinderlassenschaft haben solle — 5) Verordne dass wenn meine besagte Ehefrau sich wiederum verjichten solte sie eine Kuhe allen hausrath und Küchegeschirr so sie zu mir gebracht haben solle . . . 9) ist mein Wille und verordne dass nach meiner mehr bemeldeten Ehefrau Elisabetha anderweitigen Verkehrachtung alle vorhere benannten und festgesetzten Artikelen oder Abschnitte sie betreffend, ungültig und unkräftig, (except der vierte abschnitt in voller kraft bleiben soll) seyn sollen oder ihrem ablachen dass hieren besagte ausbehalts Land oder Witwen Sitz ad 83 Acker mehr oder weniger samt denen darauf befindlichen gebäuden wie auch die von ihr hinterlassenen Mobieln ebenfalls auf öffentlicher Vendue verkauft werden sollen . . . ]

4. GENERAL AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN COOKERY

In addition to the acculturation of ethnic specialties in colonial Pennsylvania, there was the influence on Pennsylvania German cuisine of what one must term general American food habits and taboos, i.e., foodways which were more general in their extent and not limited to one ethnic group. There are two examples: (a) the general American, standard food known as "mush"; and (b) the widespread American taboo on alcoholic beverages known as the "temperance movement". Both were to influence the everyday life of the Pennsylvania Germans deeply and permanently.

(a) Mush" is cornmeal porridge, eaten with milk or molasses in its fluid form, and fried, usually as a breakfast food, in its solidified state. As a general American dish, widespread from New England to the South in the colonial period, it became also a staple in Pennsylvania German cuisine. While corn-culture and corn dishes were in a sense borrowings from Indian cultures, mush is more directly an American adaptation of European porridge dishes which were staples of European peasant cuisine, and actually, substitutes for bread or even primitive forms of bread. The Scotch subsisted on oatmeal, the English on porridge of various sorts; the German and the Netherlanders in Brei and pøp, both of which words are used in Pennsylvania. American cornmeal mush came to supplant the European porridges and became what was perhaps the most widespread American everyday dish of the colonial period. The dish went under various names in early America, from "hasty pudding" in New England, "supp­pawn" (an Indian word) in New York State, "stir­bou­t" among displaced Yankees in "New Connecticut" (the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania), and "mush" in most of Pennsylvania and the South. The standard word today is simply "mush".

One of our earliest historical references to mush among Pennsylvania Germans comes from a Moravian missionary diary of 1753, when after arrival at Beth­bara, North Carolina, the Pennsylvania missionaries wrote: "We began to build a bake-oven, so that we can again eat bread, which for a time has been pretty rare for us. Our principal fare is now pumpkin sauce (Kürbis-Brey) and mush (Spatan), and we are quite well with it".14

As a cornmeal dish served with milk, mush is also related to "hominy" and "samp". The Swedish his­torian Acrelius writes of the diet of the Delaware Swedes in 1759: "The arrangement of meals among country people is usually this: for breakfast in summer cold milk and bread, rice, milk pudding, cheese and butter, cold meat. In winter, mush and milk and milk porridge, hominy and milk. The same served for supper if so desired".15

The earliest reference to "mush and milk" among the Pennsylvania Germans dates from 1787, in a hu­morous article by "Stoffel Ehrlich" in a Lancaster newspaper: "In the morning I drink neither tea nor coffee, but eat my mush and milk or sour milk soup, and a piece of bacon with it, like my late father, and then end with a sip of brandy" (Ich trinke weder thee noch kaffee, esse morgens mein mosch und milch oder saure milchsupp, und ein stück speck dazu, wie mein vater seliger, und setze dann ein schluck schnaps darauf.)16 According to his biographer, Johannes Helfrich

16Neue Unpartheijische Lancaster Zeitung, September 12, 1787.
(1795-1852), Reformed minister of Eastern Pennsylvania, had two favorite dishes. One was the old-fashioned Dutch potato soup, the other—naturally—was mush (Vater aus gern Kartoffelsuppe. Es war dies nebst Mosch sein Lieblinggericht. Die Suppe musste jedenfalls mehrmals die Woche Abends aufgetischt sein).\textsuperscript{a}

Although mush was a universal American pioneer dish, the Pennsylvania Germans have added their own flavor and technique to its preparation. They used yellow field corn (gelbe Welschkorn) for their “mushmeal” but before taking it to mill for grinding they roasted the ears in the oven which imparted a toasted, nutty flavor to the meal. This roasting of corn before milling appears to be limited to the Pennsylvania German culture and the Brandywine Valley in Delaware. As reason for this geographical limitation Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker has suggested that the Pennsylvania Germans consistently had large outdoor bakeovers while some of the other early ethnic groups did not. Large quantities of corn could not practically be roasted over the fireplaces where cooking was done in most pioneer homes. It seems probable that the Pennsylvania German settlers, with their outdoor bakeoven tradition (part of their Continental heritage) developed the added refinement of roasted cornmeal as their contribution to early American corn-culture.

There was a time in the 20th Century when mush, for city dwellers, was looked down upon as a kind of old-fashioned, poverty dish. Today, now that cornmeal is an “in” food again one finds rows of commercial bags of cornmeal in American supermarkets. But alas, most of it is white unroasted cornmeal shipped up from Southern mills. It is only in the smaller country stores and specialty shops that the Pennsylvania German roasted cornmeal can be bought.

(b) The effects of the Temperance Movement upon Pennsylvania German housekeeping and mores were widespread. The temperance movement, one of the most curious examples of religious taboo in history, invaded most of the American Protestant churches in the 19th Century. Temperance was one of the major thrusts of the Evangelical-Revivalist-Reform movement (partially derivative from Continental Pietism) which radically changed the life style of large groups of the population of the British Isles and of the United States. Actually, as recent scholarship has pointed out, temperance was a middle-class wedge separating the upper and lower classes, both of which of course continued the earlier general drinking habits of colonial America.

In the colonial era, hard liquor flowed freely as part of family entertaining as well as those social gatherings where the folk community gathered, e.g., baptisms, weddings, funerals, militia mustering, tavern dances, harvest frolies.\textsuperscript{b} Liquor was served to the men working in the harvest fields, it was dispensed at the country store to customers, and it was part of tavern meals from breakfast to supper. After the temperance reform, drinking, like some of the older folk-cultural amusements and recreations, was made into a sin. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Evangelicalism (in America: Revivalism) broke up not only the old historic sense of the Church with its socially celebrated rites of passage, but at the same time destroyed the folk-cultural concomitants of many of these social events. In individualizing Protestantism and centering it in the conversion experience, revivalism divided families and broke up both historic church and folk-culture.

Because of the widespread influence of the temperance movement upon various American groups, churches and sects, one has to speak of “pre-temperance” and “post-temperance” eras in their history. The drinking habits of the Pennsylvania Germans before the temperance movement came to Pennsylvania are easily documentable. Eastern Pennsylvania had the heaviest concentration of distilleries in early America. The Scotch-Irish developed rye and corn whiskey as a substitute for the universal drink of the colonial era, rum. Of Eastern Pennsylvania counties, it was Lancaster County, with its heavy concentration of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Swiss Mennonites, which led in the production of whiskey in the early Republic. Today, curiously enough, Pennsylvania’s Mennonites have adopted the temperance stance and it is very difficult to find them expressing interest in their ancestral distilling prowess. One of Pennsylvania’s finest whiskeys, known earlier as “Old Monogahela” Whiskey, from Western Pennsylvania, is today known commercially as “Old Overholt,” named for the Mennonite farmer of Westmoreland County who first opened the distillery.

Nowhere is the post-temperance view of the pre-temperance era expressed more pointedly than in a Pennsylvania genealogy of 1876. The author was thirty years old, a Pennsylvania German farm boy who had just graduated from college and theological seminary of a denomination whose upper echelons had accepted the temperance reform. His accepting of temperance as normative for religion led him to rationalize the everyday use of liquor by his ancestors. He found it especially hard to understand the will of his emigrant ancestor, dated 1775, which provided many gallons of the best whiskey per annum to the widow. His comments show how Americanized in religion the young preacher was, for he shared the pietistic moralism and temperance mind-set which 19th Century Revivalism had fastened upon Protestant America. In commenting on the provision to write:

This seemed very strange to us, and no doubt will to the reader; and we could not become reconciled as to the meaning of this clause until we made inquiry of some old persons, when we were informed that at that time there were but few practising physicians, and every family had to be prepared for any emergency, they had different


\textsuperscript{b}For the consumption of liquor in early America in general, see the chapter on the temperance movement in Alice Felt Tyler, \textit{Freedom’s Ferment} (Minneapolis, 1914).

COUNTRY DEALERS AND HUCKSTERS!  
READ GEO. A. FREY'S PROCLAMATION!

GEO. A. FREY, Connoisseur, at 112 West Broad Street, has just received the first of his kind, the best of French and Common Candies, Crackers, Taffy, Fresh Cakes, etc., etc., etc.

These articles are all of the best kind, and special reductions are offered to Country Store Keepers and Hucksters, Call and see.

Allentown, February 10.

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Newspaper advertisements provide the scholar with plentiful evidence of local foods, kitchen implements, food retailing methods, and terminology. These advertisements appeared in The Allentown Democrat for February 14, 1866.

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kinds of roots and herbs in bottles of whiskey, which was then used as medicine. We do not sanction this mode of doctoring, yet at that time, when whiskey was pure and unadulterated, it was probably the best method to be had."

