Contributors to this Issue

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DONALD E. TAFT, East Hickory, Pennsylvania, is a native of Forest County, Pennsylvania, which is his subject in this issue. He writes us that he is retired from a career in the U.S. Forest Service, and lives today in the house where he was born.

DR. MAURICE A. MOOK, Boalsburg, Pennsylvania, who died in 1973, was for some years a member of the Editorial Committee of Pennsylvania Folklore, and contributed to our pages articles on bread baking, halloween customs, and Amish nicknames. We publish his article on the Big Valley Amish of Central Pennsylvania as our tribute to his life and work. It appeared originally in the Lycoming College Magazine, XXIV:5 (May 1971), 1-5.

DR. JOHN A. HOSTETLER, Willow Grove, Pennsylvania, is Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at Temple University, and the author of many studies of Amish life, including the classic Amish Society (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968). It is appropriate that in this issue he shares with our readers his tribute to the teacher and mentor at the Pennsylvania State University who influenced his work in its formative stages — Professor Maurice A. Mook.

STEPHANIE FARRIOR, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a graduate student in American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania. In her contribution to this issue she analyzes travel accounts dealing with German emigrants in America in the 18th and 19th Century. The paper was prepared in connection with the Seminar in Pennsylvania German Ethnography at the University of Pennsylvania.
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### COVER:

The winter scene on our cover portrays a common winter task on the farm in the 19th Century — chopping firewood in the farm woodlot and hauling it to the farmstead, in this case by ox-sled. The illustration appeared in Gleason's Pictorial (Boston), March 4, 1854.

The Pie and Related Forms in Pennsylvania Cuisine: Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 46

(Inside back cover)

Contributors to this Issue

(Inside front cover)
Battalion Day: Militia Exercise and Frolic in Pennsylvania Before the Civil War

By J. Ritchie Garrison

Battalion day was a stable institution in the life of Pennsylvania communities from the end of the Revolution to the Civil War. Like Easter, the harvest, and maple sugaring, it occurred each year with regularity. It provided the members of a community a chance to put down the common everyday work and get together, to rejuvenate and refresh themselves and their social bonds. While the day originated as a legally mandated time for practicing the techniques of war, it became in addition a day of pleasure, dance, revelry, and, as some accused it, of pernicion. Battalion Day, like the state militia system of the post-revolutionary period, ended during the bloody, tragic years of the Civil War, but the community gatherings continued on for some time, fulfilling almost ritualistically the social needs of people to interact with one another.

The militia system of the revolutionary period resulted from the exigencies of a national militia system and the hazy jurisdictional boundaries of state and republic. Pennsylvania’s militia system after the Revolution was founded on the State Constitution of 1783. This constitution was amended, added to, revised, and argued about for years afterward, but the structure of the system remained essentially intact from 1783 until 1862.

The importance of the militia system was underscored by the uncertain roles of the states and the Union in defense against foreign aggression. This, combined with the fear of standing armies among many people of the time and the feeling that the newly independent states had to organize some system of defense that would be ready when needed, conditioned the thinking of the men constructing the constitutions. The image of the minuteman, of the ordinary farmer or working man, ready in an emergency with his gun to defend his state, was accepted by many and held to, despite the dear price it exacted during the War of 1812 when the untrained, poorly led militiamen were too often unprepared for disciplined British troops.1

Chapter I, section 13, of the State Constitution stated, “That the people have a right to bear arms for the defense of themselves, and the state; and as standing armies in the time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up: And the military should be kept under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.” Further on the Constitution provided that, “The Freemen of this commonwealth and their sons shall be trained and armed for its defense . . . .” These were the guiding ideals of the militia system. From them a host of statutes and amended statutes arose to give both the milita and Battalion Day form.

Laws Regarding the Militia

The laws regulating the militia were somewhat complex, not because they were inherently difficult to understand, but because they were amended fairly frequently. The core of the statutes and their amendments was the organizational structure of the militia and the regulations involving musters. These changed little during the years prior to the Civil War.


3Ibid., p. 11.
sparsely settled divisions had the added inconvenience of a long trip for some when Battalion Day arrived, while for the men of the more densely settled divisions, Battalion parades might be reasonably near.

Each Division had two Brigades, although provision was made by law for a third if in the opinion of the major and brigadier it was warranted. Within the Brigade there were to be three to five regiments, equal in strength. The law is called for a minimum of 700 men in a Regiment, and at least 2100 men in a Brigade, and allotted at state expense a stand of colors for each regiment.

The lower part of this military hierarchy was subordinate to the Regiment. Two or three Battalions composed a Regiment, and four to six Companies made up a Battalion. These lower orders of military strength were the groups around which most of the militia exercises were oriented, for men drilled first in companies and then in battalions. All white males who had resided in the state for one month and were between the ages of 18 and 45 were eligible for service in the militia. Some exemptions were listed, most of which were based on employment in the Federal Government. Ministers, school teachers under employment for one year or more, members of the board of health, judges, mayors, sailors on active duty, servants of ambassadors, or poor health were additional grounds for exemption.

Company Captains were required to enroll all those who were subject to duty sometime between April 1 and May 1 every year. In a special book set aside for the purpose, the law directed the Captain to list for each man the name, age, and place of residence. Falsification of these records or derelict duty in keeping them was subject to a ten dollar fine, and the roll of the men in the company actually on the field on Battalion Day was to be turned over to the Brigade Inspector. Volunteer corpsmen naturally were not represented in these rolls but in the ones of their own companies of volunteers.

Command of these groups was organized in a descending network with the Governor as Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant General served under the Governor and acted as a kind of military bookkeeper for which he received a salary of $300 per year. The arrangement of command ran as follows:

**Division:**
- 1 Major General;
- 2 Aides, (Majors);
- 1 Division Inspector;
- 1 Division Quartermaster.

**Brigade:**
- 1 Brigadier General;
- 1 Aide;
- 1 Brigade Quartermaster, (Captain);
- 1 Brigade Inspector.

**Regiment:**
- 1 Colonel;
- 1 Lieutenant Colonel;
- 2 Majors;
- 1 Surgeon;
- 2 Surgeon’s Mates;
- 1 Adjutant and 1 Quartermaster, (1st Lieutenants);
- 1 Sergeant Major;
- 1 Quartermaster Sergeant;
- 1 Drum Major;
- 1 Fife Major.

**Company:**
- 1 Captain;
- 1 1st Lieutenant;
- 1 2nd Lieutenant;
- 5 Sergeants;
- 6 corporals;
- 2 Musicians.

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Early American Militia Company, from drawing by George L. Brown, 1835. Editor’s collection.
This, then, was the chain of command in the Pennsylvania Militia.9

In good American democratic fashion, the men elected their officers. A law of 1828 prescribed that officers were to be elected every seven years, and all militia men except for volunteers voted for their commanders up to the level of the Brigade’s Brigadier General. After their election, these brigade officers elected the Major General of the Division in a pattern that resembled that of the electoral college for the President of the United States.10 Volunteers elected their own officers in accordance with their own regulations, but were entitled to vote for the Brigade Inspector and the Brigadier General. Other laws carefully directed the legal procedures that were to be taken if any election should be contested.11

Training occurred in both Companies and Battalions. Companies trained on the first Monday in May each year, “... and the battalion parades and trainings shall commence on the second Monday in May, in every year, and shall continue in order as the Brigade Inspector shall direct, on every day of the week, except Sunday, until all the battalions of the Brigade shall have paraded.”12 The law also provided that a month’s notice of the trainings would be widely publicized by the Brigade Inspector. The Colonel of each regiment attended the training of one Battalion and the Lieutenant Colonel was to attend the other Battalion’s training. Company training was more flexibly arranged. Approval by the Regimental Commander and ten days prior notice was sufficient to organize company drills.13

Attendance was mandatory at training. Anyone refusing or failing to attend “... without good and sufficient arms ...” was fined according to his rank.14 Field officers were fined $5, staff officers or company captains $3, subaltern officers (i.e. corporals, surgeons, musicians) $2, and everyone else $1. Fines were a sensitive item, and exceptions for special circumstances were available. The law generously provided that “... if the field officers of the company shall be of the opinion that any militia man could not procure arms, he shall not be fined for appearing without them.”15 Evidently this was one loophole in the law that was liberally used.16 In addition to the provision for suitable arms, the state expected that an officer would provide his own uniform; if he did not, he was fined.17

Fines could be appealed before a court of appeals which was composed of a group of commissioned officers empowered to remit the fines of those who were absent for reasons of sickness, emergency, or other extenuating circumstances. Fines were collected through the county sheriff who handed out writs to collectors. Those who refused or could not pay the fines might have their property attached.18

Overseeing the smooth operation of the militia exercises was the Brigade Inspector. His duties included the annual inspection of battalions or regiments, direction and publication of the time and place of meeting, the furnishing of the details of inspection and the results of brigade elections to the Adjutant General, and a great deal of paper work. In addition the Brigade Inspector was to procure the necessary “... colors, drums, fifes, trumpets, and bugles, keep an account of money and fines, and settle accounts with the auditor general.”19 In compensation for these duties, the Brigade Inspector received $75 for the first three regiments, and $50 for each additional one.20

Volunteers

Volunteer troops supplemented the regular militia, and gave the men of the community an alternative to service in the infantry, for the artillery and the cavalry troopers were volunteers. In practice the volunteers were allied to the regular militia system and followed most of the militia’s legal guidelines with a few important exceptions. Yet because they were volunteers, there was somewhat more freedom in the way their system worked than for the regular troops.

The chain of command in the volunteer troops varied among the companies depending upon the type of troops. These positions were as follows:

Cavalry: 1 Captain; 1 1st Lieutenant; 1 2nd Lieutenant; 1 Coronet; 1 Quartermaster Sergeant; 4 Sergeants; 4 Corporals; 1 Trumpeter; 1 Saddler; 1 Farrier; 1 Blacksmith; and at least 30 Privates.

Artillery: 1 Captain; 1 1st Lieutenant; 1 2nd Lieutenant; 1 Quartermaster Sergeant; 4 Corporals; 2 Musicians; and at least 40 Artificers or Privates.

Infantry: 1 Captain; 1 1st Lieutenant; 1 2nd Lieutenant; 4 Sergeants; 4 Corporals; 1 Bugler; and at least 40 Privates.

Riflemen: set up like the infantry.

Volunteer troops were recognized by law as early as 1788 and were in existence prior to that time. The tendency to become top heavy with men sporting fancy command titles was the reason the positions of command were so carefully spelled out in the 1828 laws. Although the existing volunteer troops

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9 Morris, p. 694.
10 Ibid., pp. 694-698.
11 Ibid., p. 698.
12 Ibid., p. 699.
13 Ibid., p. 700.
14 Ibid., p. 700.
15 Ibid., p. 700.
16 Ibid., p. 700.
17 See the Diary of James L. Morris, May 12, 1837; this particular selection was reprinted in The Pennsylvania Dutchman, IV: 4 (March 1953). 4. Morris’ description left little doubt that men appeared at the exercises without proper arms, but with the exception of absences there are few indications in the newspapers of the period that men were ever fined for such infractions.
18 Ibid., A Digest of the Laws . . . 1856, p. 700.
19 Ibid., pp. 701-702.
20 Ibid., pp. 712-713.
21 Ibid., p. 713.
could retain their officers as they stood in that year, after 1828 the officer ranks of the volunteer troops were to be reduced by attrition until the legally mandated levels of command positions were reached. 21

Like the regular militia troops, officers were elected to their positions. Similarly the volunteer troops were organized into volunteer regiments, battalions and brigades, with the command above the brigade level being assumed by the regular militia command. Volunteers trained more frequently than militia troops, however, meeting normally three times a year. One of these times of course was on Battalion Day, while the other times were decided by the volunteers themselves. One popular day for these additional meetings was July 4th, when the volunteers were afforded an opportunity to show off their uniforms and participate in the Independence festivities. The final day of training was usually scheduled sometime in September or October. Volunteers not belonging to a regiment or battalion trained with the militia regiments at the annual exercises, and on their own the other times. 22

Although only the officers of the regular militia were required to appear at the battalion exercises in uniform, the volunteer troops were all expected to provide their uniforms and to train in them. Volunteer troops and officers were held personally responsible for their own uniforms and equipment, but in certain circumstances the state stepped in to provide special needs. The Commonwealth furnished artillery, pikes, and similar accoutrements for which the volunteers were to provide security and any maintenance that might be necessary. The uniforms the men wore were supposed to conform as nearly as possible to the fashion of the United States Army which was the lodestone for the proper deportment of the volunteer troops. One final difference between the volunteers and the regular militia was that a man in the volunteer troops was only required to serve a minimum of seven years; most of them appear to have served much longer. 23

"Ibid., pp. 704-708; Alexander James Dallas, Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 1781-1790, II (Philadelphia, 1793), 105-110, 576-581. One law cited was entitled "An Additional Supplement to the Acts for the Regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed March 22, 1788," and said: And Whereas some of the militia of this state have voluntarily formed themselves into companies of light-armed infantry, and have attached themselves to battalions from which they have been respectively formed, and others . . . may be desirous of forming like Companies from other Battalions: Therefore . . . it shall and may be lawful for the volunteers composing aforesaid companies of light infantry . . . to be attached to and act with the Battalion from which they are or shall be formed, and shall be subject to like rules and regulations as the other militia of this state.

"Purdon, A Digest of the Laws . . . 1836, pp. 708-709; The Free Press of Lancaster carried advertisements for meetings. See April 27, 1820, June 29, 1820, and October 26, 1820; The June 29th item read: "Attention: City Guards. Will assemble in complete uniform at the Court House, on Tuesday next, July 4th, at 9 o’clock, AM, precisely, provided with 18 rounds of blank cartridge, in order to celebrate the anniversary of our National Independence."

"Purdon, A Digest of the Laws . . . 1836, pp. 710-711."
OTHER LEGAL PROVISIONS

Music was an integral part of battalion exercises for both the volunteers and the regular militia. No matter what kinds of instruments actually appeared on Battalion Day, the law made room for only those instruments considered appropriate to the military fashion of the day. The cavalry troops had a trumpeter, while the infantry and artillery were entitled to a fife and drum. Young boys, under the legal age of enrollment, were permitted to act as musicians with the consent of their parents or guardian, but were otherwise prevented from serving in the militia. While these musical instruments did serve as a decoration, they were also intended to act as a signalling device by which orders could be communicated to large groups of men. In the case of the militia the function was more likely that of entertainment and morale building. Musicians also were distinguished from the troops by the fact that they were paid at the rate of $1 per day for their services.24

The militia's reputation for rowdiness led to a number of legal amendments designed to curb the worst abuses of discipline. Fines for infractions were backed up by the threat of court martialing. Civilians were ordered to keep clear of militia mustering, and the military authorities were empowered to detain offending civilians during the time of the exercises and the parade. Interfering civilians could also be fined for a variety of offenses, perhaps the most serious of which was the selling of liquor to the troops on parade.25

It shall be unlawful for any person or persons, within half a mile of the limits prescribed by any commanding officer, for the parade of his regiment, battalion, or company of volunteers or militia, to set up, or have any booth, or stand, to dispose of any kind of liquor, or dispose of the same by gift, sale, or in any manner whatever, without the consent of such commanding officer, except at stores or licensed inns.26

Intoxication was no doubt a serious problem at many militia musters and accounted for the specific nature of this law, but in fact the lawmakers could do little to prevent the imbibing that went on long before the parade. Fights, riots and disorderly volleys fired off into the air occurred despite the best efforts to the contrary.27

While the militia was set up as a defense for the state, actual service in fighting was the subject of numerous restrictions, guarantees, and obligations.

OBJECTIONS TO MILITARISM

Opinion was not unanimously in favor of a militia at all. A variety of objections were raised against the system, many of them with moral overtones. Furthermore, Pennsylvania had a large number of people who resisted military service on grounds of religious conscience. Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, and Dunkards rejected service in the militia. The Quakers in particular had a residue of political power and the state was forced to acknowledge objections to service on religious grounds. Its answer, however, was to require objectors to pay $2 to the county treasurer in lieu of service. Many objected to the payments on the grounds that it violated the constitutional rights of Pennsylvania citizens.29

Typical of the objections raised was a tract published in 1831, written by Enoch Lewis, a Quaker from Chester County, entitled Some Observations on the Militia System, Addressed to the Serious Consideration of the Citizens of Pennsylvania. Lewis decried the loss of religious scruples against war, and implied that this loss was partly the result of the withdrawal of the Society of Friends from positions of power in the Legislature prior to the Revolution. He continued by stating that the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 gave legal rights to conscientious objection on religious grounds, and allowed those who objected to refuse military service without penalty. Arguing that payment of money to attain exemption was discriminatory and ruinous to the poor, he unequivocally stated that militia duty was unjust and ridiculous. "Scarcely any person acquainted with the subject pretends to believe that militia trainings, as practiced in this state, are anything better than a ridiculous farce."10

To buttress his observations Lewis resorted to the time-honored method of citing expert opinion. He quoted General T. Cadwalader as saying, "I do not consider frequent musters as advantageous to the
great body of the militia. No correct instruction is received at such musters, and the effect on the morals of the people is positively injurious. A Colonel H. J. Williams noted that "all the musters at which I have been present, so far from being advantageous" were always scenes of the lowest and most destructive dissipation, where nothing was to be acquired but the most pernicious habits.\(^{113}\)

**Battalion Day**

Such adverse opinions were not the whole story of militia training or of Battalion Day. In fact Battalion Day was almost incidentally a day of military training. It becomes a day of community festival, and a day in which the community set aside what it was doing and got together as a group to celebrate in the tradition of European folk festivals. "The whole country is gathered together, men and women, boys and girls, old and young, meet and dance, romp, drink, fight and 'cut up high'."\(^{114}\)

The day began at daybreak and sometimes earlier as men and their families began arriving in the area designated by the Brigade Inspector for the exercises, usually one of the principal towns. Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning the "hopsesa" or dance began. Each tavern would have one or more fiddlers and the young people began to dance three or six handed reels. One description of the dance went as follows:

\[\text{Some communities have preserved the social side of the Battalion Day to the present time. This program is for the Shartlesville "Badolia Days," 1969.}\]

The figure 8 and a set is the whole figure. One party calls for a glass of sling, toddy, or something of that kind, and places himself before his partner, gives her 'a nod', drinks first himself and then hands her the glass, she drinks and passes it to the next gentleman, who goes up to his partner and repeats the ceremony. Thus they drink and dance until the stipulated number of tunes are played, when a fresh party takes the floor and the dance continues.\(^{114}\)

The dancing, courting, gossip, drinking and revelry continued until it was time to form the line. Sometime between 10 and 11:00 a.m., companies formed into some semblance of a line, and then marched out of town into a nearby field to begin their exercises. Descriptions of this process are difficult to analyse, as the image of the militia soldier and his training varies considerably. Some observers account militiamen in advanced stages of shabbiness. These reports depict men in all varieties of uniform, with broomsticks for muskets, some with cornstalks, others with sticks jammed into the muzzle of an ancient pistol, and still others without any kind of arms at all.\(^{115}\)

Contradictory reports de-emphasize the decrepit appearance of the militia, and concentrate on showing clean, well scrubbed men resplendent in their uniforms and polished arms. These proud and sturdy patriots take pride in their burnished weapons, their careful trim look, and execute their manoeuvres with aplomb. There are elements of truth in both descriptions. Volunteer companies especially were careful of their appearance and drill, while some of the regular militia may well have matched their seedy descriptions. Additionally there is some evidence that the militia in the early days did give a poor showing, and that over a period of time its appearance, if not its fighting ability, did improve somewhat.\(^{116}\)

Evidently the field exercises consisted of a few desultory drills, followed by the roll and review by the Brigade Inspector. Afterward, the exercises completed, the troops were marched back into town and dismissed. Then the real fun began, for the exercises were followed by "...firing guns, routing, dancing, courting, fighting, and drinking."\(^{117}\)

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\(^{114}\)Colonel H. J. Williams, cited in Lewis, Some Observations . . . , pp. 24-25.

\(^{115}\)Miner's Journal, May 26, 1827.

\(^{116}\)Ibid.; also see the diary of James L. Morris of Morgantown, MS. Berks County Historical Society, May 12, 1837, May 3, 1841, May 10, 1842.


\(^{118}\)Miner's Journal, May 26, 1827.
Stories of Battalion day ranged from the sarcastic to the lugubrious. The *Nordwesliche Post* of Sunbury recounted one scene of the day on June 5, 1822:

"When I say 'Fire!'" said a militia captain recently to his company, "then all those who have firearms, must shoot (sic); and those who have only sticks and cornstalks, must aim and cry — "Boo!"

Another article in the same paper noted that... the Alert Light Blue Infantry in Bucks County in celebration of the 4th of July had 17 regular toasts and fired off 660 shots followed by 107 huzzahs. James L. Morris of Morgantown, Berks County, wrote in his diary May 12, 1837:

Went to Battalion training at the White Bear. The Forest Battalion is a motley assemblage armed with clubs, staves etc. — everything but firelocks, as only could be found in the Caernarvon Company of Militia. There was the usual quantum of girls, drunken men, quarreling, fiddling, dancing and fighting. What was rather odd there were no gamblers, or at least none following their vocation, not even roulette, dobble, or a party at pitchpenny. There were also but few settlers [hucksters]. I saw but six on the ground.

All of these descriptions give part of the feeling that the day must have had.

Although Battalion day was largely a rural affair, it was celebrated among several different cultural traditions. The Germans, the Scotch-Irish, and the English were all equally the participants in militia exercises, and they appear to have been equal in their enthusiasm for Battalion Day as a frolic. One delightful contribution to present knowledge of Battalion Day was a Pennsylvania Dutch poem printed in 1851.

*SUE*

Good evening, my Bill, you are here again. I am glad, for I have expected you. Now take a chair and sit next to me. The stove is warm and it will be pleasant. I have much news to tell you about schnitzing and applebutter boiling.

*BILL*

Be still, my Sue, I don't want to listen to that. Now just listen here, and don't disturb me. Yesterday I was in Longstown dressed in a new uniform. If only you could have seen me — I looked so nice with a new suit and a feather on my hat.

At that Battalion was more fun than I could tell you about in one evening. About three hundred soldiers paraded together through the town. You can imagine what a row that made. And when they fired what a noise it made! When the captain shouts out the order, then you stand still or march straight ahead. Straight as a tree the body is held, then you lift your foot and slap it down as if lame.

Then we went single file into the town. The girls all looked out of the windows and said together that looked so nice, the blue trousers and the red feathers. Next to the town in that great field we all stood in a row. All our guns and swords flashed. We looked left so fiercely as if we wanted to capture Mexico or cut England to shreds. The one with the moustache over his mouth looked down furiously from his horse, but stuck his sword out behind. He had not blacked his boots this year.

There was a company there that had dressed their hats with tassels. The Lewisburg fellows had straps on their breeches or else the wind would have already blown them away. The Weirichstown Company looked so slick but Old Beaver was not far behind. A boy not much higher than the stove ran about with a flag. Sparks scattered as the commander rode about at full canter. The soldiers fifed, drum and band, the riders ran here and there. I can tell you that was a show, very nearly that of the great Battle of Waterloo. O had we only been with Kossuth*, the bloody Russians would be defeated; we would have tripped them up, and devoured Austria with hair and hide. For us that riffraff would be much too slow, we could thresh them like oats straw!

When we had drilled thoroughly we returned again to the town. All the streets were filled with people. Many laughed and many shouted. Some had drunk too much brandy. There was a group there from Northumberland with shame burned on their brows; their faces had not been shaved for a long time. They behaved themselves like pigs and asses. From afar could be seen brandy pox displayed on their grotesque faces. In Dry Valley I heard it said they had beaten up people in the street. From whence they all came is unknown. I think a donkey kicked them out of the wall. My notion is — you will think so too — that such rascals should just be strung up now.

Yes, such a Battalion would be a pleasure if everything were done with good manners. But there is so much riffraff that always finds its way to such affairs. That makes so many shabby tricks and filth, and keeps much better people away.

*SUE*

O, just be quiet about the Battalion! Didn't you come to romance? Then snuff out the candle and put your arms around me or I'll go to bed and you into the street.

*Louis Kossuth was a Hungarian revolutionary leader who inspired many Americans by his stand in the Budapest revolt of 1848. Expelled from the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the insurrection failed, he visited the United States where he received many accolades.*
Although Sue was not very much interested in Bill’s description of Battalion Day, it was a fair description nevertheless of what went on during the day. There were indeed many elements of humor in the day, while at the same time a desire to tone down some of the extreme examples of debauchery was apparent.

Despite the humor with which some Battalion Days were caricatured, others, particularly the later Battalion Days, seem to have been more serious affairs where each resplendent volunteer company tried to outdo the others in marching, uniforms, and bravado. The later days in particular exhibited the tendency to smart uniforms, while in the early days only the officers wore uniforms to distinguish them from the privates. Evidence of this more disciplined and more reputable militia mustering was manifested in the special week long muster held outside of Reading during May 18 - 25, 1842. This week-long encampment was admittedly unusual, but the troops displayed good form when General Winfield Scott reviewed them on the 23rd, and the newspapers triumphantly claimed that Scott was pleased with the troop’s appearance and discipline.

Hence the characteristics of Battalion Day were not only those of evil excess and vice. Much of the appeal of the day revolved around exchanging family news, dancing, eating, and, for the young, meeting eligible partners. Undeniably there were unfortunate, even tragic personal experiences on the day. The naïve young man fleeced of his watch by gamblers, excessive consumption of liquor, and the occasionally brutal fight were all parts of Battalion Day. Intoxication and guns were also a source of danger as a young man in Montgomery County learned. A newspaper article related:

George Miller, son of Peter Miller, late of Upper Hanover township, . . . after the parade was over, while standing at the end of the tavern, loaded his gun very heavily; several persons standing nearby, warned him of the danger of firing such heavy charges but he heeded them not. The gun burst just below the breech — mangling his hand in such a manner, that amputation was deemed necessary.

Despite these incidents, Battalion Day was a time for the entire family. Children, infants, youth, adults and the old came and stayed and enjoyed themselves, often waiting until late at night before returning home.

Interestingly, the day’s festivities survived the passing of the actual parades. Phebe Earle Gibbons in Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays described the persistence of the frolic as late as the 1870’s.

The battalion (Pennsylvania Dutch, Badolya?) is an annual day of joy and festivity in Berks County. The annual training, which gave the name to the day, has long since been given up, but still just before hay-making the landlords of county towns such as Kutztown or Hamburg will advertise they will hold the annual battalion (without any soldiers).

Undoubtedly the continuation of Battalion Day was encouraged by the tavern keepers, and town inn proprietors, but the really crucial point is that the day was still a significant occasion. Born out of the desire for a trained militia, and directed by state law until 1862, the importance of the day as a military event was replaced by a time of community group feeling and festivity. The military exercises became an excuse for something much deeper.

AT TENTION!
INDEPENDENT GUARDS,
YOU will assemble in Parade Order, in the Market square, in full uniform, with blue pantaloons, on Saturday the 22nd of February, precisely at 9 o’clock, A. M. provided with 17 rounds of blank cartridge, in order to celebrate the day that gave birth to the immortal hero, Gen. George Washington.

By order of the capt.
A. D. Hubley, O. S.
February 1st, 1823.

Battalion Notice from the Unpartheyischer Berichter, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, February 22, 1823. Editor’s Collection.

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"Montgomery Watchman. June 4, 1851.
"Montgomery, History of Berks County in Pennsylvania, pp. 349-353.
"Ibid., p. 424.
Achtung! Washington Büchsenfeuer.
Ihr habt auf Montag den 1sten Mai, 1844, um 10 Uhr Vormittags, (mit weißen Hosen) und der Kusstimmer zu paratiren. Auf Befehl von Capt. J. Emich.
A. S. Ely, O.S.
Den 20sten April.

Parade Befehle.

Libanon County Kavalleristen!
Ihr habt auf Montag den 1sten Mai, 1844, um 10 Uhr Vormittags, in vollständiger Uniform und Tuchschleier, (weißen Hosen) am Gaste- haus von Samuel Schindel zu paratiren.
Auf Befehl von Capitain M. Teiss.
Den 20sten April.

Achtung!
Independent Gardes,
Ihr habt auf Montag den 1sten, und auf Montag den 13ten May, 1844, um 10 Uhr Vormittags, (mit weißen Hosen) an der Kusstimmer zu paratiren.
Auf Befehl von Capt. J. B. Uhler, Wm. S. Schindel, O.S.
Libanon, April 26.

Miliz Anzeige
C. R. Schindel, Colonel.
Den 20sten April.

Alle die übrigen Compagnien haben sich auf Montag zu 1sten May, 1844, zum Eserzieren zu versammeln.

Achtung!
Das Freiwilliges Bataillon, 1ste Brigade,
Jacob L. Edert, Lieut. Col.
James Mowers, Adjutant.
Den 20sten April.
A List of the Enrolled Inhabitants of the 1st Company, 113th Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia, Commanded by Captain William Rease, 1813.


Lewis Miller Drawing of York County Militia, with list of militiamen in the Company of Captain William Rease. Courtesy of the Historical Society of York County.
Little seemed to have changed in Gibbons' description from those of earlier years. People whooped it up, elders chatted, and the young, sustained by exuberance, stayed up late to dance. "Roving gamblers also visit the battalion; and many an unwary youth has lost all his money earned by hard work, and, after that was gone, has striven to better his fortune, but unsuccessfully, by giving up his watch." 47

It was this aspect of play that was at the same time the reason for the vitality of the day and its persistence. The frolic that was identified in rural areas with Battalion Day served as a revitalizing spirit within the community. In effect it was a day of liminality, a time when the normal social structural forces no longer operated and were suspended temporarily. A further force was at work, however, in this period of liminality which is perhaps best characterized as a spirit of community identity in which personal and individual psychological barriers are broken down for a time and replaced by a deep sense of oneness among men. This feeling of common identity, of brotherhood "... becomes, for the groups and individuals within structured systems, a means of binding diversities together and overcoming cleavages." 48

Of course this did not mean that the cleavages in the community were done away with or that the day was one of peace and harmony. The accounts of fighting and brawling destroy such an image. Yet even with the fighting and brawling, the drunkenness and the disorderliness of the day, the society of the community was mixed up in ways that would not have occurred in ordinary daily living. The expression of human emotions held in by the normal pattern of cultural restriction on behavior was for a time loosed, played out in human drama, and then reintegrated into the society. That society could then go on and function in the same structural way it had before but secure in having relieved some of the tensions which inevitably built up. 49

A few sarcastic observers who deplored the revelry and immorality that they perceived in the day cannot obscure the essential nature of community spirit and identity that Battalion Day nourished. When the day ended, normally accepted social behavior was returned to its rightful place, and the community of people that had partaken its experiences could face with satisfaction the strictures of everyday living. The strictures were essential in making life run smoothly; the frolics like Battalion Day made the behavioral system vital and new again.

In the end the militia system passed from the scene, outmoded by the needs of a large highly industrialized modern war. When that war ended in 1865, the urgency that had led Revolutionary leaders to found a citizen militia was gone. War was no longer the affair of the militia/minuteman figure, but that of an enormous, costly, disciplined machine of destruction which often had left little remaining in its wake. Sherman's march to the sea was a graphic example of what a modern total war was like, and it was not undertaken by a group of soldier farmers who trained rather haphazardly a few times a year. The set of circumstances that led to militia training in the Constitution of 1783 was replaced by a new pattern of thought after the Civil War. Mandatory militia service was replaced along with it by a people who had seen enough war and soldiering to last a lifetime.

What remained was perhaps the real meaning of Battalion Day. It was the community, and the feeling of community, that indefinable sense of oneness among men, that was the deeper, enduring purpose of Battalion Day. All of the Enoch Lewises and General Cadwaladeres in Pennsylvania could not have suppressed that. For if militia exercises had not provided such an ideal opportunity for community involvement and revitalization, then surely something else would have.

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**Notes**
- 3. Ibid., pp. 24, 39, 46, 110, 169, 196, 206.
Folklore in the Library:
Cherished Memories of Old Lancaster

By MAC E. BARRICK

A Spanish proverb holds that "There's no book so bad but has some good in it." Perhaps nowhere can this maxim be applied so well as the writings of many of Pennsylvania's early self-styled local historians, which at their worst are little more than lists of successive inhabitants of each of the homesteads in a community and even at their best are often pretty dull stuff. William Riddle's Cherished Memories of Old Lancaster - Town and Shire (Lancaster: Intelligencer Printing House, 1910) lies someplace in the middle.

Riddle, like many local memorialists, was a schoolteacher, members of that profession apparently being the most likely to have the time, education or burning desire to produce a detailed account of the passing scene of their time. Unfortunately, perhaps as a result of his pedagogical experience, Riddle's literary characteristics represent the epitome of that elegant era when elaborate bombast was considered the zenith of epistolary endeavor.

The first half of the book describes life in Lancaster in the 1840's. The most interesting part involves the description (often with accompanying photographs) of peddlers, scissors grinders, blind beggars, black banjo players and other street figures found in Lancaster of the day. A brief sojourn in Virginia during his youth provided Riddle with an opportunity to observe and describe the celebration of Easter and Christmas there. The latter part of Cherished Memories is concerned with his first teaching position in the rural Amish and describe the celebration of Easter and Christmas there. The latter part of Cherished Memories is concerned with his first teaching position in the rural Amish

This section, interesting as it is for the student of the early Pennsylvania German culture, is marred by the author's attempt to reproduce the local speech, often in the form of sight-dialect rather than in consistently accurate phonetic misspellings. The result is a mixture of sounds sometimes like Dutch, other times like Irish or Negro. Witness the following description of a visit to Philadelphia:

'Attributed to Pliny (Epistles, iii. 5), the phrase appears in the picaresque novel Lazarillo de Tormes in 1554, in Agustín de Rojas' Viaje entretenido (1603; ed. Madrid, 1901, 11, 36), and twice in Don Quijote (pt. II, chs. 3, 59).
Of more interest to students of folk culture are the occasional references to folk customs, many of which are now extinct. In describing an egg fight with Negro children in Virginia, Riddle enlightens us with the information that a hard-boiled guinea-hen's egg is virtually indestructible: "It was from these bright-eyed woolly-heads I learned to use the small, speckled guinea egg to good effect in an 'end-to-end' contest with the ordinary kind. Held tightly in the hand, there could be but one result, the winning over of the common kind, not excepting the duck, goose or turkey egg" (p. 22). Jewish boys in Harrisburg during the 1920's were also aware of this egg's durability.

Other aspects of folk life mentioned in Riddle's book are square dancing, to the music of Abe Miller's String Band, playing such tunes as "Virginia Reel," the "Lancers," "Fisher's Hornpipe," and the "Devil's Dream" (p. 11); the celebration of Christmas in Virginia, with the shooting of firecrackers and the appearance of "belsnickles" (p. 23); a country sale (pp. 216-224), at which the auctioneer is depicted as hypnotizing his bidders into buying things they don't need at prices above those of the stores; and a country (i.e., Mennonite) funeral (pp. 271-272).

Of interest too are the infrequent inclusions of traditional folk narratives, though Riddle's style makes them almost unrecognizable as folklore. Witness his version of the "Boots by Telegraph" story:

In those early days of telegraphing, we boys were much interested in a story since become trite. It seems, as it occurs to our mind, a well-known shoemaker of the town, after having finished a pair of calf-skin boots for one of the elite, concluded that the quickest way to get them to the owner was to hang them over the telegraph-wire. Having accomplished this to his satisfaction, he quietly awaited the return of the owner with the cash. As it so happened, along came an Irishman who, glancing up by the light of the moon, exclaimed: "A fair exchange is no robbery." So off with his rawhides, up the pole he goes, exchanging the calfskins for his own. Early the morning following, the shoemaker, stepping to the door and seeing the old pair dangling from the wire, turned to his spouse and said, "Bless ye, me darlin', if th' wire hasn't been sendin' anything!"