In other words, the temperance-minded 19th Century American Protestant outlook, so typically and stubbornly American, was entirely different from the pre-temperance 18th Century culture, where whiskey had not only medicinal purposes but was used widely in entertaining, in the harvest, and at community gatherings as well. Maybe the old lady even liked her Schnaps, but of this we get no hint from the young preacher. He is teetotally opposed to whiskey in any form, and his understanding of its commonness in the 18th Century world, when it was accepted by most Pennsylvanians without protest, makes him distort his description of his forefathers' world.

5. PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN REACTIONS TO CHANGES IN FOOD TECHNOLOGY

The greatest change in cooking technology in Pennsylvania until the 20th Century was undoubtedly the shift from the open hearth style of cooking of the pioneer period to the kitchen range (stove) in the 1840's to the 1870's.

The Pennsylvania Germans had essentially two cooking areas, the open hearth in their kitchen, and a free-standing outdoor bakeoven in the yard. Sometimes also there was a summer kitchen or butcher- and wash-house where water could be heated and large operations of food preparation, as for example the making of meat products at butchering time, could be taken care of. In addition there were on the Pennsylvania German farm springhouses (dairy buildings) and smokehouses (for drying meats) and dry-houses (for drying fruits and vegetables), which were connected with cookery in the largest sense of the word.

The commonest dishes of the Pennsylvania German farmers—auerkraut, schnitz um gnepp, potzic, musch, and pickles—changed little.

examples of this type of source material comes from the novel Norwood (New York, 1868), by Henry Ward Beecher. In the story a New England soldier, wounded at Gettysburg, was billeted on a Pennsylvania Quaker farm. While the soldier lies recuperating in the farmhouse his New England girlfriend, who has come to nurse him, is shown the farm by the farmer’s daughter Martha.

"What is that?" said Rose, pointing to a queer stack of bricks under a tile shed close by the house.

"That is our oven," said Martha.

"What—out of doors? We build ours into the kitchen chimney?"

It is the way of our fathers. The other perhaps is more convenient."

Which accnts the fact that in the 19th Century Pennsylvania farmers were familiar with the outdoor bakeoven as part of their cultural landscape, the New England Yankee was not.

When the range replaced the open hearth, the range was at first set into the fireplace hole and the original chimney used. After the Civil War, when houses were built without fireplaces, the kitchen stove-pipe was often inserted up through one of the bedrooms to provide a little warmth to the frigid sleeping quarters in winter. But more important, the wood or coal ranges, which were in use from the 1840's into the 20th Century, when coal oil, gas, and electric ranges took their place, displaced both open hearth and bakeoven as cooking areas. In fact, the ranges attempted to combine for the housewife all of the tasks once performed in the fireplace and bakeoven. Frying and stewing could be accomplished on top of the iron stove, water could be heated in a special water compartment, and best of all, a relatively large baking space was available for bread and pies and other baked dishes. For this and other reasons, including the smaller size of families in the 20th Century, the large outdoor bakeovens, so much a dist-

In my preliminary remarks on historical documentation I refer to local color novels as a source for our understanding of regional cookery. One of my favorite

"History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania (Chambersburg, 1894)."


"J. T. Stewart, Indiana County, Pennsylvania: Her People, Past and Present. 2 volumes (Chicago, 1913), I. 21.

"The only decent overall study of the bakeoven in America is included in Fred Kniffen, "The Outdoor Bakeoven in Lousiana," Louisiana History, I:1 (1960), 23-33.

"The johnny cake is naturally not, as so many Americans naïvely suppose, a direct borrowing from the American Indian, but an American adaptation of the widespread European hearth-baked bread. For the hearth-bread tradition in the British Isles, see E. Eustor Evans, Irish Heritage (Dundalk, 1946): also Caoimhin O Danachair, "Bread," Ulster Folklife, IV (1958), 29-32.

36I. H. M’Cauley, Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, 1878).
The distinctive feature of the Pennsylvania German cultural landscape, came into disuse largely by the period of the First World War. My own grandmother, for example, transferred her baking from the outdoor bakeroon to the kitchen range in 1910.

6. THE RELATION OF URBAN AND RURAL FOODS IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

One of the pressing historical problems in Pennsylvania foodways research is the historical relation of the food specialties of Philadelphia to the foods of the upcountry ethnic groups, particularly the Pennsylvania Germans. The cuisine of cities, particularly our older maritime cities, like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans, have through the years absorbed dishes from the upstate areas which they serve as market centers. Philadelphia is one of these, an important marketing center for the Pennsylvania German and Quaker settlements in Eastern Pennsylvania. For example, because of its market network, Philadelphia became famous in the 19th Century for its butter, cheese, ice cream, and other dairy products. In the farm periodicals, "Philadelphia Butter" had the highest reputation on the Eastern seaboard. It was the product largely of the nearby Quaker dairy farms of Chester and Delaware and Bucks Counties, Pennsylvania, where an elaborate butter technology was worked out, with improvements in the churn, butter tub, springhouse and other aids to dairying.

To the tourist and the nation at large today, Philadelphia cuisine is identified by two unusual dishes, "scrapple" and "pepperpot." Pepperpot is tripe and potato chowder, and is documented back into the early 19th Century. Its origins have not fully been worked out, but the term "pepperpot" is a West Indian term, and the dish may have come into use in the wake of Philadelphia's wide shipping interests in the Caribbean. (The word pepperpot is also used in Westphalian cuisine, although in combination with other foods.)

Philadelphia Scrapple is even more renowned as a Philadelphia food. As with many distinctive regional foods, visitors (and graduate students at the University from outside the State) usually take either violent dislike to it or become inurable scrapple addicts, forcing it on family and unwary visitor alike. As the name suggests, it is manufactured of "scraps," in this case meat scraps from butchering, plus broth, plus flour. Poured into deep rectangular pans to solidify into cakes, it is then fried in slices as a breakfast dish. When we look for its lineage, we find the 19th Century historical sources our best help. Wilmer Atkinson's Farm Journal describes it as follows: "This is a compound of meats that seems indigenous to Eastern Pennsylvania, and is quite unknown in many sections of the country." "It takes as much meal as meat, but no buckwheat nor wheat flour. The Indian meal must be ground fine, of new corn, oven-dried before grinding." And the Editor adds, "No family in this part of the country thinks of going into winter quarters without having their larders well filled with scrapple." In an article in the same journal in 1881, we are told that "our Dutch, who introduced it (Scrapple), call it pan haus (pan hash)"

These references imply that scrapple was a generally made food on the farms of Eastern Pennsylvania, but was originally of Pennsylvania German origin. The dialect term panhaas (literally, pan rabbit) is documented in the Rhine-Palatinate from which many settlers came to Eastern Pennsylvania in the 18th Century.

Further evidence of the German-to-Philadelphian transit of scrapple is found in the manuscript diaries of a Quaker woman named Rebecca Rhoads, of Green Street Meeting, Philadelphia. Although she lived in the city of Philadelphia from the 1820's to the 1850's, Rebecca Rhoads prepared much of her own food in country ways, butchering a pig each winter to make, among other things, a dish which she called "pon horse". (In this case the "rabbit" became a "horse"). Today the term "ponhoss" is documentable in Eastern and Central Pennsylvania, along with "scrapple". The balance between the words is uneven, however, and the word "ponhoss" appears to be losing ground in favor of scrapple.

Philadelphia Scrapple is now made commercially by several butchering firms in the Philadelphia area, and is available in most supermarket meat departments. One firm, Habbersett's, of Media, boasts that it has been making scrapple since 1863. Country "ponhoss," homemade by country butchers, is still manufactured upstate, and very often can be purchased, along with Pennsylvania German Broduwarscht (farmer's sausage) and Summerswarscht (summer sausage, the country ancestor of commercial "Lebanon Bologna") at country stores in the Pennsylvania German counties.

In the case of scrapple we have a good example of a regional dish which through its migration to the major city of the area, has become a symbol of Philadelphia urban cuisine to the country at large, while its country cousin remains in the shadow. In the same way, "Boston Baked Beans" and "New England Clam Chowder," now identified with Boston, were originally regional dishes from the Yankee farm lands.

Today the influence is reversed. Prepared urban foods are remodeling the rural cuisine as part of the general urbanizing of rural life in the 20th Century.

"The Farm Journal, V:13 (December 1881), 249.

"See Hark-Barba, op. cit., pp. 15-14. Pennsylvania German Panhaas (ponhoss) is related to the German terms Panhuse, Panwaeh, and Panwarscht. For details from the Rhineland dialects, see Preston A. Barba, 'S Penn'sylwanisch Deitsch Eck, The Morning Call (Allentown, Pennsylvania), December 28, 1935, and April 9, 1938.

"In the author's collection. Unlike most Quaker diaries and journals, which, like the Puritan diaries are heavily mystical and introspective, the Rhoads Diaries are domestic, reporting frequently what the diarist served for breakfast, dinner, and supper. The family also had country connections, and Rebecca reports the weekly visits of Cousin "Zekiel" who brings market goods to the Philadelphia Market every Saturday.

"Lebanon Bologna" is the only Pennsylvania German sausage specialty which has come into wide commercial sale outside the state.
The way to attack the folklore of an ethnic group in America depends on the angles from which one sees the problem. One may like to measure the persistence of the tradition of a particular folkloristic item which followed the immigrants in their exodus to the new world; another may look for revivals; while a third one may investigate the new kind of folklore, which has its roots here, in America.