"Harry Kramer [a Jewish peddler in Cumberland County in the 1920's] would buy a case of eggs on Easter, an' he'd take them down to Harrisburg an' that week he wouldn't work at all. And he'd try to get a half a dozen guinea eggs t' take along, an' then they'd take them and boil these eggs and they'd break all the other kids' eggs, and these guinea eggs, they wouldn't break, an' Sammy would get all the other kids' eggs." (J. Russell Barrick, Carlisle, March, 1970). Shoemaker (op. cit.) mentions the deceptive use not only of guinea eggs but of wooden colored eggs as well.
th' new ones to th' owner, with th' old ones back to be mended!" (pp. 63-64)

Compare, too, the simple style of this story from the Ozarks:

A fellow come along trying to get a job teaching in our school. The members of the board ask him if he believed in evolution, and he says no, because he was raised a Baptist. So then they ask him about geography, and whether the world is round or flat. "It don't make no difference to me," says he, "I teach both systems."

—with the verbosity of Riddle's version of the same story, attributed to an "elderly pedagogue of the old school":

The longer I conversed, the more I was to learn that there was a wide difference of opinion among the Amish, as they were called, as to the rotundity of the earth, some believing it was flat, others that it was square and a few of the more intelli-

gent that it was spherical in shape. When appealed to for my views on this weighty question, I hadn't any to offer, not having the slightest conception whether it was flat, square or round, nor was I anxious to be informed. And to his own, he was equally unconcerned, being willing to teach the subject when required, any way the patrons wanted it taught, whether round, flat or square. (p. 144)

Of course not all of the folktales in Cherished Memories of Old Lancaster are of this pedagogue's style. Some are extremely simplified, almost allusive rather than narrative, like the anecdote about Harry Stiff, the local gravedigger:

This recalls one other occasion, when Harry Stiff was asked what he proposed doing with the surplus earth, he replied with a squint of the eye, "Dig another hole to put it in." (p. 75)

The tall tale of the bottomless lake (motif X1545.1) is also told with stark, though literary simplicity:

You know, he went on, as he dangled his pedals over a rail, "that there's a lake over the old country with no bottom at all? . . . My cousin was showing the pond to a gentleman one day who looked incredulous like, just as you do yourself, and as my cousin couldn't understand to have his word doubted by the fine gentleman, he said: 'By the great Jehovah, I'll prove the truth of my words', and so, off with his clothes and in he jumped, dived under and he didn't come up again at all, at all. But certain it is he wasn't drowned, sir, for a month latter I received a letter from my cousin in China to send on his clothes." (pp. 144-145)

And another short narrative, again more an allusion than a tale, refers to "Mortality Joe's" unusual method of fishing for catfish:

Fishing at the big buttonwood! Well, it was a cold day when old "Mortality Joe" couldn't be seen sitting there with his four long poles. If occasionally he failed to return with a string of catties less than a yard long, there was something wrong, either with the hook or bait. Meeting him at sunrise, it was fun for the boys to ask, "Where are the worms, Joe?" And his reply, "W-o-m-s, w-o-m-s!" as his cheeks bulged out, indicating where he usually kept his stock in trade. (p. 69)

This is a very early example of the modern sick joke.

The rather ancient tale, "Selling Foxes as They Run" (motif K196.1), is here told about fish, but the underlying trick is the same:

One Jessie Bently, a tall, raw-boned peddler, . . . usually drove a pair of slab-sided quadrupeds, one of which, as ill-luck would have it,  


fell dead. Stopping at a farm house for what he most needed, another mate to the off-mare, he caught a glimpse of the farmer's blind "hoss" grazing away in the meadow. Stepping up to Farmer Jeremiah, he turned and said, after explaining his dilemma, "W-all, Farmer Jere, how would ye like swappin' yer blind mare fur a load o' 'saltin'-down' fur yer winter use?"

"Kind uf denx it wouldn't be a bad swap providin' we kin 'gree on der number un' size. Ye see," with a wink of his left eye, "dem mit more bones 'an meat, I'll be sendin' iver to der bishop, mit plenty uf time to be pickin' der bones."

"Jis' o' my way o' thinkin', Jeremiah. But ye must recollec' there be all kind o' fishes in th' river, shad, herrin' catties, mullets, horn-chubs, perch, sunnies, wall-eyed pike, eels, an' a few speckled trout, an' this bein' so, ye'll have to take 'em as they run, as they run, Farmer Jeremiah, an' don't ye forget what I'm tellin' ye!"

With this understanding that Jere was to take them as they run, Jesse starts with the blind mare for the fishing banks, only to return at least a half-dozen times with a full supply of shad and herring, but never once did he stop to give Farmer Jeremiah even a smell of his weekly catch.

It was well toward the close of the shad-fishing season that Jere, growing suspicious as to receiving his supply of "saltin's-down," started hot-foot for the river, and meeting the peddler, as he was about returning with a load, exclaimed, "Kensht der me nicht? Ich bien der Jeremiah Hollfus."

"W-all, what can I do fur ye, Mr. Hollfus?" Waiting a reply, "Did I promise ya any fishes?"

"Uf 'cose, uf 'cose yer did: said der be all kind uf fishes in der river, sume large, sume small, un' that I wus to nem 'em as da run; but up to present time der Farmer Jeremiah hesn't hed a chance to take 'em, big or small."

"Seems, Farmer Jere," in deep study, "that somethin' was said 'bout yer takin' 'em as they run, an' this bein' th' case, there's th' river, there they run; take as many as ye please 'fore th' shad-season closes." (pp. 69-71)

This mixture of erudite and folk styles is characteristic of the other two traditional narratives in Riddle's book. The first, which might be called "The Living Corpse," is here associated with another genre, the Medical Students' Practical Joke:16

16Ernest Baughman (Type and Motif Index of the Folktales of England and North America [The Hague, 1966]) lists this as motif J1499.6 and cites four occurrences of it.

How nerve-racking the story of how three medical students went in search of a "stiff," and disappointed in their search, loaded one of their own three into a wagon, telling the driver where to unload his charge. Covered with a white spread, on, on the colored man drove in Rockland street, with the other two following at a safe distance as witnesses of the scene so soon to materialize. For a time, all was as quiet as the old graveyard beyond; then came heavy breathing from under the white spread. "Only the wind playing its pranks," grumbled the colored driver, glancing back over his shoulder, as he gave the nag a slight touch of the lash. And yet the faster he drove the more life his unearthly demon seemed to manifest. Suddenly, and without warning, up "Mr. Ghost" in its white robe, ready to embrace the old darkey, who, dropping the lines, leaped from the wagon, and with an unearthly yell that sent the echoes flying, started at a double-quick homeward-bound. "Hi, ho! and where are you going?" came the voice of the supposed "stiff," throwing off the thin disguise, as the old darkey turned for an instant and replied, "Fer de Lord's sake, boss, des am no place fur a respect'ful culled pusson wid a family ub seven childrens to be caught prowlin' 'roun' wid ebil spirits, scarin' old Mose to be losin' his 'librium!" And never afterwards could the old colored driver be found within a mile of any burying-plot after night had set in. (p. 73)

The final example of folktales, one whose variants have been widely collected in the middle of the 20th Century (see Baughman, motif N384.2[a]), is told by Riddle at great length (pp. 229-232) in what purports to be the language of the participants. One Jimmy M'Guire, as a test of courage and for a small reward offered, agrees to spend an hour in the presence of a corpse in the "dead-house." As evidence of his persisitency, he is to tack a strip of red flannel to the side of the rough-box. Later his friends discover him there, dead of fright, with his coat-tail accidentally nailed to the rough-box.

Superstitions are not usually mentioned in the writings of local historians. When they do appear, they are usually cited as examples of the credulous primitivism of the early inhabitants, though on occasion an author will include a reference to a practice which he does not consider superstitious but which is clearly so. Riddle, for instance, uses the word "superstition" in reference to such things as demons, hobgoblins and other spectres, a frequent interpretation of the word in local historical texts. Only once does he identify a superstition in the contemporary folkloric sense, when he states that, after stepping on a hot horseshoe in a blacksmith shop, "although somewhat superstitious, at no time since could I be persuaded to hang one of these disturbers of my peaceful moments over the door of my bedroom as a sign of good luck" (p. 114). None of the other superstitious beliefs and practices included is so identified, but a number of them have parallels in standard collections. 17

Folk remedies make up a great part of them. Cobwebs, Riddle notes, are adequate substitute for antiseptic plasters (p. 151; Brown, no. 858; Fogel, no. 1546), and he recalls that when bitten by a gander "a solution of goose-grease well applied gave immediate

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17To Baughman's bibliography add James A. Shope, "Ghost Tales and Legends Mainly from Eastern Kentucky," Kentucky Folklore Record, 12 (1866), 54 (no. 45); Chuck Perdue, "I Swear to God It's the Truth If I Ever Told It," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 14 (1969), 32-33 (no. 52); George C. Carey, Maryland Folk Legends and Folk Songs (Cambridge, Md., 1971), pp. 26-27. Cf. Stanley L. Robe, Index of Mexican Folktales (Berkeley, 1973), type 1676B.
relief as a counter irritant’’ (p. 21). His mother once
gave him a dose of calomel jalap for what she thought
was measles or scarlet fever (p. 111), and he discovered
for himself that sleeping with his shoes on was “a
preventive against the gout, rheumatism or cramp in
the calves of one’s extremities’’ (p. 56).

Weather lore is also cited. The groundhog is
mentioned twice (pp. 10, 266; cf. Brown, nos. 6044-45,
Fogel, no. 1218) and Jack Frost is given credit for
“giving the leaves a rainbow coloring’’ (p. 265), but
the most significant passage of weather belief occurs
when Menno Mengen, the farmer with whom Riddle
boarded as a schoolteacher in the “up’’ country, says:

It’s goin’ to be one of der alta old-fashioned
winters, mit snow kiverin’ der tops of the Canada
thistle, iver by the longa lane.’’ And it was only
necessary for his “goot’’ Nancy to ask what kind
of signs, not contained in the John Baer Almanac,
he had been discovering, to start the Prophet
Mengen to declaring, in his Dutch idiom: ‘‘Not uf
der goose-bone kind, to be hittin’ it one day
un’ missin’ it der next, un’ which der philosopher
livin’ iver in Berks county’s been makin’. No,
Nancy,’’ he continued, “it isn’t because der
bark’s stickin’ closer to der nor’-west side uf
der alta gum-tree; un’ beside, if ye care to know,
tisnt because der groundhog’s peradin’ mit his
vind’cation-cap tied ‘roun’ his neck in predictin’
a early Spring that Mengen’s got in mind at
this particular moment; it’s der blasted razor
backs that have been findin’ der way back to der
farm uf der own volution, un’ so thin, as to be
needin’ der whole summer’s crop uf corn to be
gittin’ ‘em in shape fur Christmas butcherin’.
un’ no mistake . . . If Mengen be a jedge uf
der signs that have never failed, it’s der bristles
uf cella razorbacks that beats der goose-bone
every time.’’ (pp. 265-266)

Only a few other superstitions are included, one
being “Mortality Joe’s’’ belief that chewing tobacco
juice applied to worms makes fish bite better (p. 69;
Brown, no. 7840). The others are practices related
to the signs of the moon so frequently observed in
the Dutch Country:

Menno’s been diskiverin’ that der shingles uf
der alta Grumberger’s barn have been flarin’
up on end, causin’ him to be kiverin’ it durin’
der down-goin’ uf der moon. (p. 266)

It’s der posts uf der Fustluff’s fence that have
been takin’ theirselves upward, makin’ der post
holes ready fur ‘nother plantin’ uf posts mit
der goin’ down, ‘stead uf der up-goin’ uf der
moon. (p. 266)

From this scant amount of folkloric material (fewer
than fifty proverbs, fourteen superstitions, eight folk-
tales, the titles of half a dozen folksongs, and a couple
of miscellaneous folk customs) to be found in the 334
pages of Riddle’s book, one might be led to conclude

that little folklore existed in Lancaster County in the
last half of the 19th Century. One must recall, however,
that Riddle was not a folklorist. From his conception
of the word “superstition,’’ it is probable that he had
no idea what the word “folklore’’ meant or that what
he was including was indeed folklore. Nor should
one expect him to, for his purpose in writing was
something completely different. Obviously Riddle’s
Cherished Memories of Old Lancaster and other such
productions of local writers could easily be dismissed
as ephemera of little value to historian or literary schol-
ar, but it is to just such works that the folklorist
must often turn for evidence of the persistence of a
tale or superstition in a given area.

Three years before the formation of the American
Folklore Society, Henry C. Michener, addressing a
meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society on
“The Object of a Local Historical Society,’’ noted
that “it is the province of these local societies to go
down to these details of ancestral life which have
formed the back-ground to the great events which all
men know, to levy contributions upon every source
of information, so that it may be possible to reproduce
the old ways, habits, manners and tone of life.’’ He
reminded his listeners, without using the word folklore,
that “the true historian . . . considers no anecdote,
no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too
insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of
religion and of education, and to mark the progress
of the human mind.’’ One lesson made evident from
the examination of local histories is that folklore is
rarely recognized as such by its bearers. It is the task
of the folklorist scholar to identify it with the touchstone
of practical experience and the bibliographical tools
of his trade.

10 Regarding the Canada thistle, there is a belief in Cumberland
County that the winter’s snow will be as deep as the ragweed is
tall (Bloserville, Oct. 1971). The examination of the goosebone
has been discussed by William J. Rupp, Bird Names and Bird
250, etc.; cf. also Lenz, KFQ, 6, no. 3 (1962), 12; Barrick, KFQ,
9 (1964), 27; Lefcourt, KFQ, 12 (1967), 175; Brown, no. 6086.
Regarding the tightness of bark, see Brown, no. 6092. Thick
animal fur is commonly believed to predict a hard winter; see
Brown, no. 6076; Rupp, p. 243; Barrick, KFQ, 9, 26.

11 The belief that shingles nailed on a roof during the “up’’ sign
of the moon will curl has been frequently recorded: Brown,
nos. 8466-71; Fogel, no. 1252; Hoffman, JAF, 1, 129; Theodore
51; Yoder, PF, 12, no. 4 (1962), 37; Barrick, PF, 15, no. 4
(1966), 43; Becker, PF, 25, no. 2 (1975-76), 15; Dieffenbach, PF,
25, no. 2 (1975-76), 45.

12 Cf. Brown, nos. 8345, 8465; Fogel, no. 1252; Phoebe Earle
Gibbons, Pennsylvania Dutch (Lancaster, 1882), p. 53; Hoffman,
JAF, 1, 129; Brinton, JAF, 5 (1892), 179; Long, Tales, p. 51;
Yoder, PF, 12, no. 4, p. 37.

13 Later published in A Collection of Papers Read Before the
Bucks County Historical Society, 1 (1908), 297-304.
The study of wills and inventories has added a significant dimension to the exploration of 18th Century folklife. Through their analysis, one may discover the laws, customs and values which governed the lives of individuals. An interpretation of the bequests and a content analysis of the inventoried items in an individual’s possession may reveal his or her observation of the rules and values not only of the greater society but of the smaller sub-culture in which he or she moved. Several authors have contributed to this methodology in the last twenty years, taking as their geographical region Southeastern Pennsylvania. Russell Wieder Gilbert made, perhaps, the definitive study of Pennsylvania German Wills;1 Robert Bethke interpreted Quaker widows’ wills in Chester County, adding a new perspective to the field;2 Carol Kessler analysed the contents of ten Tulpehocken inventories, adding ethnographic data to present a fuller picture of the individuals within their culture;3 Jane Spencer Edwards combined the techniques for interpreting wills and inventories in her study of early Welsh settlers in the Philadelphia area;4 and Synnove Haughom isolated two areas of interest, religion and education, and revealed their manifestation in the wills of the Pennsylvania Dutch.5 Kessler has pointed to the inadequacies of limiting one’s research to inventories: “The inventories would be even more interesting if read in conjunction with the corresponding will since this would provide a more complete view of household contents as well as providing insight into social factors regulating family practices.”6 This paper will utilize both documents to obtain a clearer picture of the quality of life for the individuals concerned.

The population selected for this study is drawn from Pennsylvania German widows residing in Philadelphia County between the years 1750-1784, when Montgomery County became distinct from Philadelphia. Individual names were subjected to surname analysis to determine Germanic descent. The time period represented and the geographical area delineated confine the individuals to a specific era in the history of Southeastern Pennsylvania. Lemon defines five periods of growth in this region in the 18th Century and divides the area into two geographic zones.7 The individuals represented in this paper lived and died in the latter two periods, which Lemon terms the boom, from 1730-1765, and the stabilization, from 1766-1800. Their wills and inventories will therefore reflect the growing prosperity of the times. They were inhabitants of the first zone, which Lemon defines as thirty miles or one day’s journey from Philadelphia, and were accordingly influenced by the “overwhelming importance of Philadelphia.”8

The women who wrote these wills, and whose possessions were inventoried, shared the common experiences and restrictions of their sex, imposed upon them by law and custom of 18th Century America and German tradition. The documents will accordingly be examined for observation of the laws regarding property rights; educational and religious values and practices; attitudes towards slavery and apprenticeship; styles and mores revealed in dress and personal possessions; distinctions between rural and urban documents; the documents as indicators of relative prosperity, and prosperity as an indicator of values; material objects commonly owned and bequeathed by women; special considerations regarding sex, age and relationship to testatrix; and occupations and skills in which the widows were participants.

**PROPERTY RIGHTS**

As Ella Chalfant has pointed out, the identity of the woman was entirely merged in that of her husband, in the 18th Century; the married woman rarely owned anything outright, even her clothing.9 Thus, when a man died, he usually willed the title to his farm and moveable property to his eldest son.10 “The most common dwelling arrangements were to give the widow a room with a stove and detailed rights to the homestead. In turn, the son

5Synnove Haughom, “Religious and Educational References in Lancaster County Wills,” *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XV.
6Kessler, p. 30.

1Lemon, p. 122.
2Ibid., p. 122.
4Bethke, p. 17.
acquired the obligation of providing for his mother and of paying her gradually for the home." Daughters usually were bequeathed household goods and clothes; the sons, real estate or money. Dorothea Heiser, of Perkiomen and Skippack, was so grateful to her son for the manner in which he observed his obligations to her, that she dispensed with the usual bequests to her daughters:

To Andrew Heiser, my son, and to his heirs and assigns forever, all the whole one-third part which was left to me by my beloved husband John, which my son Andrew was to give to me, for which cause I have lived with him in Peace. Therefore, that no body whatsoever it may be, shall ever make any demand to him for the same. Also, to Andrew Heiser, his heirs and assigns forever: all my household goods — what is in the kitchen and house used, as Pewter, copper, iron, earthen and woodenware and also my Black Walnut clothpress, and bedsted to his use and profit only, without giving anybody any account thereof. (Heiser, W46, 1771).

Elizabeth Sneyder, of Springfield, gave her daughter Elizabeth Groff:

To Andrew Heiser, his heir and assigns forever, all the goods to share and share alike. (Sneyder, W36, 1766).

To her son Adam, after she had disposed of all other goods and monies to her daughter-in-law ("one liney paticoat"), and her granddaughters, she bequeathed the rest of her estate. Magdalena Stilfealt of Germantown was left fourteen acres by her husband, which she left to her sons Henry and John, along with the buildings and improvements on the land (Stilfealt, W160, 1750). This last bequest demonstrates the tendency of the widow to make this transference in a case where her husband had failed to do so." It also illustrates the addition of improvements on the original property which was bequeathed to the widow. "Even in small towns, 'improvements' were a main feature. Gradually, back of the house, there would be a bake oven, a washhouse, and a smokehouse, and on the rear of the lot a stable and sty, a large woodpile and a vegetable garden and potato patch." This widow left to her daughter Sophia, "my cow and best bead," and to her other daughters, "all the rest of the goods to share and share alike" (Stilfealt, W160, 1750).

Chalfant states that because it was unusual for a woman to own anything in 18th Century America she wanted to pass what little she had to her daughters and grandchildren. Mary Schwartz provided for her deceased sister's children in her will, leaving the four of them the residue of her estate, after having disposed of personal possessions, requesting that it should be at a public sale by her executor: "the money arising from the sale shall go to them when they reach full age in hand" (Schwartz, W153, 1768). Ann Shilbert, of Germantown, provided for her grandchildren in her will, favoring her granddaughter Hannah:

All and singular my Clothes, Bedding and Household Goods left at the time of my decease, and to be held by my Executors after my Decease and the Monies thereof arising to be paid unto the Said Hannah Englehard, when she arrives at her age or marries. (Shilbert, W319, 1752)

Magdalen Diehl, of the Northern Liberties, left her son George one British sterling shilling. But to her daughter Rachel and her children, the whole of her personal estate, to be divided between them, one-half to go to Rachel, and the other half for her children, to be equally divided among them.

It seems likely that given the law of primogeniture, and the German custom of the eldest son providing for his mother, that the widow would take special care of the daughter's children and her own who were under age. Maria Elizabeth Lehrin, of Philadelphia, desired that all her household goods be sold and that the money be given out only when the youngest came of age. She further directed that the household where she lived be rented and the money put to interest for her children, to be given to them when the youngest came of age, at which time she wanted her eldest son, John Adam, to sell the house, from which sale he should have five pounds more than his sisters (Lehrin, W247, 1773). Catherine Wiltberger left the maintenance and education of her three youngest children to her daughter Juliana and her husband, only allowing the estate to be divided when she was sure that they were out of want, at which time it was to be divided equally among her seven children (Wiltberger, W, 1781). In the case of an eldest son receiving the real estate and the money, and the obligation to take care of his mother, it is possible that her younger children who were underage might be his responsibility too. In the event of her death, it was particularly important for her to insure for their welfare.

RELIGION

Religion was an important force in the lives of Pennsylvania Germans. As Rush observed, "All of the different sects among them are particularly attentive to the religious education of their children and to the establishment and support of the Christian religion". The Reformed and the Lutheran Churches dominated the German settlements of Philadelphia County. German widows, devout, though voiceless in the Church, manifested their commitment to
Christianity and to their Church through bequests, some of them very specific in nature. Anne Magdalen Ponton revealed the full extent of her support in her will:

The Church Senate of Elders and Vestrymen of the United St. Michael's and Zion German Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania shall immediately after my interment take full possession of all my movable goods to wit — cattle, household furniture, beds, cloaths etc. and publicly sell the same and I do hereby bequeath and confirm unto the above mentioned Church Senate of Elders and Vestrymen the monies arising from such sale to the end and purpose that the same shall be employed for the Use and Benefit of the German United St. Michael's and Zion Churches and Schools of the Lutheran Religion in Philadelphia. (Ponton, W6, 1774)

She also bequeathed five pounds to the Roman Catholic congregation of Philadelphia as a “charitable gift,” confirming the German interest in organized Christianity generally. Elizabeth Sneyder, of Springfield, gave two pounds and ten shillings to the Presbyterian Church in her will, in 1766. Margaret Hillegass, of Philadelphia, in her will in 1770, instructed her executors that her son Michael, “out of the money he owes me [shall give] unto the Rector, Vestrymen and Church Wardens of the German Lutheran Congregation of St. Michael’s and Zion Church 25 pounds” (Hillegass, W412, 1770).

Elizabeth Vanderspiegel, a wealthier widow of Philadelphia, gave in 1774, “to the Church Rectors and Vestrymen of the United Swedish Church of Wicaco and Upper Merion 50 pounds.” And to the “Rector and Church Vestrymen of the German Lutheran Congregation of and near the city of Philadelphia,” she gave the sum of 150 pounds, specifying its uses as follows: “the sum of 100 pounds the part forward discharging the debts that are or may be contracted for building and finishing the Church at a place called Barren Hill in Whitemarsh Township” (Vanderspiegel, W1, 1774). This last demonstrates the interest a widow had in the expansion of her church. Her will coincides with the building of the Lutheran church in Falckner’s Swamp, organized by Pastor Muhlenberg.14 At this same time, the founder of the German Reformed Church, the Reverend John Philip Boehm, organized three Reformed Churches in Falckner’s Swamp, Skippack, and Whitemarsh.15 Later in the century, a Roman Catholic Church was established in Philadelphia. The contributions to organized Christianity by German women can be measured by their monetary bequests; their voice in policymaking heard in the special provisions devised in their wills.

The religious and personal convictions of German widows may also be discovered through reading their wills. One woman desired that her Negro slave girl be taught the “true principles of the Christian religion” (Vanderspiegel, W1, 1774). During the early history of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia, the congregation was divided in their choice of a pastor between the Reverend Michael Schlatter and the Reverend Conrad Steiner.20 Magdalen Diehl, the wife of Michael Diehl, a church elder and caretaker of the cemetery, revealed her preference for Steiner by her bequest to him of five pounds. She further left twelve pounds to her executor to be applied to the “use of the Dutch Reformed Calvin Church” (Diehl, W22, 1761).

**Education**

Education for Pennsylvania German children, by the middle of the 18th Century, had become a high priority, the immigrants having established themselves comfortably by this time.21 Klees states that the emphasis was on education for males,22 with the exception of the Moravians who educated both boys and girls. However, Rush observed, “There is scarcely an instance of a German of either sex, in Pennsylvania, that cannot read; but many of the wives and daughters of the German farmers cannot write.” Pennsylvania German widows manifested their interest in education by providing for the schooling of their underage children, and by the numbers and kinds of books found on their inventories. Appolonia Strous left five pounds for the education of her granddaughter Eve Sneyder, “to be paid for schooling and books ... to be kept at school by her father Adam” (Strous, W206, 1759). Ann Shilbert appointed the executors of her will the legal guardians of her four grandchildren; “And I commit the care and Education of them unto them until my said Grandchildren are arrived at their age respectively” (Shilbert, W319, 1752). Books were found on eight out of ten inventories, usually not quantified: “sundry old books” (Stilfealt, 1160, 1750); “some old books” (Strous, 1206, 1759); “all her books” (Schwartz, 1163, 1758). The family Bible was generally left to the eldest son, but in the will of Elizabeth Vanderspiegel we find “1 Folio Bible,” and “Josephus History of the Jews.” On another line we find that she had “12 Books with Work, say Needle Work Covers” and “23 others” (Vanderspiegel, 11, 1774). She was obviously a woman of wealth and education. Except in this last example, it is not specified whether these books were in Ger-

13Ibid., p. 79.
14James Owen Knauss, Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in German Newspapers Published in America, The Pennsylvania German Society, 1922 pp. 43-44.
15Ibid., p. 74.
16Klees, p. 289.
17Rush, p. 105.
man or English, or of a religious or secular nature, through Franklin and Saur both printed books for the German community of Philadelphia.

SLAVERY AND APPRENTICESHIP

The Pennsylvania Germans were generally known as opposers of slavery, and rarely employed servants, except as indentured Germans. German newspapers of the times published arguments against slavery, spurred in part, by the German-Americans beginning to purchase slaves when they could not procure German redemptioners. The majority of slave-owners were merchants and manufacturers and the owners of large estates or city homes. Pennsylvania German women owning Negro slaves often released them to freedom in their wills, including elaborate provisions for their future care and security. Elizabeth Vanderspiegel provided for her Negro servant in the following way:

to my Negro girl, aged about ten years, her natural freedom and an annuity of 12 pounds during the term of her natural life; and in order to secure to her as well as her freedom as the paid annuity I will and direct that my executors herein after named put out at interest in any of the public funds . . . at the rate of 6%. And if no such public fund be or the corporation presiding at the same decline to take the said sum of 200 pounds interest that then my said executors put out the said sum to any private person/persons on good sufficient security to be made by mortgage of such lots or lands in the city or county of Philadelphia as of are at least double the value of the money to be lent on and held under a title approved of by counsel . . . she may be brought up in such houses as by the conduct, order and connections of the family she may have opportunity to be converse with living examples of the Fear of God, Honesty and Industry and thereby become more befriended with the true principles of the Christian Religion . . . (she should) be taught reading and instructed in all manner of house-work. (Vanderspiegel, W1, 1774)
The text of this will illustrates the concern the testatrix had for the total welfare of her servant. Catherine Redwitzer gave her Negro servant Mary, the house in which she lived and the lot on which it stood, and provided from her estate, the security which the laws of Pennsylvania required. In addition, she gave her “the Bed bedstead bedcloaths and all that appertains to the bed which she uses or lies on, a Chest of drawers, a pot, a box-iron and heaters, and my best Spinning wheel” (Redwitzer, W334, 1760). As for the children of her servant Mary:

I likewise Impower and authorise my executors herein after named, to Bind out the three Negro Children belonging to my Estate, named Tina, Luke and Rachel, (being the children of my said Negro woman) and to put them to good places where they maybe likely to be used well, and to such as may be agreeable to their mother, each to serve until they respectively arrive at the age of twenty-eight years, and no longer; at which age, I do hereby set them and each of them free from all bondage or slavery to any person or persons to whom the said three Negro Children are so as aforesaid bound to, shall be obligated for themselves to give the Security the Law then requires on account of their being set free. (Redwitzer, W334, 1760).

Catherine Wiltberger, in an effort to secure her three youngest children financially, devised that they be “bound apprentices or otherwise put on a footing so as not to be chargeable to my Estate” (Wiltberger, 1781). The German tradition of apprenticeship often provided more than the ostensible learning to the individual bound, and the value of apprenticeship continued in the German community in America.

STYLES AND MORES REVEALED IN DRESS AND PERSONAL POSSESSIONS

Pennsylvania German widows had often been bequeathed their wearing apparel by their husbands. In their own wills, certain items assumed a high priority, jackets and quilted petticoats appearing most often as bequests to daughters and granddaughters. Often the wearing apparel was not itemized, but when it was, the relative affluence of a widow was evidenced by the quantity of items in one category, the quality of the material from which the item was made, or its showing outside influence. Magdalen Abel’s inventory showed her to be a woman of some prosperity:

- 9 pettycoats and a cloak
- 9 jackets and a petticoat
- 4 short gowns
- 8 handkerchiefs
- 9 aprons
- 18 caps
- 3 pair Hacin (Abel, 192, 1771)

Catherine Wiltberger, a woman of some wealth in Philadelphia, did not have an itemization of her wearing apparel except in the case of “16 wool hatts” (Wiltberger, 1781). Elizabeth Sneyder, of Spring-field, listed among her bequests two silk handkerchiefs (Sneyder, W36, 1766), and Mary Schwartz, of Lower Salford, listed “silver sleeve buttons” among the items in her inventory.

Clothing tended to be made out of wool, linen, or a combination of the two called “linsey woolsey,” damask and calico. The predominance of wool and linsey woolsey indicates the simplicity of dress, even among the more prosperous, wool being a fiber used by the poorer segments of society. In instances of color indication, white and black appear most often, with plaid occurring once, stripe occurring twice, and green occurring once.
The seems to have been influenced by other groups in her the items inventoried for food preparation one finds: of Elizabeth Vanderspiegel. Catherine Wiltberger method of food preparation and consumption. Among the dripping pan and the spit among the inventory English method of roasting meats. skillet; and baked, using the Dutch pans were made out of copper, iron and brass.

and several graters. referred being boiled, using the kettle; fried, using the every inventory that itemized kitchen 29 concerns to provide for her nutritional needs.

THE KITCHEN

Gilbert has described the rights, privileges and obligations accorded the widow in all aspects of food preparation, as well as the responsibility of the eldest son to provide for her nutritional needs.29 On almost every inventory that itemized kitchen "furniture," there appeared a reference to the preparation and serving of tea. One finds pewter teapots (Schwartz, 159, 1768) and teakettles, teacups and dishes (Schwartz, 159, 1768), and Chineywear (Redwitzer, 1334, 1760). Ann Klein had a coffee mill and a coffee pot (Kline, 1116, 1775). Catherine Wiltberger owned "1 long brass coffee box" (Wiltberger, 1781).

Testimony to the ever-present sauerkraut and cabbage dishes are "a cabbage cutter" (Kline, 1116, 1775), and several graters. Pennsylvania German women grew flowers and vegetables in their gardens and potato patches. Thus, one finds "waterpots" (Kline, 1116, 1775; Diehl, 122, 1761); and water cans.

Meat was prepared in a variety of ways, the preferred being boiled, using the kettle; fried, using the skillet; and baked, using the Dutch oven.30 The three pans were made out of copper, iron and brass. The "dripping pan" or "trippet" referred to the English method of roasting meats. One finds both the dripping pan and the spit among the inventory of Elizabeth Vanderspiegel. Catherine Wiltberger seems to have been influenced by other groups in her method of food preparation and consumption. Among the items inventoried for food preparation one finds:

Other items found on inventories for kitchens included: pottermakers, wood trays and trenchers, dough trough, waffle irons, butter print, gridirons, ladles and flesh forks (ostensibly serving implements), cleavers and wooden spoons. Hearth cooking was represented by pot racks and hooks. Magdalene Stiftealt owned a potrack, an old pair of tongs, an old hammer (Stiftealt, 1160, 1750) and Catherine Redwitzer owned “2 pair potracks, a gridiron, and an old iron kettle pot” (Redwitzer, 1334, 1760).

Among the actual furniture listed for the kitchen were:

1 dresser (Stiftealt, 1160, 1760)
1 door with 7 Spanish glasses (Wiltberger, 1781)
chest and table (Schwartz, 1153, 1768)
the kitchen dresser (Kline, 1116, 1775)
1 kitchen table and stand (Vanderspiegel, 11, 1774)
A kitchen Crane (Wiltberger, 1781)

Both Catherine Wiltberger and Elizabeth Vanderspiegel indicate their relative prosperity in the kitchen by possessing tin weights and scales, items not found on the other inventories. In addition, Elizabeth Vanderspiegel owned “Delph plates, 18 teaspooons, one strainer and 2 sugar tongs,” and several pewter and silver tankards engraved with initials (Vanderspiegel, 11, 1774).

Kessler indicates that wood was a common material used for eating implements, appearing in early inventories. Although pewter was common, it was not manufactured locally; the same would hold true for tinware. For some reason, earthenware, as she also noted, was generally lumped together and was not itemized. There were three mentions of stone jugs. An excess number of pots reflected their production locally.31

Elizabeth Vanderspiegel has noted on her inventory a "market bench." Kessler explains their use as a resting place for milk or water.32 Perhaps she sold some product at one of the city markets.

Widows were generally left stoves, to heat their dwelling chamber.33 Those listed were:

1 cannon stove with a plat unter (Kline 1116, 1775)
1 ten-plated stove (Wiltberger, 1781)
1 iron stove (Abel, 192, 1771)
a foot stove (Schwartz, 1153, 1768)
and the stove and all thereto belonging.

The ten-plated stove owned by Catherine Wiltberger was a relatively new invention developed by Christopher Saur, and displayed in his printing establishment in Germantown. Those who owned them indicated their ability to afford a more expensive item.

Along with stoves were left all manner of heating equipment. Lumber was listed frequently, although sometimes it referred to “old household stuff; also

30Kessler, p. 22.
31Ibid., p. 22.
32Ibid.
33Ibid., p. 23.
things useless and of small Value Diagnostic. Andirons or dog irons were listed, along with tongs and shovels and bellows. Several iron, such as boxirons, flatirons and heaters were often grouped together. Kessler has suggested that boxirons were used for ironing, hot coals being placed inside the receptacle. Eight of the inventories listed equipment for stoves and fireplaces.

Several varieties of linens, often listed with the kitchen equipment, were mentioned in the inventories. Among those most frequently found were tablecloths; less frequently listed were napkins, with the exception of Vanderspiegel, who owned 28 of them. Vanderspiegel was the only one to own window curtains and valences.

A high priority item in bequests was the spinning wheel. These were bequeathed to the widow who, in turn, bequeathed them to her daughters first, granddaughters second, and friends third. In one example, Catherine Redwitzer bequeathed her "best spinning wheel" to her Negro servant (see above). The spinning wheel was often grouped with kitchen equipment, although it was also found in bedroom groupings.

BEDROOM GROUPINGS

In almost every inventory, a bed, or part of one, was listed. Apparently, a complete bed consisted of a bedstead, a featherbed, sheets, blankets, pillows, pillows, and a bolster. Occasionally, a rug was thrown in. According to Bethke, featherbeds were very expensive in the 18th Century.

24Wiltberger owned the largest variety and finest quality chairs, couches, chests, boxes and trunks, and chests slept was the room in which she lived, reserved especially for her use by the son of the widow.

A chamber table
A walnut table with base

Other tables were either unspecified or described as pine, little or kitchen, indicating the ownership of kitchen furniture by the widow. Chests were common items belonging to widows. Many of them held "lumber" and "rags" (Strous, 1206, 1759). Of the many containers inventoried with the widow's possessions, were boxes, some made out of walnut, baskets for lumber and rags, casks, kegs, and trunks, Elizabeth Vanderspiegel owning a leather one.