Elements of these three approaches are utilized in this paper which deals with those material objects that the Greek-Americans consider as exerting power for their own good. Throughout this paper I shall use without distinction the English word "amulet" and "talisman," and the Greek word "phylacto" and "haimali." The "haimali," being of Turkish origin, has been adopted by the Greeks of some areas to denote the pendants mainly.

As regards the group under discussion the literature concerning the evil-eye is quite rich. A great part of Robert Georges' unpublished dissertation entitled Greek-American Folk Beliefs and Narratives (1964) covers this area, while every article which has appeared in learned folklore journals on various Greek communities in the U.S. treats the concept of the evil-eye very generously. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the talismans are vital as protection against the glance of the evil-eye their story has not attracted the students of Greek-American folklore.

For these reasons I decided to conduct my own research on this topic in the Greek community of the greater Philadelphia area. To tell the truth, my desire to work on this project was spurred after witnessing on August 29, 1969, an old lady handing over a small...
box to the priest of one of the Greek Orthodox churches at Philadelphia. She accompanied this gesture with the following words:

Father Jimmy, this is a “phylachto”. I myself made it for a young lady. I want you to keep it in the church for some days. You know, father, we the aged people have old ideas.

Because I wanted to see whether this event was an isolated phenomenon, I contacted members of the community with whom I had already established rapport, priests, and teachers of the Greek afternoon schools who led me to their classes.

In order to determine the Greek-American’s behavior toward the amulets, one should familiarize himself with the tradition on the subject in the old country. Therefore, to give the reader an adequate background, I shall give a sketchy history of this world-wide phenomenon in Greece.

If we rely on the legends the ancient Greek writers have mentioned and specific events they have saved for us, we may admit that the custom of carrying amulets had a wide dissemination. A significant passage from Plutarch will shed light on the subject. The author writes:

Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his “Ethics,” querying whether one’s character follows the bent of one’s fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellence, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.

An eminent student of the Graeco-Egyptian amulets commenting on this passage goes on to say that:

The amulet may have been a bronze plaque or a small bag containing some of the well-known “similar” supposed to be suited to the sick man’s case. The piece of Plutarch’s advice is full of connotations, for it gives us insight into the bearers of the tradition throughout the years and the psychological conditions that affect the human state of mind in times of crisis.

The most common type of amulet was made of gems, medals on which very often inscriptions were chiseled, and written charms. Segments of these talismans have come down to us in great numbers, giving the opportunity to scholars to study them. The Alexandrian expeditions culminated in the syncretism of various cultures and diverse concepts depicted in the talismans as well. Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, and Persian elements are sometimes detectable in a single specimen.

The fathers of the Christian Church sought to eradicate this custom along with other so-called “pagan” ideas. In this respect Evans gives us the following piece of information:

None the less they early came under the ban of the church; the Council of Laodicea in 335 decreed (Canon 34) not only that priests and clerks must be neither enchanters nor “mathematicians” —that is, astrologers—but also that they must not make or wear amulets, for these were “fetters of the soul.”

Yet, as happened to other pagan ideas and practices, Christianity was forced to cover with its authority the amulets that could have a religious meaning or character. The folk, however, used to feel at home in employing both religious and non-religious amulets.

In Greece, from antiquity down to our times, the art of the silversmith and the goldsmith has flourished. The last great period of florescence occurred in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Many of the ornaments these craftsmen used to make were worn as talismans, because, as Pope Zora, curator of the museum of Greek folk art says:

The attachment of the Greek people to charms and talismans is proverbial, and the diffusion of these objects throughout the country has been immense. The haimalia, when made of plain cloth, consist of a square, round or triangular silver

Ibid., pp. 2, 5, 9, 39.
Ibid., p. 21.
Ibid.
Ibid., p. 21.
Ibid., p. 31
sheath, large or small, in which the superstitious placed every kind of charm, funerary flowers, fragments of the True Cross, unicorn’s horns, etc. The sheath, generally reserved for the preservation of charms, is decorated with presentations in relief of Saints and hangs on a light chain from the neck. Often, when it acquires larger dimensions, it is enriched with coloured stones, a mass of thick chains and pendant objects of all kinds. It is, in fact, a very costly ornament, and is either attached to the belt or worn round the neck like the yordania [necklaces].

Of course today, although this sort of craftsmanship is still blossoming, the kind of talisman referred to is not in fashion, for the number of those who wear the national costume decreases. Instead, the type of sewed bags containing a bunch of objects and a written incantation is most popular. This type is made mainly by old women, nuns, monks, and priests of churches, shirines and monasteries the country over. Consequently the “phylyachtai” of religious character prevail.

Yet, I should make clear at this moment that despite Zora’s assertion and despite the fact that, according to a report in Newsweek,” the Greek prime minister adorns his desk with a framed religious charm, it does not mean that every single Greek of today and the past wears or used to wear an amulet. Pericles’ case was given by Theophrastus as an example of bad mood. I got the opportunity to test the frequency of use of amulets by questioning many newcomers to the U.S. Recently Philadelphia has accepted a great number of new immigrants who took advantage of President Johnson’s law of immigration. When questioned, many of these people answered that they ignore this practice.

Under the circumstances, one could guess that the Greek-Philadelphians even if they happened to be followers of this custom would not any longer exercise it. However, this is not true. Without giving numbers or details Georges mentions that the same thing takes place in the Greek community of sponge-fishers at Tarpon-Springs, Florida”. While the profession of these people explains their attitude, the work of those living in Philadelphia does not. At the proper time I shall discuss the reasons which cause this phenomenon to continue in the group I studied.

The amulets most fashionable among Greek-Americans are those worn under the clothes. Their efficacy is considered to be increased because of their concealment. Many were unaware of the extent of their friends wearing of amulets. In some cases I had the feeling that the individual tried to avoid revealing their knowledge. This mainly occurred when I failed to ask someone to introduce me to them.

In this respect the idea of visiting the schools proved to be very successful, because when I contacted the parents of the children I chose for further investigation, I was able to overcome their reluctance by stating that I already knew that their children wear “phylyachtai”. Their confidence was obtained after I had passed the test they set for me.

Strange enough, the tests followed the same structure. That is, at the beginning they gave me few typical answers and then, all of a sudden, they requested my permission in order that they might address some questions to me. They asked me, for instance, if I were a collector or seller of amulets or if I wished to influence the people to wear amulets. A few persons, understandably, even asked me whether I was working for another denomination or intended to sell these secrets to people of another creed. As soon as I elucidated my scholarly purpose they released the whole body of information.

A few extracts of my discussions with some of my informants will give you insight into the degree of circulation of the practice of wearing amulets among the members of this group. A priest of Saint George Cathedral pointed out to me that:

As far as I know many members of my parish wear amulets. They either bring them from Greece or make them here. Very often they bring a home-

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made amulet to church and leave it here for blessing.

The priest of Saint Demetrios had this to say:

As well as bringing a sick person to be blessed, some women bring amulets to me to be blessed. They prefer, however, very often, to hang golden crosses around their necks. At times the cross is of the type that opens and has room for a small piece of True Cross, or flowers from “Epitaphios.”

A lady interviewee replied:

From what I can tell you a good number of Greeks wear “Phylacta.”

Another layman added: “All my neighbors have “Phylacta”.

My personal investigation in different sections of the Greek afternoon schools of two of the churches produced these results: 49 out of 95 students present at the time of my visit either wore “phylacto” or stated that they had left them at home. The percentage moved up and down according to the grades. The older students inclined to drop “Phylacta” or substitute crosses for them. I refused, however, to include in these numbers those who wear the cross, because this custom is connected with the ritual of Baptism in the Greek Orthodox Church. The godfather or godmother has to provide a cross for the baptised child and put it on him or her immediately after the ceremony.

The part-time wearers of the talismans gave the additional information that when they go on a trip or to church their mothers force them to pin the amulet inside their clothes. While everybody knew the reason for the former practice, nobody could explain the latter. When the mothers of the students of this group were asked to rationalize their failure to pin amulets on their children everyday, they replied in this style:

I do not put the amulets on them everyday, because I am scared they will lose them.

Or this:

I do not always pin the amulets to my children because it happened that I forgot to take it off their underwear and I dropped it into the washing machine. This, you know, is a great sin.

The adults carrying amulets do not score so high as their children. Nevertheless, a good number of parents or grandparents did admit that they follow the custom. Though both men and women wear “phylacta,” women only are the suppliers of this product. The students made mention of the grandmother, the mother, or other female relative as the donatrix of this “phylacto.” In this donating the godmother holds a distinguished place.

The godmother is deemed not only the spiritual mother of the child but also, according to the structure of the Greek kinship system, as a member of the extended family. The practice of having “coumbaria,” a Greek word for sponsorship and godparenthood but richer in connotation, keeps functioning in the U.S. as well. Owing to this relationship an outsider may take advantage of belonging to a family.

To stress the importance of this belonging to the family, I shall step aside from the subject in order to give you an example which will illuminate the case. A number of Greek congressmen have benefited by the system. Having performed many a “coumbaria” they have obtained the right to be considered members of each of these families and consequently the privilege to be the exclusive candidate of these families.

The predominant type of talisman here is of religious character. From the sheaf of the protective objects of non-religious origin only the blue and yellow beads and stones managed to survive. The rest are: pendants bearing images of various Saints, crosses which open and provide a place for a fragment of sacred wood or True Cross or other sacred object. Rings carrying the name of Jerusalem show up as


See also R. Georges, “Matiasma: Living Folk Belief,” p. 69.

See also L. Hansmann and L. Kris-Rettenbeck, Amulett und Talisman (Munich, 1966), p. 122.

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well. The most common style consists of a bunch of small things bound together in an amulet of a round, triangular, quadrangular, rectangular or heart shape. A variety of nominally sacred objects forms the raw material which the amulets of this last category are made of. That is, a piece of the True Cross; flowers from "Epitaphios"; flowers from the Easter church; pieces of wooden icons; relics of Saints; parts of the attire or the slippers of the Saint whose body or part of it is found in certain churches; earth or small stones from the famous shrines of Greece or the Holy Sepulchre; a written "bashkania" (charm); flowers from the Sepulchre of the Virgin Mary; a piece of cotton dipped in the oil of a Saint's lamp or from that of the service of the extreme unction; a piece of cotton dipped in blessed water; incense; wax of the Good Friday and Resurrection candles. This wax must be a pure one, from bees only, for as an informant justified it: The bee is the only sinless insect because it propagates its species with . . . (she couldn't say the word) as Jesus Christ was born, through the Holy Spirit. In the same way the bees propagate without, to say, without . . . (she paused again), not like all the others.

The objects that have been chosen to constitute the "phylachto" are wrapped in cloths that previously covered the sacred Table. Lacking this, any other material is permitted, as long as it is clean. The sewing must be done with a special kind of stitch, the so-called cross-stitch. The embroidery of the shape of the cross is considered an indispensable element of this kind of amulet. Sometimes the surface of the talismans is covered by embroidered blue, yellow, red beads, or a combination of them. In this case the background is usually blue and the cross red or white. Obvious is the merging of religious and non-religious influences on this amulet. The same thought applies to the "phylachto" which present a painted eye on one corner. The eye motif as well as the various shapes of talismans discussed are easily traced back to Graeco-Egyptian antiquity. In spite of the amulet's pagan connections, when the informants were able to give any symbolic meaning of the form or the painting of the "phylachto," they preferred to correlate those with Christianity. To be more specific, the triangular amulets were always explained as symbolizing the Holy Trinity. As far as the eye is concerned they like to associate it with the God who can see everywhere instead of its obvious connection to the evil-eye.

There are five sources from which the Greek-Philadelphians obtain their amulets:

1. The Greek Monasteries and Shrines. All over the country of Greece are spread monasteries, shrines, and churches which possess miraculous icons, miraculous springs, and relics of Saints. On the top of the list of sacred places stands the church of Panagia (The Very Holy One, i.e., the Virgin Mary) of the island of Tenos. The itinerary of the Greek-American visitors to Greece usually provides a stop in some of these areas.
2. The Holy Land. Alone or in groups they go as pilgrims to the Holy Land and are baptised in the Jordan river. Here I should point out that a difference is noticed from the pilgrims from Greece. After the pilgrimage is over the latter usually lengthen their name by adding the prefix Hatjes—a word of Arabic origin which means pilgrim. Unlike the latter, the former, i.e., the American-Greeks, because of their tendency to shorten their names, do not practice the custom. Yet, they too very proudly assert that they have become Hatjedes.
3. Indirect ways of obtaining the amulets. This category presents some variants; for example:
   a. Sewed amulets or raw material sent by relatives who visited these sacred places, sometimes at the request of those here.
   b. Amulets sent by nuns, priests, monks of the places the Greek-Americans had previously visited. They very often keep their contact with these religious personages.
   c. Amulets brought by friends or relatives who visited the Holy places.
   d. Amulets brought by nuns, priests, or monks who came here to raise money for the erection of some church in Greece.
   e. Amulets bought in Greek shops in Philadelphia and New York. However, they seldom utilize this source.
4. Amulets made here by women. Though some claimed a kind of improvisation, the material used, the form, and the type of sewing of the amulet follows the traditional pattern.
5. The last category consists of the use of raw material only as an amulet. E.g., wax of the Easter church which the people turn into a cross; blessed flowers they put in their wallets or handbags, and so on.
   In spite of the fact that, as we have already mentioned, the Greek-Americans carry amulets of the predominantly religious type, it does not mean that only devout, or fanatically religious persons wear them. My findings showed that while some faithful denied any connection with the performance of this custom, others who were very sophisticated confessed practicing it. This thought is in accord with Bonner's observation that:

Nowadays one type of Christian may wear the image of a saint in all reverence, gaining a certain comfort of mind from the constant remembrance of a power beyond himself; to another such an image may become a mere lucky piece, which, he
hopes, may give him an undeserved deliverance from the consequences of his escapades.\(^6\)

I was supplied with a striking example of this last case by an old lady who enumerated a considerable number of miracles that a small round icon of St. Nektarios had performed for her or friends of her. Among her stories the following was included:

One day we went to the park where the boys were playing soccer with the Italians. To be noted there are two Greek soccer teams in Philadelphia, Olympic and Hercules. The game was very important for the winner would take the bowl. We were losing. All were very sad. A little before the end of the game I decided to call John, the chief of our team, and give him this icon. I do not know how this happened but right after that he kicked the ball to the heights and this came down to the goal of the other team. After the game was over he refused to return the icon to me. For several days I had tried, in vain, to have it back. Finally I got it, because I promised that I would give another one to him.

I was lucky enough to witness the soccer player's attitude. The day I was interviewing the lady he came asking for the icon. That very afternoon they had a game again.

The employment of the religious or nominally religious amulets is one of the areas where, according to Dr. Yoder, the official and folk religions cross boundaries.\(^9\) Looking at the viewpoints of both the officials of the church and the laymen we find differences in acceptance of amulets at the level of individuals but not of groups. Some priests accept amulets and others do not; some laymen accept amulets and others do not. The diversity of the opinions I have selected to present shortly, I hope, will help you to apprehend my point.

One informant stated:

Some people say these [the amulets] are crazy things. I, however believe; I believe very much. Along these lines another informant expressed her opinion as follows:

I always try to have these [the amulets]; I want them because I think that something may happen to my children when they do not wear them . . . . I believe; I myself at least. Last year I almost lost my daughter. But, I think, I do not know, I think the God, maybe the Saint (she implied Saint Gerasimos) saved her. I believe very much. Some hold the opinion that the layman himself has absolutely no right to make an amulet.\(^7\) Others see no reason why not to make "phylacta"; they base their conviction on the fact that the component parts of the amulet have been blessed.\(^8\) A third group stands in between. It compromises the two contrasting theories by sending the "phylacta" they make to church or keep them in the sacred corner of the house for certain days to be blessed.\(^9\) The latter is also the place where a worn-out amulet finds room.

I have already mentioned briefly the officials of the sacred places who make amulets. A contributor to this work added the information that in Cyprus the priest himself prepares the talisman. Besides the other objects, he puts a written prayer bearing the name of the individual who is going to wear it.\(^10\)

The reactions of my priest informants are given below. One said:

I do not think they carry amulets here. These are not Christian. The "horaites" [countrymen] used to carry stones, snake skins, etc. But they are not allowed to do these things. They hang around their necks only the cross.

\(^5\)Bonner, op. cit., p. 6.


\(^7\)Reported by one informant.

\(^8\)Reported by five informants.

\(^9\)Reported by one informant.

\(^10\)See also Kris, op. cit., p. 57.
To my question as to what is his opinion about the amulets the people bring from Tenos, Jerusalem and so on, he promptly replied:

"Ah! Ah! These are all right. These are Christian. A second priest announced my project to the congregation and requested the support of my work. A third one refused to repeat his colleague's action because he disliked his involvement in the promotion of these beliefs. As he further stated:

"These are harmless things that we cannot fight because of the tradition and because we cannot substitute something else for them. We must let them die out. Sometimes for psychological reasons they work.

As you might have noticed personal experience counts not the dogma or the instructions of the fathers of the church. Where tradition backs personal experience, man, regardless of his degree of sophistication, puts these notions into his own cognitive system and rationalizes them. If the associations of these ideas with crucial moments of his life are very strong, it is very difficult for him to alienate himself from them. Under the circumstances, the church prefers her members to wear a fragment of a Saint's foot rather than a "rabbit's foot".

This discussion leads us to the main factors which exert influence on the Greek-Americans to pin "phylacter" within their garments. It seems that the pan-hellenic belief in the evil-eye gets its play at this point. Georges has proved that first and second generations of the Greek-Americans do not question the harmful results of the evil-eye. From my own research I came to the conclusion that amulets against the evil-eye are used when we deal mainly with children.

As regards the engagement of the talisman to avert the evil-eye I observed that these are used chiefly with children up to five or six years old. From then on other dangers take the place of the evil-eye. It is these last dangers which plague man throughout the rest of his life. The adults wearing amulets want to drive away these dangers.

If people had been since their early childhood trained for a dangerous life, the objects exerting protective power would become an inseparable part of their life, as in the case, for instance, of the sponge-divers of Tarpon Springs. On the contrary, if a man's profession does not risk losses, damages, and other perils, amulets are not so widely used. The door is, however, always opened to reconsideration when something fearful takes place.

I think a large number of Greek-Philadelphians belong to this last category, that of the undecided. Many informants admitted that they could not remember having an amulet in all their life until in considerably recent times they decided to have one."