In the inventories surveyed, several items emerged as unusual. Catherine Wiltberger owned "2 blinds," and "1 screen"; she also had a walnut desk and bookcase, or a secretairy; Dorothea Heiser and Cathrine Wiltberger both owned cupboards; Dorothea Heiser owned a clothes press. Both Catherine Wiltberger and Elizabeth Vanderspiegel owned several pictures, the latter's described as painted landscapes and family pictures. There was a notable lack of wall decorations in these inventories, and the appearance of pictures is indeed out of the ordinary.

LIVESTOCK AND LIGHT FARM GEAR

It was customary for the widow to be left several animals and fowl, or to have them at her disposal. Even in the city, many individuals kept orchards, gardens and a cow or two. Thus, the presence of a cow in the inventory of Catherine Wiltberger is not surprising. Likewise, light farm gear might be expected in most wills of widows. In the inventories studied, several species of livestock were represented, yet fewer than would seem usual, given the tradition of bequeathing a cow and a riding horse to the German widow.

1 cow, six fowles (Stilfealt, 1160, 1750)
A cow (Redwitzer, 1334, 1760)
2 sheep and one lamm (Kline, 1116, 1775)
1 cow (Wiltberger, 1781)

Among the light farm gear inventoried for Catherine Wiltberger, the owner of a cow, we find:

* 1 rack and 2 hay forks, a scaper dung fork and spade
A wheel barrow and a number of market benches
A cow harness

For Ann Kline, a country resident of Upper Salford Township, we find some implements used for clearing a space for planting:

2 hoes a hached heles a gridiron
maul waggis grobings and other hows and old axes

(Kline, 1116, 1775)

The last line of the above reveals an interesting fact about Pennsylvania agriculture. The archaic definition for "maul," in Webster's New Collegiate Diction-
ary, is a "heavy mallet, staff or mace". A grub was a sapling that could be shaken at the roots through the use of a special axe, and then be bent backwards and forwards. "If it yielded to this action, it was called a grub." The special axe was called a grub-axe. It is difficult to say if the first three words on this line are to be read together; yet, I think it is safe to assume that implements used in "grubbing," the typical German method for clearing a field, instead of the English method, "girdling," are referred to here. Whether the widow was a resident in her son's house, or the mistress of her own; whether she did her own gardening or not; the implements were necessary to her way of life.

FOODSTUFFS

Scant reference is made to food, perhaps, as Kessler suggests, because it belonged to the living. In that case, what was inventoried was clearly associated with the deceased. Perhaps those items so definitely belonging to the deceased widow were representative of her traditional bequest from her husband. The range of foodstuffs to which the widow had access were grains, flour, vegetables and all vital foods, condiments, spices, honey or a hive of bees, the spence, an allotment of meats, emphasizing pork, cider and fats. Given the definition of her needs and her rightful allotment by bequest, the following inventoried edibles "belong" to her:

- dry beans
- mill trap
- cask with beans
- a bag with buckwheat
- 6 old bags, flour, meal, some rye
  (Kline, 1116, 1775)
- about 50 pounds of gamons of bacon
  (Diehl, 122, 1761)
- 2 old bags with some meal
  (Schwartz, 1153, 1768)
- pack with 1 buchel wheat
- new pack with buchel Ry
- 2 pack with buchel Ry
- an old pack with some rye meal
- a pack with some flour
- a pack with some dry apples
- lard
- a small cask with some salt
  (Strous, 1206, 1759)

The grains, so important to the widow for baking, and her rightful allotment, are fairly represented here. Apples and pork and pork products, reflective of Pennsylvania German culinary tradition, is likewise represented. It is significant that the alcoholic beverages are mostly found on Willberger and Vanderspiegel's inventories, the two widows reflecting a more cosmopolitan, acculturated society than the others considered here. Considering the importance of honey in the foodways of the Pennsylvania Germans, it is odd that honey and/or beehives are mentioned only twice in the ten inventories.

CLOTH AND ITS PRODUCTION

Along with foodstuffs, fibers were the rightful property of widows. As the foodstuffs necessitated the implements integral to their production, so fibers necessitated the tools and implements conditional to their being transformed into cloth. Appolonia Strous seemed to have more items inventoried involved with the production of cloth than did the other widows.

- 4 lbs. soap
- 2 old washing and pail
- 20 1/2 yard white linen
- 2 pair cards
- 22 pound tow yarn
- 5 yards coarse tow linen
- 15 yards coarse linsey-woolsey
- 50 pound flax
- 35 pound tow
  (Strous, 1206, 1759)

Here one may find the variety of cloth being produced by one widow, from the coarsest grades of linsey-woolsey to the finer grade of linen. The processes of washing, bleaching, and carding are also represented here. Bags of wool and pieces of linen cloth are also found in other inventories, along with the above items. While there were eight references to spinning wheels in the documents, there were none to looms, probably because weaving was traditionally a man's task.

Two other items which were specifically willed to women were looking glasses and saddles. There were four references to the former and only two to the latter in all ten inventories.

The realm in which the Pennsylvania German widow moved, during the 18th Century, was a well-regulated and limited one. Forced by law and custom to play only a marginal role in the larger society; within her small sub-group, she seemed to occupy a central position within the family structure, given the many provisions made for her welfare. Rules and customs developed of necessity dictated the types of material objects which she could own and bequeath. Custom and law again regulated the disposition of those objects rather acutely, making the transmission of folkways of women her special province.

APPENDIX I

Information Pertaining to the Widows Studied, taken from the Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Vol. 14, and the Register of Wills, City Hall Archives.

MAGDALEN DIEHL — d. 1761. Magdalen Diehl lived in the Northern Liberties at the time that she wrote her will. She was married to Michael Diehl, an elder in the Old Reformed Church at Fourth and Race Streets, Philadelphia. It was his job to care for the Church cemetery, in 1747. She had two children, George and Rachel. A George Deal is listed in the tax lists of 1769 as living in the Northern Liberties and having the profession of "stok weaver". There was no tax levied on him for that year.

25
DOROTHEA HEISER — d. 1771. Dorothea Heiser lived in the Township of Perkiomen/Skippack. That she is included in the sample is due to the inclusion of Perkiomen in Philadelphia County at the time of her death. The widow of John Heiser, she had five children receiving bequests in her will, one son named Andrew, and four daughters: Barbara Graff, the wife of William Graff; Christina Gonelen, the wife of Christian Gonelen; Elizabeth Vollmer; and Maria Salom. Dorothea and Margaret Graff, two of her granddaughters, and Rebeca Rigg, another granddaughter, are also recipients of bequests.

MARGARET HILLEGASS — d. 1770. Margaret Hillegass was the widow of Michael Hillegass. They were members of the congregation of St. Michael’s and Zion Lutheran Church, although Michael was buried in the “English Episcopal Graveyard”. She had three children to whom she left bequests: Susannah, who was married to Frederick Kuhl; Mary Jennings; and Michael. Her son-in-law Frederick Kuhl, listed as living in Mulberry Ward in 1774, possessed one horse, and was taxed for 168.3.3. It is possible that it is this same Michael Hillegass who became the treasurer of the United States from 1775-1783.

ANN SYBILLA KLINE — d. 1775. Ann Sybilla Kline lived in Lower Salford Township, and was the widow of John Isaac Kline, a yeoman. She had eight children: John, George, Jacob, Richard and Gabriel; and Mary, married to Leonard Melchior; Margaret, married to Joseph Button; and Ann Sybilla, married to John Yerger. Leonard Melchior appears in the 1769 tax lists, living in Springfield, possessing two horses and three cows.

MARIA ELIZABETH LEHRIN — d. 1773. Maria Elizabeth Lehrin lived in Philadelphia. She was the widow of George Michael Lehrin. They attended St. Michael’s and Zion Lutheran Church, where Maria is buried. Maria had three children, all of them under age when she made the will: Elizabeth Catherine, John Adam, and Ana Maria.

ELIZABETH MESSER — d. 1770. Elizabeth Messer lived in Philadelphia at the time of her death. She had two sons, both of them deceased, Thomas and Daniel. She left bequests to Thomas’ two daughters Elizabeth and Mary; and to Daniel’s three daughters, Mary, Cornelia and Rebecca. Her three daughters were named Elizabeth Brockden, Elizabeth Arn and Mary England.

CATHERINE REDWITZER — d. 1760. Catherine Redwitzer was the widow of John Redwitzer, and was living at Plymouth. She had two daughters, Sarah Wagstaff and Elizabeth Coughlin. Sarah Wagstaff was married once before to John Peters, from whom Catherine purchased the “stone messuage with a lot of ten acres” where she lived. The children of Elizabeth Coughlin were named John, William, Samuel and Elizabeth. The children of Sarah Wagstaff were named Evan, Sarah, Ann and George Peters. Evan Peters is listed in the tax lists for Mulberry Ward for 1774.

ANN SHILBERT — d. 1752. Ann Shilbert lived in Germantown and was the widow of Peter Shilbert. She names four grandchildren in her will: Hanna, Henry and George Engelhard, and John Thomas.

ELIZABETH SNEYDER — d. 1766. Elizabeth Sneyder died in Springfield Township, leaving two children, a son Adam and a daughter, Elizabeth Groff. Her son Adam had two daughters named Elizabeth and Eve.

APOLONIA STROUS — d. 1759. Appolonia Strous’ daughter, who was deceased at the writing of the will, was married to Adam Sneyder, who is listed in the tax lists as living in Springfield, possessing two horses and three cows.

The other eight women included in the analysis of the wills are CHRISTIANA BENDER, MAGDALEN ABEL, ANNE MAGDALEN PONTON, MARY ELIZABETH KLEIN, MARY SCHWARTZ, MAGDALEN STILFEALT, ELIZABETH VANDER-SPIEGEL and CATHERINE WILTMERGER. Fifteen of the nineteen had inventories which could be utilized, although only ten were consistently used.

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Forest County Lore

By DONALD E. TAFT

(This article is based on information provided by Mr. Taft in March, 1976, in response to a questionnaire for the Index of Pennsylvania Beliefs and Superstitions being compiled at Shippensburg State College. — Editor)

Forest County, Pennsylvania, with an area of about two hundred square miles, lies in the rich timber belt of the northwestern part of the state. Lumbering and tanning were once important industries in the area, and though one big sawmill remains, the chemical plants, tanneries and lath mills are all gone. This was an important rafting area as well, and many stories of those days are still recalled. The Allegheny River flows through the county and is still an important factor in the region's economy.

James Olney, a noted Allegheny River pilot, after examining the hull of the steam boat which Jerome W. Wetmore built near Warren, Pennsylvania, gave his opinion to this effect: “With good engine 'n a good stern-wheel, 'n a good pilot, 'n plenty of beechwood, she may go down stream, but she'll never come back—NEVER.”

A tall tale told about rafting concerns a timber rafter who got off a raft in Pittsburgh after floating down the Allegheny River and picked a bushel of sweet corn and walked home to Forest County. The humor in the tale lies in the fact that no sweet corn is available during Spring rafting weather. A few other tales of lumbering days survive on the lips of old-timers in Forest County. Two brothers were cutting timber in the area one day. One went home early. The other did not come in at night. Next morning the first brother returned to the area and found the second brother badly injured in the chest, with a tree across his leg. A rattlesnake was coiled on the injured brother's stomach, and snapping at and eating flies that would otherwise have created maggots at the injured flesh, perhaps causing infection. The snake saved the man's life.

Another story is told about Lem Wolfe, near Newlon, Forest County, having a favorite little dog. The dog chased a woodchuck into the 'chuck hole, and each bit the other's mouth and hung on. Being of about the same weight and strength the woodchuck pulled the dog into the hole, then the dog pulled the woodchuck out of the hole. This happened several times. Lem stood by with his double bit axe, intending to cut the 'chuck's head off, but he miscalculated on one of the see-saw pulls, swung and cut his dog's head off.

Another Forest County fable appeared on an unidentified newspaper clipping: A farmer boy stuck his head into the kitchen of a neighbor and asked, “Kin you help me right a load of manure? It turned over in front of yer corn field.” “Well, John,” said the neighbor, “I'll reckon I'll eat my dinner first. Come and have some victuals with us.” “I don't think Paw would like that,” said the boy — but allowed himself to be persuaded. An hour later, the kindly neighbor said, “Let's watch that Bob Hope TV program afore we tackle the truck.” “I don't think Paw would like that,” the boy said again — but he sat down and listened. Finally, fully three hours after the boy's initial appearance, the neighbor rose, yawned, and said, “Now, John, let's right that manure truck of yours. Why don't we call your Paw to help us?” “Oh, didn't I tell you?” said the boy. “Paw's under the manure.”

Ethnic minorities were rare, though gypsies were common, even into the 1920's. Mothers feared for their children being kidnapped. We had one colored family in the County before 1920. When they came to town by horse and buggy, they were referred to as “the big black clouds are coming to town.” Children were told to get in the house since it might rain. The same attitude is reflected in the phrase “There's a nigger in the woodpile,” used to comment on a shady situation.

Being isolated from the centers of progressive medical science, inhabitants of Forest County were forced to rely frequently on home remedies. Some of these are:

- **ax wounds** — Use turpentine; creoline solution. (Brown 2755; Bredle-Unger, 72, 215)
- **backache** — Rub with camphorated oil and cover with cloth; use a warm iron.
- **bee stings** — Mud packs; soda; ammonia; soak in hot water. (Brown 2259, 2262; Fogel, 1102)
- **black eye** — Beefsteak; poultice of tea leaves (Brown 1391)


***Col. Burd . . . had a number of slaves, and an incident in the career of one, in 1768, was the origin of a phrase common in late years — 'the nigger's in the woodpile'" (Notes and Queries, ed. William Eggle, 1st & 2nd ser., v. 2 [Harrisburg, 1895], 341). If accurate the Burd reference is the earliest occurrence of the phrase (cf. the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs [3rd ed.], p. 566).
boils — Birch bark and black alder bark teas. 
bruises — Poultice of tea leaves. 
bruises — Soda-water paste. (Brown 978) 
cold — Fennel tea. (Lick-Brendle, p. 99; Wieand, p. 19) 
constipation — Prunes, prune juice, figs, rhubarb. (Lick-Brendle, p. 75; Wieand, p. 32) 
corns — Soak in hot soapy water, then peel or cut off. 
cuts — Turpentine. (Jack, p. 36; cf. Brown 1268) 
diarrhea — Paragoric, blackberry juice. (Cf. Lick-Brendle, p. 239; Wieand, p. 12) 
earache — Bear-fat oil, rattlesnake oil, a bag of hot hops. (Brown 1330; Brendle-Unger, p. 126). Blow tobacco smoke in the ear. (Brown 1338; Brendle-Unger, p. 115; Bryan, p. 43) 
eczema — Sulphur and tar. 
erysipelas — A tea made from Prince’s pine (pipsissewa). 
freckles — Vinegar and soda. 
gout — Tea from red clover blossoms; wear amber beads. (Brown 1539) 
headache — Catnip tea. 
hiccoughs — Breath in a paper bag; severe scare. (Brown 1673; Fogel 1456) 
itch — Sulphur and tar. 
nosebleed — Cold water compresses on back of neck. (Brown 1886 ff.) Put a cotton or paper wad inside of the upper lip. (Brown 1871; Fogel 1587; Brendle-Unger, p. 41) 
poison ivy — Jewel weed juice, ammonia, soda, borax. 
rheumatism — Boneset tea, blood root and poke root tea, tansy. (Brown 2014; Jack, p. 36) 
ringworm — Sulphur and tar. 
snakebite — Cut into a chicken’s throat and put it on the bite. (Brown 2130; Brendle-Unger, p. 202; also cited by Dioscorides) 
sore — Poultice of flaxseed; witch hazel wash. (Jack, p. 36) 
cy — Poultice of tea leaves. (Brown 2282) 
warts — Rub with castor oil. (Brown 2487) 
worms — Make tea from the crushed roots of worm grass. (Cf. Lick-Brendle, pp. 224-225; Peter Kalm’s Travels [NY, 1937], p. 90) 

Other home remedies involved ways of getting rid of vermin and household pests: 
To get rid of bedbugs, burn sulphur.  
To get rid of mice, put sour chips around buildings or encourage skunks to eradicate them. 
To keep away snakes, burn sulphur. 
To get rid of crows, shoot them, then hang up the dead birds to scare other crows. (Brown 8331) 
For potato bugs, use Paris green spray.
Still other observations reveal the practical side of many of these traditional practices:

- Hot water and ginger were used to make chickens lay.
- Feed hogs soft coal; it’s good for their teeth and digestion.
- Peas were planted on St. Patrick’s Day, March 17. (Cf. Bauer’s Almanac, 1949)
- The best time for planting fruit trees was in March and April, or in October.
- Cold frames and hot beds were used to start seeds for plants to be reset. These included tomatoes, peppers, cabbage, cucumbers, and head lettuce.

Weather-lore collected in Forest County includes many traditional beliefs:

If the groundhog sees his shadow on Feb. 2, there will be 6 more weeks of winter. (Brown 6044; Dunwoody, p. 31; Fogel 1218; Schultz, p. 17)

You can tell what the winter will be by the wooly-beard caterpillar; if it’s a dark color, it means a severe winter; light color, a mild winter; if it’s dark on one end, light in the middle and dark on the other end, it means winter, followed by a mild spell, then winter again. (Brown 6087; Fogel 1183)

A ring around the moon means it’s going to rain or snow. (Brown 6545, 7035; Dunwoody, p. 60; Kalm, p. 81; cf. Fogel 1249)

Bees building their nests close to the ground are a sign of a mild winter.

Spring is here after the peep toads are heard three times. (Fogel 579; cf. Brown 6043)

When chickweed leaves fully open, expect fine weather. (Dunwoody, p. 65)

Signs of rain: Tightening ropes; red sunset; robins calling (Brown 6729; Dunwoody, p. 39); leaves turning upside down (Brown 6822 ff.; Dunwoody, pp. 68, 82); cows coming to the barn at midnight (cf. Brown 6665); flies coming into the kitchen (Brown 6784; Dunwoody, p. 56).

Many Forest County weather sayings are couched in verse, and some of these have not been recorded previously:

Empty your skillet, the rain will fill it. (Cf. Brown 6845)

High kits, clear nights.