Dorson has indicated the significance of some institutions within the Greek communities in the endurance and prosperity of certain folk traditions. He him-

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*Georges, "Greek-American Folk Beliefs and Narratives," p. 90.

*Reported by five informants.

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self deems the visit to the old country a very important factor in the reinforcement of tradition. We may test this statement by using the talismans as means.

In virtue of the special functions the church has in the U.S., the Greek-Americans are more church-oriented than their relatives in the old country. Thus, when they decide to go to Greece they schedule visits to the famous churches, monasteries, and shrines of that country and the Holy Land. As a matter of fact they very often get knowledge of the existence of some minor sacred locations for the first time here from compatriots who came from those areas.

Thanks to American money, they seem open-handed to the officials of these places, who respond accordingly. So the officials, whether nuns, monks, priests or others, may classify them among the benefactors, supporters, and founders of the institution. Consequently the pilgrims entertain the privilege of seeing their names printed in bulletins or of being praised publicly in the services. In addition to this, the officials as an acknowledgement of gratitude offer a sheaf of amulets. If the visitors are lucky they may see a miracle performed. As an informant illustrated, "My brothers and sisters do not believe these things. They should go there to see with their own eyes".

The communication does not stop at the moment the people leave the Holy place. Contact continues as the trade of amulets continues. A good number of informants showed me their correspondence with those I called officials. The seed for the growth of the belief in the efficacy of talismans is already there. Either because it is a gift, or a proof of their gratitude, or because the nun or the monk made them cautious about giving these sacred objects to non-believers, for they fall into sin by throwing them away, our men start for the first time in their life carrying amulets or keeping them in the sacred corner of the house. Of course, if they have children, or grandchildren or
other young relatives they give of their extra amulets to them."

The further development of the belief among those who started it here depends on events which occur to them personally or to other members of the circle of relatives and friends. No doubt this is up to the personality of the individual. Hildburgh points out that:

"There is the instinctive tendency to associate mentally things which make an approximately similar impression upon one of the senses...and to dissociate them only after experience or consideration; and since backward peoples and uneducated persons are not normally given to efforts of reasoned thought, associations of the kind are apt to persist."

Though I match my thoughts with the statement pertaining to associations, I have to disagree with the notion that only backward or uneducated people do not question things very hard. The examples of Piercles, the Greek prime minister, students of all levels of education and quite a number of my informants are not to be taken as such. Furthermore, many of the drivers who wear St. Christopher's medals, or gamblers who carry charms definitely are not uneducated. It makes no difference if instead of using religious amulets they employ nominally religious or non-religious ones. What makes the real difference between one educated and another uneducated is the fact that the former knows how to hide his beliefs more carefully than the latter.

As far as the Greek-Americans are concerned the degree of maintenance of this belief is dependent on the strength of the tradition within the family and the community, on the psychological climate created at the visits in the shrines, and on the contemporary American life which stimulates their fantasy.

Since the environment plays its part in the survival, revival, or in the new creation of the tradition of amulets, I shall turn to the factors given by the interviewees as reason for wearing the "phylachta". Segments from my conversations will illustrate the views.

1. Possible dangers involved in a long or short trip. A trip always excites people, for the possibility of an accident is always present. Therefore, protective objects are carried. The widespread use of St. Christopher's image casts light on the case. The Greek-Philladelphians, however, prefer to carry their own amulets. They do it even if they refuse to wear them everyday. An interviewee attributed the miraculous escape from two automobile accidents to the fact that both times she was holding the small icon of St. Nektarios.

Another one very promptly stated:

"I am accustomed to it. I always carry "phylachta" and icons when we go on a trip. I like to have them with me; I like them."

2. Violence, the acute problem of the big American cities, has its share in influencing their behavior. The talismans calm their fears. The following excerpt of a discussion makes clear this view.

Col.: Do children only wear amulets or adults too?
Inf.: No, adults too. My husband carries one. I myself have one too. Sure.
Col.: I thought children only wear them.
Inf.: Yes, children do. But, to tell you the truth, in this country we everyday, now, face dangers.

3. Stories of how an amulet saved the life of a soldier claim a wide distribution in Greece. The American involvement in the Korean and Vietnamese wars have had as results for many American-Greeks to go to these fronts as soldiers. Their mothers, friends or relatives supplied or supply them with this strange kind of protective shield. I was told a story of a man who attributed his rescue at a fight in Korea to a small image of St. Eustathios his mother had given him. Since then the entire family observes the Saint's day. An informant revealed to me that she has made "phylachta" for her children and those she knows who go to the war in Vietnam.

4. It is generally admitted that serious illness changes the character of man and makes him to rationalize ideas that in previous normal conditions he could not even think. This forms the last main factor which affects such a belief. See how a lady explained to me the reason her husband wears "phylachta":

"The nuns pinned the amulet on him. They prepared it especially for him. They send "phylachta" every time and again. I myself believe but I do not carry an amulet. He wears one because, you know, he suffers from his heart. I have told you the story how this protected him when the doctors had said there was no hope."

Georges makes the point that we cannot infer the disappearance of a custom in an ethnic group from what happened to another group. I would like to narrow this statement by adding that even within the same group differences do exist owing to unlike environmental conditions they meet, professions they carry on, and their degree of belonging to the old culture. The reasons the Greeks of Tarpon Springs wear amulets may, to some extent, differ from those of the Philadelphia-Greeks. As far as the latter are concerned three tendencies seem to co-exist, that of perpetuation of tradition, revival of tradition, and new creation.

"Georges, "Greek-American Folk Beliefs and Narratives," pp. 133-134.
WORK and the FARMER:
The Almanac as Cultural Index, 1858-1898

By ANGUS K. GILLESPIE

Farm work in Pennsylvania during the Civil War years was hard work. By the turn of the century it was still hard work, but the farmer's attitude toward it had changed. Work was no longer an end in itself. Leisure was rediscovered. Indeed the last half of the 19th Century brought about dramatic changes in the farmer's attitude toward work and leisure, which were reflected in the popular rural almanacs of the period. A close examination of the Agricultural Almanac published by John Barc of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, reveals a decline in emphasis in expressions of the value of work.

Specifically in the Agricultural Almanac a significant change was observed in the design of calendar woodcuts. The early woodcuts proudly show busy scenes of back-breaking farm labor; the later woodcuts tend to romanticize farm life and portray moments of idyllic leisure and merrymaking. Although this article is confined to a single almanac, a more extensive study might show that the art of popular rural almanacs, observed over a period of years, has validity as an index to cultural change.

Intellectual concern over the changing role of the farmer is not confined to Pennsylvania. It is a problem of long standing in the study of American civilization. Leo Marx in The Machine and the Garden shows that it has been studied variously as "rural values" (Hofstadter), the "agrarian myth" (Hofstadter), the "Old Republican idyll" (Meyers), or "the myth of the garden" (Smith). The essential problem frequently comes back to the inherent contradiction in the simple happy yeoman who produces for the commodity market with the use of sophisticated machinery. The independent little yeoman found himself at the mercy of large social and economic forces over which he had no control. Since the magnitude of this problem was so great, it seems reasonable to propose that the crisis would find expression in popular American rural almanacs.

Let us examine briefly the crisis which faced the farmer. In the 19th Century farming in America shifted in scale from a small self-sustaining unit to a large-scale business operation. Siegfried Gideon has mustered impressive statistics to illustrate the shift: In 1838 seventy-eight bushels of grain a year. And during the war years 1861-1865 the average shipping was twenty million bushels per year.

This phenomenal increase in productivity was due in large measure, Gideon points out, to the perfection of the mechanical reaper during the period 1850-1880. The Civil War served to intensify the trend as shown by the fact that in 1862 the industry delivered 35,000 mechanical reapers and that by 1864 the figure had reached 70,000. Gideon proceeds to trace the social consequences of mechanization on the farmer which broadly fall into six categories: 1) reduction in work hours, 2) rising productivity, 3) consolidation into large farms, 4) phasing out of the small tenant, 5) dependence on the stock exchange, and 6) fear of overproduction. These facts seem to suggest that the farmer was losing a secure economic niche based on the traditional


Fig. 1. Roman Farmer's Calendar. From George Lyman Kittredge, The Old Farmer and His Almanack (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920).
tional values of hard work and success. Therefore in our examination of almanac art we might reasonably expect and even predict less frequent portrayal of scenes of farm work and increasing portrayal of other things including leisure activities. Perhaps for the farmer, hard work no longer seemed like its own reward; and perhaps he, like his city-dwelling factory worker cousin, began to look for a larger share of the blessings of a bounteous America.

By the time of the Civil War, as has been pointed out, many technical innovations had reached the farmer, but the belief that the moon and the zodiac had a profound influence on the raising of crops and livestock was far from dead. The reliable source book for such astrological data was the almanac, which has a long history in western civilization. Perhaps the earliest ancestor of the almanac was the Roman farmer’s calendar (Fig. 1). The calendar shown was made of a block of marble, inscribed on all four sides, three months to a side. It is basically a calendar with notes for farmers concerning crops, livestock, orchards, astronomy, and festivals.

Another ancestor of the almanac was the French Book of Hours (Fig. 2). This book, sometimes called the Lay Folk’s Prayer-Book, was popular in the 14th Century. It was considerably more elaborate than a mere calendar. Each contained at least eight elements: 1) a Calendar, 2) Passages from the Gospels, 3) Private Prayers, 4) The Hours, 5) The Seven Penitential Psalms, 6) The Litany of the Saints, 7) The Vigils of the Dead, and 8) Seven Psalms on Christ’s Passion. As shown in the illustration, the printers often took elaborate care with the borders and decorative elements.

Calendars in book form were among the first books to have title page illustrations (Fig. 3). The title page shown was produced in Germany in 1476, and is said to be the first artistic title page as yet discovered. The design features a small central blank shield flanked by conventional foliage.

Another precursor of the modern almanac was the “Kalender of Shepherdes” (Fig. 4). The rather complete pictorial calendar illustrated is but one item from this large work which had lore on astronomy, farming, religion, and health. The central circle of the calendar contains two figures—a woman with a bouquet representing warm weather and a man by a bonfire representing cold weather. In the second circle are the months each represented by a appropriate activity, usually farm work. In the third ring accurately par-

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Fig. 3. Early Calendar Illustration, 1476. From Kittredge.

Fig. 4. The Circle of the Months (The Kalender of Shepherdes, 1503). From Kittredge.
celled out for the months are the signs of the zodiac."

The present-day almanac represents a combination of three traditional publications: 1) the "Kalender," 2) The "Almanack," and 3) The "Prognostication." The Kalender (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4) had a list of days and religious festivals set up in such a way that it could be used year after year. The Almanack was specific for a certain year since the astronomical data it presented was intrinsically based on the changing relationships of the earth, moon, sun, and stars. The almanac had to be replaced every year. The Prognostication, also specific for the year, had fanciful and superstitious predictions about personal life and politics based on the principles of astrology."

The importance of the almanac as a ready reference work is illustrated by the fact that the first published book in America was an almanac. It was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639 by William Peirce, Mariner." The best known almanac in America is The World Almanac, second only to the Bible as the all-time American best seller. Although no sales records were kept between 1868, its first year, and 1932; since 1932 it has sold more than twenty-one million copies. The World Almanac carries not only the usual astronomical data, but also all kinds of extra information on politics, sports records, and the like. The oldest continually published almanac in America is The Old Farmer's Almanac originally published by Robert B. Thomas. This old almanac was a 100,000 best seller when the country had a population of only four million. It still enjoys steady sales year after year, and its weather forecasts can be surprisingly accurate."

The Agricultural Almanac chosen for this essay enjoys neither the antiquity of The Old Farmer's Almanac nor the wide circulation of The World Almanac. Its advantage is that it is a very good local almanac set up primarily for Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It was modeled on the old German-language almanacs which the publisher, John Baer of Lancaster, also used to produce. The Agricultural Almanac made its first appearance in 1825. Its local nature and traditional features have given it a rather consistent appearance and steady sales."

It is clearly beyond the scope of this essay to investigate sophisticated topics of communications theory like the relationship between circulation figures and actual readership. Even more difficult are the related problems of publication impact on readership and editorial sensitivity to readership tastes. We would like to assume that almanacs were widely read and frequently consulted, especially in rural 19th Century America, but we recognize that it is difficult to prove. However, in lieu of better evidence we shall refer to three commentators on the almanac's influence.

In 1786 Dr. Nathanael Low in an article entitled "On Almanacks" wrote:

"... it is easy to prove that no book we read (except the Bible) is so much valued, and so serviceable to the community. Almanacks serve as clocks and watches for nine-tenths of mankind; and in fair weather are far more sure and regular than the best time-piece manufactur'd here or in London." In 1899 Annie Russell Marble wrote an article on almanacs which appeared in the New England Magazine. She wrote:

"... they are valuable revelations of mental tastes during the first century of Colonial history ..." They preceded, by more than fifty years, newspapers, primers, and nearly all the secular volumes printed in New England. This book-stilled generation can scarcely realize the zavalous interest and respect given to these early almanacs, whose literature, first limited to astronomical calculations, was gradually expanded to include astrology, geology, history, epigrams, riddles and prose and poetic efforts, often apposite and stimulating."

Finally in 1878 Moses Coit Tyler in History of American Literature described the almanac as:

"... the one universal book of modern literature, the supreme and only literary necessity even in households where the Bible and the newspaper are still undesired and unattainable luxuries." It was possible to survey the changes made in the Agricultural Almanac over a long period of time—from 1858 to 1896 because of excellent archives available at the Chester County Historical Society at West Chester, Pennsylvania. Actually choice of the year 1858 is completely arbitrary. However the central problem of our concern—the conflict between the yeoman farmer and the businessman farmer—is thrown into bold relief by two events in 1858. It was in 1858 that Emerson delivered his moving address on farming, much in the style of the French physiocrats, entitled "The Man with the Hoe," at the Massachusetts Cattle Show. It was also in 1858 that McCormick made 4,095 reapers. The lines of battle were clearly drawn. In the end the ideological forces of the yeoman were defeated by those of the businessman, and the years of struggle we shall see left their mark in the woodcuts of the contemporary almanac.

As an artistic medium the most important property of the woodcuts in terms of the almanac is the simple and easily overlooked fact that the design once cut is repeatable indefinitely. It can be incorporated into the lockup of the printing press along with the movable type. The artist however pays a heavy price for gaining repeatability. Since a mechanical process intervenes between the artist and the finished product, a good deal of additional work and planning must be done in comparison to a drawing or painting. In the relief process what appears is that which was not cut away, hence the work must be conceived largely in terms of..."
The significance of all this for the viewer may well be just as Marshall McLuhan explains: that the reader must in effect “complete” the image since the simple lines merely suggest the picture. The woodcut, then, is like the television image—a cool medium, since the viewer has to supply what is missing. Following McLuhan’s logic a step farther, one could say that the almanac itself is a cool medium. The welter of astronomical and astrological data requires close attention both to decipher and interpret. Even the prognostications are purposefully vague and demand imaginative and responsive reading in order to assume meaning. Considered in this light, the almanac may be considered a challenging piece of reading for which the woodcut is the one uniquely suitable medium of illustration.

Undoubtedly the definitive work in this field to date is Milton Drake’s bibliographic study Almanacs of the United States, which has some 14,000 entries. For example Drake has assigned the Agricultural Almanac for 1825 published by John Baer in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, serial number 11432. Drake’s authoritative preface explains in general terms the origins of the almanac, a story which undoubtedly applies to John Baer’s publication:

As towns grew along the coasts and rivers and highways of young America, each sizable settlement had its printer. The publication he unflaggingly produced in the fall of the year was a local almanac. The profit from its sale usually covered his expenses well into the following year. Just as the Cambridge almanac was the first book printed in British America, so almanacs are found to be the first books of most towns and of most states... Poetry grew to epic proportions; lists of roads appeared, with the names of roadside “places of entertainment”; pithy, sometimes salty, sayings (many borrowed from London authors) interspersed factual calendar data. Lengthy, romantic tales filled the back pages.

A brief history of John Baer and Sons could easily be written by following the house advertisements on the back covers of the Agricultural Almanac. The 1858 issue (Fig. 5) boasted of steam power presses and a wide variety of job printing including books, pamphlets, catalogues, cards, and handbills printed “in the English or German language, with neatness and dispatch.” In addition to being a printer, publisher, bookseller, and stationer by 1877 the firm also handled school and church furniture. By 1908 the firm had a substantial list of staple religious publications: The Wandering Soul, A Mirror of Baptism, The Christians Companion, Conversation on Saving Faith, The Gospel of Nicodemus, and The Book of Psalms. They also published a
handful of German books: Das unparteiische Gesangbuch (The Non-fictional Songbook), Der Volksfreund and Beobachter (The People's Friend and Observer), Eine unparteiische Liedersammlung (A Non-fictional Collection of Songs), Die ernsthaften Christenpflicht (The Serious Christian's Duty), and Neu verkürztes Lustgärlein (New Enlarged Garden of Desire). Undoubtedly the almanac business was successful, for by 1919 John Baer and Sons was publishing no fewer than four separate ones, namely, Agricultural Almanac, Farmer's Almanac, Housekeeper's Almanac, and Uncle Sam's Comic Almanac. Although outside the temporal scope of this paper, it is of some interest to note that the Agricultural Almanac is still being published as shown by the issue of 1971 (Fig. 6).

An enduring feature of the Agricultural Almanac has been the presentation of data based on the "science" of astrology. There are twelve constellations of the zodiac assigned fanciful names due to presumed resemblance between the configuration of the constellation and the animal or god which lends its name. The constellations do not correspond directly to the "signs" of the zodiac, since the signs divide the year into twelve equal bands. The origin of the concept of the zodiac is usually attributed to the astronomer Hipparchus, who lived about two thousand years ago; though it may go back as far as the Babylonian astronomers of the seventh century B.C.24

It is of some theoretical interest that the largely discarded theory of "gesunkenes Kulturget" works very well in explaining the intellectual phenomenon of astrology. It holds that the superstition of astrology may be a surviving fragment of what was once a highly respected scientific construct. In other words, the beliefs of the higher classes were retained by the peasant class long after the originators had given it up.25

Beyond the rather patronizing concept of "gesunkenes Kulturget," some serious scholars have advanced the notion that the whole scheme of astrology may be part of the collective unconscious of man. The term "scientia intuitiva" was applied to it by Jung, who is reported to have had horoscopes made for his patients not for predictive purposes but instead for purposes of explaining basic elements of their personalities. Jung wrote, "Today rising out of the social depths, astrology knocks at the doors of the universities, from which it was banished 300 years ago."26

Astrology has also drawn serious attention from contemporary communications scholar Marshall McLuhan who has written:

"The current interest of youth in astrology, clairvoyance, and the occult is no coincidence . . . Psychic communal integration, made possible at last by the power of the media, could create the universality of consciousness foreseen by Dante when he predicted that men would continue as no more than broken fragments until they were united into an inclusive consciousness. Mysticism is just tomorrow's science dreamed today."27

The several claims made for astrology by scholars as diverse as Jung and McLuhan make very good sense.