Lightning in the Fall, no Winter at all. (Cf. Dunwoody, p. 80)

Red at night, sailors’ delight (tomorrow will be a good day); red in the morning, sailors take warning (bad weather coming). (Brown 6140; Dunwoody, p. 78; Phillips, p. 162)

When at night the owl doth cry, weather fair you may descive.

When the fire burns fast and blue, frosty weather is a-brew.

When the mist creeps up the hill, Fisher, out and try your skill.

When the wind follows the sun, fair days with it will come. (Cf. Brown 6362)

When whistles are clear, there’s frost to fear.

Superstitions about bad luck include the following common ones:

- Spilling salt is bad luck. Take another bit of salt and throw over your shoulder to counter bad luck. (Brown 2881; Fogel 1942; Schultz, p. 14; Brinton, p. 185)
- It’s bad luck to open an umbrella inside the house. (Brown 3062; Fogel 436; Phillips, p. 165)
- If you drop the scissors, it’s bad luck. (Cf. Brown 3304)
- It’s bad luck if a man throws his hat on a bed. (Cf. Brown 3587)
- It’s bad luck if a black cat crosses the path ahead of you. (Brown 3814; Fogel 443)
- Friday the thirteenth is bad luck. (Brown 5995)

For good luck, a rabbit’s foot, a horse chestnut or a horseshoe was used (Brown 5789 ff., 5817, 7115).

In order to foretell the future, numerous omens were observed. Girls consulted tea leaves and the Ouija Board to learn of their future husbands. Otherwise chance occurrences were considered ominous:

- If a knife falls, it means some woman will come. (Brown 4007; Fogel 379; Starr, p. 321; Phillips, p. 169)
- A dropped fork means a man will come. (Brown 4006; Starr, p. 321; Phillips, p. 169)
- A dropped spoon, means a kid will come. (Brown 4012)
- Drop a broom across a door, company will come.
- Drop a dishrag, some slop will come. (Brown 4027 ff.; Starr, p. 321)
- When your right hand itches, company is coming; when your left hand itches, you’re going to get money. (Brown 3928 ff.; Schultz, p. 15; cf. Phillips, p. 165)
- If you drop a kitchen knife, you’re going on a trip. (Brown 3711)
- Sneeze on Thursdays for something better. (Brown 561-562)
- Sneeze on Saturday, your sweetheart tomorrow. (Brown 561-562, 4162)

Among the most serious omens were dreams, of which two examples will suffice:

- Dream of the dead, you’ll hear from the living. (Brown 4079)
- Dreams of a casket meant an impending death in family. (Brown 5019)

In the early twenties (I can definitely recall this unusual instance) my mother, Louise Taft, dreamed that she saw a casket laden with flowers slowly floating in the sky, coming from the direction where my grandmother lived (nine miles east of our home in Forest County). She told of it at the breakfast table and insisted that she be taken by horse and buggy to grandmother’s house. Upon arrival there, grandmother was dead, from an attack of asthma. This type of dream was instilled in the minds of persons of age 40 and upwards in the early 1900’s.

- Phillips lists the complete rhyme (art. cit., p. 167):
  - Sneeze on a Monday, you sneeze for danger;
  - Sneeze on a Tuesday, you kiss a stranger;
  - Sneeze on a Wednesday, you receive a letter;
  - Sneeze on a Thursday, you’ll get something better;
  - Sneeze on a Friday, expect great sorrow;
  - Sneeze on a Saturday, get a sweetheart to-morrow;
  - Sneeze on a Sunday, your safety seek, The devil will chase you the whole of the week.

- Cf. “A dream told before breakfast is sure to come true” (Brown 3132; Fogel 249; Phillips, p. 169).
The Big Valley Amish of Central Pennsylvania: A Community of Cultural Contrasts

By MAURICE A. MOOK

Both sociologically and culture-historically the most interesting Amish in the world today are the Amish who live in “Big Valley” in Central Pennsylvania. The “world” in this case is eighteen states of the United States and one province of Canada, which is where most Amish now live. They no longer exist in Europe, where they originated 275 years ago. Over four-fifths of all Amish today live in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Although they first settled in Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania is still popularly known as “the Amish State,” there are now many more Amish in Ohio. There are also almost as many in Indiana as there are in Pennsylvania.

However, Pennsylvania has the largest number of separate Amish settlements. The oldest of these is the Lancaster County community, which many Amish call their “mother colony.” They are correct in this assumption, for practically all of the Amish communities in North America today either directly or indirectly derive from the Lancaster County group. The Amish originated in 1693 in what is now the canton of Bern in Switzerland. The basis of their origin is what is known in Amish annals as the “Amish Division.” The process of division lasted until 1697, during which period those we now call Amish divided from the Swiss Brethren or southern European Anabaptists. The Swiss Brethren had previously divided from a large Protestant Reformation church in Zurich, Switzerland. Many Amish know their early history quite well, and these folk think of the early Amish as reformers of the Protestant reformers.

The main issue underlying the Amish division from the Swiss Brethren was the Meidung, or ban. Meidung involves more than excommunication from one’s church. It is excommunication to which is added the practice of shunning or avoiding those who are excommunicated. A rigid Swiss Brethren leader named Jacob Ammann advocated a strict application of shunning, by which he meant shunning in the home and in the community, as well as in the church. The followers of Jacob Ammann have ever since been known as “Amish.”

The Anabaptist predecessors of the Amish had suffered severe persecution by both the church and the state — by church authorities because they were thought of as heretics; and by civil authorities because they were separatists, and pacifists as well, and hence regarded as poor citizens. When William Penn promised that his colony would be a haven and a refuge for the persecuted and oppressed peoples of Europe, the Amish believed him and began to migrate. In the early years of the 18th Century they established several colonies in southeastern Pennsylvania, all but one of which failed. The Lancaster County colony survived, however, and still exists as their “mother colony.” Eastern Lancaster County has been continuously occupied by Amish families for two and a half centuries.

Some of the Lancaster County Amish families joined the trans-Alleghenian westward migration of the mid-18th Century. They established three colonies in what is now Somerset County, Pennsylvania, in the 1770’s, one of which still survives. Their third successful colony was established in the early 1790’s in the Kishacoquillas Valley, in what is now Mifflin County. This valley is known locally as “Big Valley” and the Amish are still there, in larger numbers than ever before. These are the Amish with which this article deals. Theirs is the third oldest and now the second largest Amish community in Pennsylvania.

Big Valley Amish are more interesting than most Amish elsewhere, because they have divided so often and exist today as several separate groups. They share the same basic religious beliefs but differ in their customs based on these beliefs. They also vary in their material cultural properties. Thus, they exist as a community of cultural contrasts, and these contrasts are both more numerous and more varied in Big Valley than they are anywhere else among the Amish.

One basic variation is between the “Old Order” and “New Order” Amish. The Amish seldom use these labels, however. They usually speak of the “House Amish” as distinct from the “Church Amish.” Their
words for these divisions embody one of the basic cultural contrasts found among them: The Old Order does not have meetinghouses; the New Order does. The Old Order Amish worship in the downstairs rooms of their farm houses. When the congregational group becomes too large to assemble in their homes, they divide the congregation into two groups or "districts," usually on a purely geographical basis. The districts then worship on alternate Sundays and the bishop of the original congregation can thus serve both districts. This is made possible by the fact that the Amish worship once every two weeks, rather than once every week as we "English" do. The Amish call all non-Amish people "English." They will occasionally say that someone is "Mennonite, not English," for they know that they derived from and share basic beliefs with Mennonites and consequently feel closer to Mennonites than to other "English" people. When Amish individuals leave an Old Order congregation, they usually join a conservative Mennonite church. They are then known as, and sometimes call themselves, Amish Mennonites.

There are many contrasts between the House and Church Amish, but their basic differences may be listed as follows: (1) The Church Amish have church buildings, whereas the House Amish do not. (2) The Church Amish use electricity in their homes and barns, but the House Amish do not. (3) The Church Amish use tractors in their fields, while the House Amish use gasoline engines only as sources of stationary power. (4) The Church Amish own and use automobiles and trucks; the House Amish are not permitted to own them. (5) The Church Amish practice a light Meidung, and the House Amish apply a strict Meidung. The more conservative Old Order Amish churches apply the Meidung more strictly than more "progressive" Old Order churches do.

There are now four House Amish congregations in Big Valley, and one Church Amish group. There are also three Mennonite churches in the Valley, all three of which originally derived from the House Amish. Not long ago there were five House Amish congregations in the Valley, but within recent years, one of the groups has accepted electricity, the use of tractors and automobiles, and in 1962 built a church house. They thus became Church Amish.

An interesting difference among them is related to whether they worship in their houses or in churches. Those who worship in the home serve a congregational meal after the fortnightly worship service, whereas the Church Amish usually do not do so. This meal after the worship service is practically the same among Old Order Amish churches everywhere. The menu consists of bread, apple, or peach butter, pickles, red beets, "schnitz" pie, coffee for adults and milk for the children. In Big Valley schnitz pies are baked in the form of and are called "half-moon" pies. Men and women not only sit separately in the worship service but also eat at separate tables for the Sunday midday meal. Except for babies in arms they eat in order of age. The ministers (irrespective of their ages) and older men and women eat first; young people and children eat later. All Amish meals begin and end with a short period of silent worship.

Many of the above differences between the House and Church Amish are not peculiar to the Amish in Big Valley. Many other Amish communities are divided into Old Order and New Order churches. But the Old Order churches in Big Valley differ more among themselves than they do elsewhere. Local Old Order churches are usually known by the last name of their bishop. The four Old Order churches in Big Valley are today known as the Yoder, Zook, Byler, and Renno churches. The New Order church is the Speicher church. The two most conservative churches in the Valley are the first two mentioned, and together these congregations are known as the "Old School" people. They are sometimes called "Nebraska" Amish by their English neighbors. However, this term has gradually acquired a tone of condescension, even of derision, and its use should therefore be avoided.

Big Valley Old Order churches differ in many customs and artifacts, other than those that distinguish the House and Church Amish. Three of the most easily visible differences are the color of their buggy tops, the suspenders men wear, and the length of men's hair. Long hair is everywhere a symbol of Amishness to the Amish. But Amish churches differ in their definitions of what constitutes long hair. The "Old School" Amish men in Big Valley wear their hair to their shoulders; Byler men wear their hair to the lower lobe of the ear; Renno men have hair about half-way down the ear. Church Amish men wear their hair still shorter, and the men of this group also have quite short and well-trimmed beards. All baptized Amish men have beards, but no Amishman is permitted to grow a mustache. The Amish practice baptism of adults only, and most marry soon after they are baptized. This virtually, but not quite accurately, means that married men have beards and unmarried young men do not.

Amish women differ less in the length of their hair and the way they comb it than men do. All adult Amish women dress their hair the same way; they have a very sharp and straight part that runs from the middle of the forehead to the back of the neck. Their long hair is then pulled back on both sides of the head and ends in a knot on the back of the head. Little Amish girls may have braids and combs in
Eight districts of Amish live interspersed with Mennonites

Area occupied by Mennonites and Amish (Kishacoquillas or "Big" Valley)
their hair, but as they grow older they must put away such childish things.

Men of the Old School churches wear no suspenders; they keep their pants up with a puckering string in the back. All Amish men, and boys as well, must wear broad-fall trousers, which they call “barn-door britches”. These have no fly in front; their trousers have four buttons across the waist and the flap falls down in front. Most Byler church men have but one suspender, which may be worn over either shoulder. Renno men wear two suspenders, but they must be home-made. The Church Amish men may wear “brought-in” or “store-boughten” suspenders. Lately stores have been selling plastic suspenders to liberal—and daring—Amishmen. Stores in Amish areas usually stock plain cloth and certain articles of Amish clothing (hats, shoes, stockings, socks, suspenders, underclothing, and the “prayer veils” for Amish women) for the benefit of their Amish customers. If the Amish cannot purchase these articles at local stores, they buy them from mail-order houses, quite a few of which now cater to the needs of the members of various plain-clothes churches throughout the country.

There are many church differences in the clothing of Amish women. One interesting detail is the half-moon shaped piece of cloth they wear sewn to their dresses in the sacral area of the back. These tend to be longer in conservative churches and shorter in more “liberal” Old Order churches. They also must be the same color and made of the same material as the dress. No one seems to know why they wear these, except that “we have always had them.” They may be, and probably are, a survival from the time when all women wore bustles.

The Amish churches of Big Valley also differ in the color of their buggy tops. Old School buggies have white canvas tops, Byler buggies have yellow tops, and Renno buggies have black tops. (Old Order Amish buggy tops in Lancaster County are either black or gray). There is also a large group of Amish in Lawrence Country in Western Pennsylvania; here there are five church districts and all have yellow buggy tops. This group migrated to Lawrence County from Big Valley in the 1840’s, but all five districts are still in “fellowship” with the Byler church in Big Valley. The recently established Old Order congregation in Penns Valley in Centre County has white buggy tops. This group derived from one of the two Old School churches in Big Valley, both of which use white buggy tops.

There are many other cultural differences among the Old Order churches of Big Valley. They differ in the tucks and pleats of the muslin or organdy head coverings (also called “prayer veils”) that all Amish women must wear, in the colors permitted for men’s shirts, in the kind of farm equipment each church allows, in whether or not they paint their barns and houses, and in many other ways. In all of these variations among Amish churches, one is strongly impressed with, and sometimes surprised by, the small details of life that the church can control in a sectarian society. And the Amish are, indeed, a sectarian society. They are, in fact, one of the best examples of sectarian society life one can find in modern America.

If you have never seen nor heard of such detailed cultural contrasts between Old Order Amish churches as have been mentioned here, it would be interesting to visit Big Valley and see them for yourself. Big Valley is in Mifflin County in Central Pennsylvania. (See Mifflin County map). The town of Belleville is in the center of Big Valley and Amish farms surround the town in all directions. A public sale is held in Belleville every Wednesday. This is a community, not an Amish sale, but the Amish like to attend sales, whether or not they need to buy or sell anything. It is one of their favorite, and one of their few, church-permitted group recreations. At these Wednesday sales you can easily see many of the cultural contrasts here alluded to—color of buggy tops, length of hair, number of suspenders worn, and many other differences of costume and of custom.

Although the casual visitor may see Amish culture as a curious compound of conservative customs, more perceptive perspective reveals a people committed to a way of life which may have certain values for non-Amish Americans. For one thing, they may be counted among the best—old-fashioned, one must say—farmers of the nation. A Pennsylvania jurist has reminded us that, in spite of their refusal to fight our wars, and in spite of their eschewal of our higher education, the Amish are “usually out of trouble and should be included among our best citizens.” Their own most highly esteemed values are family, faith, and farming—“these three, but the greatest of these” for them is their faith, for it underlies the other two. It is fair to say that all else in their life is minor and marginal.

An Amishman and I once stood on Jack’s Mountain, from the top of which we could see almost every Amish farm in Big Valley. The Amishman had lived in Big Valley all his life. “There you see our virtues, which are order, sufficiency, and peace,” he said. These they have for us also to strive for. They are indeed, as they want to be and as they say themselves, “Die Stillen im Lande”—the “quiet ones on the land,” who as solid, substantial, successful tillers of the soil have made their unobtrusive contributions among us for nearly three centuries.
MAURICE A. MOOK
(1904-1973):
An Appreciation

By JOHN A. HOSTETLER

Maurice Mook came to the campus of Pennsylvania State University in 1949 as a newly appointed professor of Anthropology. As a beginning graduate student I enrolled in his course in Cultural Anthropology. Professor Mook made the subject so interesting that I enrolled in all the anthropology courses that were offered during the next four years.

Professor Mook died of a heart seizure as he was lecturing at the Lycoming County Historical Society at the Williamsport Museum, October 18, 1973. He was born at Saegertown, Pennsylvania, January 22, 1904. He received a B.A. degree from Allegheny College in Meadville. He taught history in high school at Latrobe and McKeesport. He went to Northwestern University where he wrote an M.A. thesis under the guidance of Melville Herskovits on “The Geographic Distribution of Mankala”—a native African game. In 1929 he went to Arizona on a fellowship to study the Walapai Indians with the first group of graduate students supported by the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fe. The director of the field work and editor of the resulting Memoir (Walapai Ethnography, American Anthropological Association) was Alfred L. Kroeber. Later he was a Harrison Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania where he received his Ph.D.

Professor Mook wrote numerous articles on Indian tribes, the Amish, Quaker social history, and Pennsylvania folklore. He also formerly wrote for philatelic magazines. He reviewed anthropological books for scientific journals. In addition to his work among Arizona tribes, he conducted three summers of archaeological excavations among Indian sites in Illinois and Missouri; he also conducted studies of remnant Indian peoples in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. He visited prehistoric archaeological sites in Mexico, Peru, England, Scotland, Wales, the Netherlands, and the Orkney Islands. During World War II he worked as a civilian with the Office of Strategic Services in Overseas Security.

Professor Mook served on the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh, Ohio Wesleyan University, and Brown University. In 1941 he was named associate professor at American University and four years later he accepted a post at the University of Missouri. When he came to Penn State in 1949 he was asked to “build anthropology” into the instruction program. He was the first full time instructor in anthropology.

From 1955 to 1971 he served as a member of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. He was a member of several national scholastic honor societies including the Phi Beta Kappa and the Society of the Sigma Xi. His publications reached the American Folklore Society, the Pennsylvania Folklore Society, and the Friends’ Historical Association, in which he also held memberships.
Hundreds if not thousands of students in anthropology who were enrolled in his courses best remember him for his well organized lectures. Many were conducted on television. Pennsylvanians will remember him for his Amish lectures, “Barn Door Britches and Shoo Fly Pie”. He was named Penn State’s “Distinguished Teacher for 1963,” receiving the Lindback Award for effective teaching.

After completing his teaching career at the Pennsylvania State University, Professor Mook taught at nearby Lycoming College in Williamsport. At the time of his passing he was researching the life of Severin Roosen of Williamsport, nineteenth-century painter of flowers and fruit.

Professor Mook was married to Louise Fairlamb Windle. The family lived at Boalsburg, Pennsylvania. Their three children are: Allison Louise Mook Sleeman, John Windle Mook, and Margaret Suzanne Mook.