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25"Ibid.
26"Ibid.
27"Ibid.
when considered in light of Mircea Eliade's theories about the nature of sacred time. Eliade argues that the history of primitive religion shows that time is rendered sacred when considered as an "indeﬁnitely repeatable" cycle rather than as a straight linear sequence. Eliade explains that, "... for religious man of archaic cultures the world is renewed annually: in other words, with each year it recovers its original sanctity, the sanctity that it possessed when it came from the Creator's hands."

Although rural almanacs may contain all sorts of features including mileage tables, interest tables, lists of the presidents, and the like, the heart of the matter lies in just twenty-four pages, twelve calendar pages and twelve facing pages. A typical calendar page is shown in Fig. 7. Although the page shown happens to be that for December, 1968, the format, if not the details, is not different from that of any other month. Reading from left to right the calendar page presents for every day the liturgical anniversary, high tide time for Philadelphia, the time the moon crosses the meridian, the passage of the moon through the zodiac, the rising or setting of the moon, miscellaneous particulars (re: moon, planets, stars, and zodiac), and rising and setting of the sun. This data is often impressive in its complexity, sophistication, and accuracy. For the farmer one can appreciate that this information can be of vital importance.

The facing page for the same month (Fig. 8) presents short articles on calendar customs and geological curiosities in addition to a general weather forecast, phases of the moon, and a selection of maxims. However the item of most interest for our present purposes is the small woodcut motif which invariably appears at the top of the right hand column. These woodcuts appear in sets of twelve. In the interval studies, three different sets were used at different times. It is clear upon examination that the visual mood created by the three different sets varies greatly. In order to objectify the impression created, we can apply an elementary form of content analysis. For each of the three sets we can reduce the activity portrayed to a simple verbal description. Then we can impose a uniform question on all twelve entries to determine the chief characteristics of the set.

Consider the content analysis for the set of woodcuts used during 1858, the ﬁrst year for which we analyzed the Agricultural Almanac (Fig. 9). After reducing the icons to a verbal description, the question was posed: "Does the icon portray a traditional agricultural work activity?" As shown 67% of the icons were positive. The busiest season seemed to be the fall since September, October, and November all show work scenes. The season which seemed to be the easiest


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**COMBINATION ICONS—ALMANAC OF 1877**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>January</th>
<th>fireside sitting</th>
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<tr>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>pruning</td>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>hunting</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>strolling</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>flower watering</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>garland making</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>raking</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>travelling</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>swimming</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>piping</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>scything</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>binding</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>apple harvesting</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td>no</td>
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<td>no</td>
<td>cannon shooting</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>hunting</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>hiking</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Santa Claus</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Christmas tree</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 11 Content Analysis for Icons of 1877.
was the spring, since both April and May show leisure activities. This set of work icons was used from 1858 to 1866.

In 1868 it was replaced by a new set which emphasized the signs of the zodiac (Fig. 10). Here the standard signs are readily recognized; and, except for two instances, one would have no way of knowing that the set was intended for an agricultural audience. The question was designed to point this out: "Does the icon portray a sign of the zodiac with no portrayal of agricultural work activity in the central design?" Here 83% of the icons were positive. This astrological set was used for a two year period 1868-1869 and then replaced by the work set from 1870 to 1873. Then the astrological set made a brief comeback from 1874 to 1876; then it was finally replaced by an entirely new set in 1877.

The new set of 1877 (Fig. 11) is best described as a combination set since it featured a central zodiac sign flanked by two rural scenes, either of work or of leisure. The theoretically interesting point is that the twenty-four rural scenes showed a marked trend to portray scenes of leisure rather than of work, which had prevailed before the Civil War. The formal question took the following form: "Does the icon portray a traditional rural leisure activity?" Here 67% of the icons were positive.

The trend in stylistic sequence which has been described is perhaps best presented in graph form (Fig. 12). Before the Civil War work icons dominated the almanac. This trend continued through the Civil War years, but gave way to astrological icons shortly after the War. It is of no mean theoretical interest to note the upsurge of interest in the superstition of astrology after a period of great cultural crisis. Throughout the seventies there is some indecision whether to feature astrology or work. Finally this period of indecision is resolved in 1877 with the appearance of an entirely new set which preserves both astrology and work—but in a subordinate role to the new governing motif, leisure.

The shift in emphasis in woodcut design can perhaps be presented most effectively if we consider the three sets month by month rather than a set at a time. Consider the three designs for the month of January (Fig. 13). The design for January of 1858 may be considered anomalous, since the design does not chiefly portray work. The contented couple on the right is sitting by the fireplace. The husband is shown smoking his pipe peacefully. Although the eldest daughter on the left is shown spinning, we do not count the design as one of work since she seems to be in the minority here. The design for January of 1868 is the zodiac sign Aquarius, or the Water Boy, and is predictable. There is no hint of farm life here, either work or leisure. It is straight traditional zodiac iconography. The design for January of 1877 retains Aquarius, but he is relegated to a small central circle. Aquarius is flanked by two scenes of winter leisure activity—warming by the fire on the left and ice skating on the right.

The designs for February (Fig. 14) effectively portray the change in values. The woodcut of 1858 shows two men busy threshing in a farmyard at the door of the barn, perhaps to maximize the draft. The design of 1868 is for the zodiac sign Pisces, the Fish, which are held here by two cherubs. Again there is nothing markedly agricultural about the design. In marked contrast to the hard-working threshers are the two revelers shown in the design for February of 1877. The one on the left is a fool dressed in motley; the one on the right is about to join a parade. Presumably they are celebrating Shrove Tuesday, or Mardi Gras. There is no concern for threshing here.

The woodcuts for March (Fig. 15) are the first of a four-month series that are rather inconclusive. Here there is no neat shift from hard work to revelry. Portrayal of work is preserved, though it could be argued that the later tasks were more pleasant ones. The design for March of 1858 shows two men doing a back-breaking job of posthole fencing. The design of 1868 is predictably Aries, or the Ram. The waving grass could have been construed as rural but it was not. The design for March of 1877 may be considered anomalous since it shows Aries flanked by two work scenes—spading on the left and pruning on the right. There is even a team plowing in the background of the left.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>1858 Illustration</th>
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</table>
The woodcuts for April (Fig. 16) are also somewhat inconclusive because of the tendency to portray leisure across the board. The design for April of 1858 shows three children playing with hoops in the foreground. The haywagon in the background notwithstanding, the motif is chiefly one of leisure. The design for 1868 shows a celestial Taurus, or Bull, reined in by a garland held by a cherub. Again the pattern is not particularly rural at all, but simply a representation of the zodiac. The design for April of 1877 is consistently leisurely showing a central Taurus flanked by a hunter with his dog on the left and a stroller with an umbrella on the right.

The woodcuts for May (Fig. 17) similarly fail to confirm our thesis because of leisure being portrayed in both the early and late designs. The woodcut for May of 1858 shows a group of four fishermen, two on the right bank and two on the left. The design for May of 1868 shows Gemini, or the Twins, floating on a swan’s back. The twins in the design of 1877 are flanked by two scenes of leisure—a child watering May flowers on the left, and a child making a garland for May Day on the right.

The woodcuts for June (Fig. 18) constitute the last group of disconfirming icons. The woodcut for June of 1858 shows a young woman leisurely watering three magnificent flower bushes. The design of 1868 predictably shows Cancer, or the Crab. The interesting point here is the scythe underneath the crab, one of the rare instances where an agricultural work activity is incorporated into a central zodiac sign. June of 1877 presents a balance of activity. The young worker on the left is raking; the young idler on the right is travelling.

The woodcuts for July (Fig. 19) provide confirmation for our hypothesis. The design for July of 1858 shows three men busily scything. The woodcut of 1868 predictably portrays Leo, the Lion, raging in the midst of a summer thunderstorm. The design of July of 1877 is conspicuously leisurely in content. The boy on the left is swimming in a brook; the boy on the right is piping a tune to the birds. Certainly swimming and piping are more pleasant than scything.

The woodcuts for August (Fig. 20) present a rather consistent picture of work. The design for August of 1858 shows a farmer working hard in the foreground binding wheat. Although there are three boys in the left background playing marbles, the chief feature of the design is the work in the foreground. The woodcut of 1868 shows the appropriate sign of the zodiac, Virgo, or the Virgin, who is here shown surrounded by six celestial cherubs bearing a circular garland. The design for August of 1877 shows Virgo flanked by a boy scything on the left and a boy binding on the right.

As is the case for August, the woodcuts for September (Fig. 21) present work with consistency. The woodcut for September of 1858 shows a farmer doing fall plowing with a two-horse team. The design for 1868 is the zodiac sign, Libra or the Scales, here shown in a celestial setting with prancing stallions on the left and reindeer on the right. Although the design for September of 1877 also shows work, it is considerably easier than plowing. The central Scales are flanked by two scenes of apple harvesting—picking on the left and sacking on the right.

The woodcuts for October (Fig. 22) tend to verify our hypothesis on work and leisure. The design for October of 1858 shows an extensive cider-making operation. The farmer in the foreground is operating a cider press while four helpers in the background gather apples. The design for 1868 features Scorpio, or the Scorpion. This is the second and last of zodiac signs with any hint of agriculture. Note the fruits of the harvest underneath the Scorpion. The woodcut for October of 1877 shows the Scorpion flanked by a lackadaisical grape picker on the left and a celebrating cannon shooter on the right, perhaps an aspect of All Saints’ Day, or Hallow’en.

The woodcuts for November (Fig. 23) also verify our hypothesis. The design for November of 1858 shows two farmers in the foreground harvesting corn. The woodcut of 1868 portrays Sagittarius, or the Archer, here as a satyr galloping through the clouds. The design for November of 1877 shows the Archer flanked by two scenes of leisure activities—a duck hunter on the left and a mountain hiker with an alpine cap and walking stick on the right.

Similarly the woodcuts for December (Fig. 24) confirm our hypothesis. The design for December of 1858 shows two men in the foreground flailing rye. The flail consists of a handle to which a short stick is attached by means of a thong. The tool was used to separate the straw from the chaff and grain. The woodcut of 1868 shows the zodiac sign Capricorn, or the Goat, in a celestial setting with Father Time moving offstage to represent the passing of the Old Year. The design of 1877 has abandoned any portrayal of work. The Goat is shown flanked with Santa Claus on the left and a Christmas reveller on the right.

The visual evidence for a shift in values concerning work and leisure is dramatic and persuasive. However, the reader may suspect that something is missing—a second level of data in the woodcuts. We have dealt with the tangible dimension, the material culture and the visible activities of the people. We have discussed these things in detail. There is another level, a subjective and intuitive sense, which should not be ignored. The illustrations contain many rich intangibles which are difficult to objectify.

Perhaps the starkness of a wheatfield makes the harvesting appear like an endless task. Or perhaps the lush vegetation around a swimming hole makes it look even more inviting. The reader with firsthand knowledge of Pennsylvania farm life may find his “reading” of the illustrations in this way even more instructive than this text.\textsuperscript{33}


\textsuperscript{34}The discussion of intangible content is based on John Collier, Jr., Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967), pp. 73-76.
Pennsylvania German and High German: Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 19

Pennsylvania Germans have had more than their share of languages to wrestle with in the two and a half centuries of the development of their culture in America. For a long period in the 19th Century they were trilingual, using three languages—German, Pennsylvania German, and English—each for different purposes and in different social contexts. German or “High German” was the language of church, parochial school, newspaper, and originally of written communication: letters, wills, and other documents. After the 1830’s, when the public schools brought English into every community, English gradually took over the channel of ordinary communication, so that letters which used to be written in High German now were sent in English, and the Pennsylvania German population gradually learned to talk English with outsiders even though they continued to use some High German in church, subscribe to German newspapers, and read their German devotional literature. In the 19th Century, neither High German nor English was normally used in the home circle, by the family. The language for the most intimate communication was the dialect, Pennsylvania German or Pennsylvania Dutch. This was the language of the fireside, of family, and of friendship.

In the 20th Century the High German element in this trilingual pattern has gradually dropped out of the picture, except for the continued use of a kind of Pennsylvania High German among the Old Order Amish and the Old Order Mennonites, who still continue public worship in German, use German devotional books, and occasionally still write letters and other communications in a much accommodated German. This leaves the majority of the culture, at least the older and more conservative sectors of the population, using the two languages, Pennsylvania German and English. Of these, as everybody is aware, the dialect is rapidly dwindling in use. Secondly, it is changing in character, with the old nuances (at least among the younger speakers) being polished away under the relentless attacks of the English language which now reaches almost every Pennsylvania German home via radio and television. Also the international wars of the 20th Century, taking as they did the men from the community and throwing them into close contact with English speakers from other parts of the country, increased the attrition of the dialect, in that many of the soldiers when returned to their home areas no longer bothered to speak the dialect.

In the light of this rapid change in the linguistic balance of the Pennsylvania German culture, we need materials from our readers on their own reactions to and knowledge of these changes over the past several generations, from the dropping of High German down through the dwindling of dialect usage and the gradual triumph of English.

1. Who spoke High German? *Drawing on your own memories and what you recall hearing from older members of your families, who actually used High German in your own family and community? Did common farmers over use spoken High German on any occasion? (For an example, my own grandparents, who studied High German in parochial school before the Civil War, could both speak English, but normally used dialect at home. However, when the Lutheran minister came visiting, they attempted to speak High German, or what they thought was High German, with the pastor. One of the examples their children remembered was the use of “ihr” to the pastor as a polite form of “you” rather than the common “du” that is used normally in the dialect. As people said, “Sie hen der Paffe ge-ihr”—“They said ‘ihr’ to the pastor”.) What examples can our readers remember of the spoken use of High German from their backgrounds?*

2. German Church Services. *Originally all the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Eastern Pennsylvania had German services. Gradually the English language...*
The Pennsylvania Germans continued to use High German in church into the 20th Century. This is the title-page from one of a series of bilingual hymnals published in Reading for use in the Reformed Congregations of the upper part of Berks County.

has triumphed as the liturgical language of our denominations, with the exception of a few "old order" sects in the "plain" world. But as late as 1930 some county churches had German services at least once a month, and German funeral services for older members. Will you please report your memories of German services in your home churches. Who went to them? How much did the congregation really understand the German sermons and hymns in the 20th Century? Why and when did the shift come to all-English services?

3. German Hymnody. Some part of the German services are often still remembered by our older folk who grew up in the era of High German or mixed English-German services. If you grew up in that era—before the first World War—what do you remember as the favorite hymns that the congregations sang? What other parts of the liturgy do you still remember; for example, the "Waterunner" (Reformed: "Unser Vater"), the "Glaaue" (Apostles Creed), etc. Do you recall any of the funeral hymns used in the earlier days?

4. German Reading Material. Even though Pennsylvania farmers may not have spoken much High German in the later generations, often they could and did still read it. What evidence of this do you have from your families? What German newspapers did your family subscribe to? What periodicals? Did you have a German almanac in the kitchen? Do you remember in particular any German devotional books, prayerbooks, or hymnbooks? Do you recall any of the old story books that at one time almost every Pennsylvania German family had, as for example, the story of "die heilige Genoveva"?

5. Relation of Dialect to English. In your family, what was the balance of English and dialect? For instance, in some families in the later generations, parents sometimes limited their dialect to their own conversations and spoke English to their children. If you speak Pennsylvania German, how did you learn it? What changes have you noticed in the use and form of the dialect since your childhood days?

6. Influence of the Dialect. Some critics have maintained that the continued use of the dialect in opposition to the "national language" has been a kind of "dead hand" on the Pennsylvania German culture, holding it back from its proper progress. At one time some of our institutions, particularly the public school, were very much against the use of dialect, forbidding its use during school hours, especially on the playground. What thoughts do you have on this subject? Do you feel that the dialect has been a handicap for some individuals in getting ahead in the world? Please be frank about this.

7. The Dialect Revival of the 20th Century. There has been at least a revival of interest in spoken dialect in the 20th Century, although it has done little to stem the tide of disintegration of the dialect culture. Some new institutions, like the "Fersammling," the "Grundsoi Lodche," and the dialect radio programs, have arisen as examples of this new wave of interest. Could you give us your reactions to these phenomena? Do you attend the "Fersammling," the "Grundsow Lodche"? If you listen to a dialect program, what is your favorite program and why?

8. Limits of the Dialect. The German scholar Heinz Kloss has called Pennsylvania German a "Halbsprache," a halfway language, which never quite made it to the top as a fully used literary language. To your knowledge, was Pennsylvania German ever used for writing letters or other official documents? Was it ever really used for preaching sermons in any church?

9. Dialect Differences. Have you noted differences in the dialect as spoken by persons from other areas than your own? Can you write down some examples for us?

10. The Dialect Joke. What value has the dialect joke for providing an understanding of the Pennsylvania German culture? People always say, for instance, that "a Dutch joke loses its flavor in English," or insist that "it can't be translated." Just for fun, write down for us some of your favorite Dutch jokes and jests, with your explanations of their insight into the life of the Pennsylvania Dutchman. We should also like your list of favorite words and expressions in the dialect which you feel are distinctive of Pennsylvania German culture.

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
Box 36 College Hall
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104
The 19th Century was the age of woodcut and lithograph illustration, before the photograph and photoengraving revolutionized the presentation of pictorial matter in printed works. Books, newspapers, atlases, maps, and other printed documents were illustrated with engravings made directly from artist’s sketches. Particularly important for the folklife scholar are the town views from 19th Century local histories, travel books, and atlases. We include here a few examples from Western Pennsylvania.

"Western View of the Public Square in Erie", Northern Pennsylvania shows strongly the cultural influence of New England and New York State, where towns were built around the village green.

Market Square in Somerset. Note tavern signs to left, hitching posts along curb to right.

Blairsville in Indiana County, about 1840. Note the variety of mill, factory, domestic, and public architecture, the huge camelback covered bridge across the Conemaugh River, and canal boats in the foreground.

Washington, Pennsylvania. The print shows the Mansion House Hotel at left, Courthouse in center, and to right, the National Road to the West, from which the stage coach is approaching. Architecture was stone and brick, and similar in general look to the red-brick towns of Eastern Pennsylvania.
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.