As a graduate student I respected my teacher for his wide knowledge of the field of anthropology. He abhorred half-truths, shoddy and unsubstanti ated statements, as well as sensationalism. Often when I came to his home in Boalsburg he was either seated on the porch or in his study reading an article or book and“taking it apart”. He rewrote sentences and made corrections in the margins. His obsession with factually correct information and accurate description was a good learning experience for me as a student.

While I was learning anthropology from my teacher, he was learning about the Amish from me. Through him I came to appreciate the Amish as an unique cultural development. Our association continued well beyond my graduation. We site-visited several Amish settlements together — Kishacoquillas Valley, Half Moon Valley, Somerset County, Juniata County, and Elkhart County, in the state of Indiana.

The following is a complete list of his scholarly output as far as is known.


50. Review of Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites, (The Easton, Maryland, Publishing Company,


66. (With L. P. Greenhill) United States of America: Central Pennsylvania Halloween Customs, Encyclopaedia Cinematographica, Institut für Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen, 1971. (10 pp., summary in French and German.)


SUBJECTS OF ORE-MINING AND BASKET-MAKING IN MAXATAWNY

[This document was typed by Harvey Fisher of Kutztown, from reminiscences he wrote down from Charles Miller, 168 West Main Street, Kutztown, who was a guest of Florence Baver's Dialect Radio Program over the Allentown Station on July 7, 1963. We publish it here in the original Pennsylvania German as well as in English translation.—EDITOR.]

Ich bin in Rocklond Township g'bora gwischich Dryville un Fredericksville, sivvitsich yohr tzurick. Ich wore sex yohr alt wie mihr noch Farmington g'tzoga sin. Des shteddle leid so an tzway mile siddlich fun Moxadowny. Farmington wahr unringdet mid eisa mina, un doe hut mci pap arevet g'rickt far mind grauvu inra mine das der Gorge Schwartz gayagend hut, un schpader naus hut dar pap no g'schaft fa dar Ed. DeLong, in seinra mine. Dar Wash. Welder wahr dar boss im DeLong seinna mine. Dar Wash. hut in Moxodowny g'wohndt. 'S menscht fun dar grauverei, wahr ouside im grund ovver 's is au mind unich im grund raus g'numma waara. Die schtunna wahre long, die arevet hard un uftmohl g'fehrlich, aboobich unnich im grund. Farmington wahr 7 boova un 3 maid g'hot in unsera familia, un die hen allse mol all g'holfa mit im karreb macha. Ich wahr 11 yahr alt wie ich meim pap helta hab karreb macha. Die karreb das mier g'macht hen wahra die runde un wahra ous weiss ahe holtz g'macht. Noch dem das dar bome um g'macht wahr sin die bleck 6 foos long g'saykdt wara, no iss die rin runner g'schaft in die rafe um dar dreck darrich en hiltzer kondle g'shwemmed in en loch. Des hut mer dar dregdom g'haisa. Dar gravel un de mind is uf en dish g'falla un do hut mer dar gravel rous g'ilaun un in in shute g'gratzed. Shpater naus is dar gravel uff'n karrich g'lawda waara un in en
loch g’dumpt. Frieyahrs is fiel fun dem gravel g’used waara fa die glaysa uffilla in da shtrose. Die mind is in en schup karrich g’schmissa waara. Won er fol wore is die mind uf’n karrich gdumpt waara. Won dar karrich foll waara is r uff dar warrif g’fora waara un in en riegelwaite mine car g’dumpt waara. Won ken riegel-wake karrich daart waara is de mind uf dar warrif g’dumpt waara un no shpater won se karrich hi g’shova hen is die mind nei g’shept waara. Fiel fun da mind is au much da Topton funnis g’fahra waara mit ma grossa schwaira wagga mit 4 gei e g’shpontd. Friey-yohrs hut des als en lot flusht g’d o tsu da waiyai. Des hut als glaisa g’rissa en foos deef. Do is no dar gravel nei g’du waara.

Ich hab in da mind g’shoft bis ich 18 yahrt alt war. Noch den os ich g’shopt hah in da mind hav ich au fonga shoffa fer dar Mr. Irvins. Dar hut en oga miehl g’hot naysgsh on Topton. Da oga is g’gravwa waara ima loch un no noch da wesherei g’nurma waara. Do sin die schtay un onnera dreg raus g’wesha waara. No is da oga in en dom g’wesha waara. Wie da oga drucka g’nuunk waar hut m’rn mit ma schupp karrich in dar digggle shtall g’fora. Won da oga no gons drucka waar is ’r g’mahla waara un in barl fesser g’do waara. No waar da oga ready fa fard schicka. Die mensht zeit is des g’do waara by riegel wake. Alsa mol is da oga lose in die box karrich g’du waara. Wovener das oga g’fora is waara mit ma druck war’s immer in fesser g’do waara.

Des is g’shriva wie’s mihr f’tzailled is waara beim Charles Miller fun Kutztown uf dar 1 June, 1963. Uf g’shriva beim Harvey Fisher fun Kutztown.

TRANSLATION

I was born in Rockland Township, between Dryville and Fredericksville, seventy years ago. I was six years old when we moved to Farmington. This town lies about two miles southwards from Maxatawny. Farmington was surrounded with iron mines, and there my Dad got work digging ore in a mine that George Schwartz owned, and then later on Dad worked for Ed DeLong, in his mine. Wash Welder was the boss in DeLong’s Mine. Wash lived in Maxatawny. Most of the digging was outside in the ground, but ore was also taken out underground. The hours were long, the work hard and often dangerous, especially underground. You had to work all day with pick and shovel and got 80 cents. Underground you got about 20 cents more per day.

Whenever work was not so good, then my Dad went to making baskets. We had 7 boys and 3 girls in our family, and sometimes all of them used to help in making baskets. I was 11 years old when I helped my Dad make baskets. The baskets that we made were the round ones and were made out of white oak wood. After the tree was cut down the logs were sawed six feet long, then the bark was stripped down, and then thin pieces were pulled the whole length of the log.

To do this a frow was placed above the log and was hammered down with a wooden hammer, then you could easily pull the pieces off. The pieces were then pulled down still more to make 4 or 5 thinner pieces — these were the splints. The splints had to be scraped so that the splints were nice and smooth. A frow was put between the knees and the wood was drawn up over it. To keep the trowsers from getting holes you laid big pieces of leather over the knees and tied underneath with yarn. The ribs were thicker than the splints, and were broader in the middle than at the ends. The hoop on the basket was made first and was made double, then the ribs were made in the hoop. The hoop was then nailed together with special nails. Now the handle was made on it. This was a long rib that was put over the hoop and pushed down until the ends came together on the bottom of the basket. Now the basket was ready to be woven. You pulled the splints through the ribs, and around the hoop, and then around the handle. The baskets were made while the wood was damp, then you could work it better. Then they were put aside for a while, to dry out. Then they contracted and you could plat in more splints. That way they were good and tight.

We made a lot of different baskets, little baskets with handles up to bushel baskets. We made two big ones that held 5 bushels for a farmer who just kept them to carry chaff in. For one like that my Dad got 3 dollars. It took one man almost two weeks to make the two baskets. We got a dollar and a half for a bushel basket and 75 cents for the smaller ones. Some of the baskets we sold around home, but one of the storekeepers in Farmington, John Isamoyer, bought most of our baskets, a spring-wagon load at a time. These he used to take to Allentown and sold to the different stores.

My 14th year was my last year in school. Then I began in the mines. I picked dirt and gravel out of the ore. The ore used to be brought out of the mine holes with horse and cart and was dumped in a truck. This was the plane truck. Then the truck was pulled up and the ore dumped in the washery. From there everything ran into a sieve where the water was turned on it. This carried off the dirt through a wooden spout into a hole. This we called the dirt-dam. The gravel and the ore fell on a table and there we picked the gravel out and scratched it into a shute. Later on the gravel was loaded on a cart and dumped in a hole. In the Spring much of the gravel was used to fill up the ruts in the roads. The ore was thrown on a wheelbarrow. When it was full the ore was dumped on a cart. When the cart was full it was hauled to the loading platform (wharf) and was dumped into a railway mine car. If there was no railway car there the ore was dumped on the loading
platform and then later when they pushed carts there the ore was shoveled on. Much of the ore also was hauled to the Topton Furnace in a big heavy wagon harnessed to 4 horses. In the Spring this used to do a lot of damage to the roads. This used to tear ruts a foot deep. Then the gravel was put in there.

I worked in the mine until I was 18 years old. After I stopped at the mine I began to work for Mr. Irvin. He had an ochre mill near Topton. The ochre was dug in a hole and then was taken to the washery. Here the stones and other dirt were washed out. Then the ochre was washed in a dam. When the ochre was dry enough we hauled it by wheelbarrow to the drying barn. Then when the ochre was completely dry it was ground and was put into barrels. Then the ochre was ready to send away. Most of the time this was done by railway. Sometimes the ochre was put loose into the box cars. Whenever the ochre was hauled by truck it was always put in barrels.

This was written as it was told to me by Charles Miller of Kutztown, June 1, 1963. Written down by Harvey Fisher of Kutztown.

[II]

THE SHARADIN TANNERY AT KUTZTOWN

[On Sunday, November 25, 1962, at the age of 82, Francis Sharadin of Kutztown, Pennsylvania, read the following paper on the Ferneichta Folk Radio Program, WKAP, Allentown.—EDITOR.]

Father built the tannery in 1868 on Main St., Kutztown, where now the Kutztown National Bank and the Sinclair Gas Station are located. Father also built the house next door where Harvey Wiltrout now lives. It was in this house that we children, consisting of two girls and four boys, were born and reared. So you can see when I was asked to talk about our tannery it stirred up very many pleasant memories and pulled at the heart strings.

On the letter heads it was billed as the J. D. Sharadin Silverspring Tannery but in common usage it was Dan Sharadin’s Tannery.

I will now try to describe the buildings and the use of each one.

First, we had a place to store the hides so that there was a continuous supply on hand. This building was known as the hide house, the dimensions were 20' x 20' x 15'. Here the hides were spread out on a cement floor, salted, and piled on top of one another. The hides were gathered from the surrounding community, the country butchers, the country stores who accepted them in trade from the farmers, as in those days nearly every farmer had some slaughtering done right on the farm.

The supply from these sources was sufficient to keep the tannery going except on rare occasions that father had some hides shipped in from elsewhere. The hides were then brought into the beam house which was a two-story building 25' x 5' x 20'. The second story was used in the finishing process. The first floor consisted of six vats 6' x 6' x 5' and the balance of the room was used for working space. The hides were thrown into the vats with some fresh water with some chicken manure added. This was to draw out the salt. They were then taken out and laid on the floor. Up to this point they were known as hides. They were cut from end to end along the backbone which gave two sides. Hereafter they were called sides. Now lime was slacked and this lime water was put into the vats with the sides where they remained for about a week. This was done to loosen the hair. From this lime water the sides were thrown on a beam and the hair scraped off the sides. Then the sides were put back in a vat with clear water and the hair were saved and sold to the plasterers. The sides were then taken out and put on the beam again. This time all loose flesh was trimmed off. This was known as fleshing. These trimmings were saved and sold to the glue factory. Now the sides were ready for the tanning process.

In order to tan we had to have bark, so a bark shed was built 50' x 20' x 15' in which the bark was stored that was brought in from the surrounding community which was peeled from felled chestnut and white oak trees. As far as I know there is no bark being peeled in our neighborhood at this time.

The bark was then transferred to the grinder. In order to have power, a boiler house and engine room were built. The engine that we used was built by the Zehm Bros., now the Kutztown Foundry and Machine Co., and was in continuous use throughout the life of the tannery.

The main tanning building was 80' x 25' x 25'. On the first floor the real process of tanning took place. It consisted of one cistern, 10' x 8' x 5'—two vats 8' x 8' x 5' and 25 vats 6' x 5' x 5'. The second floor was for finishing the leather. The ground bark was conveyed to one of the 8' x 8' x 5' vats and hot water was run into this vat to draw out the tannic acid to form a liquor and this liquor was run by gravity into the cistern. The sides were brought from the beam house and hung on rods placed in a rack in one of the 6' x 5' x 5' vats. Then the liquor was pumped from the cistern into the vats. The sides hung there for a week. When the vat was drained and the sides rehung in a fresh batch of liquor for another week then the sides were taken to another vat and laid on top of one another with a sprinkling of ground bark between each layer. The vat was then filled with liquor. The sides remained in this vat for three months. When the vats were drained, the sides taken out, the vats cleaned and the same process repeated when the sides this time remained only two months. Now the tanning process was finished and the sides were taken upstairs for finishing into harness leather. Here the sides were run through what we call a split machine. This shaved a little piece here and there so that the side was of even
thickne...s throughout. It was then greased and made pliable for dyeing. All our leather when finished was black.

From this description you will realize that it took months to tan leather. The peak of these tanneries was reached between 1885 and 1890. After that they went out of existence one after another and by 1906 there was not one left in our community as a result of changing conditions.

There were 5 tanneries within a radius of 15 miles of Kutztown. Ours was the largest. They were Trexler’s at Longswamp, Dan Grim’s at Grimsville, Moser’s at Trexlerstown, and one at Berkeley. There was also one at Moser’s in Stony Run and one in Kistler’s Valley.

This tannery meant more to me than just a tannery. It was a place that very much of my time as a child and youth was spent in giving me many pleasant memories and kept me from becoming what we call a delinquent.

The tannery did not occupy the entire plot and was right along the creek which gave us a swimming hole and the vacant part of the plot gave us a play center which drew all the boys of the neighborhood together and when such a bunch of boys meet there is always something doing. We built our own little merry-go-round and horizontal bars. The trapeze we fastened to a limb of a tree, and played all kinds of games that all children enjoy.

If you ask me whether I worked in the tannery, I must say no. The work was too heavy. It took a full grown man to handle the hides and leather, but I did help to set bark and little odd jobs occasionally. By the time I grew up, the tannery was out of existence.

I might mention that a beam house was nick-named the perfume factory as it had a very strong odor and also that when anybody had a stomach ache they would drink of the tannic acid liquor and in a short time the pain was gone.

Here is a little incident that happened to my younger brother, Ralph. He was fooling around with the split machine and got his hand in the cog wheel which made a considerable cut and took quite a number of stitches to fix it up. At the same time mother was in Philadelphia visiting her sister when she said she had to go home, that one of her children was hurt and she would have to go home at once. They tried to persuade her to remain but he took the first train home.

Dr. Mac E. Barrick of Dickinson College, on May 4, 1963, recorded the following items during an interview with R., white male, aged 68, retired farmer, of Fundamentalist religion and a church officer. We particularly invite readers, especially those from Central and Western Pennsylvania, to send us what they remember of powwowing and witchcraft in the areas with which they are familiar.—EDITOR.)

[1] One of E’s kids, they thought he was bewitched, when they were livin’ down near Wertzville. We were down at this camp meetin’ and they come up there and this kid was bawling. They’d had him to doctors and witch doctors and they couldn’t do anything for him and I said why don’t you take him up here and let this man pray for him. There was a colored fellow there preachin’ from Harrisburg. And they did. I didn’t see them for a couple weeks but he got better.

[2] W’s wife E used to believe in that. Anything got wrong with the kids, they were bewitched. She used to keep a broom across the door so witches wouldn’t step across. This was about forty years ago. [Her daughter] C got sick. Doctors weren’t doin’ no good. E. figured out who had bewitched her. She did something, I don’t know what. The witch doctor told her that whoever did it wouldn’t be able to come to their place. This fellow come over there and tried to even climb over the fence and couldn’t. C. got better. I seen that one myself. That was when they were livin’ down toward Boiling Springs. One other time one was sick and they didn’t know what to do, so I told them to take her up to the church and pray over her, and she got better right away. E. died pretty sudden. I figure that’s probably what happened to her, somebody pulled one on her.

[3] Now here’s a funny one. K., he lived up there toward Bloserville. And S. said one time she’d cut his heart out. He’d done somethin’ to her, I don’t know what. Well he died sudden and they took him in to the hospital and cut him open and here the artery to the heart had been cut clean off just like a knife.

There is witches but they can only do it with the ones that’s scared of them.

[Interview with R., white male, 68, retired farmer. Fundamentalist religion; church officer]
German Immigrants in America as Presented in Travel Accounts

By STEPHANIE FARRIOR

A number of visitors to the United States in the 17th and 18th Centuries left accounts of their travels, often with interesting observations on America and her people. I examined many of these accounts, looking for the visitors' comments on the Germans who settled in America. Their reasons for visiting this country and the year(s) they were here were noted as well.

One of the most common aspects of the German inhabitants in America that travelers commented on is something for which they are well-known, that is, their skill in farming. Francis Baily, an Englishman who came to America for travel and discovery in 1796 and 1797, describes a German settlement at length, in very laudatory terms:

On our descent from this mountain [in the Alleghany], we entered on one of the finest tracts of land in all America. . . . It is inhabited chiefly by Germans and Dutch, who are an industrious race of men and excellent farmers. Their exertions have made this valley (bounded on each side by barren and inhospitable mountains) assume the appearance of a highly cultivated country, abounding in all the conveniences and some of the luxuries of life.

Another traveler, this time a Frenchman, saw such a contrast while he was in America in 1791 between Pennsylvania and other areas of this country that he comments: Before the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia can be transformed into the transportation center of the United States, "the morals of the people will have to be reformed . . . The present population should be replaced with frugal and energetic Germans." He has just come from Pennsylvania to Virginia. A correlation was often made between moral character and success at farming, or whatever occupation. Interestingly enough, the same Frenchman who is so laudatory above presents a different picture when describing a family of indentured servants who came from Germany. Contrary to the picture most people have painted of the lot of the indentured servant, Brissot describes it as one of relative ease. He is visiting the farm of a M. LeGaux in Spring Mill, on the Schuylkill River:

The German is a good worker but indolent . . . Despite their master's kindness toward them, and despite the excellent treatment they receive, these servants are lazy. [These Germans] are not characteristic of Germans generally, but M. LeGaux's servants are slow, indolent and dirty . . . M. LeGaux told me that there were also two other disadvantages in having this sort of servant. They often shun illness, and they often run away.

One traveler attributes the success of the German settlers in America to their avaricious character rather than frugality and industry; or rather, they are very industrious, but this is because "every consideration dissolves before views of acquirement, or prospects which hold out acquisitions of wealth." It is New Lancaster in Ohio which causes him to make this comment; in this case, their so-called avarice was detrimental in the long run, for they chose the head of the navigable part of the river to settle, being the most profitable. However, it was a swampy area, and therefore unhealthy, and, Ashe adds, even smells bad. He uses this as further evidence that these people put profit before all. This same traveler, in describing the development of Cincinnati, a town where a great many Germans settled, speaks of the character of the German settlers, "remarkable, solely for domestic parsimony, industry, and moral conduct."

Descriptions of the character of the German immigrants, then, are often included in conjunction with their success in work. It is interesting to note that the same results, that is, thriving communities, are seen by different commentators as the result of different characteristics.

Some of the travelers were interested in the reasons that motivated the Germans to move from their homeland to America. One of the most interesting of these is an interview in Three Years Among the Working Class in the United States During the War (1865):

In the course of a conversation I had with a fellow tradesman, a German, I asked him if he could not live as comfortably by his labour at home as he could do in America?

"Yah," he replied, "ven I vas at home I had

3Brissot, pp. 205-206.
4Thomas Ashe, Travels in America, performed in 1806, For the purpose of exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi: and ascertaining the produce and condition of their banks and vicinity (New York, 1811), p. 153.
5Ashe, p. 203.
more close un more pleasure den I have here; in dis countrie is all de while going round for work, in my countrie 'fish diffrents — ve stay all the whales in one place.

"Why did you leave?"

"I no like to be the sopher, so leaves on de Continent."

"Did you work at your trade in many of the European towns?"

"Yah; I worked in Bremen, un Strausborgh, un Hamborg in Shermady. I worked in Varshaw in Poland, in Bucharest, Walachia, un in Smyrna; den I go to California, and stay dere tree year."

"You were at the gold digging there?"

"Yah!"

"Did you make money while in California?"

"I make seven hundred dollars, den I comes here un loss it all."

Brown goes on to say that he has found two reasons that led large numbers of Germans to leave their homes for America:

— the conscription is the first, and the low standard of wages the second. When the unskilled labourer arrives in America he finds himself placed on a level with the citizen who has passed a probation in learning a trade, and by becoming a citizen he is enabled to enjoy those social, religious, and political privileges which were denied him in his own country.

I came across one account in which the immigrant is defensive about his move to America. An English explorer in 1811 is traveling with a group in which one was a German. When his party comes upon gold, the members divide it up, and each declares what he proposes to do with it.

A German of our party said he would never have quit the Rhine, had he had money enough to rebuild his barn, which was blown down by a high wind, but that he would return to the very spot from whence he came, and prove to his neighbors that he loved his country as well as another, when he had the means of doing well.

A great many Germans may have decided that they would be better off living in America, but this did not mean that they gave up the ways of the old country. Quite a few of the travelers commented on the lack of acculturaton on the part of the German immigrants. Speaking of the inhabitants of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, one visitor notes that the "inhabitants are nearly all of German origin. . . . they in general speak their own language, and numbers of them are ignorant of any other." One commentator, a phrenologist on a lecture tour, noted in 1841 that the country between Harrisburg and Philadelphia "is all cleared, highly fertile, well cultivated, and possesses much natural beauty. The farm houses

and offices looked substantial, clean, and neat, and we were told that a great part of the population is of German descent, and that they preserve the language and manners of their original country."10

Ferdinand Bayard came to this country around 1791 to travel and to see this land of liberty about which he had heard so much. He comments both on the Germans' reasons for coming to live in this country and on the varying degrees to which they have assimilated. When they came to settle here, "it was neither to acquire knowledge nor to disseminate it, but to make a fortune. Their favorite passion for money, and their unfortunate condition have kept them in the original state of ignorance of their fathers."

His attitude here seems inconsistent with his reason for visiting this country, that is, to see the land of liberty and opportunity. On their retention of old world ways, he says:

It is certain that wherever the Germans and the Hollander live together, as at Albany, at Hackensack, etc., they have preserved their language, their prejudices, their national parsimony, and have added little to the stock of knowledge which they had as poor emigrants who were brought up in the working class of Europe; but those who have settled in regions populated by Americans or English, have reared their children like those of other Europeans, and this generation doesn't resemble at all its ignorant and grasping ancestors.12

This traveler obviously values education; it is no wonder, then, that the German immigrants did not rate well in his eyes if he does not value their skill at farming, or appreciate the fact that a farmer's children have little time for schooling, besides the fact that there are sects which discouraged schooling as unnecessary.

German settlements in Ohio are the subject of some comments by a traveler in 1854. Speaking of Cincinnati, he says:

10James Dawson Brown, Three Years Among the Working Class in the United States During the War (London, 1865), p. 25.

11"Brown, p. 27.

12Ashe, p. 147.


Ferdinand Bayard, Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a Description of Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1791 (Williamsburg, Va., 1950), p. 98.

Bayard, p. 98.
One peculiar feature is everywhere observable—the number of signboards in German. This language is seen inscribed on doorways, and so frequently heard spoken, that one almost feels as if he were in Hamburg.

Even as late as 1883 the German flavor in Cincinnati is the subject of comment:

Cincinnati contains over 100,000 Germans out of a total population of 300,000. These form a complete colony by themselves on the further side of the Miami Canal. Here German is the language spoken, advertisements placarding the walls are in German, a German newspaper is published, and, in fact, all the surroundings would make a German feel as though he had been suddenly transplanted to the “fatherland.”

At the top of each of the inclined planes is an extensive Beer Garden, where Germans of all classes resort on Sunday afternoons, drinking lager beer and conversing or playing cards, while their children amuse themselves and playmates about the grounds.

While Ohio has been strangely neglected by settlers from Great Britain, it has become a land of promise to Germans, who, fleeing from the dull despoticisms of central Europe, find here a boundless scope for their genius and preserving industry. They find, likewise, a region resembling that of their own dear Rhine.

A number of the travelers mention the accommodations on the road, and it seems that Germans were among the principal tavern and inn keepers. The visitors’ reactions to the accommodations vary greatly. An English explorer in 1811 writes of the reception given him in one place in Ohio:

I dropped down to a house which had a neat appearance, and something which indicated comfort... A clean and orderly looking family sat at breakfast composed of maize and milk. “Good morrow stranger,” was uttered involuntarily by all, “how fares it?” continued an old man. [He is invited to join them... the usual questions were put to me; but not put in the impertinent and intrusive way of the eastern states, to discover the extent of one’s property and private views, but merely as a species of chit-chat, or sort of rural good breeding, to engage attention, pass time, and divert the mind.

In sharp contrast to this warm picture of hospitality is the account of that same Frenchman who was deprecatory of the Germans with respect to their “ignorance.” On the road to Hagerstown, Maryland, he stops for a meal.

Our hostess was a stout German woman, dirty, crabbed, loud of speech, and ordering her husband about with disgusting coarseness...

After a bad dinner, served with worse grace, received ill-humorably but well paid for, we left that detestable tavern with a feeling of joy that you experience when you leave an evil haunt and bad company.

Beginning to suspect that this commentator’s remarks were all affected by an innate dislike of Germans in general, I found the following remark which shows that he can find some good in them. In a town called Winchester, he writes:

put up at Mr. Bush’s: he is a German who had made a fortune in the tavern business... I received a few signs of consideration for having had the honor of living in Strasbourg and for having crossed the Rhine. He has a good man cook, the finest kinds of butcher’s meat, game and freshwater fish, wines from every country, cleanli-

"Baggage and Boots," or, Mr. Smith’s First Peep at America, an instructive tale of travel and adventure (London, 1856), p. 177.
"Baggage and Boots," p. 263.
"Chambers," p. 150.
"Bayard," p. 33.
"Bayard," p. 60.
ness, fine linen, good beds, well lighted rooms, and everything at a very reasonable price. 19

These travel accounts are also a source of information regarding the occupations of the German immigrants. A Frenchman who came to study American railroads, commented in 1837 that the town of Cincinnati, unlike most small towns in the East whose building is directed by people in the bigger cities, was built by the inhabitants of the town themselves, who were Germans, Irish, and Alsatians. Most of them were artisans, but the buildings they built were sturdy and of good quality.20

Another writer, speaking of the inhabitants of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is more specific about the occupations.

Several different kinds of articles are manufactured in this town by German mechanics, individually; who for the most part are armourers, hatters, saddlers, and cooperers. The rifle-barrelled guns made here have been long celebrated for their excellence, and are the only arms that are used by the inhabitants of the interior part of the country, and by the Indians.21

The rifles are also mentioned by Ashe when he speaks of Lancaster: "They manufacture excellent rifle guns and other hardware."22

A different area of work is found in a later account, the 1865 Working Class in the United States men-
tioned above. Its author notes that Irish and Germans make up the majority of New Yorkers, and they are the most common owners of liquor stores.23

Finally, I found a description of one craft at which, the writer noted, the Germans and Scotch excelled. Visiting a furniture factory, he notes:

My attention was called towards the process of ornamental hand-turning, chiefly executed by Germans. One of these clever mechanics went through his work with astonishing speed and precision; his keen eye never being for one instant raised from the whirling lathe before him.24

I had originally thought to examine the travel accounts for remarks on the customs peculiar to the German immigrants, and paid particular attention to those accounts of visitors to Pennsylvania. However, among all the comments on the character of these people, their farms, their crafts, and the degree to which they retained their language, I found only one which remarked on a custom peculiar to them. It comes from one of the earliest of the fourteen accounts in which I found references to German immigrants. Andrew Burnaby traveled in North America in 1756 and 1760 as a minister of the Church of England. He gives a delightful account of "bundling" as a form of courtship.

21A Geographical View... , pp. 418-419.
22Ashe, p. 12.
24Chambers, p. 152.
Delaware Water Gap, a Gilbert Engraving.

View of Northumberland (1843), showing flatboats in river and canal boats at left.

Town View of Middletown, Dauphin County (1843)
Singular situations and manners will be productive of singular customs; but frequently such as upon slight examination may appear to be the effects of mere grossness of character, will, upon deeper research, be found to proceed from simplicity and innocence. A very extraordinary method of courtship, which sometimes practised amongst the lower people of this province, and is called Tarrying, has given occasion to this reflection. When a man is enamoured of a young woman, and wishes to marry her, he proposes the affair to her parents, (without whose consent no marriage in this colony can take place); if they have no objection, they allow him to tarry with her one night, in order to make his court to her. At their usual time the old couple retire to bed, leaving the young ones to settle matters as they can, who, having sat up as long as they think proper, get into bed together also, but without pulling off their under-garments, in order to prevent scandal. If the parties agree, it is all very well; the banns are published, and they are married without delay. If not, they part, and possibly never see each other again; unless, which is an accident that seldom happens, the forsaken fair one prove pregnant, and then the man is obliged to marry her, under pain of excommunication.

Since many books about the Germans in America are written from a philioptetist viewpoint, I was interested in seeing what those commentators who had no immediate reason for presenting such a point of view chose to point out as the merits of these people. Common in many books, too, is to tell of the contributions of the Germans to America, and again, I was interested in seeing what outsiders would point out as their contributions.

In speaking of bountiful farms of the German farmers in Pennsylvania, Brissot, writing in 1791, lauds the Pennsylvania German farmer.

... it is to them that this state owes its ancient reputation and importance ... It was from their farms that the American and French armies obtained supplies during the last revolution; it was from their products that came the millions of piastres brought from Havana after 1780; the millions which were the foundation for the Bank of North America, which maintained the Army until the peace of Paris.26

A Frenchman who came to this country in 1856 was inspired to do so by Tocqueville's writings; he came to see a new society in the making. A part of this society, he noted, was that made up of the German immigrants.

... they comprise a class of farmers which in general is very industrious and very respectable. This class has less trouble blending in with the American nationality than the literati.27

It is unclear what he means by the American nationality, for he goes on to say that these Germans associate mostly among themselves, and have conserved their language and customs. It is clear, however, that he admires them as farmers. In lauding the "most honest, the most industrious, the simplest, the most economical" of the cultivators in America, the Germans, one traveler puts this in perspective with relation to their role as citizens in this democratic state.

They are to be reproached only for not having the knowledge that other Americans have; knowledge which is necessary in a democratic government. Nevertheless, several men, important for their knowledge, have left the fold; Rittenhouse, Kuhn and Muhlenburg. There are projects to have them mix more with Americans, to give them more knowledge.28
This writer, then, sees two aspects of the German contribution to America. First, they are the best farmers, and in this respect have made a great contribution to this country. (See quotation 26 above.) However, in that the isolated nature of this occupation as well as lack of interest keeps them from gaining knowledge, those who have broken away from this class of cultivators and have become learned men are praised. David Rittenhouse (1732-1796), was a professor of astronomy at the College of Philadelphia, and was the first director of the Mint. Adam Kuhn (1741-1817), a physician and botanist, was also a professor there. Frederick Muhlenberg (1750-1801), was the first speaker of the federal House of Representatives. This traveler, then, notes also the contributions of the Germans in academia and in government.

James Dawson Brown, author of the Working Class, also notes the German contribution to this country with regard to their farming, though he also mentions that they are in other occupations as well. He seems to disagree with the above writer about the involvement of the Germans in government. This is probably due to the fact that he spoke for the most part with people in the cities, where there is generally a higher degree of assimilation; the writer cited above, however, knew of the German immigrants almost exclusively from his travels in Pennsylvania, and there he probably had contact with the sects which hold with becoming discretion. The Teutonic family commits himself by noisy demonstrations. In his remarks interesting and instructive. Much more work remains to be done in this field, as there is a vast number of works left by travelers.

There is quite a variety of comments on the Germans in America found in travel accounts. Some emphasize their “character,” others, their skill at farming, furniture making, rifle making, etc., and some discuss their involvement or lack thereof in mainstream America and her culture. That a number of the travelers mentioned taverns and inns run by Germans indicates that this was another area in which Germans, if they did not actually dominate it, were at least commonly found engaged.

In my research, I made use of fourteen travel accounts which had more than just a passing comment on the German immigrants in America, and I found the remarks interesting and instructive. Much more work remains to be done in this field, as there is a vast number of works left by travelers.

The immigration of many German musicians to America in the early 19th Century apparently had an effect on the cultural life here, for one writer who commented in 1865 on the Germans as an industrious and respectable class of farmers also says that “the Germans are, in the United States, the source of orchestras and of concerts.”

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A Geographical, Historical, Commercial, and Agricultural View of the United States of America; Forming a Complete Emigrant’s Directory . . . Compiled by several gentlemen, from a variety of Original Manuscripts, and from the latest and best authorities. London: Edwards and Knibb, 1820.
The Pie and Related Forms in Pennsylvania Cuisine

The pie, which has long held first place as America’s favorite dessert, has a long and distinguished history in American cuisine, as well as a large family of relatives—dishes similar in form or content—both in this country and in Europe. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information from our readers about the pie and other forms of dough cuisine related to it.

1. The Fruit Pie. The commonest type of pie, numerically and statistically, is the fruit pie, usually with two crusts and a fruit filling. Will readers jot down for us the range of fruits used in the fruit pie in Pennsylvania. What is the difference between a “pie” and a “tart”? Is it a matter of size, or the difference between a pie that has two crusts and one that has only a bottom crust (pie shell)?

2. Custards. A variant pie involves custard filling of various sorts. Will readers describe the fillings known to them?

3. The Cake-Pie. Pennsylvania has become famous, at least in the 20th Century, for a combination cake-pie known as “Shoofly Pie” or “Shoofly Cake,” which involves a cake baked in a pie shell with a layer of molasses at the bottom. Such pies have no top crust. Describe the types of shoofly pie your family made (wet or gooey bottom vs. dry bottom, etc.). Describe also the analogues to the shoofly pie—Lemon Sponge Pie, Montgomery Pie, Funny Cake, and others that you may know of. What other names do you know for shoofly pie? People in Central Pennsylvania used to call it “Granger Pie,” presumably because it was made and consumed at Granger Picnics. What do you think is the origin of the name “Shoofly Pie”?

4. The “Kuchen”. Pennsylvania German cooks used to make what was called a “Kuchen,” based on European precedent. This was not a pie but was a relative of the pie, in that it involved a dough base into which pieces of fruit or other substances were literally stuck before baking. Will readers list and describe the “Kuchen” forms which they may remember from their families, commenting on the relation of the “Kuchen” to the pie. One of the alltime favorites in this category was Zwierwelkuche or “onion cake,” often taken to the harvest fields as a “ten o’clock piece.”

5. Potpie. Another oldtime favorite among Pennsylvanians is “potpie,” which has only the word “pie” in common with the fruit pie. This is not the common meat pie baked in a casserole with a top crust covering all, although one sees this newcomer on Pennsylvania supermarket shelves. The Pennsylvanian variety is a dish made in a pot, originally over an open fireplace, involving squares of rolled-out dough cooked with meat and meat broth. Will readers describe the varieties of potpie they recall?

6. Poverty Pies. Our forefathers remembered the “hunger times” in Europe and were careful not to waste precious foodstuffs. In times of bad harvest, when normal fruit crops failed, what types of materials were used for pies? “There will always be elderberries,” the old people used to say, and I will venture the statement that elderberry pie is in reality a “poverty pie” made when other pie ingredients were scarce. What were the others? Have readers heard of the Pennsylvania German poverty pie called Sauerkrautbohnen (Sorrel Pie)?

7. Children’s Pies. When the housewife had dough left over from baking, sometimes she coated the pieces in special ways and baked them for the children in the family. What were these special pie dough treats that our readers remember? Was the Pennsylvania German Schlappkuche (Milk Pie) one of these? What was a “Half Moon Pie”?

8. The Meat Pie. Did Pennsylvania cooks prepare meat pies, with crusts in the modern fashion? If so, were these large, like supermarket meat pies, or small, like “Welsh Pasties” and other British Isles delicacies?

9. Pie Preparation. Will the traditionalist cooks among our readers describe the preparation of the pie in the old ways of their mothers or grandmothers. How was the pie crust “shortened”? What sweetenings were used for fruit pies? How were the pies baked in the outdoor bakeoven, in the kitchen range? Where were pies stored before use? What is a “pie safe”? How many pies and what types of pies would the average Pennsylvania housewife bake for her family in the 19th Century, in the 20th Century? How often were pies baked in the past?

10. Lore of the Pie. Will readers share with us the rhymes, songs, jests, riddles, or other lore connected with pies and pie-making.

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